

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Official Journal

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT No. 115

RÉCORDS

OF THE

FOURTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION

OF THE

ASSEMBLY

PLENARY MEETINGS

TEXT OF THE DEBATES

GENEVA 1933

CONTENTS

	Page		Page
LETTERS OF CONVOCATION	6	THIRD PLENARY MEETING, Wednesday, September 27th, 1933, at 4.30 p.m.:	
AGENDA	7	20. Definitive Accession of the Argentine Republic to the League of Nations.	36
LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY	9	21. Election of the Three Non-Permanent Members of the Council: Communication by the President in the Name of the General Committee	36
PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSEMBLY	25	22. Simultaneous Translation of Speeches at Plenary Meetings of the Assembly: Communication by the President in the Name of the General Committee	36
FIRST PLENARY MEETING, [Monday, September 25th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.:		23. Commission of Enquiry for European Union: Draft Resolution proposed by the General Committee	37
1. Opening of the Assembly	27	24. Protection of Minorities: Adoption of the Draft Resolution submitted by the German Delegation	37
2. Election of the Committee to report on the Credentials of the Delegates.	27	25. Mandates: Draft Resolution submitted by the Norwegian Delegation	37
3. Opening Speech by M. Mowinckel, President of the Council	28	26. Report on the Work of the League of Nations since the Thirteenth Session of the Assembly: Opening of the General Discussion [Speeches by Sir John Simon (United Kingdom), M. Dollfuss (Austria) and the Hon. R. J. Manion (Canada).]	37
4. Credentials of Delegates: Report of the Committee on Credentials	30		
5. Election of the President of the Fourteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly	30	FOURTH PLENARY MEETING, Friday, September 29th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.:	
6. Presidential Address	31	27. Simplification of Assembly Procedure: Communication by the President in the Name of the General Committee	42
7. Tribute to the Late M. de Agüero y Bethancourt, Former Delegate of Cuba	31	28. Mandates: Adoption of the Draft Resolution submitted by the Norwegian Delegation	42
8. Tribute to the Late Count Apponyi, Former Delegate of Hungary	31	29. Report on the Work of the League of Nations since the Thirteenth Session of the Assembly: Continuation of the Discussion [Speeches by M. Sandler (Sweden), Sir Brojendra Mitter (India), Dr. Wellington Koo (China) and Jonkheer de Graeff (Netherlands).]	43
9. Agenda: Examination and Adoption	32	Draft Resolution submitted by the Netherlands Delegation	48
10. Constitution of the Committees	32	FIFTH PLENARY MEETING, Saturday, September 30th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.:	
11. Agenda Committee: Appointment	33	30. Election of the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly: Communication by the President in the Name of the General Committee	49
12. Appointment of the Chairman of the Agenda Committee as a Member of the General Committee of the Assembly	33		
13. Appointment of the Chairman of the Credentials Committee as a Member of the General Committee of the Assembly	33		
14. Election of the Chairmen of Committees: Communication by the President	33		
SECOND PLENARY MEETING, Monday, September 25th, 1933, at 5.30 p.m.:			
15. Announcement of the Names of the Chairmen of Committees	34		
16. Election of the Six Vice-Presidents of the Assembly	34		
17. Composition of the General Committee of the Assembly	34		
18. Agenda: Distribution of Items among the Committees	34		
19. Protection of Minorities: Draft Resolution submitted by the German Delegation	35		

	Page		Page
31. Organisation, on an International Basis, of Assistance for Refugees (Jewish and Other) coming from Germany: Draft Resolution submitted by the Netherlands Delegation Reference to the Agenda Committee.	50	41. Traffic in Women and Children: Convocation of a Diplomatic Conference to prepare the Final Text of a Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age: Draft Resolution proposed by the Fifth Committee	70
32. Report on the Work of the League of Nations since the Thirteenth Session of the Assembly: Continuation of the Discussion [Speeches by M. Frangulis (Haiti), M. Guani (Uruguay), M. Tsaldaris (Greece), M. Salnais (Latvia) and Mr. O'Kelly (Irish Free State).] Draft Resolution submitted by the Delegation of Haiti	50 51	42. Penal and Penitentiary Questions: Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners: Activities of the Technical Organisations: Report of the Fifth Committee: Resolution	71
SIXTH PLENARY MEETING, Monday, October 2nd, 1933, at 4 p.m.:		43. Work of the Health Organisation: Report of the Second Committee: Resolution	72
33. Absence from the Present Session of the Assembly of a Delegation of the Argentine Republic: Communication from the Argentine Minister at Berne	56	44. Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish Refugees: Report of the Sixth Committee: Resolution	73
34. Proposal for a World Convention ensuring the Protection of and Respect for the Rights of Men and of Citizens: Draft Resolution submitted by the Delegation of Haiti: Reference to the Agenda Committee	56	45. Mandates: Report of the Sixth Committee: Resolution	73
35. Proposal for the Organisation, on an International Basis, of Assistance for Refugees coming from Germany: Draft Resolution submitted by the Netherlands Delegation: Report of the Agenda Committee	57	46. Work of the Communications and Transit Organisation: Report of the Second Committee: Resolution	75
36. Election of Three Non-Permanent Members of the Council	57	47. Economic and Financial Questions: Report of the Second Committee: Resolution	77
37. Report on the Work of the League of Nations since the Thirteenth Session of the Assembly: Continuation of the Discussion [Speeches by M. de Madariaga (Spain), M. de Vasconcellos (Portugal), M. Paul-Boncour (France) and Mirza Abol-Hassan Khan Foroughi (Persia).]	58	EIGHTH PLENARY MEETING, Monday, October 9th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m.:	
38. System of Elections to the Council: Report of the First Committee: Resolutions	67	48. Provisional Creation of One New Non-Permanent Seat on the Council: Resolution adopted by the Council on October 4th, 1933	78
SEVENTH PLENARY MEETING, Saturday, October 7th, 1933, at 4 p.m.:		49. Election of One Non-Permanent Member of the Council	78
39. Attempt on the Life of M. Dollfuss, Chancellor of the Austrian Republic: Communication by the President.	96	50. Work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Report of the Sixth Committee: Resolutions	79
40. Penal and Penitentiary Questions: Gradual Unification of Criminal Law and Co-operation of States in the Prevention and Suppression of Crime: Report of the First Committee: Resolution	69	51. Co-operation of the Press in the Organisation of Peace: Report of the Sixth Committee: Resolution	83
NINTH PLENARY MEETING, Wednesday, October 11th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.:		52. Simplification of the Procedure of the Assembly: Report of the First Committee: Resolution	85
		53. Nationality of Women: Resolution of the First Committee.	86
		54. Slavery: Report of the Sixth Committee: Resolution	86

	Page		Page
55. Traffic in Women and Children: Report of the Fifth Committee: Resolution	87	60. Re-organisation of the Advisory Committee for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People: Report of the Fifth Committee: Resolutions	91
56. Protection of Minorities: Report of the Sixth Committee: Resolutions	88	61. Contributions in Arrears: Report of the Fourth Committee: Resolution	91
57. Protection of Children: Report of the Fifth Committee: Resolutions	88	62. Financial Questions: Report of the Fourth Committee: Resolutions	92
58. Organisation, on an International Basis, of Assistance for Refugees (Jewish and Other) coming from Germany: Report of the Second Committee: Resolution	89	63. Signature of the Convention prepared by the Diplomatic Conference for facilitating the International Cir- culation of Films of an Educational Character	93
59. Traffic in Opium and Other Dan- gerous Drugs: Report of the Fifth Committee: Resolutions	90	64. Closing Speech by the President . .	93

CONVOCAATION
OF THE
FOURTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION
OF THE ASSEMBLY

I. LETTER, DATED MAY 6TH, 1933, ADDRESSED BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ON BEHALF OF BARON ALOISI, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.

I have the honour, in accordance with Rules 1 and 3 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly of the League of Nations, to summon the Assembly at Geneva on Monday, September 4th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

II. LETTER, DATED JULY 6TH, 1933, ADDRESSED BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN THE NAME OF BARON ALOISI, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.

I have the honour to inform you that the Council of the League of Nations, on July 3rd, 1933, adopted the following resolution:

“ The Council,

“ Having been informed of the suggestions received by the Secretary-General that the opening date of the fourteenth ordinary session of the Assembly should be postponed to September 25th, 1933:

“ Requests its President to submit these suggestions to the Members of the League, it being understood that the Assembly will meet on September 25th if the replies of the majority of the Members of the League received up to July 25th inclusive accept this date.”

I am directed by the President of the Council, in accordance with the above resolution, to submit to the consideration of your Government the suggestion that the next ordinary session of the Assembly should open on Monday, September 25th of this year, and to ask you to be good enough to inform me as soon as possible whether that date is acceptable to your Government.

III. LETTER, DATED JULY 19TH 1933, ADDRESSED BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN THE NAME OF BARON ALOISI, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.

With reference to my letter of July 6th on the subject of the date of the fourteenth ordinary session of the Assembly, I have the honour to inform you that, a majority of the Members of the League having notified me of their acceptance of the date of September 25th, the session will open at Geneva on Monday, September 25th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA
OF THE
FOURTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION
OF THE ASSEMBLY

ADOPTED BY THE ASSEMBLY ON SEPTEMBER 25TH, 1933.

Election of the Credentials Committee.

Election of the President.

Examination and Adoption of the Agenda.

Nomination of the Six Committees to which the Assembly usually refers the Various Questions, and Election of the Chairmen of those Committees.

Election of Vice-Presidents.

Report on the Work of the League since the Thirteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly.

Election of Three Non-Permanent Members of the Council.

FIRST COMMITTEE.

System of Election to the Council: Provisional Creation of One Non-Permanent Seat.

Penal and Penitentiary Questions: Unification of Criminal Law and Co-operation of States in the Prevention and Suppression of Crime.

Nationality of Women: Proposal by the Chilean Government.

SECOND COMMITTEE.

Work of the Economic and Financial Organisations.

Work of the Communications and Transit Organisation.

Work of the Health Organisation.

Monetary and Economic Conference.

THIRD COMMITTEE.

FOURTH COMMITTEE.

Rationalisation and Concentration of the Services of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office: Report by the Supervisory Commission.

Contributions in Arrears.

Appointment of Two Members of the Supervisory Commission.

Appointment of Three Members and Three Substitute Members of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund.

Budget for 1934 of the Secretariat, the International Labour Organisation and the Permanent Court of International Justice: Audited Accounts for the Fourteenth Financial Period (1932): Reports of the Supervisory Commission: Report of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund.

FIFTH COMMITTEE.

Penal and Penitentiary Questions: Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners.

Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs.

Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People:

(a) Child Welfare Committee;

(b) Joint Session of the Child Welfare and Traffic in Women and Children Committees;

(c) Traffic in Women and Children Committee.

SIXTH COMMITTEE.

Co-operation of the Press in the Organisation of Peace.

• Intellectual Co-operation.

Slavery.

Nansen International Office for Refugees.

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

Simplification of the Procedure of the Assembly.

Proposal for the Organisation on an International Basis of Assistance for Refugees (Jewish and other) coming from Germany.

Mandates.

Protection of Minorities.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATIONS

UNION SUD-AFRICAINE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. C. T. TE WATER.
Haut Commissaire à Londres — High Commissioner
in London.

Major F. F. PIENAAR, D.T.D., O.B.E.
Délégué auprès de la Société des Nations — Accredited
Representative to the League of Nations.

Suppléant — Substitute:

Mr. H. T. ANDREWS.
Secrétaire politique auprès du Haut Commissaire —
Political Secretary to the High Commissioner.

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General:

Mr. W. C. NAUDÉ.
Secrétaire particulier du Haut Commissaire — Private
Secretary to the High Commissioner.

Secrétaire — Secretary:

Miss M. F. BURNSIDE.

ALBANIE — ALBANIA

M. Lec KURTI.
Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations —
Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of
Nations.

M. Fouad ASLLANI
Chargé d'Affaires à Londres — Chargé d'Affaires in
London.

ALLEMAGNE — GERMANY

Freiherr VON NEURATH.
Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister for Foreign
Affairs.

D^r GOEBBELS.
Ministre de l'Education civique et de la Propagande
— Minister for Civic Education and Propaganda.

D^r VON KELLER.
Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire,
Représentant permanent au Conseil de la Société
des Nations — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative on the
Council of the League of Nations.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

D^r Friedrich GAUS.
Directeur au Ministère des Affaires étrangères —
Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Freiherr VON RHEINBABEN.
Ancien Secrétaire d'Etat — Former Secretary of
State.

ALLEMAGNE (suite) — GERMANY (cont.)

Ernst Freiherr VON WEIZSÄCKER.
Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire
— Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General:

Herr VON KAMPHOEVENER.
Chef du Service de la Société des Nations au Ministère
des Affaires étrangères — Chief of the League of
Nations Service at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Conseillers techniques — Experts:

Fräulein D^r UNGER.

Frau VON TILING.

D^r Karl RITTER.
Directeur au Ministère des Affaires étrangères —
Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

D^r ASCHMANN.
Chef de Division au Ministère des Affaires étrangères
— Head of Division at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Herr D^r FROHWEIN.
Conseiller intime — Councillor.

D^r ROEDIGER.
Conseiller intime — Councillor.

Herr SEEL.
Conseiller ministériel — Ministerial Councillor.

Herr D^r VOELCKERS.
Conseiller intime, Chef de Cabinet du Ministre des
Affaires étrangères — Councillor, Head of the Cabinet
of the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Herr D^r WOERMANN.
Conseiller de Légation — Councillor of Legation.

D^r KRAUEL.
Consul.

Prince héritier DE WALDECK-PYRMONT.
Conseiller de Légation — Councillor of Legation.

Service de Presse — Press Service:

Herr VON SAUCKEN.
Conseiller de Légation — Councillor of Legation.

Herr D^r BAEHRENS.
Ministère de l'Education civique et de la Propagande
— Ministry for Civic Education and Propaganda.

Secrétaires — Secretaries:

Gans Edler ZU PUTLITZ.
Secrétaire de Légation — Secretary of Legation.

ALLEMAGNE (suite) — GERMANY (cont.)

Secrétaires (suite). — Secretaries (cont.):

D^r SCHMIDT.

Secrétaire de Légation. (Interprète) — Secretary of Legation (Interpreter).

D^r KORDT.

Attaché.

D^r SIEGFRIED.

Attaché.

D^r BLEISSNER.

Attaché.

RÉPUBLIQUE ARGENTINE
ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

AUSTRALIE — AUSTRALIA

The Right Honourable S. M. BRUCE, C.H.,
M.C., M.P.

Lieutenant-General Sir Talbot HOBBS, K.C.B.,
K.C.M.G., V.D.

Mr. Henry John SHEEHAN, C.B.E.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

Professor D. B. COPLAND, C.M.G.

Rabbi D. I. FREEDMAN, V.D.

Mrs. Mary Jamieson WILLIAMS, J.P.

Conseiller — Adviser:

Mr. K. OFFICER, O.B.E., M.C.

Secrétaire — Secretary:

Major O. C. W. FUHRMAN, O.B.E.

AUTRICHE — AUSTRIA

Son Excellence le docteur Engelbert DOLLFUSS¹.
Chancelier fédéral — Federal Chancellor.

Son Excellence M. Emerich PFLÜGL.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire,
Représentant permanent auprès de la Société des
Nations — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative accred-
ited to the League of Nations.

¹ Après le départ de M. Dollfuss, M. Pflügl a assumé les
fonctions de chef de la délégation. — After the departure of
M. Dollfuss, M. Pflügl became head of the delegation.

AUTRICHE (suite) — AUSTRIA (cont.)

Son Excellence le docteur Richard SCHÜLLER.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire en
mission spéciale — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary on special mission.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

M. Théodore HORNBOSTEL.

Conseiller de Légation — Counsellor of Legation.

Le docteur E. SCHIFFNER.

Conseiller de Légation, Directeur adjoint du Départe-
ment juridique des Affaires étrangères — Counsellor
of Legation, Assistant Director of the Legal Depart-
ment at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Conseiller technique et Secrétaire général — Expert
and Secretary-General:

Le docteur Franz MATSCH.

Secrétaire de Légation — Secretary of Legation.

BELGIQUE — BELGIUM

Son Excellence M. Paul HYMANS.

Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister for
Foreign Affairs.

Le vicomte POULLET.

Ministre de l'Intérieur et Ministre des Postes, Télé-
graphes et Téléphones — Minister for the Interior,
Minister for Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones.

Le comte CARTON DE WIART.

Ministre de la Prévoyance sociale et de l'Hygiène —
Minister for Social Insurance and Health.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

M. F. VAN LANGENHOVE.

Secrétaire général du Ministère des Affaires étrangères
— Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign
Affairs.

M. J. MÉLOT.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire —
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

M. Maurice BOURQUIN.

Professeur à l'Institut universitaire des Hautes
Etudes internationales — Professor at the University
Institute for Higher International Studies.

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General:

M. J. MÉLOT.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire —
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

Secrétaire — Secretary:

M. NICAISE.

BOLIVIE — BOLIVIA

Son Excellence M. Adolfe COSTA DU RELS.

Ministre plénipotentiaire, ancien Ministre des Finances,
Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations —
Minister Plenipotentiary, former Minister for Finance,
Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of
Nations.

ROYAUME-UNI DE GRANDE-BRETAGNE
ET D'IRLANDE DU NORD
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND NORTHERN IRELAND

The Right Honourable Sir John SIMON,
G.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., M.P.

Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires étrangères —
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Right Honourable W. G. A. ORMSBY-
GORE, M.P.

Premier Commissaire aux Travaux publics — First
Commissioner, His Majesty's Office of Works.

The Right Honourable Douglas H. HACKING,
M.P.

Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat parlementaire au Ministère de
l'Intérieur — Parliamentary Under-Secretary of
State, Home Office.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

Mr. L. HORE-BELISHA, M.P.

Secrétaire financier de la Trésorerie — Financial
Secretary to the Treasury.

Miss F. HORSBRUGH, M.P.

Sir William MALKIN, K.C.M.G., C.B., K.C.

Conseiller juridique au Ministère des Affaires étran-
gères — Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General:

The Honourable Alexander CADOGAN, C.B.,
C.M.G.

Conseiller au Ministère des Affaires étrangères pour
les Affaires de la Société des Nations — Adviser on
League of Nations Affairs, Foreign Office.

Secrétaires — Secretaries:

Mr. E. H. CARR, C.B.E.

Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Foreign Office.

Mr. R. C. S. STEVENSON.

Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Foreign Office.

Mr. H. ASHLEY CLARKE.

Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Foreign Office.

Mr. P. E. LEWIS.

Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Foreign Office.

Conseillers techniques — Experts:

Rear-Admiral R. M. BELLAIRS, C.B., C.M.G.

Amirauté — Admiralty.

Group-Captain J. T. BABINGTON, D.S.O.

Ministère de l'Aviation — Air Ministry.

Mr. C. R. PRICE.

Office des Dominions — Dominions Office.

Sir G. S. BUCHANAN, C.B., M.D., F.R.C.P.

Ministère de l'Hygiène — Ministry of Health.

Sir Malcolm DELEIVINGNE, K.C.B., K.C.V.O.

Ministère de l'Intérieur — Home Office.

Mr. S. W. HARRIS, C.B., C.V.O.

Ministère de l'Intérieur — Home Office.

ROYAUME-UNI (*suite*)
UNITED KINGDOM (*cont.*)

Conseillers techniques (suite). — Experts (cont.):

Mr. A. PATERSON, M.C.

Ministère de l'Intérieur — Home Office.

Mr. T. St. Q. HILL, O.B.E.

Ministère du Commerce — Board of Trade.

Mr. E. ROWE-DUTTON, C.M.G.

Trésorerie — Treasury.

Brigadier A. C. TEMPERLEY, C.B., C.M.G.,
D.S.O.

Ministère de la Guerre — War Office.

Mr. M. H. FITZGERALD, M.C.

Ministère de la Guerre — War Office.

Service de Presse — Press Bureau:

Sir Arthur WILLERT, K.B.E.

Chef du Service des Informations au Ministère des
Affaires étrangères — Head of the News Department,
Foreign Office.

Secrétaires particuliers — Private Secretaries:

Mr. H. J. SEYMOUR, C.M.G.

Secrétaire particulier de sir John Simon — Private
Secretary to Sir John Simon.

Mr. E. L. GRANVILLE, M.P.

Secrétaire particulier de sir John Simon — Private
Secretary to Sir John Simon.

Mr. J. DE V. LODER, M.P.

Secrétaire particulier de M. Ormsby-Gore — Private
Secretary to Mr. Ormsby-Gore.

Mr. H. A. STRUTT.

Secrétaire particulier de M. Hacking — Private
Secretary to Mr. Hacking.

Mr. J. I. C. CROMBIE.

Secrétaire particulier de M. Hore-Belisha — Private
Secretary to Mr. Hore-Belisha.

Miss F. WHITE.

Secrétaire particulière de miss Horsbrugh — Private
Secretary to Miss Horsbrugh.

Miss T. SCURFIELD.

Secrétaire particulière de sir W. Malkin — Private
Secretary to Sir W. Malkin.

BULGARIE — BULGARIA

Son Excellence M. Nicolas MOUCHANOFF.

Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires étrangères
et des Cultes — Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign
Affairs and Religion.

Son Excellence M. Stéphane STEPHANOFF.

Ministère des Finances — Minister for Finance.

M. Dimitri MIKOFF.

Chargé d'affaires à Berne, Représentant permanent
auprès de la Société des Nations — Chargé d'Affaires
in Berne, Permanent Representative accredited to
the League of Nations.

M. Nicolas STOYANOFF¹.

Directeur de la Dette publique — Director of the
Public Debt.

¹ Pendant la présence de M. Mouchanoff à Genève,
M. Stoyanoff est devenu délégué suppléant — During
M. Mouchanoff's stay in Geneva, M. Stoyanoff acted as
substitute delegate.

CANADA

The Honourable Robert J. MANION, M.C.,
M.P., M.D.

Ministre des Chemins de fer et Canaux — Minister of
Railways and Canals.

The Honourable Philippe Roy, M.D.

Ministre en France — Minister in France.

Mr. Walter A. RIDDELL, M.A., Ph.D.

Conseiller permanent du Gouvernement canadien
auprès de la Société des Nations — Dominion of
Canada Advisory Officer accredited to the League of
Nations.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

The Honourable G. Howard FERGUSON.

Haut Commissaire à Londres — High Commissioner
in London.

Mr. Jean DÉSY, K.C.

Conseiller de Légation à Paris — Counsellor of Legation,
Paris.

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General:

Dr. P. E. RENAUD.

Secrétaires — Secretaries:

Miss M. M. CLARK.

Miss M. E. BRIDGMAN.

Miss M. F. ANDREWS.

CHILI — CHILE

Son Excellence M. Enrique VILLEGAS.

Ambassadeur, ancien Président du Conseil, ancien
Ministre des Affaires étrangères, ancien Ambassadeur
à Londres — Ambassador, former Prime Minister,
former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Amba-
sador in London.

Son Excellence M. Luis V. DE PORTO-SEGURO.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à
Berlin — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Pleni-
potentiary in Berlin.

Son Excellence M. Jorge VALDÉS-MENDEVILLE.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à
Bruxelles et à Berne — Envoy Extraordinary and
Minister Plenipotentiary in Brussels and Berne.

Suppléant et Secrétaire général — Substitute and Secretary-General:

M. Enrique GAJARDO.

Secrétaire permanent de la délégation auprès de la
Société des Nations — Permanent Secretary to the
Delegation accredited to the League of Nations.

CHINE — CHINA

Son Excellence le docteur W. W. YEN.

Ambassadeur à Moscou — Ambassador in Moscow.

Son Excellence le docteur V. K. Wellington
KOO.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à
Paris — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Pleni-
potentiary in Paris.

Son Excellence M. QUO Tai-chi.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à
Londres — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary in London.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

Son Excellence M. T. Y. LO.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à
Copenhague — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary in Copenhagen.

Son Excellence M. WUNSZ KING.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à
La Haye — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary in The Hague.

Son Excellence le docteur TSIEN Tai.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à
Madrid — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Pleni-
potentiary in Madrid.

Suppléant et Secrétaire général — Substitute and Secretary-General:

Son Excellence le docteur V. Hoo Chi-tsai.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à
Berne, Directeur du Bureau permanent de la Délégation
auprès de la Société des Nations — Envoy
Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berne,
Director of the Permanent Bureau of the Delegation
accredited to the League of Nations.

Conseillers techniques — Experts:

M. SZE Chao-kuei.

Conseiller de Légation — Counsellor of Legation.

Le docteur C. Kuangson YOUNG.

Ancien Consul général à Londres — Former Consul-
General in London.

M. CHEN Ting.

Premier Secrétaire de Légation — First Secretary of
Legation.

M. LIU Chieh.

Premier Secrétaire de Légation — First Secretary of
Legation.

Secrétaires — Secretaries:

M. LOU Che-Ngan.

Premier Secrétaire de Légation — First Secretary
of Legation.

M. FANG Pao-Tchung.

Deuxième Secrétaire de Légation — Second Secretary
of Legation.

M. T. T. LI.

Troisième Secrétaire de Légation — Third Secretary
of Legation.

CHINE (suite) — CHINA (cont.)

Secrétaires (suite) — Secretaries (cont.):

M. Kien-Wen YU.

Troisième Secrétaire de Légation — Third Secretary of Legation.

M. H. C. SUNG.

Troisième Secrétaire de Légation — Third Secretary of Legation.

M. Mikien YIU.

Attaché de Légation — Attaché of Legation.

M. Woo Kwang-han.

Attaché de Légation — Attaché of Legation.

M. KEN Kia-tao.

Attaché de Légation — Attaché of Legation.

M. Y. Y. WANG.

Attaché de Légation — Attaché of Legation.

COLOMBIE — COLOMBIA

Son Excellence le docteur Eduardo SANTOS.

Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations, Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire en mission spéciale en Europe — Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary on Special Mission in Europe.

Le docteur Julio Eduardo RUEDA.

Chargé d'affaires en Suisse — Chargé d'Affaires in Switzerland.

Le docteur José Luis ARANGO.

Chargé d'affaires aux Pays-Bas — Chargé d'Affaires in the Netherlands.

Secrétaire adjointe — Assistant Secretary:

Mlle Leonor CÉSPEDES.

Secrétaire adjointe de la Délégation permanente auprès de la Société des Nations — Assistant Secretary at the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations.

CUBA

Son Excellence M. Carlos DE ARMENTEROS Y DE CARDENAS.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Berne, Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations.

Suppléant — Substitute:

M. Emiliano DUSSAQ Y FISCHER.

Secrétaire — Secretary:

M. José CARBALLAL Y GONZALEZ.

DANEMARK — DENMARK

Le docteur Peter MUNCH.

Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister for Foreign Affairs.

DANEMARK (suite) — DENMARK (cont.)

M. Erik DE SCAVENIUS¹.

Ancien Ministre des Affaires étrangères, ancien Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Stockholm — Former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Stockholm.

M. F. J. BORGBJERG.

Ministre de l'Instruction publique, Député — Minister for Public Education, Member of the Chamber of Deputies.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

Le pasteur Th. POVLSEN.

Ancien Ministre des Cultes, Député — Former Minister for Religion, Member of the Chamber of Deputies.

Le comte Bent HOLSTEIN.

Député — Member of the Chamber of Deputies.

M. Ole Bjoern KRAFT.

Rédacteur, Député — "Redacteur", Member of the Chamber of Deputies.

Chambellan H. A. BERNHOFT.

Secrétaire général du Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

M. William BORBERG.

Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations — Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations.

Mlle Henni FORCHHAMMER.

Présidente honoraire du Conseil national des Femmes danoises et Vice-Présidente honoraire du Conseil international des Femmes — Honorary President of the National Council of Danish Women and Honorary Vice-President of the International Council of Women.

Secrétaires — Secretaries:

M. Hans BERTELSEN.

M. F. Henning HERGEL.

RÉPUBLIQUE DOMINICAINE
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Son Excellence M. Elias BRACHE, Jr.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Madrid — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Madrid.

ESPAGNE — SPAIN

Son Excellence M. Alejandro LERROUX.

Premier Ministre, Ministre d'Etat — Prime Minister, Minister of State.

Son Excellence M. Salvador DE MADARIAGA Y ROJO.

Ambassadeur à Paris — Ambassador in Paris.

¹ En l'absence du D^r Munch, M. de Scavenius a fait fonction de président de la délégation. — In the absence of Dr. Munch, M. de Scavenius acted as President of the Delegation.

ESPAGNE (*suite*) — SPAIN (*cont.*)

M. Amadeo HURTADO Y MIRÓ.

Député aux Cortès — Member of the Cortes.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

M. Hipolito FINAT Y ROJAS.

M. Julio LÓPEZ OLIVÁN.

Ministre plénipotentiaire à Stockholm — Minister Plenipotentiary in Stockholm.

M. Leopoldo PALACIOS.

Ancien Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat aux Finances, Professeur à l'Université centrale — Former Under-Secretary of State for Finance, Professor at the Central University.

M. Manuel Martinez PEDROSO.

Professeur à l'Université de Séville — Professor at the University of Seville.

M^{me} Isabel OYARZABAL DE PALENCIA.

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General:

M. José Maria DOUSSINAGUE.

Ministre plénipotentiaire, Directeur des Affaires politiques au Département d'Etat — Minister Plenipotentiary, Director of Political Affairs in the State Department.

Secrétaire général adjoint — Assistant Secretary-General:

M. Pelayo GARCIA OLAY.

Ministre plénipotentiaire — Minister Plenipotentiary.

ESTONIE — ESTONIA

Son Excellence M. A. PIIP.

Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Son Excellence M. Auguste SCHMIDT.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Rome et à Berne, Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Rome and Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

Son Excellence M. C. R. PUSTA.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Varsovie. — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Warsaw.

M. J. KÓDAR.

Secrétaire de la délégation permanente auprès de la Société des Nations — Secretary of the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations.

ÉTHIOPIE — ABYSSINIA

Son Excellence le badjerond B. TECLE-HAWARIYAT.

Premier Délégué de l'Empire, Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire en France et en Grande-Bretagne — First Delegate of the Empire, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France and Great Britain.

Son Excellence le comte LAGARDE, duc D'ENTOTTO.

Ministre plénipotentiaire, Représentant diplomatique de S. M. l'Empereur Hailé Sellassié 1^{er} auprès de la Société des Nations, Haut Conseiller — Minister Plenipotentiary, Diplomatic Representative of H.M. the Emperor Hailé Sellassié I accredited to the League of Nations, High Counsellor.

FINLANDE — FINLAND

Son Excellence M. A. HACKZELL.

Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Son Excellence le docteur Rudolf HOLSTI¹.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Berne, Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations, ancien Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations, former Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Son Excellence le docteur Oskari MANTERE.

Ministre de l'Instruction publique, Directeur général de la Direction des Ecoles, ancien Président du Conseil des Ministres — Minister for Public Education, Director-General of the Administration of Schools, former Prime Minister.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

Son Excellence le docteur Rolf THESLEFF¹.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire, Directeur *a.i.* de la Direction des Affaires politiques au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Acting Director in charge of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

M. P. HJELT.

Premier Secrétaire de la Légation à Londres — First Secretary at the Legation in London.

Suppléant et Secrétaire — Substitute and Secretary:

M. P. K. TARJANNE.

Premier Secrétaire de Légation à la Délégation permanente auprès de la Société des Nations et à la Légation à Berne — First Secretary of Legation at the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations and at the Legation in Berne.

FRANCE

Son Excellence M. Edouard DALADIER.

Président du Conseil, Ministre de la Guerre — Prime Minister, Minister for War.

Son Excellence M. PAUL-BONCOUR.

Ministre des Affaires étrangères, Représentant permanent au Conseil de la Société des Nations — Minister for Foreign Affairs, Permanent Representative on the Council of the League of Nations.

M. Henry BÉRENGER.

Ambassadeur, Sénateur — Ambassador, Senator.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

M. Lucien HUBERT.

Sénateur, ancien Ministre — Senator, former Minister.

M. GERMAIN-MARTIN.

Député, ancien Ministre — Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister.

M. YVON DELBOS.

Député, ancien Ministre — Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister.

¹ Pendant l'absence de M. Hackzell de Genève, le docteur Holsti a rempli les fonctions de Président de la délégation et le docteur Thesleff deviendra délégué en titre — During the absence of M. Hackzell from Geneva, Dr. Holsti acted as President of the Delegation and Dr. Thesleff as full delegate.

FRANCE (*suite*) — FRANCE (*cont.*)

Délégués adjoints — Assistant Delegates:

M. Marcel PLAISANT.

Sénateur — Senator.

M. Paul BASTID.

Député — Member of the Chamber of Deputies.

M. Jean MISTLER.

Député — Member of the Chamber of Deputies.

M. François DE TESSAN.

Député — Member of the Chamber of Deputies.

M. André MARIE.

Député — Member of the Chamber of Deputies.

M. Léon JOUHAUX.

Secrétaire général de la Confédération générale du Travail — Secretary-General of the General Labour Confederation.

M. René MASSIGLI.

Ministre plénipotentiaire, Directeur adjoint des Affaires politiques, Chef du Service français de la Société des Nations — Minister Plenipotentiary, Assistant Director of Political Affairs, Head of the French League of Nations Office.

M. Jules GAUTIER.

Président de Section honoraire du Conseil d'Etat — Honorary President of Section in the Council of State.

M. Jules BASDEVANT.

Professeur à la Faculté de droit de Paris, Jurisconsulte du Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Professor at the Faculty of Law in Paris, Legal Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

M. René CASSIN.

Professeur à la Faculté de droit de Paris, Président honoraire de l'Union fédérale des Mutilés et anciens Combattants — Professor at the Faculty of Law in Paris, Honorary President of the Federal Union of Mutilated and Former Combatants.

M. CAHEN-SALVADOR.

Conseiller d'Etat, Secrétaire général du Conseil national économique — State Councillor, Secretary-General of the National Economic Council.

Conseillers techniques — Experts:

M^{me} MALATERRE-SELLIER.

M. GRUMBACH.

Ancien Député — Former Member of the Chamber of Deputies.

M. Jean RÉVEILLAUD.

Président honoraire du Conseil de la Préfecture de la Seine — Honorary President of the Council of the Seine Prefecture.

M. Louis AUBERT.

Agrégé de l'Université.

M. BONNEFON-CRAPONNE.

Directeur des Accords commerciaux au Ministère du Commerce et de l'Industrie — Director of Commercial Agreements at the Ministry for Commerce and Industry.

FRANCE (*suite*) — FRANCE (*cont.*)

Conseillers techniques (suite) — Experts (cont.):

M. J. J. BIZOT.

Directeur adjoint du Mouvement général des fonds — Assistant Director of the General Administration of Funds.

M. DAYRAS.

Inspecteur des Finances — Inspector of Finance.

M. Jérôme LEVY.

Du Cabinet du Ministre des Finances — Member of the Bureau of the Minister for Finance.

M. Jacques KAYSER.

Du Cabinet de la Présidence du Conseil — Member of the Prime Minister's Bureau.

M. Gaston BOURGOIS.

Consul général, Chef de Section au Service français de la Société des Nations — Consul-General, Head of Section in the French League of Nations Office.

M. FOUQUES-DUPARC.

Secrétaire d'Ambassade, Chef de Section au Service français de la Société des Nations — Secretary of Embassy, Head of Section in the French League of Nations Office.

M. Paul DEVINAT.

Agrégé de l'Université, du Cabinet de l'Economie nationale — Agrégé de l'Université, Member of the Office of National Economy.

M. Maurice BESSON.

Représentant accrédité de la France auprès de la Commission des mandats pour le Togo et le Cameroun — Accredited Representative of France to the Mandates Commission for Togo and the Cameroons.

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General:

M. Georges DULONG.

Conseiller d'Ambassade, du Service français de la Société des Nations — Councillor of Embassy, Member of the French League of Nations Office.

Service de Presse — Press Bureau:

M. PADOVANI.

Secrétaire d'Ambassade, Chef-adjoint du Service d'Information et de Presse du Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Secretary of Embassy, Assistant Head of the News and Press Service at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Experts:

M. SPITZMULLER.

Secrétaire d'Ambassade — Secretary of Embassy.

M. DE PANAFIEU.

Secrétaire d'Ambassade — Secretary of Embassy.

M. Guillaume PAUL-BONCOUR.

Directeur de l'Office commercial de France à Gènes — Director of the French Commercial Office at Genoa.

Secrétaires — Secretaries:

M. DECLoux.

Secrétaire d'Ambassade — Secretary of Embassy.

M. BRINCARD.

Consul suppléant — Assistant Consul.

M. DE LA SABLIERE.

Consul suppléant — Assistant Consul.

M. KELLER.

Vice-Consul.

GRÈCE — GREECE

Son Excellence M. P. TSALDARIS.
Président du Conseil des Ministres — Prime Minister.

Son Excellence M. D. MAXIMOS.
Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Son Excellence M. Nicolas POLITIS.
Ancien Ministre des Affaires étrangères, Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Paris — Former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris.

Suppléants — Substitutes :

Son Excellence M. R. RAPHAËL.
Ministre, Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations — Minister, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations.

M. B. P. PAPADAKIS.
Chef de la Section de la Société des Nations au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Head of the League of Nations Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Conseiller technique — Expert :

M. P. PIPINELIS.
Chef du Cabinet du Ministre des Affaires étrangères — " Chef du Cabinet " to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General :

M. A. CONTOUMAS.
Premier Secrétaire de la Délégation permanente auprès de la Société des Nations — First Secretary at the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations.

Secrétaires — Secretaries :

M. J. PAPAYANNIS.
Secrétaire de la Délégation permanente auprès de la Société des Nations — Secretary to the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations.

M. G. CHRISTOPOULOS.
Attaché au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Attaché at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

GUATEMALA

Son Excellence M. José MATOS.
Ancien Ministre des Affaires étrangères, Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations — Former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations.

HAITI

Son Excellence M. Constantin MAYARD.
Ancien Président de la Chambre des Députés, ancien Sénateur, ancien Ministre, Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Paris — Former President of the Chamber of Deputies, former Senator, former Minister, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris.

Son Excellence M. A. F. FRANGULIS.
Ministre plénipotentiaire, ancien Délégué à la Société des Nations, Secrétaire général perpétuel de l'Académie diplomatique internationale — Minister Plenipotentiary, former Delegate to the League of Nations, Secretary-General in perpetuity of the International Diplomatic Academy.

HONDURAS

HONGRIE — HUNGARY

Son Excellence M. Coloman DE KÁNYA.
Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Son Excellence le général Gabriel TÁNCZOS.
Ancien Ministre — Former Minister.

Suppléants — Substitutes :

M^{me} la comtesse Albert APPONYI.

M. Jean PELÉNYI.
Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

M. Paul DE HEVESY.
Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

M. Alfred DE NICKL.
Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

Le général Géza DE SIEGLER.

M. Georges DE OTTLIK.

M. Zoltán BARANYAI.
Conseiller de Légation — Counsellor of Legation.

M. Béla DE SZENT-ISTVÁNY.
Conseiller de Section au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Counsellor of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Conseillers techniques — Experts :

M. Zoltán DE MÁRIÁSSY.
Conseiller de Légation — Counsellor of Legation.

M. Antoine DE BALÁSY.
Conseiller de Légation — Counsellor of Legation.

M. Etienne GOMBÓ.
Secrétaire à la Délégation permanente auprès de la Société des Nations — Secretary at the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations.

INDE — INDIA

Sir Brojendra Lal MITTER, K.C.S.I.
Membre (Law Member) du Conseil exécutif du Gouverneur général de l'Inde — Law Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India.

Sir Denys BRAY, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E.
Membre du Conseil de l'Inde — Member of the Council of India.

Sahebzada ABDUSSAMAD Khan, C.I.E.
Ministre en chef de l'Etat de Rampour — Chief Minister, Rampur State.

INDE (suite) — INDIA (cont.)

Suppléant — Substitute:

Sir Hormusji MEHTA.

Secrétaires — Secretaries:

Mr. W. H. TURNER, M.C. (India Office).

Mr. W. B. GOODCHILD (India Office).

ROYAUME D'IRAK — KINGDOM OF IRAQ

His Excellency NOURY PASHA AS SAID.

His Excellency YASSIN PASHA, AL HASHIMI.

Expert et Secrétaires — Expert and Secretaries:

Mr. EDMUNDS.

MUSSA beg SHABANDAR.

YOUSSEF EL GHEILANI.

AHMED WASFI.

Miss McLAREN REID.

ÉTAT LIBRE D'IRLANDE —
IRISH FREE STATE

Mr. Sean T. O'KELLY.

Vice-Président du Conseil exécutif — Vice-President
of the Executive Council.

Mr. Sean LESTER.

Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations
— Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of
Nations.

Mr. F. T. CREMINS.

Chef de Section au Ministère des Affaires étrangères
— Head of Section at the Ministry for Foreign
Affairs

Suppléant — Substitute:

Mr. T. J. COYNE.

Secrétaire de la Délégation permanente auprès de la
Société des Nations — Secretary of the Permanent
Delegation accredited to the League of Nations.

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General:

Mr. John A. BELTON.

Département des Affaires étrangères — Department
for External Affairs.

Secrétaire — Secretary:

Miss S. G. MURPHY.

Département des Affaires étrangères — Department
for External Affairs.

ITALIE — ITALY

Son Excellence le baron Pompeo ALOISI.

Ambassadeur, Chef du Cabinet du Ministre des
Affaires étrangères — Ambassador, "Chef du Cab-
inet" to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Son Excellence le baron Alfredo ACTON.

Sénateur, Amiral — Senator, Admiral.

Son Excellence le comte Edoardo PIOLA
CASELLI.

Sénateur, Président de Chambre à la Cour de Cassa-
tion — Senator, President of Chamber at the Court
of Cassation.

Délégués adjoints — Assistant Delegates:

L'Honorable Stefano CAVAZZONI.

Sénateur — Senator.

L'Honorable Fausto BIANCHI.

Député — Member of the Chamber of Deputies.

L'Honorable Enzo CASALINI.

Député — Member of the Chamber of Deputies.

L'Honorable Giuseppe BIANCHINI.

Député — Member of the Chamber of Deputies.

M. Augusto BIANCHERI CHIAPPORI.

Ministre plénipotentiaire — Minister Plenipotentiary.

Le marquis Antonio MELI LUPI DI SORAGNA.

Ministre plénipotentiaire — Minister Plenipotentiary.

M. Ottavio DE PEPPA.

Ministre plénipotentiaire — Minister Plenipotentiary.

Don Fabrizio RUSPOLI.

Capitaine de vaisseau — Captain.

M. Sileno FABBRI.

Avocat, Commissaire royal pour l'œuvre nationale
de la maternité et de l'enfance — Advocate, Royal
Commissioner for the National Maternity and Child
Welfare Organisation.

M. Giuseppe GALLAVRESI.

Professeur à l'Université de Milan — Professor at
the University of Milan.

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General:

M. Augusto BIANCHERI CHIAPPORI.

Ministre plénipotentiaire, Chef du Service des Insti-
tutions internationales — Minister Plenipotentiary,
Head of the International Institutions Service.

*Secrétaire général adjoint — Assistant Secretary-
General:*

M. Renato BOVA SCOPPA.

Premier Secrétaire de Légation — First Secretary of
Legation.

Conseillers techniques — Experts:

M. Eugenio ANZILOTTI.

Directeur général au Ministère des Corporations —
Director-General in the Ministry of Corporations.

ITALIE (suite) — ITALY (cont.)

Conseillers techniques (suite) — Experts (cont.):

M. Mario MARIANI.

Directeur général au Ministère de l'Agriculture et des Forêts — Director-General in the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests.

M. Giannino FERRARI DALLE SPADE.

Professeur de droit à l'Université de Padoue, ancien Recteur — Professor of Law at the University of Padua, former Chancellor.

M. Tommaso PERASSI.

Professeur de droit à l'Université de Rome — Professor of Law at the University of Rome.

Le comte Giuseppe RAINERI BISCIA.

Capitaine de vaisseau — Captain.

Le colonel Vittorio MARCHESI.

Le lieutenant-colonel Emilio GIGLIOLI.

M. Giuseppe DEL VECCHIO.

Chef de Section au Ministère des Finances — Head of Section at the Ministry for Finance.

Service de Presse — Press Service:

M. Bernardo BERGAMASCHI.

Premier Secrétaire de Légation — First Secretary of Legation.

Secrétaires — Secretaries:

M. Luigi CORTESE.

Premier Secrétaire de Légation — First Secretary of Legation.

M. Carlo Andrea SOARDI.

Consul.

M. Pio LO SAVIO.

Vice-Consul.

Le marquis Blasco LANZA D'AJETA.

Vice-Consul, Secrétaire particulier du baron Aloisi — Vice-Consul, Private Secretary to Baron Aloisi.

Le marquis Ruggero FARACE.

Attaché.

M. Giorgio CIRAOLO.

Attaché.

M. Aldo BONTEMPS.

Commissaire consulaire — Consular Commissioner.

JAPON — JAPAN

LETTONIE — LATVIA

Son Excellence M. Voldemars SALNAIS.

Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister for Foreign Affairs.

LETTONIE (suite) — LATVIA (cont.)

M. Wilhelms MUNTERS.

Ministre plénipotentiaire, Secrétaire général du Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Minister Plenipotentiary, Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

M. Jules FELDMANS.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Berne, Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations.

Secrétaire — Secretary:

M. Karlis KALNINS.

Secrétaire de la Délégation permanente auprès de la Société des Nations — Secretary of the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations.

LIBÉRIA

Son Excellence M. Louis Arthur GRIMES.

Secrétaire d'Etat — Secretary of State.

Son Excellence le docteur Antoine SOTTILE.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire, Délégué permanent à la Société des Nations et au Bureau international du Travail — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate to the League of Nations and the International Labour Office.

Son Excellence le baron Othon de BOGAERDE.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Paris — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris.

LITHUANIE — LITHUANIA

Son Excellence le docteur Dovas ZAUNIUS.

Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Son Excellence M. Petras KLIMAS.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Paris — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris.

Son Excellence M. Vaclovas SIDZIKAUSKAS.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Londres — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

Son Excellence M. Voldemaras ČARNECKIS.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Rome — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Rome.

Le professeur Mykolas RÖMERIS.

Recteur de l'Université de Kaunas — Chancellor of the University of Kaunas.

LUXEMBOURG — LUXEMBURG

Son Excellence M. Joseph BECH.

Ministre d'Etat, Président du Gouvernement, Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister of State, Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Son Excellence M. Emile REUTER.

Président de la Chambre des Députés, Ministre d'Etat honoraire — President of the Chamber of Deputies, Honorary Minister of State.

M. Gaston DIDERICH.

Député et Bourgmestre de la Ville de Luxembourg — Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Burgomaster of the City of Luxembourg.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

M. Albert WEHRER.

Docteur en droit, Conseiller de gouvernement — Doctor of Law, Governmental Adviser.

M. Charles VERMAIRE.

Consul à Genève — Consul at Geneva.

ÉTATS-UNIS DU MEXIQUE
UNITED STATES OF MEXICO

Le docteur Francisco CASTILLO NAJERA

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Paris, Représentant du Mexique au Conseil de la Société des Nations — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, Representative of Mexico on the Council of the League of Nations.

M. l'ingénieur Arturo PANI.

Consul général à Paris — Consul-General in Paris.

M. l'ingénieur Léon SALINAS.

Ancien Sous-Secrétaire de l'Industrie et du Commerce et des Finances — Former Under-Secretary for Industry and Commerce and for Finance.

Secrétaire — Secretary:

Le docteur Jaime TORRES BODET.

Deuxième Secrétaire de la Légation à Paris — Second Secretary of Legation in Paris.

NICARAGUA

M. Tomás Francisco MEDINA.

Ministre plénipotentiaire, Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations — Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations.

NORVÈGE — NORWAY

M. Joh. Ludw. MOWINCKEL.

Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

M. Carl Joachim HAMBRO.

Président du Storting — President of the Storting.

M. Jon SUNDBY.

Membre du Storting, ancien Ministre des Finances — Member of the Storting, former Minister for Finance.

NORVÈGE (suite) — NORWAY (cont.)

Suppléants — Substitutes:

M. Erik COLBAN.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Paris — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris.

M. Christian L. LANGE.

Docteur en philosophie, ancien Secrétaire général de l'Union interparlementaire — Doctor of Philosophy, former Secretary-General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

M^{me} Ingeborg AAS.

Docteur en médecine — Doctor of Medicine.

M. Hersleb BIRKELAND.

Conseiller de Légation, Représentant permanent auprès de la Société des Nations — Counsellor of Legation, Permanent Representative accredited to the League of Nations.

M. Rolf ANDVORD.

Chef de Division au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Head of Division at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Conseiller technique et premier Secrétaire — Expert and First Secretary:

M. Rolf ANDERSEN.

Secrétaire de la Légation à Londres — Secretary of the Legation in London.

Secrétaire adjoint — Assistant Secretary:

M. Henning SOLLIED.

Secrétaire au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

NOUVELLE-ZÉLANDE — NEW ZEALAND

Sir Thomas Mason WILFORD, K.C.M.G., K.C.

Haut Commissaire à Londres — High Commissioner in London.

Suppléant et Secrétaire — Substitute and Secretary:

Mr. C. KNOWLES.

PANAMA

Le docteur Raoul A. AMADOR.

Chargé d'affaires à Paris — Chargé d'affaires in Paris.

Le docteur Ernesto HOFFMAN.

Consul général à Genève — Consul-General in Geneva.

PARAGUAY

Son Excellence le docteur R. V. CABALLERO DE BEDOYA.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Paris, Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations.

PAYS-BAS — NETHERLANDS

Son Excellence le Jonkheer A. C. D. DE GRAEFF.

Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister for Foreign Affairs.

M. J. A. N. PATIJN.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Rome — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Rome.

M. J. LIMBURG.

Membre du Conseil d'Etat — Member of the Council of State.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

M. J. P. A. FRANÇOIS.

Chef de la Section des Affaires de la Société des Nations au Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Professeur extraordinaire à l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes commerciales à Rotterdam — Head of the League of Nations Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Extraordinary Professor at the School for Higher Commercial Studies at Rotterdam.

M. E. MORESCO.

Ancien Vice-Président du Conseil des Indes néerlandaises — Former Vice-President of the Council of the Netherlands Indies.

Suppléante et Secrétaire — Substitute and Secretary:

M^{me} C. A. KLUYVER.

Directeur au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

PÉROU — PERU

Son Excellence le docteur Luis MIRÓ QUESADA.

Ancien Ministre des Affaires étrangères, Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Berne, Délégué permanent à la Société des Nations — Former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berne, Permanent Delegate to the League of Nations.

Son Excellence M. Ventura GARCÍA CALDERÓN.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Paris — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris.

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General:

M. Pedro UGARTECHE.

Ancien Sous-Secrétaire des Affaires étrangères, Chef du Bureau permanent auprès de la Société des Nations — Former Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Head of the Permanent Office accredited to the League of Nations.

PERSE — PERSIA

Son Altesse Mohammad Ali Khan FOROUGHÍ.

Président du Conseil — Prime Minister.

Son Excellence Mirza Abol-Hassan Khan FOROUGHÍ¹.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Berne, Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations.

¹ Pendant l'absence de Son Altesse Mohammad Ali Khan Foroughi, la Délégation était présidée par son Excellence A. H. Foroughi — During the absence of His Highness Mohammad Ali Khan Foroughi, His Excellency A. H. Foroughi presided over the delegation.

PERSE (suite) — PERSIA (cont.)

M. Moussa Khan NOURY-ESFANDIARY.

Chef de la Section de la Société des Nations et des Traités au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Head of the League of Nations and Treaties Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Le colonel A. RIAZI.¹

Attaché militaire à Paris — Military Attaché in Paris.

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General:

M. Abdollah ENTEZAM.

Premier Secrétaire de la Légation à Berne — First Secretary at the Legation in Berne.

Expert:

M. PILOSSIAN.

Directeur général du monopole de l'opium de la Perse — Director-General of the Persian Opium Monopoly.

Secrétaires — Secretaries:

M. Nasrollah ENTEZAM-WAZIRI.

Premier Secrétaire de la Légation à Londres — First Secretary at the Legation in London.

M. Abdol-Hossein SARDARI.

Deuxième Secrétaire de Légation à Berne — Second Secretary of Legation in Berne.

M. Hossein Khan SAHEBE-DJÈME.

Troisième Secrétaire de Légation à Berne — Third Secretary of Legation in Berne.

Attachés:

M^{me} A. H. HÉKIMI.

Attachée à la Délégation permanente auprès de la Société des Nations — Attachée at the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations.

M. Djevad FOROUGHÍ.

POLOGNE — POLAND

Son Excellence M. Joseph BECK.

Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Son Excellence M. Edouard RACZYŃSKI².

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire, Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations.

Son Excellence M. Jean DE MODZELEWSKI.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Berne — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berne.

Le général Stanislas BURHARDT-BUKACKI³.

Membre de l'Inspectorat général des Forces armées, Délégué à la Conférence du désarmement — Member of the General Inspectorate of the Armed Forces, Delegate to the Disarmament Conference.

¹ Pendant la présence de Son Altesse Mohammad Ali Khan Foroughi à Genève, le colonel Riazi est devenu délégué suppléant — During the stay at Geneva of His Highness Mohammad Ali Khan Foroughi, Colonel Riazi acted as substitute delegate.

² Pendant l'absence de M. Beck, M. Raczyński est devenu chef de la délégation — During M. Beck's absence, M. Raczyński acted as head of the delegation.

³ Pendant la présence à Genève de M. Beck, le général Burhardt-Bukacki est devenu délégué suppléant — During M. Beck's presence at Geneva, General Burhardt-Bukacki became substitute delegate.

POLOGNE (*suite*) — POLAND (*cont.*)

Suppléants — Substitutes:

M. Roman DEBICKI.

Directeur du Cabinet du Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Director of the Bureau of the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

M. Antoine ROMAN.

Conseiller économique du Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Economic Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

M. Thadée GWIAZDOWSKI.

Chef de la Section des Organisations internationales au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Head of the International Organisations Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

M. Titus KOMARNICKI.

Docteur en droit, Secrétaire général de la Délégation à la Conférence du désarmement — Doctor of Law, Secretary-General of the Delegation to the Disarmament Conference.

M^{me} Hanna HUBICKA.

Sénateur — Senator.

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General:

M. Ladislas KULSKI.

Docteur en droit, Secrétaire de Légation à la Délégation auprès de la Société des Nations — Doctor of Law, Secretary of Legation at the Delegation accredited to the League of Nations.

Conseiller juridique — Legal Adviser:

M. Simon RUNDSTEIN.

Jurisconsulte du Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Legal Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Conseillers techniques — Experts:

M. Paul MORSTIN.

Conseiller au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Counsellor at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

M. Wladyslaw Józef ZALESKI.

Docteur en droit, Conseiller au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Doctor of Law, Counsellor at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

M. Henri STEBELSKI.

Attaché commercial à l'Ambassade à Paris — Commercial Attaché at the Embassy in Paris.

Chef du Service de Presse — Head of the Press Service:

M. Emil RUECKER.

Chef adjoint de la Section de Presse au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Assistant Head of the Press Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Secrétaires — Secretaries:

M. Antoine BALINSKI.

Attaché de Légation à la Délégation auprès de la Société des Nations — Attaché of Legation at the Delegation accredited to the League of Nations.

M. Jules FRIEDRICH.

Secrétaire du Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

PORTUGAL

Son Excellence le docteur Augusto DE VASCONCELLOS.

Ancien Président du Conseil, ancien Ministre des Affaires étrangères, Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire, Directeur général du Secrétariat portugais de la Société des Nations — Former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Director-General of the Portuguese Secretariat accredited to the League of Nations.

Son Excellence le docteur José Lobo d'AVILA LIMA.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Berne, Professeur aux Universités de Coimbra et de Lisbonne — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berne, Professor at the Universities of Coimbra and Lisbon.

Son Excellence le docteur José Capelo Franco FRAZÃO, comte DE PENHA GARCIA.

Ancien Ministre des Finances, ancien Président de la Chambre des Députés — Former Minister for Finance, former President of the Chamber of Deputies.

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General:

Le docteur Alexandre Magno FERRAZ DE ANDRADE.

Ministre plénipotentiaire, Chef du Bureau du Secrétariat portugais de la Société des Nations au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Minister Plenipotentiary, Head of the Office of the Portuguese Secretariat of the League of Nations at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Secrétaires — Secretaries:

M. Henrique Rezende DIAS DE OLIVEIRA.

Attaché à la Légation à Paris — Attaché at the Legation in Paris.

M. Jorge BAHIA.

Attaché de Légation au Service du Bureau de la Chancellerie portugaise auprès de la Société des Nations — Attaché of Legation at the Portuguese Service accredited to the League of Nations.

ROUMANIE — ROUMANIA

Son Excellence M. Nicolas TITULESCO.

Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Son Excellence M. Savel RADULESCO.

Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Son Excellence M. Constantin ANTONIADE.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire auprès de la Société des Nations — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the League of Nations.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

M^{lle} Hélène VACARESCO.

Membre de l'Académie roumaine — Member of the Roumanian Academy.

Son Excellence M. Constantin VISOIANU.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à La Haye — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at The Hague.

ROUMANIE (suite) — ROUMANIA (cont.)

Suppléants (suite) — Substitutes (cont.):

Son Excellence M. Eugène NECULCEA.
Ministre plénipotentiaire — Minister Plenipotentiary.

M. V. V. PELLA.
Professeur universitaire — University Professor.

Conseiller technique — Expert:

M. Edmond CIUNTU.
Conseiller de Légation — Counsellor of Legation.

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General:

M. Démètre BUZDUGAN.
Premier Secrétaire de Légation — First Secretary of Legation.

Secrétaires — Secretaries:

M. Nicolas HIOTT.
Secrétaire de Légation — Secretary of Legation.

M. Gr. NICOLESCO-BUZESTI.
Secrétaire de Légation — Secretary of Legation.

SALVADOR

Le docteur Joaquin PAREDES.
Chargé d'Affaires à Paris — Chargé d'Affaires at Paris.

SIAM

Son Excellence Phya Subarn SOMPATI.
Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Londres. Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London. Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations.

Suppléant — Substitute:

Luang BHADRAVADI.
Secrétaire à la Légation à Londres — Secretary at the Legation in London.

SUÈDE — SWEDEN

Son Excellence M. R. J. SANDLER.
Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister for Foreign Affairs.

M. B. Oesten UNDÉN¹.
Ministre sans portefeuille, ancien Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister without portfolio, former Minister for Foreign Affairs.

M. N. R. WOHLIN.
Membre de la Première Chambre du Riksdag, ancien Ministre des Finances — Member of the First Chamber of the Riksdag, former Minister for Finance.

¹ En l'absence de M. Sandler, M. Undén l'a remplacé.
— In the absence of M. Sandler, M. Undén replaced him.

SUÈDE (suite) — SWEDEN (cont.)

Mlle Kerstin HESSELGREN.

Membre de la Première Chambre du Riksdag — Member of the First Chamber of the Riksdag.

Suppléants — Substitutes:

M. A. G. F. VOUGT.
Membre de la Deuxième Chambre du Riksdag — Member of the Second Chamber of the Riksdag.

M. K. I. WESTMAN.
Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Berne — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne.

M. E. C. BOHEMAN.
Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Ankara, Sofia et Athènes — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Ankara, Sofia and Athens.

Secrétaires — Secretaries:

M. C. O. JOHANSSON.
Service de Presse, Premier Secrétaire au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Press Service, First Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

M. P. G. A. WIJKMAN.
Premier Secrétaire au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — First Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

M. S. J. SÖDERBLOM.
Premier Secrétaire au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — First Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

SUISSE — SWITZERLAND

Son Excellence M. Giuseppe MOTTA.
Chef du Département politique — Head of the Political Department.

M. William RAPPARD.
Directeur de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes internationales — Director of the Institute for Higher International Studies.

M. Walter STUCKI.
Ministre plénipotentiaire, Directeur de la Division du Commerce — Minister Plenipotentiary, Director of the Commercial Division.

Suppléant — Substitute:

M. Robert SCHÖPFER.
Conseiller aux Etats — Member of the Council of States.

Suppléant et Secrétaire général — Substitute and Secretary-General:

M. Camille GORGÉ.
Chef de Section de première classe au Département politique — Head of Section in the Political Department (First Class).

Secrétaire — Secretary:

M. Philippe ZUTTER.
Juriste au Département politique — Lawyer in the Political Department.

TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE — CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Son Excellence M. Eduard BENEŠ.

Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Son Excellence M. Štefan OSUSKÝ.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Paris — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris.

Son Excellence M. Rudolf KÜNZL-JIZERSKÝ.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Berne, Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations.

Secrétaire particulier de M. Beneš — Private Secretary to M. Beneš:

M. Vladimír KUČERA.

Chef du Cabinet du Ministre des Affaires étrangères — "Chef du Cabinet" to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General:

M. Arnošt HEIDRICH.

Chef du Service de la Société des Nations au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Head of the League of Nations Service at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Secrétaire — Secretary:

M. Bohuslav VEČERKA.

Secrétaire au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

TURQUIE — TURKEY

Son Excellence Tevfik RÜSTÜ Bey.

Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Son Excellence Cemal HÜSNÜ Bey¹.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Berne — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berne.

Necmeddin SADIK Bey.

Député — Member of the Chamber of Deputies.

¹ En l'absence de Tevfik Rüstü bey, Cemal Hüsnü bey a assumé la présidence de la délégation — In the absence of Tevfik Rüstü Bey, Cemal Hüsnü Bey acted as President of the Delegation.

URUGUAY

Son Excellence le docteur Alberto GUANI.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire en France — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France.

Son Excellence le docteur Alfredo DE CASTRO.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire en Suisse, en Belgique et aux Pays-Bas — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands.

Le docteur Blás VIDAL.

Ancien Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Former Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Suppléant et Secrétaire général — Substitute and Secretary-General:

M. Adolfo SIENRA.

Secrétaire de Légation à Paris — Secretary of Legation in Paris.

VENEZUELA

Son Excellence le docteur Diógenes ESCALANTE.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Londres — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London.

Son Excellence le docteur C. PARRA PÉREZ.

Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire à Rome — Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Rome.

Le docteur L. G. CHACÍN ITRIAGO.

Chargé d'affaires à Berne — Chargé d'Affaires in Berne.

Secrétaires — Secretaries:

Le docteur Arturo UZLAR PIETRI.

Attaché à la Légation à Paris — Attaché at the Legation in Paris.

M. J. V. LÓPEZ RODRIGUEZ, Jr.

Deuxième Secrétaire à la Légation à Londres — Second Secretary at the Legation in London.

YUGOSLAVIE — YUGOSLAVIA

Son Excellence M. Bogolioub YEVTITCH.

Ministre des Affaires étrangères — Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Le docteur Marko KOSTRENTCHITCH.

Sénateur, ancien Ministre — Senator, former Minister.

Le docteur Miroslav PLOY.

Sénateur — Senator.

YOUgosLAVIE (*suite*) — YUGOSLAVIA (*cont.*)

Son Excellence M. Constantin FOTITCH¹.

Ministre plénipotentiaire, Délégué permanent auprès de la Société des Nations — Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations.

Délégué adjoint — Assistant Delegate:

Le docteur Milan TODOROVITCH.

Professeur à l'Université de Belgrade — Professor at the University of Belgrade.

Conseiller technique — Expert:

Le docteur Ivan PERNE.

Chef de la Section pour la Société des Nations au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Head of the League of Nations Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

¹ Pendant la présence à Genève de M. Yevtitch, M. Fotitch est devenu délégué suppléant — During the presence at Geneva of M. Yevtitch, M. Fotitch acted as substitute delegate.

YOUgosLAVIE (*suite*) — YUGOSLAVIA (*cont.*)

Secrétaire général — Secretary-General:

M. Milan STEVANOVITCH.

Premier Secrétaire à la Délégation permanente auprès de la Société des Nations — First Secretary at the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations.

Secrétaire particulier de M. Yevtitch — Private Secretary to M. Yevtitch:

M. Vladislav MARKOVITCH.

Chef du Cabinet du Ministre des Affaires étrangères — "Chef du Cabinet" to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Secrétaire — Secretary:

Le docteur Slavko STOYKOVITCH.

Secrétaire au Ministère des Affaires étrangères — Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSEMBLY

President:

Mr. C. T. TE WATER (Union of South Africa).

Vice-Presidents elected by the Assembly:

M. DALADIER (France).

Baron VON NEURATH (Germany).

Sir John SIMON (United Kingdom).

Baron ALOISI (Italy).

M. CASTILLO NAJERA (Mexico).

His Highness Ali Khan FOROUGHI (Persia).

Chairmen of the Committees and ex officio Vice-Presidents of the Assembly:

M. MOTTA (Switzerland).

Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium).

M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).

Mlle. HESSELGREN (Sweden).

M. DE MADARIAGA (Spain).

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations:

M. J. AVENOL.

The President and the eleven Vice-Presidents constituted, with M. Avenol, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, the General Committee of the Assembly.

In accordance with decisions taken at its first meeting by the Assembly, the Chairman of the Agenda Committee, M. MIKOFF (Bulgaria), and the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, M. SALNAIS (Latvia), were appointed members of the General Committee of the Assembly.

TEXT OF THE DEBATES

FIRST PLENARY MEETING

Monday, September 25th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

CONTENTS :

1. OPENING OF THE ASSEMBLY.
2. ELECTION OF THE COMMITTEE TO REPORT ON THE CREDENTIALS OF THE DELEGATES.
3. OPENING SPEECH BY M. MOWINCKEL, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.
4. CREDENTIALS OF DELEGATES :
Report of the Committee on Credentials.
5. ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE FOURTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY.
6. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.
7. TRIBUTE TO THE LATE M. DE AGÜERO Y BETHAN-COURT, FORMER DELEGATE OF CUBA.
8. TRIBUTE TO THE LATE COUNT APPONYI, FORMER DELEGATE OF HUNGARY.
9. AGENDA : EXAMINATION AND ADOPTION.
10. CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMITTEES.
11. AGENDA COMMITTEE : APPOINTMENT.
12. APPOINTMENT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE AS A MEMBER OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY.
13. APPOINTMENT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE AS A MEMBER OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY.
14. ELECTION OF THE CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES.
Communication by the President.

Chairman : M. MOWINCKEL (Norway)
(President of the Council).

1. — OPENING OF THE ASSEMBLY.

M. Mowinckel, delegate of Norway, President of the Council, took the Chair.

The Chairman :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen, — In my capacity as President of the Council, I have the honour to declare open the fourteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

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

The Chairman :

Translation : The first item on the agenda is the election of the Committee to report on the credentials of the delegates.

According to the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, this Committee should be elected by secret ballot. There have, however, been frequent exceptions to this rule ; and, in view of the precedents, and in accordance with established usage, I feel that the Assembly will have no objection to my endeavouring to facilitate its decision without in any way attempting to influence its choice.

I therefore feel that I shall only be anticipating the wishes of the delegations in submitting a list consisting of eight names as follows :

His Excellency Mirza Abol-Hassan Khan FOROUGHI (Persia) ;
M. Gaston DIDERICH (Luxemburg) ;
Mlle. Kerstin HESSELGREN (Sweden) ;
M. CHACÍN ITRIAGO (Venezuela) ;
M. Arturo PANI (Mexico) ;
His Excellency M. QUO TAI-CHI (China) ;
His Excellency M. SALNAIS (Latvia) ;
Mr. H. J. SHEEHAN (Australia).

As no objection has been raised, I think I may conclude that the Assembly has decided that the Committee on Credentials shall consist of the delegates whose names I have just read.

The list proposed by the Chairman was adopted.

The Chairman :

Translation : My intention in proposing that the Assembly should proceed immediately to constitute the Committee on Credentials was to expedite

the proceedings and to allow the Committee to accomplish its work in the most favourable conditions possible. The members of the Committee on Credentials will therefore be good enough to meet at once in order that they may submit their report at the earliest possible moment.

3. — OPENING SPEECH BY M. MOWINCKEL, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.

The Chairman :

Translation : Since the last session of the Assembly there has been a great change in the Secretariat of the League of Nations. Sir Eric Drummond, amid general tributes of regret, has retired from the position of Secretary-General.

His place has been taken by M. Avenol ; and I desire to avail myself of this opportunity of extending to him a warm greeting and every good wish for the fulfilment of the great and weighty task he has in hand. M. Avenol is not a newcomer to the League. He is known to us all ; and I feel sure I am expressing the sentiments of all Governments here represented when I tell him that it is with the greatest satisfaction that we welcome him as Secretary-General, looking forward as we do with confidence to the contribution he will assuredly make to the development of the League's great work in the world.

The Report which the Secretary-General has submitted gives us a vivid impression of the extensive and varied work done by the League in the year that has elapsed since the last session of the Assembly. Those of us who have followed this work at close quarters are aware of its importance and of the great influence it exercises on international relations.

In his opening address last year, the President of the Council, Mr. de Valera, laid much stress on the importance attaching to the attitude of public opinion towards the League, and he very properly took the view that it was of the utmost consequence that that attitude should be favourable.

If we ask ourselves what is the present prestige of the League, what weight it carries with public opinion, it is impossible not to feel that its position has unhappily not improved since this time a year ago. We who have faith in the great mission of the League can only regret that this should be so, and recognise it as our primary duty to do all that in us lies to improve and strengthen the League's credit in the eyes of the world.

The reason for this regrettable situation is not far to seek. What interests the public and commands its attention is not the day-to-day work of the League (and, in particular, of the Secretariat), admirable and important though that is, but the League's power to establish a better understanding between nations and to consolidate and safeguard that peace, and that will to peace, which the peoples of the world are anxious, despite every obstacle, to preserve. In other words, it is the big events within the compass of the League's activities that attract the attention of the general public.

The fact, therefore, that the League, notwithstanding the manifold and genuine attempts it has made, has not succeeded in improving the situation in the Far East was not calculated to strengthen its position in the eyes of the world ; and the effect of the disillusionments to which the situation in Europe itself has given rise is perhaps even worse. Fifteen years after the close of that fratricidal crime, the world war, we find to our shame that we have made little progress towards securing a better understanding, a purer atmosphere and a healthier mentality among peoples. On the contrary, the

thought of war and the possibility of war are ever present, looming over the future as a constant menace. The consequence, unfair, indeed, but none the less natural, is that the peoples of the world blame the League, in which they had reposed such great hopes. They had looked to it as the instrument which would create a new and a better Europe in which war would be inconceivable and impossible.

It was on the strength of this conception that great things were expected both of the Disarmament Conference and of the London Economic Conference, which, it was anticipated, would mark important stages in the consolidation of peace and of the future of the world. Now that the results of these great efforts, inaugurated with such high hopes, are seen to be negative rather than positive, the spread of disillusionment and discouragement is easy to understand. One after another, nations are asking if the forces which should collaborate for peace and better relations between countries are really so feeble, if the men in whose hands the direction of national destinies lie have not learnt their lesson from the misfortunes of the past.

It is, indeed, becoming more and more evident to the public in every country that the possibility of keeping the peace depends as much on economic as on military disarmament. Many persons there assuredly are who no longer believe in military disarmament properly so-called — and that despite the obligations, moral as well as legal, which bind countries to carry out such disarmament — until the conditions of the world's economic system and international trade have been placed on a sound basis. Undeniably the distress and unemployment which prevail everywhere, as a result of the economic and commercial crisis are helping to increase the political dissensions between nations.

If, on the other hand, the economic atmosphere were to become more tolerable, a happier and more optimistic political mentality would follow, and would have favourable effects on international relations in general. It is for this very reason that the negative result of the London Conference is so regrettable. The disappointment to which it has given rise has made public opinion throughout the world increasingly pessimistic ; and that in its turn has inevitably had an adverse effect on the League.

True, some hope may be founded on the fact that the past year has, after all, shown certain symptoms of economic progress and of a less depressing atmosphere in the realm of commercial policy. For example, according to the Secretariat's estimates, world industry increased its production by nearly 30 per cent during the year June 1932 to June 1933. International trade is also showing signs of improvement and there is greater activity in shipping. All this has brought a certain relief, and, if this evolution could be followed up by a more liberal commercial policy, we might look forward to the future without too much apprehension.

To revert to the matter of the organisation of large international conferences, the question surely arises whether a mistake has not been made in the preparation of these conferences, which were awaited with so much hope, so that the lack of result was doubly disappointing. Everything seemed so well prepared from the technical point of view : the different questions had been previously discussed by the experts, the programme was carefully drawn up, solutions were proposed and — what was the result ?

The explanation is perhaps to be found in the fact that it will always be difficult to reach an agreement when so many States are gathered together to discuss matters freely at conferences of this nature. New light may be thrown on many

questions and a solid basis may be provided for a solution; but the positive result which is expected of the conference itself is not achieved. The reason is that it has not been possible to establish in advance a basis of co-operation between those States which, through their importance and their power, exercise a decisive influence in the world. When even those States — or perhaps particularly those States — come to big conferences with views that are difficult to reconcile, it may be said in advance that it will not be possible — even if all the others are agreed — to arrive at fruitful results. To quote one concrete example: if the group consisting of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Germany, France and Italy had come to an agreement beforehand on the stabilisation of the dollar and sterling and on the values of the other currencies in relation to these, this would have provided so solid a basis for the restoration of the world economic system and for the revival of international trade that that measure alone would have sufficed to make the Economic Conference a success. As various conditions necessary to the realisation of such a plan were not yet present, we may well ask whether it would not have been better to postpone the Conference. Such a postponement would certainly have had a less depressing influence on world opinion and on its attitude to the League. No doubt there are also other economic and commercial questions which are of great importance for peace, especially those relating to the restoration of world trade itself, to the exchange of goods between countries and to the problem of debts. If no better results have been achieved with these questions either, the reason once more is to be found in the absence of previous agreement and in the fact that it had not proved possible to reach an international monetary understanding.

The remarks which I have felt it my duty to make with regard to the World Economic Conference also apply to the Disarmament Conference. The latter has been in session for a year and a-half, and the impression created among the peoples of the world by the fact that this vast enterprise has not yet yielded any concrete results is so discouraging that it may well be asked whether the Conference — if it should close without having accomplished at least some part of its task — will not have done more harm than good to the prestige of the League. We must, of course, still cherish the ardent hope that the Conference will bring a positive and happy result. But, once again, it would undoubtedly have been better for all concerned if the group of States called upon to take the lead had been able to agree beforehand on a positive and definite programme. Everyone knows that if those States had been able to reach agreement, no proposal relating to disarmament would have failed for lack of support from other countries.

It is on the basis of these considerations, closely related as they are to the views which led to the conclusion of the so-called Four-Power Pact, that in my country — in spite of apprehensions as to the form of the Pact — we welcomed its conclusion within the framework of the League of Nations. It is not necessary to have much knowledge of international affairs to see that the whole world will feel the effects of such results as these four Powers are able to achieve in the development of co-operation and of economic and political *rapprochement*. It has often been said that the differences between Germany and France are the cause of all our troubles. For that reason we have known no happier days in the existence of the League of Nations than those in which Stresemann and Briand came together. And for the same reason

we place great hopes in the Four-Power Pact as a means of removing differences and of bringing about understanding and perhaps even friendship.

This Pact, inspired by goodwill and a spirit of justice — the goodwill and spirit of Locarno — can contribute enormously to bringing back mutual understanding and co-operation in our torn and divided Europe, where the words *equality* and *fraternity* are relics of a bygone day and where even the most sacred rights of liberty — liberty of thought and personal liberty — are not everywhere secure.

It is with the ardent wish to see the League of Nations become stronger and its influence and authority greater that I have made these few remarks.

Fortunately, there are not only dark spots in the picture which I have to put before you, even in the political sphere. Do not the Council's efforts allow us to hope for a solution of the conflict which at one time threatened to lead to strife between Colombia and Peru? Should we not congratulate ourselves on the perseverance displayed by the Council in its numerous endeavours to settle another conflict which threatens to divide two other countries of Latin America — Bolivia and Paraguay — and to expose the maintenance of peace in that continent to grave dangers? Is it not also to the Council's intervention that we owe the procedure enabling the dispute which arose during the year between the United Kingdom and Persia to be settled?

I cannot conclude these remarks on the political situation without expressing my gratification at the co-operation which the United States of America has given us in the course of the year. This co-operation has never been so important, so close and so varied, and I am sure that you will all agree with me when I express the hope that it will continue to be even closer in the future.

The constant progress in the development and reinforcement of international justice is also a cause for great satisfaction. The League's work in this sphere and the results obtained do not always attract much public attention; but by the tradition they establish these results nevertheless represent an important step towards the replacement of force by justice in the settlement of international disputes. As regards the Northern countries, we may recall with satisfaction that the award of the Permanent Court of International Justice in the case of Eastern Greenland was accepted without question as the best method of settling a dispute between two countries.

Are not these examples which deserve to be followed in the wider field of bigger and more serious disputes? More energetic and deliberate efforts in this sphere, where progress seems possible, would greatly promote a sense of security and would thus render military disarmament more easily conceivable. The strengthening of the system of international justice and the creation of machinery for the execution of its decisions will lead in the international field, by a natural process of evolution, to conditions similar to those which arise as a matter of course in individual States as their judicial organs are progressively perfected, gaining thereby in strength and authority and providing that complete assurance of the firm and reliable protection of the law which alone can induce the individual to forgo taking the law in his own hands.

It is the growing application of law and justice, and confidence in their power to settle international, as well as national, differences which keep our faith in the League ardent and alive. In spite of

disillusionments, in spite of the general disappointment that prevails, every responsible person knows that we have in the League a marvellous instrument, and must feel that we are bound to continue to do all that lies in our power to keep it strong and effective. We who hope and believe in a future where peace and understanding will rule, we who know that our civilisation and our happiness depend on this peace and understanding, are in duty bound to put all our strength and energy at the service of this task in order to carry it through to success. On us assembled here to-day devolves, as on no one else, the duty of fostering this work.

As Gustav Stresemann said, speaking for the last time in the Assembly on September 9th, 1929 :

“ It is our prosaic duty to bring the peoples nearer together and bridge over their differences. ”

We know too that he was right when he said :

“ It is work that will not be done at once nor by empty enthusiasm alone. ”

As the foundation for such work, it is above all necessary to develop the spirit of peace and understanding among all peoples ; and this foundation has to be laid, not only in the schools, but also in every home. Aristide Briand, in his warm appeal to women and mothers at the 1929 Assembly, said :

“ When children are taught to love peace, to respect other nations and to look for what men have in common rather than for their points of difference, we shall no longer need to apportion guarantees or to apply Article 8 of the Covenant. *Peace will already be enthroned among the nations.* ”

(The Assembly adjourned from 11.5 to 11.50 a.m.)

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

The Chairman :

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

I call upon the Chairman of the Committee M. Salnais, to read his report.

M. Salnais (Latvia), Chairman and Rapporteur of the Committee on Credentials. — The Committee appointed by the Assembly to report on the credentials of delegates met to-day at 10.45 a.m. in the President's office. I was elected Chairman and was entrusted with the duty of drawing up the report.

After examining the documents transmitted to it by the Secretary-General, the Committee found that the following States Members are represented by delegates duly appointed in virtue of the full powers accorded to them by the heads of their respective States :

Australia, Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, India, Irish Free State, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland Siam, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, Yugoslavia.

The Committee also found that the following States Members have accredited their delegates

either by a letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, a telegram from the same source, or else from permanent delegates accredited to the League of Nations :

Abyssinia, Union of South Africa, Albania, United Kingdom, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, Iraq, Italy, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Peru, Portugal, Roumania, Salvador, Turkey, Venezuela.

The Committee considers that the representatives of these States Members of the League are fully accredited to take part in the work of the fourteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

The following States Members have not as yet accredited delegates to the Assembly :

The Argentine Republic, Honduras and Japan.

The Committee is glad to note that a large number of delegations are accredited by full powers granted by the Heads of States.

The Committee further remarked that certain delegates to the Assembly have been accredited by letters signed by themselves both now and in the past. The Committee desires to draw the attention of the Assembly to this practice and ventures to hope that in future all delegates will present full powers or credentials issued by their respective Governments.

The Chairman :

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

Does anyone wish to speak on the conclusions of the report ?

The conclusions of the report were adopted.

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

The Chairman :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the election of the President of the fourteenth ordinary session of the Assembly. In conformity with the Rules of Procedure, voting will be by secret ballot.

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

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

The Chairman :

Translation : In the first place I wish to thank the tellers for their kind assistance.

The result of the voting is as follows :

Number of States voting . . .	53
Valid votes	53
Absolute majority	27

Mr. te Water, first delegate of South Africa, obtained 30 votes.

M. Castillo Najera, first delegate of the United States of Mexico, obtained 20 votes.

Other votes : 3.

I congratulate the delegate of South Africa on his election. I am sure that, under his direction, the Assembly will achieve valuable results.

I have the honour, therefore, in accordance with the Rules of Procedure, to declare that Mr. te Water, delegate of South Africa, is elected President of the Assembly.

I call upon Mr. te Water to take the Chair as President of the Assembly.

(*Mr. te Water took the Presidential Chair.*)

6. — PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

The President. — It would hardly be right of me to say that I arrived in Geneva this morning prepared for this very great honour that has been done to my country and to myself. Therefore, I wish to warn you at once that I come to this Chair ill prepared for the duties which are about to be placed upon my shoulders. But at the same time, if these are your President's disadvantages, may I say I will make every endeavour to carry out my duties as President without fear, favour or prejudice.

If, in the past, the voice of my country in your deliberations has been a small one, that is not due to any desire on its part not to take the closest interest in the affairs of the League of Nations. Moreover, South Africa is a country which has known war. It has experienced all the bitterness that war brings to a people, but it has experienced something greater than that. In its latter days, it has experienced a peace which has obliterated the past, and, in that sense, may I offer the present situation in my country as an example to many of the greater countries which have not been able to settle their disputes with one another?

I shall bring to my task the experience, not of a European country, but of one of those countries beyond the seas which form in themselves a small League of Nations. I refer to that group of young countries which comprise the British Commonwealth of Nations. May I say this, that there is no group of nations which is more determined to keep before themselves and before the world the peaceful outlook than those peoples? My own country is one of the smallest of this group of nations, but I again say that it is not one of those which, on that account, is least interested in the maintenance of peace.

Finally, may I also say this (I do not wish to delay the proceedings of this Assembly) that though I can ill follow in the steps of the President who carried out his duties so ably from this seat last year, I would wish to offer him our congratulations on the splendid way in which he performed those duties?

With these few words and the expression again of my determination to do my duty here to the best of my ability, and with my renewed thanks to you for the great and signal honour you have done to my country, I propose to resume my seat and the ordinary business of the Assembly.

7. — TRIBUTE TO THE LATE M. DE AGÜERO Y BETHANCOURT, FORMER DELEGATE OF CUBA.

The President. — Before we adjourn our deliberations for ten minutes, I wish to call upon M. de Madariaga, delegate of Spain, to say a few words with regard to the loss by death of our late colleague, M. de Agüero y Bethancourt, delegate of Cuba.

M. de Madariaga (Spain):

Translation: Since the last Assembly we have suffered the loss of one of our oldest and most faithful colleagues. The figure and the personality of His Excellency Aristides de Agüero y Bethancourt, delegate of Cuba, Minister in Berlin, and representative of the Republic of Cuba to the League of Nations from its beginning, were so well known to you, and you have all been such loyal friends of this valued fellow-worker of ours, who brought such life into our meetings, that I need not speak of him at length from this platform to-day.

I will therefore merely express on behalf of my country — I am sure I shall be interpreting the feelings of you all — our sorrow at the loss of our great friend. I trust you will all agree with me that our sympathy should be conveyed to his family and to his country.

The President. — His Excellency M. Carlos de Armenteros, delegate of Cuba, will address the Assembly.

M. de Armenteros (Cuba):

Translation: I am so deeply moved by M. de Madariaga's words, which have affected me more than I can say, that I have the greatest difficulty in replying to the tribute he has paid.

His words moved me for two reasons — in the first place, they renew the sorrow I feel not only as a Cuban but also because I was M. de Agüero y Bethancourt's pupil, and afterwards his colleague for some years; and, secondly, it was M. de Madariaga, the Ambassador of Spain, who spoke of our late friend. It is quite natural that it should have fallen to the Spanish representative to speak of M. de Agüero y Bethancourt, for Spain is our mother-country and has always evinced a great interest in us.

I should like to thank M. de Madariaga and the Assembly on whose behalf he has spoken. I thank him on behalf of the Cuban people, of the Cuban Government, of M. de Agüero y Bethancourt's family, and in particular on behalf of his wife, whose grief is commensurate with her admiration for her husband. I would also like to thank M. de Madariaga on my own behalf, as the pupil, friend and colleague of M. de Agüero y Bethancourt for fourteen years.

8. — TRIBUTE TO THE LATE COUNT APPONYI, FORMER DELEGATE OF HUNGARY.

The President. — I now call upon M. Motta, delegate of Switzerland, to say a few words about Count Apponyi.

M. Motta (Switzerland):

Translation: It is with keen emotion that I come to this platform. We have just evoked the memory of a fine and noble figure, a man who was one of the most devoted and faithful servants of the cause we all serve. I know, from what was told me, that, on his death-bed, he urged one of his most intimate friends never to forget the cause of the League of Nations, to which his country would always remain faithful, whatever difficulties might arise.

But I should also like to call up before you another great and noble figure: that of Count Apponyi, of whom patriotism and love of humanity were blended in perfect harmony.

Count Apponyi died during the Disarmament Conference, at which he represented his country.

I have never forgotten how, a few days before his death, he made a speech at Vienna in which he affirmed with singular brilliance and profound sincerity his devotion to the League of Nations. He told the young people whom he was addressing that, despite all the difficulties and distresses of the times, they must retain their faith in that great organ of international collaboration.

I venture to tender from this platform — and I am sure I am voicing the feelings of you all — our respectful tribute and the expression of our deep sympathy to Countess Apponyi, who is carrying on her husband's work among us.

The President. — General Táncoz, delegate of Hungary, will address the Assembly.

General Táncoz (Hungary):

Translation: M. Motta's words went straight to my heart. The man whose memory he has once more evoked was a great patriot and a great Hungarian; but he was also a great servant of peace and a tireless worker in the cause of the League of Nations. He has bequeathed to us all that he believed and felt, and of that we hold ourselves trustees for all time.

I should like to convey to President Motta the personal thanks of Countess Albert Apponyi.

The President — Gentlemen, as a mark of our respect for the memory of these two most valued colleagues, M. de Agüero y Bethancourt and Count Apponyi, I would ask you to rise in your places for a moment.

(The members of the Assembly rose from their seats in token of respect.)

(The Assembly adjourned from 12.40 p.m. to 1 p.m.)

9. — AGENDA: EXAMINATION AND ADOPTION.

The President. — In accordance with precedents, I have just approved a note which will be communicated to the delegations. Its object is to give some idea of the proposals which I intend to submit to them with regard to the various questions on the agenda of the present session.

Since the members of the Assembly have before them the note which has been circulated, I will ask them to take a decision on the first question on that list, namely, the adoption of the agenda (document A.2(1).1933).

In view of one of the measures taken at the beginning of the thirteenth session relating to the withdrawal of a question from the agenda, I would propose that the Assembly, for the same reasons as those given by my predecessor in 1932, should withdraw from the agenda of this session and refer to the next ordinary session question No. 5 of the list which has been given to the delegations — namely, "Amendment of the Covenant of the League of Nations in order to bring it into Harmony with the Pact of Paris."

It has not been possible to carry out the preparatory study for the discussion of this question by the Assembly. In these circumstances, if the Assembly shares this view, it might decide, without any other formalities, to adjourn this question to its next ordinary session.

If there are no observations, I shall take it that the delegations agree to this suggestion.

The President's proposal was adopted.

The President. — In order to save time, and unless a delegation asks that they should be taken separately, I would request the Assembly to decide *en bloc* on the list of questions on the agenda — namely, Items 1 to 22, with the exception, naturally, of the question withdrawn.

We should add the supplementary list of questions which has been circulated in accordance with paragraph 3 of Article 4 of the Rules of Procedure. There is only one question of that kind mentioned in document A.2(1): "The Chilean Government's proposal concerning the Nationality of Women" (Item 23).

If there is no objection, I shall regard the agenda of the fourteenth ordinary session of the Assembly as just proposed, as adopted.

The agenda as amended was adopted.

10. — CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMITTEES.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the constitution of Committees.

The procedure established at previous Assemblies is to set up six Committees; but, for reasons of expediency, the President of the thirteenth ordinary Assembly proposed only to set up five. The circumstances which gave rise to this decision are the same to-day. The questions relating to the reduction of armaments are still the subject of studies and negotiations in the various bodies set up by the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. In these circumstances, it seems to me, at first sight at all events, that the Assembly will not consider it desirable to appoint a Committee to discuss the same subjects.

M. Lange (Norway):

Translation: I have no objection to the immediate adoption of the President's proposal, but it seems to me that it would be premature to decide definitely not to set up a Third Committee. In my view, this question should be left open. Under the Rules of Procedure, the Assembly has the right at any time to set up Committees, and I venture to suggest that the question of setting up new permanent committees should be left open until the end of the general discussion, which may bring up matters necessitating the appointment of a Third Committee.

The President. — I would explain to M. Lange that the proposal made by me a few moments ago is not a definite decision. I would not, however, like to have any debate on the subject at the present moment; it might definitely be raised later.

The proposal is that we should do as was done last year and not constitute a Third Committee. If it subsequently proves desirable to constitute this Committee, I shall immediately put to the Assembly proposals to that effect.

Thus, if there is no objection, I propose that the Assembly should immediately set up five Committees, which will keep the same numbering with reference to their work as at previous sessions — the first to deal with constitutional and legal questions; the second, with the work of the technical

organisations; the fourth with the organisation of the Secretariat and of the League's finances; the fifth, with social and humanitarian questions, and the sixth, with political questions.

In order to depart as little as possible from the procedure adopted at previous sessions, I propose that the Assembly should arrange for the meetings of the Committees to alternate as follows: the First, Second and Sixth Committees would meet at the same time, and so would the Fourth and Fifth Committees.

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

The President's proposals were adopted.

The President. — The delegations have doubtless already been requested to send to the Secretariat the forms on which they have entered the names of their representatives and substitutes on each Committee. The lists of members of Committees will be drawn up as quickly as possible, and the Committees will meet in this hall this afternoon to elect their respective Chairmen.

11. — AGENDA COMMITTEE: APPOINTMENT.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the constitution of the Agenda Committee. Following the practice of my predecessors, I propose that a small Committee of seven members be set up to formulate proposals for the procedure to be followed as regards the placing of new questions on the Assembly's agenda.

If the Assembly is agreed, and if no delegation desires to suggest names for this Committee, I will, in accordance with precedent, venture to propose a list of names as follows:

M. BOURQUIN (Belgium);
M. BRACHE (Dominican Republic);
M. GAUS (Germany);
M. MIKOFF (Bulgaria);
M. MASSIGLI (France);
Mr. Philippe ROY (Canada);
M. HOLSTI (Finland).

The proposed list was adopted.

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

The President. — At its last six sessions, the Assembly has decided that the Chairman of the Agenda Committee should sit as a member of the

General Committee of the Assembly, together with the Chairmen of the six ordinary Committees of the Assembly and the six Vice-Presidents elected by it. I would ask the Assembly whether it agrees, in accordance with precedent, that the Chairman of the Agenda Committee should, at the present session, also sit as a member of the General Committee of the Assembly.

The President's proposal was adopted.

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

The President. — The Assembly has always desired that as many delegations as possible should be represented on its General Committee, and that those eminent persons who have taken an active part in its procedure should take part in the discussions of the General Committee.

It seems to me that, as this year the General Committee will have one member less by reason of the absence of the Third Committee, the Assembly might desire, as an exceptional measure, to call on the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, who has already given us very valuable assistance, to serve on the General Committee. The Committee on Credentials would certainly regard such a decision as a mark of our gratitude and of our appreciation of the delicate work which it has carried out so effectively.

If there are no objections, I take it that the Assembly agrees to this proposal, and that M. Salnais, who has already been elected Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, is to be a member of the General Committee of the Assembly when it is set up.

The President's proposal was adopted.

14. — ELECTION OF THE CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES: COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President. — I would like to remind delegations of the programme of work for this afternoon.

The Committees will meet successively at intervals of twenty minutes, in this hall, to elect their Chairmen.

First Committee at 3.30 p.m.,
Second Committee at 3.50 p.m.,
Fourth Committee at 4.10 p.m.,
Fifth Committee at 4.30 p.m.,
Sixth Committee at 4.50 p.m.,
Agenda Committee at 5.10 p.m.

(The Assembly rose at 1.20 p.m.)

SECOND PLENARY MEETING

Monday, September 25th, 1933, at 5.30 p.m.

CONTENTS :

- 15. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE NAMES OF THE CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES.
- 16. ELECTION OF THE SIX VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSEMBLY.
- 17. COMPOSITION OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY.
- 18. AGENDA: DISTRIBUTION OF ITEMS AMONG THE COMMITTEES.
- 19. PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.
Draft Resolution submitted by the German Delegation.

President: Mr. C. T. TE WATER
(Union of South Africa).

15. — ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE NAMES OF THE CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES.

The President. — In pursuance of the programme which I submitted to the Assembly this morning, and which it approved, the five Committees and the Agenda Committee met in turn this afternoon and elected their Chairmen.

The results of those elections were as follows :

<i>Committee</i>	<i>Chairman</i>
First	M. MOTTA (Switzerland).
Second	Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium).
Fourth	M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).
Fifth	Mlle. HESSELGREN (Sweden).
Sixth	M. DE MADARIAGA (Spain).

The Agenda Committee has elected as its Chairman M. MIKOFF (Bulgaria).

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

The President. — In application of Rule 7, paragraph 1, of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, the next item on the agenda will be the election of the six Vice-Presidents.

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

I call upon Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Second Committee, and M. de Madariaga Chairman of the Sixth Committee, to be good enough to act as tellers.

The secret ballot will be by roll-call.

May I remind you that the voting papers should contain the names of six persons, and that names of countries should not be mentioned.

The vote will now be taken.

The President. — The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of States voting . . .	51
Voting papers valid	49
Absolute majority	25

The analysis of the voting is as follows :

M. Daladier (France)	42
Baron von Neurath (Germany)	40
Sir John Simon (United Kingdom)	43
Baron Aloisi (Italy)	44
M. Castillo Najera (Mexico)	41
His Highness Ali Khan Foroughi (Persia)	39

I should mention that M. Paul-Boncour had six votes.

In accordance with the Rules of Procedure, therefore, I have the honour to declare the following delegates are elected Vice-Presidents of the Assembly : M. DALADIER, BARON VON NEURATH, SIR JOHN SIMON, BARON ALOISI, M. CASTILLO NAJERA, HIS HIGHNESS ALI KHAN FOROUGHI.

I wish to thank the tellers for their kind assistance.

17. — COMPOSITION OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The President. — The General Committee of the Assembly is therefore composed as follows :

Vice-Presidents of the Assembly :
M. DALADIER (France) ;
BARON VON NEURATH (Germany) ;
SIR JOHN SIMON (United Kingdom) ;
BARON ALOISI (Italy) ;
M. CASTILLO NAJERA (Mexico) ;
His Highness Ali Khan FOROUGHI (Persia) ;

Chairmen of the five Committees of the Assembly :

M. MOTTA (Switzerland) ;
Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium) ;
M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia) ;
Mlle. HESSELGREN (Sweden) ;
M. DE MADARIAGA (Spain) ;

Chairman of the Agenda Committee :
M. MIKOFF (Bulgaria) ;

And the Chairman of the Credentials Committee :
M. SALNAIS (Latvia) ;

whom the Assembly decided this morning to include in its General Committee.

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

The President. — I will now invite the Assembly to proceed with certain questions which were on

the agenda of this morning's meeting and which, because of the short time at our disposal, were delayed until this afternoon.

The first question which the Assembly has to decide is the distribution of the various items on the agenda among the different committees which have just been set up.

In the note which has been communicated, the members of the Assembly will have seen the proposals that I intend to make on this matter.

The various questions might be distributed as follows :

First Committee : Items 4, 6(b), and 23.

Second Committee : Items 15, 16 (I), 16 (II), 17 and 18.

Fourth Committee : Items 8, 9, 10, 11 and 22.

Fifth Committee : Items 6 (a), 19 and 20.

Sixth Committee : Items 7, 13, 14 and 21.

The above proposals were adopted.

The President. — There is one question on the agenda which I have not proposed for reference by the Assembly to a Committee. I refer to the report of the commission of Enquiry for European Union (Item 12). This Commission has not yet been able to meet, and certain questions of procedure may yet arise.

I think, therefore, that the Assembly will agree with me that it might be well for this question to be first considered by the General Committee.

The proposal was adopted.

The President. — The next question to which I wish to refer is the Election of three non-permanent Members of the Council (Item 3).

It is the practice that the Assembly should carry out this election on the Monday after the opening of the session. I would point out, however, that this year we have on our agenda the report of a special Committee to study the system of election to the Council, and that this report has been referred to the First Committee.

It seems to me that the Assembly would not desire to prejudge in any way the conclusions at which the First Committee might arrive, and that the Assembly might think it desirable to take account of the special situation arising from the fact that certain questions of principle connected with the system of election to the Council are being raised.

I would therefore propose that the Assembly should ask the General Committee to examine the various questions of procedure which may arise in view of the situation to which I have referred. The General Committee might thus later submit to the Assembly suggestions with regard to measures which might be taken in respect of elections of non-permanent Members of the Council.

If there are no objections, I shall assume that the Assembly agrees to this procedure.

Sir John Simon (United Kingdom). — May I ask, Mr. President, whether the suggestion that you make is to be regarded in any way as indicating that the election which ordinarily takes place next Monday to fill the three places on the Council which are in the regular course vacated, is not to take place ? I would say at once that I do not appreciate how the carrying out of the ordinary constitution of the League could possibly be prejudiced if the election took place in the ordinary course. Of course, if the matter is referred to the General Committee entirely without prejudice, there is no need to discuss it here ; but I should like to be quite clear that what you propose is no indication whatever, either on your part or on the part of the Assembly, that we are indicating a view against the election to fill the three places next Monday.

The President. — The procedure which I have suggested to the Assembly is not in any way intended to prejudge the issue as to whether the election should take place next Monday. I am merely exercising my right as President to consult the General Committee on this question and to consult it without prejudice to the situation. In due course, the matter will be reported back to the Assembly.

If there is no objection, these questions of procedure will be referred to the General Committee for examination.

The President's proposal was adopted.

19. — PROTECTION OF MINORITIES : DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE GERMAN DELEGATION.

The President. — I beg to inform the Assembly that I have received a draft resolution from the German delegation, which reads as follows :

“ The part of the report on the work of the League of Nations since the thirteenth session of the Assembly and its introduction (pages XXI to XXIII and 63 to 67), dealing with the question of the protection of minorities, are referred to the Sixth Committee. ”

This draft resolution will be printed and communicated to all the delegations, and I shall make suggestions to the Assembly, at one of its subsequent meetings, as to the action to be taken upon it.

(The Assembly rose at 6.35 p.m.)

THIRD PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, September 27th, 1933, at 4.30 p.m.

CONTENTS :

20. **DEFINITIVE ACCESSION OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.**
21. **ELECTION OF THE THREE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.**
Communication by the President in the Name of the General Committee.
22. **SIMULTANEOUS TRANSLATION OF SPEECHES AT PLENARY MEETINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY.**
Communication by the President in the Name of the General Committee.
23. **COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY FOR EUROPEAN UNION.**
Draft Resolution proposed by the General Committee.
24. **PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.**
Adoption of the Draft Resolution submitted by the German Delegation.
25. **MANDATES.**
Draft Resolution submitted by the Norwegian Delegation.
26. **REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SINCE THE THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY.**
Opening of the General Discussion.
Speeches by Sir John Simon (United Kingdom), M. Dollfuss (Austria) and the Hon. R. J. Manion (Canada).

President: Mr. C. T. TE WATER.

20. — DEFINITIVE ACCESSION OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The President. — Before directing the Assembly to the questions on this afternoon's agenda, I desire to refer to the message from the Government of the Argentine Republic, which I am sure has caused you all, as indeed it has caused me, the most cordial satisfaction.

The advice of the definitive accession of the Argentine Republic to the League conveyed in the telegram from M. Carlos Saavedra Lamas is indeed most satisfactory news, and this Assembly will, I am sure, gratefully accept and cordially reciprocate the message of goodwill which we have received from the Government and people of the Argentine.

Such, I am confident, are the feelings of this Assembly, and I feel sure that to the supporters of the League throughout the whole world the assumption of active membership of this great country will bring a new strength and hope.

I wish to give my colleagues the opportunity of expressing on this platform their feelings on this important event. I trust, however, you will agree with me that it will be best that this should take place when the delegates of the Argentine take their seats among us, which will be at a later date.

Finally, I propose to send, in the name of the Assembly, a telegram to the Argentine Government conveying the Assembly's deep satisfaction and friendly welcome. I am sure that, in doing so, I am interpreting aright the feeling of the Assembly.

21. — ELECTION OF THE THREE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL: COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT IN THE NAME OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The President. — At its meeting on the afternoon of September 25th, the Assembly decided, on my proposal, to refer to its General Committee, for examination of the procedure, questions concerning the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council.

The General Committee, at its meeting yesterday morning (September 26th), decided to propose that the Assembly should follow the practice adopted in 1927 with regard to the date of the elections. In accordance with this practice, the election of the three non-permanent Members of the Council should take place on the Monday following the opening of the session of the Assembly. Therefore, if the Assembly agrees with the suggestions of the General Committee on this point, the election of the three non-permanent Members of the Council to replace those whose turn of office ends this year will take place on Monday afternoon, October 2nd, at 4 o'clock.

The proposal was adopted.

22. — SIMULTANEOUS TRANSLATION OF SPEECHES AT PLENARY MEETINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY: COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT IN THE NAME OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The President. — The General Committee, at its meeting yesterday morning (September 26th), had to consider measures for the practical application of a recommendation made last year by the Committee of Five constituted by the Assembly, with regard to telephonic interpretation of speeches delivered at plenary meetings.

The proposal was that, in order to save time and to shorten the procedure, the system of telephonic interpretation should, when possible, be employed. The Committee of Five emphasised how much time would be saved by the simultaneous translation of speeches prepared by delegates in advance, the text of which could be communicated to the Secretariat on the previous day.

The General Committee charged the President to inform the delegations that they have the option of communicating in advance the text of their speech in writing, in order that the translation may be prepared and delivered by telephone.

The General Committee recommends this system to delegations as a means of shortening the plenary meetings.

23. — COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY FOR EUROPEAN UNION: DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The President. — The Assembly, at its meeting on Monday afternoon, September 25th, decided to refer to the General Committee, for suggestions on points of procedure, the question under Item 12 of the Assembly agenda — namely, Commission of Enquiry for European Union.

At its meeting yesterday morning (September 26th), the General Committee decided to submit a draft resolution for the approval of the Assembly. This resolution has been circulated to the delegations, and reads as follows :

The Assembly,

After consulting its General Committee as to the procedure to be followed in connection with Item 12 of the agenda of this session (Commission of Enquiry for European Union) :

Notes that circumstances have made it impossible for this Commission to meet since the last session ;

Decides, under these conditions, to renew for twelve months the term of office of the Commission of Enquiry for European Union and to include forthwith the report of this Commission in the agenda of its next session."

In view of the terms of the above resolution, I do not think that the Assembly will see any objection to proceeding with it immediately.

If there are no observations, I will take the silence of the Assembly as a sign of assent and consider that the Assembly has decided to adopt the draft resolution which I have just read.

The draft resolution was adopted.

24. — PROTECTION OF MINORITIES: ADOPTION OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE GERMAN DELEGATION.

The President. — The Assembly will remember a draft resolution submitted to it by the German delegation at its meeting of September 25th (afternoon).

This draft resolution proposes that that part of the report on the work of the League since the thirteenth session of the Assembly and its introduction (pages XXI to XXIII and 63 to 67), dealing with the question of the protection of minorities, be referred to the Sixth Committee.

In accordance with precedent, I propose that the Assembly immediately adopt this draft resolution, and decide, without further procedure, to refer the parts of the report in question to the Sixth Committee.

The draft resolution was adopted.

25. — MANDATES: DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE NORWEGIAN DELEGATION.

The President. — The Norwegian delegation has asked me, in accordance with the usual custom, to submit the following draft resolution to the Assembly :

" The Assembly,

" Following the precedents already established for several years :

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

This proposal will be printed and distributed, and I reserve the right to offer, at a later date, suggestions on the procedure to be followed.

26. — OPENING OF THE GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SINCE THE THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The President. — I will now open the general discussion of the report on the work of the League of Nations since the thirteenth session of the Assembly.

The Right Hon. Sir John Simon, first delegate of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, will address the Assembly.

Sir John Simon (United Kingdom). — This is the occasion when the League of Nations in its annual Assembly surveys the work of the past twelve months and reflects upon its position and prospects. It is more than usually necessary that we should, on this occasion, make this calm, reasoned survey, both because the present position and influence of the League are matters of close consideration and discussion by our friends and our critics throughout the world, and because we have been during the year, in one form or other, in such constant session that it is difficult to form a balanced judgment on what we have done.

There is indeed one feature of the unusually frequent visits to Geneva which some of us have recently had occasion to pay on which I would venture a word of comment. The periodic meetings of the Council of the League are events of the very greatest importance. I inherit from my predecessors in the office which I hold in the United Kingdom the tradition, which I have done my utmost to follow, that it is one of the important duties of the Foreign Secretary to attend the meetings of the Council, and I see before me colleagues of mine from other countries who follow the same course.

Owing very largely to the fact that there have been constant gatherings during this last year at Geneva connected with disarmament and other special matters, the Council has been called together on supplementary occasions, not only at frequent, but at irregular, intervals, sometimes at short notice. Now, I greatly question whether this is a very desirable practice. Those States which are represented at Geneva by a resident delegate can, of course, attend these supplementary meetings without great difficulty, but if these meetings of the Council are to continue to be, as I think they ought to be, occasions when the Foreign Ministers of the Powers there represented can meet together, not only to deal with the actual agenda of the Council, but to make personal contact and smooth over incipient difficulties which may otherwise develop into diplomatic controversy, it is important that, as far as possible, Council meetings should be at prescribed intervals

for which we can all make arrangements beforehand. I venture to make that comment on the work of the past year and would invite my colleagues to consider it in due course.

The annual report furnishes us with a connected account of the efforts and activities of the League during the past year which I need not review, but there is one feature which I would wish to dwell on for a moment which gives us all a great sense of satisfaction. We who are Members of the League of Nations rejoice to feel that, in many of the efforts of general world concern which we have been making, notably in the Disarmament Conference, we have had, and continue to have, the friendly co-operation and help of the United States of America.

I propose with your permission to say a few words on the disarmament side of our work during the year. I bear in mind that the Assembly has unanimously decided not to set up the Third Committee because this all-important question is in the hands of the Disarmament Conference; but no Assembly of the League of Nations could possibly make its full survey if it did not consider the present position. I would present the importance of the disarmament problem to you in this form.

The past year, notwithstanding many gloomy features, undoubtedly furnishes some signs, in more directions than one, of the beginning of economic recovery. The accomplished statisticians of the League would certainly confirm this; and many of us, without knowing all the details, feel it is so. But the economic recovery of the world cannot make great strides without accompanying political appeasement and amelioration. Trade and international confidence are close allies, and the want of confidence between neighbours is clogging economic recovery. How can we help to give an impetus to the beginnings of economic recovery? No contribution, I believe, would be of such value as a disarmament convention promptly arrived at. It would be at once the index and the stimulus for greater confidence, for it would be a proof that anxieties were being relieved and that we were firmly preparing to live as friends in a peaceful world. No doubt it is true that armaments are a symptom and do not in themselves constitute the root of the disease, but the Covenant was right when it put the limitation and reduction of armaments as an integral part of the structure of world peace.

The spirit of mutual concession and co-operation which a convention for the regulation and control of armaments would embody is at this moment the greatest need of the world, for it would set the seal upon the movement towards world economic recovery and transform the prospect of its early realisation.

In this connection, I should like to say a word, in general terms, here in the Assembly, about the part which is played from time to time by some of the greater States in consultation between themselves for the purpose of trying to promote the wider agreement at which we are all aiming and to which we all have a contribution to make. In this matter, the greater States are sometimes exposed to two reproaches which appear to me to be quite inconsistent with one another. On the one hand, there is sometimes a tendency for those who have not been present at their conclaves to regard them as a sort of junta or caucus or cabal, taking upon themselves work which properly belongs to the full Assembly and even aiming at results which might be to the prejudice of the mass

of smaller States. On the other hand, the criticism is sometimes heard that progress here at Geneva is delayed because these great States which are expected to take the lead do not more effectively agree beforehand on the common line which others would then be prepared to follow. There are two criticisms, and all I say about them is that they are self-contradictory and cannot logically stand together. In these matters, we must not carry our logic too far. It was a wise man who said that a man who was all logic was like a knife that was all blade. You must have a handle to your knife if the sharpest of edges is to cut.

The true view of the relation between the work of the greater Powers and the open work of the whole Assembly is, I think, different. I would point out that the constitution of the League itself recognises, as, for instance, in the composition of the Council—that, while we are all equally members of the organisation, each of us owing an equal allegiance and expressing an equal judgment, many of the problems that face the League are problems the solution of which necessarily depends in a special degree on co-operation and good understanding between those upon whom fall an enlarged responsibility and a special burden.

I will illustrate this by the conversations and consultations which, as you know, have been going on between some of us, and which are still going on, about disarmament and which are an instance in point. What are we endeavouring to do? Not to supplant the activities of the whole body, but to clear away obstacles, to prepare the road, to bring the draft Convention, which has already, please remember, been adopted as the governing scheme by the whole Disarmament Conference, into a form which will be most likely to meet the present situation. And I would like to say—if I may for the moment be so bold as to appoint myself the "Rapporteur" of these conversations—that that work is being pursued with great earnestness and with a conviction which we all share that, however great the difficulties may be, our first and overriding purpose must be to reach agreement and to get a convention.

It may be that by some re-casting of the present draft we shall find that we can work out more effectively the plan, upon which all the members of the Disarmament Conference are agreed in principle, of reaching disarmament by stages. A first stage duly observed would be an immense contribution to the creation of a condition of greater confidence during which substantial and agreed disarmament, the measure of which, of course, would be defined in the Convention itself, would be realised. Without entering upon the vexed problem of security, it is obvious to us all that, in some form or other, confidence is what is needed—the confidence which arises not only from the pledge but from the proof of neighbourly relations and from the sense that we are really co-operating for the common purpose of strengthening the foundations of peace.

I speak of neighbourly relations. Philosophers have disputed through all the ages how far the attributes and qualities of human beings can properly be ascribed to States, but this at least is certain, that to be a good neighbour is not only a human but an international virtue, and its practice lies at the very foundation of all international progress.

As for the actual situation about disarmament, I would counsel you, if I may, that we should all face it steadily without undue depression of spirit and without ill-placed or premature satisfaction. Geneva is not only a meeting-place;

it is — as these instruments before me show — a sounding-board, and a sounding-board, though a very necessary instrument if the ear of the world is to be reached, often tends at one time to exaggerate the note of optimism, and at another time to exaggerate the note of alarm.

There have been times, no doubt, when an exaggerated view has been taken of what the League, by the mere fact of its organisation and its discussions, could achieve. If a very complicated, difficult major problem is not promptly and satisfactorily solved at Geneva, there are people in the world who are quick to declare that this is proof positive that the League is quite useless. But the true view in such a case is that nations and Governments composing the League have not been able, in that instance, even with the help of its machinery and its influence, to compose forthwith a vital difference. To treat the institution of the League as to blame, and still more to declare that the existence of the League is the real cause of the trouble, is to disregard the true explanation, as well as to forget — what I here proclaim — the immense services which the League continues to render to the world.

But if we leave aside for a moment these primary and major tasks, a glance at this report which is submitted to us on the work of the League during the past year will reveal to anybody the range and the importance of the League's activities. Voluminous though that report is, it can hardly give us a complete picture of the untiring effort that is being made here for the better ordering of the world and for the alleviation of human misery and the stopping of human cruelty.

For example, the Council has the special responsibility imposed upon it by the mandatory system for watching over the development of backward races, and, by the minorities treaties, for assuring itself of the just and impartial treatment of those who, by race, language or religion, differ from the governing majority. Will anybody tell me that at this time of day the existence of these great operative instruments has meant nothing for the betterment of the world ?

Again, in a world where the processes of international trade become ever more complicated, so that the interdependence of nations becomes every day more evident, the work of the Economic and Financial Organisation here becomes constantly both more important and more difficult, and now the constant development of means of communication calls for the solution of new problems.

I would not wish to omit two other aspects of the League's work which the public and the critics do not always bear in mind. There is perhaps no sphere in which the League accomplishes more effective and useful work than in that of health, and we none of us know how much we may be individually indebted to the Health Organisation of the League for its work, which is none the less effective because it is less spectacular than certain other branches of the work that is done here at Geneva.

Then, again, the League is doing a noble work in seeking to promote the protection and the welfare of children and young people. It wages unceasing warfare against that frightful scourge of humanity — the drug traffic.

Last year, the Assembly decided to appoint a Permanent Commission of Experts to watch over and promote the execution of the Slavery Convention which was so happily negotiated under the auspices of the League in 1926. I earnestly hope that this Commission will be constituted, and I hope it may enter upon its effective duties without delay and that it may be able greatly to assist the League and to assist the world in this matter of such deep importance to humanity.

I do not pretend to have mentioned more than a few of the tasks which the League has set itself and which it is able to carry out successfully, thanks to the devotion of those who give their ability and their energy to the service of this great institution ; and that alone would be enough to show that in the midst of these disturbances, which often attract more attention, there is a steady undercurrent of patient work and progress, which follows its course unseen and almost unheeded. The work goes smoothly — so smoothly, perhaps, that we are not aware how essential it has become ; we should only realise its full value if by some misfortune we were to be deprived of the services set up here and so loyally rendered at Geneva.

And now, if I may return, in a concluding word or two, to the matter which preoccupies all our minds, though it is not in terms upon our agenda — the question of disarmament — I would take leave to make one observation about the programme for the disarmament discussions. The date is approaching when the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference will be called upon to consider that matter. I would deprecate the facile adoption of the suggestion that, in view of the difficulties which confront us, we can take refuge in the method of repeated adjournment. For consider, much of the criticism which has been levelled against Geneva and against the proceedings of the Disarmament Conference is based upon the time which these discussions have occupied and the failure to reach more speedy results. I hold that that criticism up to the present is fundamentally unfair, for the critics really have no conception of the complications of the problem, complications which are not of our making, and it takes close, long and careful analysis thoroughly to understand them.

Just as I am satisfied that the work already done at the World Economic Conference is not wasted work — it is work that has been of real value — so I have not the least doubt that the work that has been done during the past year on disarmament (though definite results are still to show) has been most valuable in bringing home to Governments and publicists, and to opinion all over the world, the range and variety of the whole topic. But the study of these questions in their technical aspects is now very complete, and we are really facing political issues which cannot be kept indefinitely in suspense and are not necessarily made easier by delay. I would therefore take advantage of this opportunity to express my own view that we must press forward and do our utmost, not only to promote a Convention in the form which best suits the present situation, but we must try to proceed quickly to that end.

There is a special reason for proceeding without delay. When I reflect on the course of events since the world war, I am appalled at the time which has elapsed without firmly establishing the new basis for peace. This is the fourteenth annual Assembly

of the League, and, if you add to those fourteen years four years of terrible war and the period which intervened in discussions about the peace treaties, you begin to realise the grave and significant fact that there are young men and young women now just reaching their majority who not only do not share our knowledge of what war meant, but who were not even born into the world at the time when it began.

This I conceive to be an overwhelming reason for pressing resolutely forward. It rests on us who know what was the horror and the loss of war to dedicate ourselves afresh to the work we have in hand, to protest against that fatalism which would teach that men are at the mercy of uncontrollable events — for man is still, if he would but believe it, the master of his fate — and, by mutual comprehension and sincere co-operation, to define and to adopt the sure conditions upon which international relations may be firmly established.

The President. — His Excellency M. Dollfuss, first delegate of Austria, will address the Assembly.

M. Dollfuss (Austria):

Translation: The efforts that are now being made to achieve a social order corresponding to the revolutions in technique that have taken place have arrived at a critical point, characterised by the economic crisis and by fundamental changes in the political and economic structure of many countries. In such grave and troubled times, States are tending more and more to think only of their own interests, and to draw in upon themselves; but it is not along that path that mankind can find its future. Never has it been more important than it is to-day to remember that on the other side of political frontiers there are men united by the same faith in human destiny and the mission of mankind. Not indeed by fratricidal strife, but by the co-operation that is God's will, can the nations solve the great problems of our era. The League of Nations was created to form a centre for all efforts to avoid destructive contests and preserve humanity from the catastrophes to which they would inevitably lead. Intellectual and material changes must take place in each country in accordance with its own character and history. It is not possible, and it would be contrary to natural laws, to seek to impose upon them a uniform system.

Thanks to her thousand years of history, Austria has realised the importance of peaceful co-operation among a large number of peoples. She has not forgotten her traditions. After the terrible experiences of the war, she has regained her balance by her own efforts. A few days ago, the Austrian people gave an impressive demonstration of their faith and their lofty sense of morality. Austria is now engaged in profiting by the mistakes committed after the war and in providing herself with an economic and political constitution answering to her needs. She is inspired essentially by the principles set forth by the Holy Father Pope Pius XI for the solution of the social problems of our time.

But although it is false to say that men's minds and souls are merely the reflection of their material condition, yet it is absolutely necessary to provide them with work and the means of livelihood, lest their souls perish.

Austria has made the greatest efforts to adapt her economic system to an entirely changed situation. From the outset, however, it was clear, and it has become steadily clearer, that the only possibility of economic development for Austria lies in an extension of her markets. There is no question of one-sided sacrifices by other countries for Austria's benefit. During all these years, we have bought much more from the foreigner than the foreigner has bought from us, notwithstanding the fact that Austria is not a creditor but a debtor State. What we ask, and what we must have, is that all countries shall buy as much from us as we buy from them, and that this equalisation shall be effected, not by reducing our imports, but by increasing our exports.

After various efforts made by Austria had failed on account of political obstacles, the Stresa Conference last year established an economic programme for the Danubian States and Austria. On the basis of its recommendations, Austria has come to an agreement with France regarding facilities for the export of her timber; she has opened negotiations with Germany and Poland on the subject of unilateral preferential duties, though those negotiations are not yet concluded. With Italy and Hungary, the preferential regime of credits and transport tariffs has been developed. Austria has also granted Yugoslavia and Hungary preferential duties for wheat quotas. The commercial treaties with Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have been revised with a view to increasing the volume of trade. The Austrian Government has thus endeavoured to put the recommendations of the Stresa Conference into practice. The results, however, are far from sufficient, not merely for Austria, but also for the other Danubian States. This notwithstanding, the resolutions of that Conference, on which fifteen European countries agreed, would form a good starting-point for further action. They should be adapted to the present situation, and extended if possible, but the essential point is that they should be effectively carried out.

Austria is determined to follow the path that offers her possibilities of independent existence and economic development. She counts upon the friendly co-operation of the other Powers, especially as such agreements would constitute a rational basis for the negotiations of the neighbouring States and would tend to hasten their success.

On this subject, Austria likewise appeals to the League of Nations to encourage her efforts in every direction by its high moral authority. It is plain, and has been acknowledged in every quarter, that this involves, not merely the economic consolidation of Austria herself, but also the economic reconstruction of the Danube basin. In the most difficult circumstances, the League has already given us valuable moral and practical support. Hence Austria is one of the countries that are unshakably convinced of the necessity and the high value of the international centre at Geneva. Austria's example demonstrates that the financial and monetary situation of a country can be restored, even in the most difficult circumstances, and while a severe lack of confidence prevails, by close co-operation with the League of Nations.

After these arduous years of struggle for her existence, Austria to-day asserts more than ever

before her freedom and independence — not so much in virtue of formal treaties, as essentially through the free will of her people. Our history, our geographical position and our culture confer the right and impose the duty, on our little Germanic country, of being and remaining a useful member of the community of nations.

The President. — The Honourable Robert J. Manion, first delegate of Canada, will address the Assembly.

The Hon. R. J. Manion (Canada). — I can assure you that it is with some hesitation that I come to this forum this afternoon to make a few remarks after having listened to the two distinguished speakers who have preceded me, and to whose words the whole world will be listening with attention. I had intended, some time later in the general discussion, to make a few remarks on behalf of Canada, and, had I been given the opportunity to wait a little longer, those remarks would probably have been in better form, because I should then have had a better background. But my name appears somewhat early on the list, and therefore I am called upon at this point in the proceedings.

The Canadian delegation is unfortunately the only one at this Assembly from north of the Rio Grande — in other words, it is the only group here from the northern four-fifths of the North-American continent, comprising something over six million square miles, and including perhaps 135 million people. Therefore, since the League of Nations is an international organisation, it is possible that a few remarks from the Canadian delegation may not be out of place, in order to give the view-points from the world in general.

It appears to me that at no time in the history of the world have so many agreements and pacts guaranteeing the security of nations been in existence, and yet it also appears to me that at no time since the armistice has there been quite so much uncertainty and fear in the world as there is at the present moment.

For that condition, there is a variety of reasons. There is, first of all, the psychological effect of the world depression under which we have been suffering for three or four years. Secondly, there is the fact that the Disarmament Conference has not been successful so far. Thirdly, there is the fact that the recent World Economic Conference in London had rather meagre results to show for the time expended.

This makes it all the more imperative, as it appears to me, to have strong and courageous leadership at the present time — particularly strong and courageous leadership from the greater nations — which leadership, if properly displayed in this Assembly, will go far to allay the psychology of fear throughout the world, and perhaps to create the proper atmosphere for the success of the Disarmament Conference when it is re-convened.

I have noticed that in the speeches of last year's Assembly, and notably in the speech of the President of the Council delivered this year, there has been a defence of the League of Nations, which defence is an admission, of course, that there has been fairly widespread criticism of the League, and, at the same time, that the confidence in the League is not too strong. In this regard, the Dominion of Canada is no exception among the countries of the world, but I do feel that the better thought, not only in Canada but in all countries, is in complete support of the League of Nations, although there is some evident disappointment

at the results thus far. My own feeling is that, whatever the defects, the deficiencies or the weaknesses of the League, the free, open and frank discussions that take place in this Assembly and in the Committees of the League are far superior to the old diplomacy, where the secret, and too often the slimy, methods led invariably to distrust and suspicion, and almost invariably also to war.

Most thinking people condemn war because of its ghastly physical, moral and economic results. They feel that war is as much a relic of barbarism as is mortal combat between individuals over petty disputes. And, after all, the League is making a sincere effort to promote peace throughout the world, and it is the only institution of its kind. Therefore we are on solid ground in supporting the League of Nations in every way in regard to its work for peace and its efforts for international co-operation.

The Pact of Paris expresses the Canadian attitude towards war almost completely. In other words, we believe that war as a method of settling international disputes should be outlawed, and that all disputes, whatever their kind, should be settled by pacific means. Until that Pact is accepted in principle and adopted in practice among the nations of the world, it would appear that civilisation as we know it is in great danger of complete destruction.

The greatest disappointment, I think, in connection with the results of the work of the League so far has been in regard to disarmament. Most people feel that large armaments lead inevitably to war, as was so ably expressed by the late Lord Grey. In Canada, for many generations, we have been in the fortunate position of being able always to settle our disputes — and we have had disputes — with our great neighbour to the south by peaceful means. Because of that, and because of the confidence which we feel that that happy position will continue, we are to-day possessed of almost no army and no navy. We realise, at the same time, that conditions on this side of the Atlantic are not identical with conditions on the other side. We sympathise with any nation which insists that it must have security and safety, and we understand, therefore, why disarmament and security must go together. But, if I may dare to make a suggestion, in all humility, it has sometimes seemed to me that there has been too much insistence upon security leading the way and disarmament coming after, and that, perhaps, if the courage and confidence were displayed to allow disarmament to proceed a few paces ahead of security, progressive security would follow. But, whatever differences of opinion exist in regard to that question, it is the hope of the people of Canada that those differences will be so harmonised that disarmament will ultimately be the result. Any success in bringing about disarmament will certainly receive the support and sympathy of the Canadian people; and, on the contrary, if the coming Disarmament Conference is a complete failure, it will have a demoralising effect upon thought throughout the world.

In this regard, it is our opinion also that every effort should be made to dissociate armament-making and private profit. As Article 8 of the Covenant points out, "the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections". With that we wholly

agree. We therefore hope that, in the near future, some agreement may be reached to do away with this evil, either by nationalisation or by complete governmental control of this industry.

Another thought: In reading the report of the Secretary-General, one is struck perforce by the multitude of activities of the League of Nations, and is likely to ask himself the questions which have been so forcibly presented in the report of the Supervisory Commission — namely: (1) Is the Assembly disposed to allow the activities of the League to develop haphazard and to cover too many fields? (2) Has not the time come to keep the extension of the League's activities strictly within the limits of its financial possibilities? Canada, in its dealings with the League, has been in the habit of putting first things first, and it is felt very generally among Canadians that, while there are both primary and secondary functions of the League, the primary function, the main objective, the real goal of the League of Nations is to preserve international peace; in other words, to prevent war among the nations of the world.

It is true that the Covenant contemplates certain important secondary functions relating to such matters as opium, health, transport and so on; but it is possible that we may be placing undue emphasis upon the secondary functions and not giving sufficient attention to the primary.

To accomplish the primary function of the League at the present time, disarmament stands completely in the forefront. In saying this, I do not wish to minimise in any way the splendid efforts of the League in various branches of international co-operation, but it seems to me that it cannot be repeated too often or too emphatically that to preserve peace among the nations of the world is the primary function, the most important objective of the League of Nations.

Let us remember this individually, and let us at the same time keep in mind as a motto among ourselves these splendid words of Goethe written from Rome over a century ago:

“I am a man of peace and I want to preserve peace constantly.”

(The Assembly rose at 6.35 p.m.)

FOURTH PLENARY MEETING

Friday, September 29th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

CONTENTS.

27. SIMPLIFICATION OF ASSEMBLY PROCEDURE.

Communication by the President in the Name of the General Committee.

28. MANDATES.

Adoption of the Draft Resolution submitted by the Norwegian Delegation.

29. REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SINCE THE THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY.

Continuation of the Discussion.

Speeches by M. Sandler (Sweden), Sir Brojendra Mitter (India), Dr. Wellington Koo (China), and Jonkheer de Graeff (Netherlands).

Draft Resolution submitted by the Netherlands Delegation.

President: Mr. C. T. TE WATER.

27. — SIMPLIFICATION OF ASSEMBLY PROCEDURE: COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT IN THE NAME OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The President. — The General Committee of the Assembly, at a meeting held on September 27th, took note with great interest of certain suggestions put forward by the Secretary-General with regard to means whereby Assembly procedure might be improved in order to accelerate its work and to render it more efficacious. Some experiments in this direction have been made since the first

session of the Assembly. It now seems desirable to reconsider these methods and to see if they can be improved.

The General Committee does not think that it should make any particular proposal to the Assembly, but it considers that it would be useful if the First Committee — which is the competent Committee on questions of Assembly procedure — would examine the Secretary-General's suggestions. If the Assembly shares the views of its General Committee on this point, it would simply authorise me, without any further procedure, to ask the First Committee to examine this question on the basis of the paper which was submitted to the General Committee. If the First Committee, after a further discussion, concludes that some practical measures can be proposed to the Assembly, it would submit a report and the Assembly could then decide what steps it would seem wise to take.

If there are no observations, I will consider the proposal adopted.

The proposal was adopted.

28. — MANDATES: ADOPTION OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE NORWEGIAN DELEGATION.

The President. — The Assembly will remember a draft resolution submitted to it by the Norwegian delegation at its meeting of September 27th.

This draft resolution proposes that that part of the report on the work of the League since the

thirteenth session of the Assembly which deals with mandates questions be referred to the Sixth Committee.

In accordance with precedent, I propose that the Assembly immediately adopt this draft resolution and decide, without further procedure, to refer to the Sixth Committee those parts of the report in question which deal with mandates.

The draft resolution was adopted.

29. — REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SINCE THE THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY: CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the general discussion on the report on the work of the League since the thirteenth session of the Assembly.

M. Sandler, delegate of Sweden, will address the Assembly.

M. Sandler (Sweden):

Translation: This Assembly has not met on the date prescribed by the Assembly Rules of Procedure. The decision to defer it to September 25th was reached after the Members of the League had been consulted privately.

For reasons which it believes to be sound, the Swedish Government has expressed, and continues to entertain, serious doubts as to whether such a procedure is in consonance with the spirit and the letter of the constitution of the League. Furthermore, it seems to us dangerous to create a precedent which would make it possible to postpone the Assembly of any year to any date for reasons of expediency which are easy to comprehend, since the world is more full of conferences than of confidence.

We look upon the annual Assembly of the States Members as a stabilising factor in international life. If it is desired to avoid difficulties in connection with other international conferences, it is to those conferences, rather than to the Assembly, that these reasons of expediency should be applied; for, I repeat, it is upon the League and its organs that we wish to confer the highest degree of stability.

It has been felt necessary to make use of organisations other than the League because the League is not sufficiently universal. Since, however, the League is the only one of them that imposes clearly-specified obligations on its Members, the tasks of those other international conferences will inevitably fall upon the League, if the method of working outside the League machinery proves unsuccessful.

We have before us the experience of the two big international conferences. One, the London Conference, was a failure; the other, the Disarmament Conference, is in a critical condition. The world is waiting, impatiently rather than hopefully, for the weeks that will follow the Assembly.

The World Economic Conference has concluded its first session, and now stands adjourned *sine die*, without any tangible results having been achieved. If that Conference has done all it can do, all the questions it was to have dealt with now come back to the League. The position is so uncertain, however, that there is little hope that any useful work in that field can be done at this Assembly.

In view of the negative results of international discussions and the uncertainty of the general situation, the Swedish Government found itself

obliged, a day or two ago, to denounce the tariff truce agreement.

I see little sign of any return to normal conditions. In any case, what do we mean by normal conditions? In every country in the world, expedients are being resorted to, and experiments carried on, in the hope of arriving at a new organisation of production and trade. There is, it seems to me, little likelihood that we can put the clock back. Sweden, for her part, is always prepared to co-operate in any effort to bring about, even by new methods, an increase in the volume of trade, and consequently of world production. If, however, there is no improvement in the international situation, Sweden will draw her own conclusions, and seek on her own account the best means of safeguarding the welfare and material existence of her people. In other words, she is ready for either alternative.

With regard to disarmament, it should likewise be emphasised that the fact that this problem is being dealt with by a separate Conference cannot and must not be interpreted as meaning that the League is washing its hands of the question. There is still a chance that the work for disarmament may succeed by the methods that have so far been followed; but that may be the last chance. If this opportunity is not seized, the whole weight of the problem of disarmament will fall again upon the League.

Certain questions, such as that of the definition of the aggressor, are closely linked by their very nature with the contractual obligations in the Covenant, and thereby fall within the sphere of the League. In any event, the obligations laid down by Article 8 of the Covenant remain entirely in force for all Members of the League — I must stress that point — for all of us. The security of everybody is at stake, and the obligations must be applied to all of us without exception. It follows from these provisions of the Covenant that the States that have imposed upon themselves the common law represented by the Covenant must be placed on a footing of equality so far as concerns the application of their common obligations.

While upholding the above fundamental principle, the Swedish Government desires to point out that there is no question of the absolute legal equality of former times. What we want for the future is controlled equality. We know from experience what the old kind of equality means; it was nothing but the right of everybody to do whatever he liked, and we know to what disastrous consequences it led. Pre-war equality is the fratricidal fraternity of the war period, and the impoverished liberty of the post-war period. To return to an equality of that kind would be to restart the vicious circle of earlier times. That circle must be broken by a Convention, even if it means giving up radical solutions in order to reach sooner a positive and reasonable result.

The characteristics of the present situation are an obvious absence of stability, the interplay of political interests, economic disturbances of the most far-reaching character, crude social antagonisms and the interaction of tension, internal and external. We have to work, not only under the shadow of the menace of armed war between the peoples, but also under the influence of internal troubles and the dangers of civil wars. So far as the cause of peace is concerned, no absolute distinction can be made between external and internal questions, as the wording of the Covenant and the record of the League's activities have shown, again and again.

Each country remains the master of its fate. It is for each country to give to its own national social institutions the form which accords with its own particular conditions, requirements and intentions. The League of Nations can never set itself up as judge in the conflict of ideas, systems and parties. But there exist nevertheless unquestioned human values, the conservation of which the League, in the interest of peace and humanity, cannot neglect.

Long before the League was set up, it was realised that the victims of war could not be excluded from the rights of man under international law. It is essential that, at a time of great political and social disturbance, the voice of humanity should be raised no less clearly on behalf of the victims of civil conflict. At the very beginning of the revolutionary period, of which the world war was the starting-point, the Red Cross proclaimed the application of its humanitarian principles "in the event" (I am quoting) "of civil war, social or revolutionary troubles". In a resolution passed in 1921, the International Red Cross Conference expressed itself as follows:

"The Conference,

"In the light of the painful experience of the Red Cross in countries in which civil war is raging:

"Draws the attention of all peoples, Governments and political parties, national or other, to the fact that a state of civil war cannot justify the violation of international law, and that international law must be upheld at any cost;

"Condemns the system of political hostages and insists on the principle that families, and, above all, children, are not responsible for the actions of the heads of their respective families or other members of those families;

"Deplores the limitless sufferings to which prisoners and internees are sometimes subjected in countries in which civil war is being waged, and considers that persons kept in detention for political reasons in times of civil war should be regarded and treated in accordance with the principles by which those who drafted the Hague Convention of 1907 were actuated."

•

I recall this resolution, as also the obligations in connection with the fostering of the activities of the Red Cross by which the Members of the League are bound under Article 25 of the Covenant.

A problem of the same kind, which has been frequently discussed and is at all times acute, is the problem of minorities, one of the special aspects of which is the position of the Jewish minority. It is desirable to consider the possibility of thorough discussion of this problem in the competent committee, in which there will be every opportunity of submitting observations. I will here confine myself to saying that my Government would be glad to see a discussion on the possibility and methods of a more general application of the principles of the special treaties as a means of introducing the conception of equality in this connection also.

If I venture to raise these questions here, it is for the fundamental reason that the conception of the equality of men and nations is at the basis of this institution of the League of Nations. The League has not renounced its lofty aspiration of achieving universality. Any effort, the object or the effect of which is to divide humanity into separate species, necessarily goes counter to the ideas out of which the League of Nations was born. To proclaim the principle of inequality in the world is, in effect, to renounce the League.

Two centuries ago, an immortal voice proclaimed that no one had the right to make one man the instrument of another. That categorical imperative is applicable to nations as to individuals. Immanuel Kant, the spiritual founder of the League of Nations, long since gave voice to the truth which is at the very foundation of the League when he said: "We are all members of the same humanity".

The President. — Sir Brojendra Mitter, delegate of India, will address the Assembly.

Sir Brojendra Mitter (India). — I shall take very little of your time this morning, for the simple reason that I have no cut-and-dried solution for either of the two big problems which are engaging the collective wisdom of the world. Nevertheless, I wish to make a few remarks which may give food for thought to some of you.

I had the honour to represent India in the Assembly two years ago. The interval of two years enables me to take a somewhat detached view of the movements in Europe, and I see, through Indian eyes, a distinct change in thought and outlook. There is a new orientation. It almost seems as if the horrors of the war had been forgotten. There is certainly less enthusiasm for the reign of peace in the world. No one, indeed, wants another war, but there is no longer the same passionate will to banish it. The war spirit is not condemned with the same passionate conviction, and the realisation that another war may shake, if not destroy, civilisation seems to be growing dim.

I am not unmindful of the heroic efforts which are being made to win definite results from the Disarmament Conference. Nor do I ignore the difficulties which confront it. Nevertheless, I have felt a weakening of the force of public opinion as the months of discussion lengthened. The picture of Europe is to me, an Indian, somewhat disheartening. We in India want peace, not only for our own country, but all over the world, that we may continue uninterrupted the progressive development of our destiny.

A war spirit in any important quarter of the earth has its repercussions in others, and the resulting tension is prejudicial to all. There is an Indian proverb, "A drop of acid turns the whole jug of milk".

Another feature of the European picture is the increasing boldness of the League's detractors. It is of no use trying to disguise the fact that the League is passing through a difficult period. The lack of a full measure of success in some of its endeavours has encouraged its critics. But the critics forget that every human institution has its ups and downs; they take little account of the League's achievements and never fail to concentrate on its failures. They pass the more lightly over such features in the League's record for the year as its achievements, partial or complete, in the cause of peace in Latin America; the undramatic but beneficent work of its Health Organisation at Singapore; its expert assistance to Siam over the development of her harbours; its contribution to the Chinese Government's great programme for welding one quarter of humanity into a united modern State — they pass over all these and similar activities of the League the

more lightly because the field for them lies outside Europe. Yet it is this very fact that, to an Asiatic like myself, invests them with a special significance and appeal.

It is with particular interest that India will watch the progress of the scheme for technical co-operation in China. It is full of promise, and its results may be far-reaching. Its wholly technical and non-political character raises it above the hazards and contingencies of international political complications, and makes it constitute a new type of international relationship. It is a concrete application in the field of national reconstruction of the principle of international co-operation which is at the very root of the League. It shows how national independence can be reconciled with, and indeed fostered by, expert and technical assistance from an international source.

Our detractors make light, it is true, of these and other activities of the League. I do not suggest that we should shut our ears to their criticisms, but their criticisms would carry more force if they had an alternative machinery to suggest in place of the League. To-day the interdependence of nations is manifest; the need for international co-operation is imperative. But our critics do not vouchsafe to suggest how such co-operation could better be secured than through the machinery of the League. To myself, the conclusion of the whole matter is surely this: the more difficult the times and the more serious the setbacks to the League, the more essential is it that we should remain steadfast in its cause, and, undeterred by misfortune, rally unceasingly to its side that which is its sole yet mighty sanction — namely, the moral opinion of the world.

The President. — His Excellency Dr. Wellington Koo, delegate of China, will address the Assembly.

Dr. Wellington Koo (China). — The report of the Secretary-General shows that in the sphere of its everyday activities the League of Nations has continued to achieve much valuable progress during the year under review. The handling of the administrative and other special questions entrusted to it by the Covenant has been marked by the usual wisdom, tact and ability. With its well-organised and experienced Secretariat the League has, in my opinion, accomplished very much in promoting co-operation between nations in the many varied phases of international life. For one thing, the systematic collection, co-ordination and publication of information relating to questions of importance and general interest to the peoples of the world has proved of great value to statesmen and scholars everywhere in their study, preparation and planning with a view to finding suitable solutions.

The practice of rendering technical aid and assistance to Member States is perhaps little known to the general public, but it is becoming increasingly important to the cause of international co-operation.

The technical organisations of the Secretariat, with their competent experts and advisers, have been of much benefit to the countries which have requested their assistance and advice. My own country feels grateful for the services which they have rendered, and in several ways are still rendering, by undertaking the investigation and study of specified problems of a technical character and making valuable reports on them. The practical recommendations made in these reports have been of invaluable service to my Government in its preparation of a comprehensive programme of national reconstruction.

The fact that this collaboration with the League, as has already been ably pointed out by the delegate for India, is purely technical and entirely non-political in character places it beyond cavil and enables it to be widely approved in China. It was in view of this fact that the Chinese Government requested the Council in July last to send a technical liaison agent to China to assist the Supreme National Economic Council in co-ordinating the work of the other League experts already on the spot. It is the intention of my Government to continue this policy of collaboration, so that China's stupendous task of internal reconstruction and economic development may be greatly hastened and facilitated to the mutual benefit of herself and the rest of the world.

But important as its everyday activities are, the interest and attention of the peoples of the world, in so far as the League of Nations is concerned, are naturally centred upon the success or failure of its efforts in the political sphere — in the promotion and maintenance of peace between nations, which is, after all, its main purpose. Measured by this obligation, the year under review cannot but be considered as the most disillusioning one for the League since its establishment.

In this disillusionment, China, victim of armed aggression from another Member of the League in the Far East, shares with the keenest feeling. It will be recalled that the initial act of an undeclared war of conquest on the part of Japan took place in the night of September 18th, 1931. Seventeen months after, the Assembly pronounced its verdict in a report unanimously adopted on February 24th, 1933. That report gives a clear account of the situation and establishes beyond doubt that, in the view of all the other Members of the League, Japan's occupation of the Three Eastern Provinces was a violation of the Covenant as well as of the Pact of Paris and the Nine-Power Treaty of Washington, and that the new regime she had set up there was against the wishes of the people and incompatible with peace in the Far East. This report was accepted by China and rejected by Japan.

On the morrow of the Assembly meeting at which this report was adopted, the Japanese General Staff, no doubt as a reply to the League's pronouncement, and in disregard of Japan's covenants under Articles 12 and 15, attacked and occupied Jehol Province, and extended their aggressive operations to the south of the Great Wall, imminently threatening the security of Peking, China's ancient capital, and Tientsin, the great commercial metropolis of North China. The Chinese Government, rallying all available resources, resisted to the best of its ability but, in the face of the better equipped Japanese army,

which had prepared for years for this war of conquest, found itself unable to check single-handed the onslaught of the invading forces. After fifty days of a bitter struggle, in which we lost thirty thousand dead and wounded, we were obliged to sign a truce at Tangku on May 31st, 1933. Although the Japanese troops have since been gradually withdrawn from the neighbourhood of Tientsin and Peking, the Four Eastern Provinces — namely, Manchuria and Jehol — have remained and still remain in the occupation of the Japanese army, contrary to Article 10 of the Covenant.

The Chinese Government views this situation in the Four Provinces as a standing violation of the treaties upon which the world is supposed to rely for security, disarmament and peace. It is determined steadfastly to maintain all its rights and claims, and not to recognise or acquiesce in the illegal accomplished fact. That accomplished fact will remain only so long as it is physically impossible for my country or politically impossible for the rest of the League to vindicate the sanctity of treaties. In maintaining this attitude, we consider that we are not only doing what lies in our unaided power to preserve China's territorial integrity and political independence against Japanese aggression, but that, in so doing, we are resisting the attempt to convert the Covenant into a scrap of paper. That attempt is now taking the form of the strongest pressure to induce China to abandon the policy of co-operation with the West through the League and to adopt the principle of "Asia for the Asiatics".

The Assembly report of February 24th, 1933, which China announced her readiness to accept on the very day of its adoption, remains for her, as for all Members of the League, the only basis for a satisfactory settlement. The Sino-Japanese issue, therefore, remains to-day the same as it was on the day when all the nations assembled here unanimously agreed not to recognise the illegal regime in Manchuria either *de jure* or *de facto*. The subsequent approval of the report by the United States of America has given added force to the solemn verdict of the Assembly.

The only difference in the situation is that the question has since assumed even more alarming proportions, as evidenced by the Japanese illegal occupation of Jehol and parts of Hopei Province in North China, and by the increasingly strained relations between Japan and other Pacific countries. From the juridical point of view, however, no change has taken place. It is indeed obvious that the mere lapse of time cannot have altered the legal character of such an issue. The principle of non-recognition cannot be interpreted so as to mean non-recognition of the obligations of the Covenant. Nor can it in the long run mean closing our eyes to the consequences to world peace or to the continued violation of the Covenant.

We regret that the unanimous report of the Special Assembly on this question has not yet been carried out. The delay in acting on the findings of that report is the more regrettable to us, not only because of our desire to see the wrong done to China fully redressed, but also because the results of this delay are undermining the Covenant everywhere and imperilling world peace. The Covenant, which is the fundamental constitution of the League, and, in fact, the only valuable legacy

of the Great War, must be upheld or the hopes of mankind, which are centred upon it for the consolidation of peace and the future of civilisation, will be dashed to the ground.

In his opening speech before this Assembly, the President of the Council referred to the World Monetary and Economic Conference and the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, and expressed the regret that the results of both gatherings, to the inauguration of which the peoples of the world had looked with so much enthusiasm, had turned out to be altogether negative. That such has been the outcome of the two Conferences is, however, not surprising to us. There may have been several causes, both general and particular, which were responsible for the meagreness of the results. But the menace and warning of the Far-Eastern situation had much to do with the scepticism and hesitation revealed in the deliberations of the two world Conferences. For when violations of existing international obligations arising from such solemn instruments as the Covenant of the League, the Pact of Paris and the Nine-Power Treaty of Washington could be committed by one signatory Power with impunity, is it to be wondered at that other nations of the world should have adopted an attitude of cautiousness in the matter of concluding new treaties and of assuming new obligations? If the Covenant is a scrap of paper east of Suez, how can it become a reality in Europe? The principle of the universality of the League, as has just been so eloquently stressed by our Swedish colleague, must be upheld at all costs.

It is to be feared that, so long as this glaring case of Covenant-breaking is not settled in accordance with the established principles of international law and the existing treaty obligations, it will remain, if not an insurmountable obstacle, at least a stumbling-block in the path of new international agreements looking to economic and military disarmament and to the maintenance of peace by common endeavour. The reason for this is not difficult to explain. The absence of any effective action from the League in this case has encouraged those who have all along been proclaiming the belief that might is right. It has, in fact, placed a premium upon aggression. It has given a new impetus to the activities of those in different countries who advocate and strive for an increase of armaments in the name of national defence, since treaties guaranteeing security may be disregarded with impunity.

Indeed, observing students of international affairs in the Far East already see ominous clouds rising on the international horizon in that region. The Assembly report, in predicting that the Japanese occupation of Manchuria was incompatible with peace, spoke the grim truth. A race in armaments has begun, with huge naval and air manœuvres, fleet concentrations and enormous increases in war expenditure. The strongest naval Power in Asia and one of the strongest in the world has already given official notice of its intention to make its navy still stronger on the expiration of the existing treaty limitations, and her leading statesmen publicly refer to what they call the greatest crisis in their country's history within the next five years. As was said by one of the speakers at the recent Conference on Pacific Relations in Canada, it is useless to try to disguise the fact that the present increases in military and

naval armaments indicate a future intention of using them. All the signs in the Far East point to a major conflict within a few years.

Such is the situation in the Far East to-day. Since recent events have made my country the only main link between the League of Nations and the very Far East, I have felt it my duty, as its representative, to give you a sober and objective account of the relevant facts in that region since the adjournment of the Special Assembly in February last.

As to the situation in Europe, I shall not try to enter into it, as you are all familiar with it. Whatever view is taken, it cannot, however, be gainsaid that the European situation, while not as critical perhaps as that of the Far East, is, too, far from satisfactory. Let us hope that the moral of events in the Far East may be drawn while there is yet time and that history will not be allowed to repeat itself.

It is my humble opinion that the whole situation of the world to-day revolves round this pivotal question: Are we determined to defend the League, uphold its prestige, strengthen its authority and endow it with the means of enforcing its decisions, or are we ready to allow it to dwindle in importance from year to year, to disintegrate for lack of support and eventually disappear from the international arena as the supreme guardian of world peace? China, for her part, with all her disappointment at the failure to carry out the Assembly's report, still believes in the soundness of the fundamental aims and purposes of the League and will do her utmost to foster its healthy growth. For the alternative would be unthinkable: it would mean the relapse of the world into a state of international anarchy, of incessant rivalry and conflict such as existed before the Great War and was ultimately responsible for the catastrophe from which the world has not yet fully recovered.

If, then, we wish to see the League succeed in its mission of consolidating the world's peace and safeguarding the future, there must be both a will to peace and a readiness to make sacrifices for the common good. The collective peace system based upon the Covenant and the Pact of Paris is predicated upon the fundamental principle that the maintenance of world peace is a matter of common concern to all nations and that, in order to make it effective, each of them must be disposed to bear the contingent share of risk and sacrifice in the common cause. It must be generally realised that in this practical world of ours we cannot hope to get something for nothing. If we wish to enjoy the fruits of peace, we have to pay for them too.

We have arrived at the cross-roads of the world's destiny. Our choice lies between an armed peace which, based upon a precarious balance of power, is most costly to every nation and postulates war as inevitable, and a peace based upon collective responsibility, which is the most economical for all, because it is maintained by joint effort and common sacrifice, and which is stable because it accepts justice as the final arbiter of nations. It means disarmament or rearmament, economic recovery or continuance of the world crisis; it means, in fact, war or peace. These are the alternative roads before us. For the sake of civilisation

and for the well-being of humanity, I sincerely hope that we shall all choose wisely.

The President. — His Excellency Jonkheer de Graeff, delegate of the Netherlands, will address the Assembly.

Jonkheer de Graeff (Netherlands):

Translation: A wave of pessimism has broken over the world. The last few months have put our confidence to severe tests. National armaments, which seemed to be on the way to reduction, or at all events limitation, have now begun to increase again. A new race in armaments seems to be starting and the Disarmament Conference has hitherto shown itself powerless to prevent this calamity.

In the economic field we find ever-growing poverty incommensurate with the potential wealth of the world, from which humanity seems incapable of benefiting. The London Conference disappointed the hopes of those who had trusted that it might provide the basis for the abolition of all that is strangling international trade. In despair at the shocks to the international economic machine which they have witnessed, the nations are tending more and more to fall back on their own resources.

Nationalism, often degenerating into Chauvinism, is everywhere raising its head and taking the place of internationalism. Faith in the final victory of internationalism has been shaken, and the minds of men who have hitherto pinned their faith to the development of the international organisation are now turning more and more towards a narrow nationalism.

The statesman must always try to face facts. Blind confidence in the force of principles and indifference to facts which do not harmonise with our ideals are not proof of an enlightened policy. The League of Nations must always bear this in mind. The international spirit may manifest itself when we meet in this hospitable city of Geneva; but no one can deny that, when we return to our homes and are brought into contact with national aspirations and requirements, things frequently appear in a different light.

On the other hand, we should be making a serious mistake if we were to exaggerate our pessimism and attribute to recent events too much importance for the future evolution of the international community. We human beings are only too prone to forget that the period of time with which we are specially concerned is but a moment in the history of the world's development. Acts or sentiments of which we have been aware for a few years, or in some cases only a few months, are sometimes sufficient to make us believe that all that has been revealed to us by philosophy or morality in the course of centuries is proved false. We are wrong. The great social and moral assets of humanity do not lose their value from one day to another. Ephemeral conceptions may for a time obscure the eternal truths, but can never dethrone them.

The organisation of the international community is a process which inevitably takes several centuries. The foundation of the League of Nations was not a chance event; it was the outcome of long evolution. At the 1924 Assembly, the head of the Netherlands delegation, Jonkheer van Karnebeek, said:

"The uncertainty which still hovers over the League does not cause me disquiet. The League

will last because it lives. It lives because it was bound to be. It was bound to be because mankind has entered upon an era of inter-relationship, and even States cannot stand aside."

After nine years, I can still repeat those words. The realisation of the idea of an organised community of States was an act of faith and an act of courage. It was to be anticipated that the enthusiasm with which the greater part of the world hailed the new institution would be put to the test. The reaction has been all the more violent because it was brought about by a world economic crisis, which was itself to a large extent the consequence of the world war—the inevitable consequence, indeed—as, in the state of interdependence in which the world finds itself to-day, war must in ever-growing measure be followed by disorder and impoverishment, not only for the vanquished but also for the victors and the neutrals.

It would be unfair to the League to expect it to have prevented the economic chaos from which the world is now suffering. It would be a still more serious mistake to deny the *raison d'être* of the League because of that failure.

Those who continue to preach the ideas of organisation and good understanding between nations are sometimes asked if propaganda for an aim which at present seems so remote is not a thankless and discouraging task. To this it may be replied that there is another task which is much more discouraging and much more thankless, and that is the destruction of what has so far been constructed in the sphere of international collaboration. All this work which is beginning to be destroyed will one day have to be done again, because, in spite of everything, the future belongs to international solidarity. It is a mournful fact that, in present circumstances, no State can withhold itself from this work of destruction. Convinced though it may be that the path now being followed will necessarily lead to ruin, every State thinks it is obliged to work along the same lines, for fear of being crushed by the others. How will it be possible to extricate ourselves from the economic labyrinth as long as we refuse to make mutual concessions?

The economic position is becoming more and more disquieting. On the international market everyone wants to sell and no one wants to buy. The number of countries which are turning away from the tried principle of free trade is rapidly increasing. The Netherlands, which for long remained the last rampart of free trade, has now been obliged to have recourse to exceptional and temporary measures in order to protect its national economic interests. We shall all agree that such measures are but fresh obstacles in the way of the economic restoration of the world, and must all disappear if we desire one day to get back to satisfactory international relations.

All those who realise the facts must understand that, at the present time, the League of Nations is not in a position to remedy the great evils from which mankind is suffering; but let us not forget that, even in these troubled times, the League has continued to do useful work. There is the international jurisdiction at the Peace Palace, which, in spite of everything, is developing and has already reached a stage of which not even the greatest optimists of pre-war days would have dared to dream.

Thanks to the work of the Council of the League, it has sometimes been possible to exercise a pacify-

ing influence in regions where armed conflicts had broken out. The work done in connection with the suppression of the drug traffic and international supervision over territories under mandate—to give only a few instances—continue to be of the greatest value.

As regards assistance to refugees, also, the League has proved its value. In this field it will, in our opinion, have fresh work to do. A large number of German nationals have taken refuge in neighbouring countries during the last few months. Private initiative, which has hitherto striven to succour them, cannot long continue to do so, and the presence of so large a number of immigrants is bound very soon, owing to the existing unemployment, to cause serious difficulties in several countries. In the circumstances, it will be necessary to organise international collaboration in order to take the appropriate measures—*inter alia*, to place these refugees in different countries without harming the national economy of those countries.

Nothing is further from our thoughts than a desire to interfere in internal affairs coming under Germany's sovereignty. We have no wish to examine the reasons why these people have left their country, but we are faced with the undeniable fact that thousands of German subjects have crossed the frontiers of neighbouring countries and are refusing to return to their homes, for reasons which we are not called upon to judge. For us, therefore, it is a purely technical problem, and its solution must be found by common agreement. It is a problem that lies within the competence of the League, which in the past has frequently dealt with questions of this kind. The Netherlands delegation has the honour to submit the following draft resolution dealing with this subject:

"The Assembly,

"Having regard to the situation created by the fact that a great number of German nationals have taken refuge in recent months in several countries;

"Considering that their presence in these countries constitutes, in proportion as means of assistance from private sources are exhausted, an economic, financial and social problem which can be solved only by international collaboration:

"Requests the Council to consider as soon as possible methods for bringing about a practical arrangement for this purpose, and to take the necessary measures for the execution of any plans to which such consideration may give rise;

"Decides, in accordance with Article 16 (a), paragraph 1, of its Financial Regulations, to include a special item for this purpose in the budget for 1934."

The League's failure to solve^o the great political and economic problems can never justify us in destroying, to the great loss of humanity, the possibilities of development which lie within this institution. It is true that, at the present time, considerations of economy are making themselves particularly keenly felt. The assiduous efforts that are being made, therefore, to rationalise the Secretariat services merit our careful attention. On the other hand, we must not deprive the League of the financial means necessary to its existence. We must beware of sacrificing the League on the altar of economy. It would be a disastrous retrograde step to allow all that has hitherto been achieved in the matter of organised international collaboration to be lost.

The more we study the Covenant, the more we must admire the wisdom and political experience

of which that instrument gives evidence. That does not mean that everything in the constitution of the international organisation is perfect. The man who for fourteen years directed the Secretariat in so striking a manner would be the first to admit that. M. Avenol, whom we have great pleasure in welcoming here for the first time as Sir Eric Drummond's successor, will undoubtedly be of the same opinion. Our distinguished Secretary-General will not fail to place his talents and his great experience at our disposal to help us in perfecting the Geneva organisation. The traditions which have grown up, the methods of work and procedure in the various organs, must not necessarily remain immutable. We must not consider it sacrilege to effect any change at all in the procedure to which we have grown accustomed. If, side by side with the Assembly, where it is difficult to obtain the collaboration of non-member States, and side by side with the Council, which by the constant increase in the number of its seats may lose the character that the authors of the Covenant gave it, there is need of other organs, we must not reject such ideas forthwith. We ought rather to endeavour to adapt the existing institutions to present needs, and to widen them, provided always that such action is based on respect for the Covenant. In this connection the Netherlands Government felt no disquiet as regards the League's development when it welcomed recently the conclusion of the Four-Power Pact.

As I said at the beginning of my speech, we are living in a time when nationalism is to the fore.

I have no wish to speak ill of nationalism. Indeed, it is my opinion that internationalism cannot develop except upon the foundation of a sound nationalism. But we see only too frequently that nationalist sentiments are abused in order to provide moral justification for measures which run directly counter to the fundamental interests of the international community and which are aimed only at State autarchy. The cult of narrow nationalism seems to us harmful. We abide by our faith in a happier future, in which the international spirit will be able to develop anew.

In conclusion, I venture to quote the words recently uttered by my Gracious Sovereign, Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands, in the speech from the throne :

"Although the present hour is not favourable to the development of international co-operation or to the development of the League of Nations, I still hope that the evolution of the organisation of the community of States will soon take an upward trend once again."

The President. — The draft resolution submitted by the Netherlands delegation will be printed and distributed, and I reserve the right to offer at a later date suggestions on the procedure to be followed with regard to it.

(The Assembly rose at 12.30 p.m.)

FIFTH PLENARY MEETING

Saturday, September 30th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

CONTENTS :

30. ELECTION OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

Communication by the President in the Name of the General Committee.

31. ORGANISATION, ON AN INTERNATIONAL BASIS, OF ASSISTANCE FOR REFUGEES (JEWISH AND OTHER) COMING FROM GERMANY.

Draft Resolution submitted by the Netherlands Delegation : Reference to the Agenda Committee.

32. REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SINCE THE THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY.
Continuation of the Discussion.

Speeches by M. Frangulis (Haiti), M. Guani (Uruguay), M. Tsaldaris (Greece), M. Salnais (Latvia), and Mr. O'Kelly (Irish Free State).

Draft Resolution submitted by the Delegation of Haiti.

President : Mr. C. T. TE WATER.

30. — ELECTION OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSEMBLY. COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT IN THE NAME OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The President. — At its meeting on September 27th, the General Committee considered the question of the election of the Vice-Presidents

of the Assembly and asked me to make the following proposal to the Assembly :

Rule 7 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly provides that the Assembly shall elect six Vice-Presidents at one of the early meetings of the session. Up to the present, the practice has been for the Assembly to elect six individuals, but misunderstandings have sometimes arisen as regards the actual member of a delegation whom the Assembly intended to elect. The Norwegian delegation proposed to the General Committee last year that it should recommend a new practice which would, in future, prevent such confusion.

The General Committee, at Wednesday's meeting, reconsidered the question and recognised that the Norwegian delegation's proposal was most opportune and that it should be recommended to the Assembly as a practice for the future. It is a practice which does not necessitate any change in the Rules of Procedure, as it is simply an interpretation of them.

In the name of the General Committee, I therefore have the honour to recommend to the approval of the Assembly the following practice for future sessions of the Assembly, which would be generally followed unless the Assembly decides otherwise :

"When proceeding to the election of the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly, in application of Rule 7, paragraphs 1 and 4, of the Rules of Procedure, the voting papers should not bear the names of individuals but should be marked 'The First Delegate' of such and such a country."

If no objection is raised, I will consider that the Assembly, in agreement with its General Committee, adopts this practice for the future, and that this decision will be borne in mind by succeeding Presidents when proceeding to the election of the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly.

The above proposition was adopted.

31. — ORGANISATION, ON AN INTERNATIONAL BASIS, OF ASSISTANCE FOR REFUGEES (JEWISH AND OTHER, COMING FROM GERMANY: DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION: REFERENCE TO THE AGENDA COMMITTEE.

The President. — At the meeting yesterday morning, a draft resolution with regard to assistance to refugees was submitted to the Assembly, by the Netherlands delegation.

In accordance with precedent, I would now propose that the draft resolution be referred to the Agenda Committee, and that the latter be requested to forward to the Assembly suggestions on the procedure to be followed.

The proposal was adopted.

32. — REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SINCE THE THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY (CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION).

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the discussion of the report on the work of the League since the thirteenth session of the Assembly.

His Excellency M. Frangulis, delegate of Haiti, will address the Assembly.

M. Frangulis (Haiti):

Translation: I should like in the first place to pay a solemn tribute to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and to his esteemed collaborators for their work during the past year. In spite of the difficulties of the present time, in spite of the crisis which prevails throughout the world — an economic crisis dominated by an even more acute political crisis — they have persevered in the admirable work of the organisation of peace and its application.

When we examine the report on the work of the League, we find that that work has been dominated by the problem of disarmament and by conflicts, particularly of a political character, which are largely due to the imperfect state of law as it exists to-day.

The League was founded in a manner quite different from all the human societies which preceded it. At the very basis of the constitutions which followed the American Revolution, there was a declaration of the rights and duties of nations, a declaration embodied in the various constitutions of Victoria and Massachusetts. The French Revolution established a declaration of the rights of man containing the principles of emancipation which were henceforth to govern the whole of the political relationships of citizens, and also to prescribe their duties. The same is true of a large number of constitutions which preceded the formation on a legal basis of the various human societies.

Nothing similar is to be found in the Covenant of the League of Nations. It was not preceded

by any declaration of rights or duties which must constitute the basis of the League. There is a series of articles designed to overcome any difficulties that could or would arise between the Members composing this League, with an obligation, contained in Article 8 of the Covenant, whereby each nation would reduce its armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety.

No central organisation of international forces was placed at the disposal of the League. There was not even the shadow of the definition of the rights of its Members, still less of their duties. War itself, that crime which for centuries has been the decisive factor in inter-State relationships, remained to a certain extent permissible.

Since the Covenant was drawn up, considerable progress has been made, thanks to the League of Nations. The Pact for the renunciation of war proclaimed that war was a crime and outlawed it. But the definition of rights still remained very imperfect and manifestations in favour of equality of rights as between the various countries have been the result. On the other hand, the principle of an international force to be placed at the disposal of the League remained merely as a project, and the limitation aimed at by the Disarmament Conference both quantitative and qualitative, has actually led, not to a reduction, but to an increase in armaments.

To-day, we regret to find, the world has been transformed into a vast workshop, in which science has been enlisted in the service of the worst means for destroying wealth. This peril in the material sphere exists also in the intellectual and moral spheres. The strongest foundations, even those which seemed the least destructible, the conquests achieved by liberty and civilisation, have been shaken to the foundations. The great work which the League has done by introducing, in the conduct of public affairs, constant supervision by the people, the considerable progress evinced by the fact that the humblest of men may watch over the evolution of diplomacy and that public affairs are discussed openly and under the direct control of public opinion, all this great progress has not been able to prevent the very bases of the best-established principles from being shaken.

This equality of rights so ardently desired for the nations has not yet been given any real international guarantee in the domestic sphere of the different countries. As a result of the absence, in the Covenant itself, of any definition of the rights of the different nations, fifteen small and medium-sized States have been compelled to assume minority obligations, while the remainder of the fifty-six States Members of the League have not assumed any such obligations.

Moreover, although the various treaties of 1919 and 1920 relate to a definite category of citizens in various States, they do not, on the other hand, make any provision from the international point of view for the status of the other citizens. The outcome of this inequality of status has been that those rights which were claimed in the international sphere by the various collectivities composing the League have not been applied within the domestic realm of the States. Thus more was required of international law than of national law, which had to define the rights and obligations of those citizens whom in fact it was desired to protect.

As a consequence of this inequality, owing to the disturbances which have arisen in the social and economic sphere as the aftermath of the war, the fundamental principles governing human societies have been shaken and the most sacred rights of men and of citizens are no longer respected.

In view of this situation, learned institutions have been studying this problem for several years past, quite irrespective of any political consideration, and have sought international guarantees for the liberties of the individual. I shall have the honour presently to submit to you these resolutions, which constitute at the present time the juridical and moral conscience of the contemporary world.

We have been instructed by the Government of a small country, a country which has always striven for the great and noble ideas which have been manifested through history, to defend these principles if they were in danger, and to lay before you a resolution which may facilitate the solution of the problem at present disturbing the conscience of all mankind. In taking this action, my distinguished friend, His Excellency M. Stenio Vincent, President of the Republic of Haiti, has followed the purest traditions of Haiti, derived from those of the French Revolution.

Indeed, this small nation has given its blood for the very independence of the great American people. It helped Greece in its war of independence; it has taken part in the revolutions in Central and South America which were designed to defend the rights of man and of citizens. It has thus given proof that those rights which consecrate the equality of races, religions and languages are particularly dear to it, that the universal maintenance of those liberties is a guarantee of maintenance of its own.

I have therefore the honour to lay before you the following draft resolution:

"The Fourteenth Assembly of the League of Nations,

"Considering:

"That the minority treaties concluded in 1919 and 1920 by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers bind a certain number of States to respect the rights of men and of citizens;

"That the international protection of the rights of men and of citizens solemnly affirmed in the minority treaties is in harmony with the juridical sentiments of the contemporary world;

"That, therefore, the generalisation of the protection of the rights of men and of citizens is highly desirable;

"Considering that, at the present moment, these rights might be so formulated as to ensure that every inhabitant of a State should have the right to the full and entire protection of his life and liberty, and that all the citizens of a State should be equal before the law and should enjoy the same civil and political rights, without distinction of race, language or religion;

"Expresses the hope that a world convention may be drawn up under the auspices of the League of Nations, ensuring the protection and respect of such rights."

This resolution was adopted on November 8th, 1928, by the International Diplomatic Academy, which is attended by the most distinguished diplomats of seventy-three countries. The same resolution, if not textually, at all events in essence, was adopted by the Institute of International Law on October 12th, 1922, at its meeting in New York, and it has been taken up by the International Leagues for the Rights of Man and by the Federation of League of Nations Unions. It therefore represents the very essence of the juridical and moral conscience of the contemporary world.

The Haitian delegation has the honour, in submitting this draft resolution, to request the As-

sembly to be good enough to refer it to the Sixth Committee. In taking this action, the Haitian delegation is giving proof of its ardent faith in the League of Nations, in that League in which the peoples of the world have placed their highest and noblest hopes.

The President. — The draft resolution just read by M. Frangulis will be printed and distributed to the delegations, and, at the next meeting, I shall make a proposal for dealing with it.

M. Alberto Guani, delegate of Uruguay, will address the Assembly.

M. Guani (Uruguay):

Translation: I should like to speak for a few minutes on the economic activities of the League of Nations. At this time of dire and universal confusion, these activities are keenly interesting nations and Governments, which, ready as they are to give their attention to any efforts to bring us nearer to a period of greater well-being and prosperity, are turning their eyes towards Geneva. The forces which will restore world equilibrium must certainly be those of solidarity and general participation in the work of political and economic peace; for which the world, passing as it is through a crisis greater than any other crisis recorded in history is waiting.

No international body is better qualified than this Geneva institution to discuss and decide upon a common policy, always provided that the Governments and public opinion everywhere give the League their entire confidence and that the League's prestige is paramount in the decisions of the responsible authorities who have to seek remedies for the present truly chaotic situation.

Previous crises have, in general, been local or individual crises. There has never yet been so far-reaching an upheaval taking place simultaneously in all economic spheres — an enormous fall in prices, the reduction of world trade by nearly half, the disorganisation of consumption and production markets, the collapse of industrial undertakings, thirty million unemployed, with all the sufferings and all the needs resulting from such a situation, budgetary deficits which cannot be covered, the abandonment of the gold standard and the consequent restrictions upon the trade in foreign exchange, the bankruptcy of many countries which have been unable to keep their foreign engagements, and, as a result of this state of affairs, the complete stoppage of all activities on the public credit markets.

Nevertheless, the League has taken the initiative in this matter in many and varied ways. From its inception, three great international conferences — the Financial Conference of Brussels held in 1920, the Economic Conference of Geneva in 1927 and the Monetary and Economic Conference held in London this year, have marked the principal stages which have been passed.

As early as 1922, the Genoa Conference asked the League to facilitate the application of certain resolutions in accordance with the principles of the equitable treatment of commerce, as set forth in Article 23 of the Covenant.

I may briefly mention other meetings, such as that held in November 1923 on Customs Formalities, in regard to which a Convention was signed with a view to freeing international trade from the burden of needless, excessive or arbitrary formalities. It was said at the time that the best means of achieving results in that field was to have recourse to an international agreement based on a fair system of reciprocity; and on that basis a

Convention was also concluded recognising that the obstacles to international trade caused by import and export prohibitions were so serious that States should adopt and apply all measures likely to reduce such obstacles to a minimum.

Some years later — October-November 1927 — an international conference was held which, in accordance with the conclusions of the International Economic Conference in May of that year, recognised that the return to effective freedom of trade was one of the essential conditions of world prosperity, and emphasised the necessity of resorting to simultaneous and concerted action. Other conferences dealing with more restricted subjects, such as those of Ouchy and Stresa, also voiced the League's constant endeavour to find, in the spirit of the Covenant, a remedy for evils which were constantly growing worse.

Again, the countries of the American continent, most of which are represented at this Assembly, are shortly to meet on the occasion of the seventh Pan-American Conference at Montevideo. All these problems will be approached in a wide spirit of continental solidarity. European circles have certainly not attached to this Conference the importance it deserves.

Nevertheless, a few days ago I read in a financial paper that the result of this Conference may radically change the economic and political policy of the world. In an article in the British Press a distinguished British statesman heralds the approaching Conference with the observation that the Western world had not yet sufficiently turned its thoughts to the important Pan-American Congress which is to take place in a few weeks at Montevideo; it had not yet realised the full significance of the Conference, but the nature of the Conference's agenda and the fact that all countries of North and South America had taken part in drawing it up demonstrated its possibilities. It was to discuss among other things the organisation of peace; it also proposed to study economic and financial questions, the stabilisation of currencies, commercial and Customs agreements, tariff barriers and quotas, — a broadly conceived programme. If the Congress arrived at practical conclusions, he added, America might be able to rescue the world from its present difficulties.

But although all these efforts, designed to reduce as far as possible prohibitions and restrictions to international trade, reveal the existence of a fund of optimism, it must be admitted that their practical efficacy has not up to the present been very conspicuous. All that these praiseworthy efforts have achieved is to swell the archives of a very copious bibliography, which presents a deplorable contrast to the bitter realities of the present time.

We must, without self-deception and without flinching, face the spectacle which the world presents as the result of the catastrophic developments that have taken place in the economic, financial and monetary fields.

"The spirit of Geneva" is the spirit of international collaboration; and, in the economic field, it has been given clear expression in Article 23 of our Covenant, which enacts that the Members of the League will make provision to secure equitable treatment for commerce as between one another. I venture to wonder whether this spirit is doomed to disappear from the commercial relations between nations.

That is the question which public opinion in every country is asking in this period of uncertainty. It is impossible to understand what fatal impulses drove the nations to embark upon courses which are leading them to an ever narrower nationalism, a veritable autarchy in tariff matters, and Customs obstacles of every kind, while international trade is

at its last gasp and all our hopes of recovery and salvation are dying with it.

The League's very considerable achievements in this field must not be allowed to go for nothing. Nor must the League give the impression that there is any real inconsistency between the policy now being followed by States and the principles so often enunciated at this Assembly.

The progress of the nations towards prosperity and progress largely depends, however, upon the principles underlying the economic policies of the various countries. These principles must envisage the necessity for close collaboration between all nations notwithstanding any differences in their economic systems. As the President of the International Economic Conference said, we cannot count, for the maintenance of peace, on any organisation if the economic policies of the world are not only to lead to profound differences of economic interests between the various groups of the world population, but are also to create a feeling of intolerable prejudice and injustice.

In face of all the obstacles and restrictions to the free development of international trade, there is also economic disarmament to be undertaken and carried through without delay. The world is awaiting it, as it awaits military disarmament, as the result of mutual concessions and that sincere collaboration which the League has always proclaimed, not only as a means of ensuring peace in the political field, but also as a means of ensuring order and justice in the economic field.

The President. — His Excellency M. Tsaldaris, delegate of Greece, will address the Assembly.

M. Tsaldaris (Greece):

Translation: On this, the first occasion on which I have participated in the work of the Assembly, I am happy to be able to assure you, on behalf of my country, of its sincere devotion to the great ideal of justice and peace represented by our institution.

Greece retains her wholehearted faith in the League of Nations. More than ever, in present circumstances, she sees in the League the supreme guarantee of international order, and she is proud that, within the modest limits of her sphere of activity, she has spared no effort to carry into effect the principles of good understanding and confident co-operation which form the basis of our Covenant.

Greece has concluded a number of treaties of conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement. She has acceded to Article 86 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and to the General Act of Geneva. She has established relations of firm friendship with most of her neighbours, and is prepared to do so with the other neighbouring countries.

Two weeks ago, I had the very signal honour and pleasure of signing at Ankara, with my colleagues and friends of the Turkish Republic, a Pact mutually guaranteeing our common frontier designed solely to extend our Treaty of Non-Aggression and thereby to consolidate a tried friendship, the development of which is earnestly desired by unanimous public opinion in both countries.

By giving this further token of friendship, Greece and Turkey were merely following the methods recommended by the League for restoring and increasing mutual confidence between the nations.

Allow me, on behalf of my Government and also on behalf of the Turkish Government, to remind you that, in 1925, the Assembly stated that it

"regarded favourably the conclusion of treaties of mutual security conceived in the spirit of the Covenant and in harmony with the principles of the 1924 Protocol" and also recorded the fact that "such agreements might be applied to the whole world".

In the following year, the Assembly welcomed with the greatest satisfaction the Treaties of Locarno, which had just come into force; it "asserted its conviction that the general ideas embodied therein might well be accepted amongst the fundamental rules which should govern the foreign policy of every civilised nation", and "expressed the hope that those principles would be recognised by all States and would be put into practice as soon as possible by all States in whose interest it was to contract such treaties".

It is to that desire, expressed by the Assembly, that Greece and Turkey have just acceded. They are conscious of having thereby acted in the general interest and are resolved to take every available occasion to continue so to serve it.

In the economic field also, Greece has been inspired by the ideal of international solidarity, and can say that she has profited by the valuable recommendations of the Geneva organisation. She has pursued to the greatest possible degree, with the countries which produce oriental tobacco, a policy of economic understanding calculated to contribute to the reorganisation of the tobacco market and to serve as a starting-point for implementing the international scheme to assist tobacco producers which was drawn up at Geneva in March of this year.

The creation of an Oriental Tobaccos Office, in which Turkey, Bulgaria and Greece are to be represented, undoubtedly constitutes one of the most valuable manifestations of this spirit of collaboration.

The relations of friendship and solidarity which we have established with Turkey have also enabled us to contemplate the co-ordination of our industrial policy, in a still wider field, and I am happy to announce that, as a result of the conversations recently held at Ankara, we shall soon be able to give definite and practical form to this co-operation in the field of industrial production.

I need hardly remind you, however, that, in the economic field, all national activities are so closely bound up with one another that it is useless to hope for any appreciable improvement in the present state of affairs until international action has succeeded in establishing fresh regulations for international trade, on the basis of the immutable principles of freedom of trade and with due reference to the particularly difficult position created for the debtor countries by the fall in prices. During the London Conference, the Greek delegation suggested a solution of this difficult problem; and it will continue to examine the problem within the sphere of the League of Nations, as it is in this atmosphere of solidarity and understanding—the outstanding characteristic of our organisation—that solutions of this kind can best be sought and found.

We must endeavour to give concrete and practical expression to the international spirit; and I am glad to say here that my Government is prepared to contribute to this result as far as it possibly can, and is firmly convinced that, in this effort to achieve and to continue to achieve, practical results, all the Members of the League—great and small Powers alike—will be imbued with the same spirit.

The President.—His Excellency M. Voldemaras Salnais, delegate of Latvia, will address the Assembly.

M. Salnais (Latvia).—If the last two Assemblies were entirely dominated by the worldwide economic depression, this year's gathering shows different features reflecting primarily the state of psychological depression ruling at this moment throughout the whole world. Indeed, neither a look back on the past year nor a look forward to the nearest future gives ground for any kind of satisfaction or optimism. Failures of important initiatives, political and economic, growing chaos in world economy, growing uncertainty and tension in the political situation, dwindling confidence and tumbling ideas and ideals—such is without exaggeration the present state of affairs.

It would be as unjust to throw the responsibility for the difficulties which we are all facing on the League of Nations as it would be disastrous for the League to refuse to assume its share—and an important share—in the solution of the problems which weigh heavily upon the nations of the world. Some of these problems can be solved only by common international action, and the psychological depression to which I alluded just now will certainly yield only to an international effort. No country represented at this Assembly should, therefore, hesitate to assert its firm resolution to support by all possible means the activities of the League, and, if necessary, to develop new methods for the accomplishment of its vital task.

I should like to state at once that my country has not lost its faith in the League of Nations, and that it still firmly believes in the necessity of an international organisation of nations and in the principle of international co-operation as the best means of achieving real progress in the development and consolidation of friendly and peaceful relations between nations and States. Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the disillusionment created in important sections of public opinion in our country—as well as, I am sure, in many other countries—on account of the unsatisfactory results so far achieved in the treatment of the two all-important problems of disarmament and economic recovery, results which have very seriously affected the prestige of the League, since the latter is being held responsible for the calling into being of the two great Conferences dealing with the above-mentioned problems and, hence, part of the moral responsibility for their meagre results is being ascribed to the League.

It is therefore the foremost duty of us all, and particularly of the representatives of the big Powers, to spare no effort with a view to finding means and methods to recreate and strengthen the authority of the League of Nations and thus revive the confidence of the peoples in our organisation.

Although there is doubtless some truth in the assertion that we have had too many conferences, and that referring a problem to an international conference is nowadays equivalent to dooming it to failure, it is still more dangerous to revert to the other extreme and to seek rescue in the methods of political and economic individualism, followed of necessity by seclusion and isolation. The saying about "getting one's own house in order first" is only partly justifiable just because a State is not a house, and if outside the closed doors of one's house one finds the street, squares and public gardens, there is nothing of the kind behind the closed doors of a State.

Again, the virtues of the regional principle for the solution of political and economic questions are

only of a temporary nature, and by the regional concentration of political and economic forces — which in itself is quite desirable — the tension or tensions between nations are eventually not averted but accentuated and increased, and the hour of conflict merely postponed, looming more dangerous than ever in the background, if these regional tendencies do not remain within the general framework of international solidarity and pacification.

I am happy to state that what has been done by my country in this direction has not been in contradiction with the fundamental principles of the League, nor does it bear in itself the nucleus of any future complications.

The Protocol signed in London on July 3rd last between Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Poland, Roumania, Persia, Turkey, Afghanistan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning the definition of the aggressor is a valuable addition to the network of non-aggression treaties covering the north and east of Europe. These treaties by themselves represent the further development of the ideas of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, and we may safely say that, in the north and east of Europe, every guarantee of security has been created and the pacification of this part of our continent advanced more rapidly than anywhere else.

It is not superfluous to observe that the London Protocol for the definition of the aggressor represents a noteworthy contribution to the doctrine of security, since it is the first international agreement which elevates to the status of contractual obligations the principles embodied in the relevant part of the report of May 24th last of the Disarmament Conference. Consequently, the London Protocol possesses not only the qualities of a regional instrument of pacification but remains in full conformity with, and represents even a certain progress in, the League's policy of security.

In the matter of political pacification certain instances of progress of at least a regional character may be quoted, the field of economic recovery does not show any signs of hope; on the contrary, the very few cases of an upward movement in the economic life of individual countries are outweighed by the regress in others and by the growing stagnation in international economic relations.

The notion of an economic truce initiated by the Convention for abolishing Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, followed by the abortive Customs Truce of 1930 and the Gentlemen's Agreement on the eve of the London Monetary and Economic Conference has been badly compromised. Not only has it been forgotten that an economic truce was originally conceived as a mere preliminary step towards a more general solution of the international economic difficulties, not only has the minimum of temporary stability in commercial policy been sadly disregarded, we have actually ceased trying to keep our individual actions in line with the most elementary notions of that international commercial policy to which we still profess to adhere.

The state of things prevailing before the London Conference was bad enough. The Tariff Truce, bristling with reservations, legalised an unjustifiable position in international commercial policy, but matters are being still more aggravated by the prospect of a breakdown of that last feeble bulwark and of complete chaos in international commercial policy. The admission by silent consent of quota practices having nothing in common with the principle of fair and equal treatment,

the bold introduction of the principle of reciprocity into the relations between countries bound by most-favoured-nation treaties, the impossibility of currency stabilisation, must be viewed with the gravest concern, and we look again to the League for a lead out of the pitiful conditions under which we all are suffering.

I entirely associate myself with the point of view expressed by the President of the Council in his opening speech — that it is indispensable to establish a basis of collaboration between the States which, through their importance and their force, exercise a decisive influence in the world. I should like to say more and to assert that, without an agreement between the leading Powers, we are threatened by a still more disastrous development in international economic relations. Such an agreement naturally involves sacrifices, but are the events of the last two years not the best proof that such sacrifices are inevitable and that the longer they are postponed the heavier they will weigh when they at last will have to be made? The lead of the big Powers would be as beneficial if it moved in the right direction as it has been dangerous in the past whilst being directed entirely in the interests of economic self-defence.

I can speak only of the experience of my own country; but it shows clearly enough that every restrictive measure of one of the great economic units which, in proportion to the whole economic structure of that unit, may have been even of no very great importance, immediately and automatically provoked counter-measures, because it disturbed the equilibrium in our commercial relations with the respective country to an extent which presented a danger to the whole national economy. To be quite clear — there is no question of retaliation involved in this observation, but only the conclusion that the law of action and reaction holds good also in the economic sphere and becomes particularly imperative if it is applied to factors of very divergent economic weight.

There is another aspect of the economic problem which I cannot avoid mentioning in my capacity as the representative of an agricultural country. I refer to the growing tendency towards a maximum of agricultural self-sufficiency manifested by the industrial countries of Europe, a tendency which may be justifiable from a social point of view, but which nevertheless is fraught with serious economic consequences.

I regret that the exclusion of the item of the agenda referring to the work of the Commission of Enquiry for European Union will deprive us of an opportunity for a more detailed discussion of the European agricultural problem; but I urge all Members of the League to give their serious attention to this problem, which in its present unsolved state will continue to present a considerable obstacle to economic recovery, since it reduces the consuming capacity of the population of a numerically important block of countries and forces them, against their desire, into a policy of unsound industrial development and exaggerated industrial protectionism.

In spite of the undertone of anxiety perceptible in the speeches to which we have listened and of the pessimistic outlook which imposes itself as to the possibility of an imminent solution of the dominating political and economic problems, we have witnessed the repeated profession of faith in the League of Nations by all speakers on this platform. That is the most gratifying fact which

differs markedly from the unduly critical attitude manifested in respect of the League's work from many quarters in the course of past Assemblies. The truth that the League has a mission which is essential to the maintenance of the existing order in the community of nations, and that in the execution of this mission the League can neither be missed nor replaced, ought to be hammered into the minds of all peoples, and we all have to assume our conscientious share in this task.

I address an earnest appeal to the delegates of all countries represented here, and particularly to those of them to whom falls the heaviest burden of responsibility, to bear in mind that the hopes of the peoples of the world are centred on their actions, and that these hopes must not be disappointed, lest the ensuing disintegration of the edifice of international co-operation bring irreparable mischief to all.

The President. — Mr. Sean T. O'Kelly, delegate of the Irish Free State, will address the Assembly.

Mr. O'Kelly (Irish Free State). — I desire to commence by paying a tribute to the remarkable address with which the President of the Council opened the proceedings of this Assembly. M. Mowinckel's words are doubly deserving of attention, both because of the distinguished personality of the speaker and by reason of the great and honourable part which his country has taken in League affairs.

In this connection, you will allow me to say how gratified my delegation has been that the remarks which Mr. de Valera made to the last Assembly, have found in the speech of the President of the Council such an authoritative endorsement.

It is a feature of this Assembly that delegates have shown a certain reluctance to take part in the general discussion. I think that is regrettable. Surely, in the present circumstances, it is important that statesmen who have been in close discussion on problems of the greatest magnitude during the past year should use the opportunity of the Assembly to take stock of the whole position. The general discussion at the Assembly is a new and valuable feature of international life and its value will increase the more it takes the form of a public examination of conscience.

The circumstances to-day are so exceptional and so far from being encouraging that it would be out of place to occupy the time of the Assembly with a mere commentary on the work of the League during the past year. In spite of solid achievements in the wide but little known field of its technical activities, its social and humanitarian work; in spite of the devoted and efficient service of the Secretariat, the record of the past year, as it appears to the world, is a record of three reverses — the Sino-Japanese dispute, the Disarmament Conference and the Economic Conference. In so far as the latter Conference is concerned, some consolation is derived from the fact that it may prove to be good preparation for future action. Disarmament is said to be not yet a forlorn hope, although, if one is to believe what one reads, there is at the moment far more reality in the increase of armaments than in their reduction, and it is, I think, true to say that Powers in all parts of the world are feverishly active in developing preparations for chemical warfare of a nature

more terrifying and inhuman, especially for the civil population, than anything hitherto known.

We must all recognise that this is a situation which cannot be described as anything other than grave. It is a situation which may well put in jeopardy the success of this great experiment upon which so large a part of mankind had founded its hopes. It is not a situation that can be glossed over by fine phrases, but one which must be fearlessly examined so that its causes may be defined and, if possible, removed.

We are surely bound to ask why it is that international co-operation has proved so ineffective in practice. In regard to the Economic Conference, was the line set in the preparatory work a sound line, or should new ground have been explored? Was the problem of economic aggression honestly examined, and were the dangers to peace which it involves given genuine consideration?

With regard to disarmament, have the lessons of history been fully learned? Competition in armaments was a major factor in bringing about the great war. Is the memory of that war so dim as not to be able to preserve us from the menace of further competition and conflict?

As for the Sino-Japanese dispute, are there gaps in the Covenant of the League and in other instruments of peace which ought to be filled up? How far have the recommendations and the decisions of the Special Assembly been put into effect?

These are specific questions which we should, I think, put to ourselves to-day, and I do not think that we shall find much difficulty in answering them.

If, then, new initiatives are necessary, have the nations the courage and goodwill to take them? For any effective co-operation, peace and the will to peace are the essentials.

I have not come to this tribune merely to criticise, and in putting before you the fruits of my reflection on the present situation I am not unmindful of the League's success in many spheres. Nor am I without appreciation of its great difficulties. I fully realise that it is easy to criticise. Indeed, when I say that in the major problems the League has been ineffective, it is necessary to explain, as other speakers before me have done, that it is not the machinery that has been found wanting. It is not the machinery that has broken down. What I mean is that there has been a failure to use the League machinery to the full. The responsibility for that failure must lie with the great Powers, who, owing to their importance and their resources, exercise a decisive influence in the world. I make no apology for emphasising this point, which has already been made by M. Mowinckel, for it is a point which must be frankly faced. As I have indicated, I do not minimise the difficulties of those States, difficulties which we all know to be commensurate only with their great responsibilities and the great rôle which they play in world affairs. Still less would I presume to apportion praise or blame; but, recognising this fact as one of capital importance, I say that it should be marked and understood.

In saying this again, I must not be taken to say that the small States have no responsibility for the success or failure of the League. They could often

contribute by their impartiality, courage and independence towards the solution of many of the League's problems, and this particularly applies to those of them who are elected to represent their fellows on the Council.

I am not suggesting that the small States have a monopoly of League virtue. Those which have been elected to the Council have perhaps sometimes forgotten that, unlike the great Powers, they do not only represent themselves, but those who elect them; and those who elect them have perhaps not always given that support to their representatives which would have been desirable.

In my view, the duty of the League is to face its difficulties frankly. Face them we must, because there is no alternative save international anarchy. If we face them courageously and with a full determination that they shall be solved, and that the individual sacrifices which are required for the common good shall be made, I am convinced that we shall have achieved the first and most important step towards success.

(The Assembly rose at 12.35 p.m.)

SIXTH PLENARY MEETING

Monday, October 2nd, 1933, at 4 p.m.

CONTENTS :

33. ABSENCE FROM THE PRESENT SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF A DELEGATION OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

Communication from the Argentine Minister at Berne.

34. PROPOSAL FOR A WORLD CONVENTION ENSURING THE PROTECTION OF AND RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF MEN AND OF CITIZENS.

Draft Resolution submitted by the Delegation of Haiti: Reference to the Agenda Committee.

35. PROPOSAL FOR THE ORGANISATION, ON AN INTERNATIONAL BASIS, OF ASSISTANCE FOR REFUGEES COMING FROM GERMANY.

Draft Resolution submitted by the Netherlands Delegation: Report of the Agenda Committee.

36. ELECTION OF THREE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

37. REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SINCE THE THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY.

Continuation of the Discussion.

Speeches by M. de Madariaga (Spain), M. de Vasconcellos (Portugal), M. Paul-Boncour (France) and Mirza Abol-Hassan Khan Foroughi (Persia).

38. SYSTEM OF ELECTIONS TO THE COUNCIL.

Report of the First Committee.
Resolutions.

President: Mr. C. T. TE WATER.

33. — ABSENCE FROM THE PRESENT SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF A DELEGATION OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC: COMMUNICATION FROM THE ARGENTINE MINISTER AT BERNE.

The President. — The Secretary-General has received a communication from the Argentine Minister at Berne to the effect that the Argentine Government regretted exceedingly that it had not had time or opportunity to organise a delegation to attend the present session of the Assembly.

The Argentine Government was most eager to take an active part in the affairs of the League. It hesitated to do so until it had formulated its instructions and had communicated them to a properly constituted delegation. As there was no time in which to do this, it regretted its inability to be represented at the session.

34. — PROPOSAL FOR A WORLD CONVENTION ENSURING THE PROTECTION OF AND RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF MEN AND OF CITIZENS: DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE DELEGATION OF HAITI: REFERENCE TO THE AGENDA COMMITTEE.

The President. — The Assembly will remember that at its fifth meeting, held on September 30th, it was seized of a proposal submitted by the delegation of Haiti with regard to a plan for a World Convention for ensuring the protection of and respect for the rights of men and of citizens.

I will now propose that the Assembly refer this draft resolution to the Agenda Committee and ask the latter to make suggestions as to the procedure to be followed.

If there are no observations, it shall be so decided, and the Agenda Committee will be convened at an early date to examine this proposal.

The President's proposal was adopted.

The President. — As it seems probable that the present plenary meeting will be the last before those to be devoted to the examination of the reports of the various Committees, which will not be called for a few days, I feel that the Assembly will perhaps not wish to have a special plenary meeting summoned to take cognisance of the Agenda Committee's report on the proposal made by the delegation of Haiti. The Agenda Committee's proposal can only be purely formal and relate to the procedure to be followed.

I would therefore suggest to the Assembly an expedient which has already been used by one of my predecessors. If the report of the Agenda Committee is unanimous, I will arrange to have it communicated to the delegations immediately through the *Assembly Journal*, with an explanatory note by the President.

If, after twenty-four hours, no delegation has made any observations or asked for this report to be discussed by the Assembly and put to the vote, I will consider the silence of the delegations as a sign that they accept the conclusions of the Agenda Committee.

Thereafter I will proceed as the Agenda Committee suggests. If it proposes placing the question on the agenda of this session, I will have it done; and, if it proposes referring the question to a Committee, I will transmit it to that particular Committee.

Of course, if any observations are communicated to me on the conclusion of the Agenda Committee's report, I will call a plenary meeting at an early date to enable them to be made.

If the Assembly is ready to accept this method of simplifying its work, I will interpret the silence of the delegations as indicating their consent.

The President's proposals were adopted.

35. — PROPOSAL FOR THE ORGANISATION, ON AN INTERNATIONAL BASIS, OF ASSISTANCE FOR REFUGEES COMING FROM GERMANY: DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION: REPORT OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE.

The President. — At its fourth meeting, held on September 29th, the Assembly referred to its Agenda Committee a draft resolution submitted by the Netherlands delegation with regard to the organisation, on an international basis, of assistance for German nationals who have taken refuge in several countries.

The Agenda Committee met in the afternoon

of September 30th, and has forwarded me its report, which I will now read to the Assembly:

"The Agenda Committee met to-day, September 30th, 1933, under the chairmanship of M. Mikoff. It examined the draft resolution submitted by the Netherlands delegation to the Assembly on Friday, September 29th, on the question of assistance to German refugees.

"After a thorough discussion, the majority of the Committee was in favour of proposing to the Assembly that it should place the draft resolution on the agenda of its present session. It should be mentioned that one of its members expressed doubts as to the competence of the League of Nations in the matter and as to the desirability of laying such questions before the Assembly.

"The Agenda Committee proposed that the examination of the question should be entrusted to the Second Committee of the Assembly.

"For reasons of expediency, the Committee did not think it desirable to pronounce on the financial aspect of the question."

I would ask the Assembly if it has any observations to make on the conclusions of the Agenda Committee's report. I also wish to draw its attention to the fact that, as the last paragraph of the draft resolution may involve a request for further credits for the coming year, the Assembly must approve the insertion of the question in the agenda by a two-thirds majority, in accordance with Article 16 (a), paragraph 1, of the Financial Regulations of the League.

If there are no observations, I shall take it that the Assembly has duly pronounced in favour of the adoption of the Agenda Committee's report.

M. von Keller (Germany):

Translation: The German delegation will abstain from voting.

The President. — I wish to make one further statement in regard to this matter, to the effect that the Secretary-General will call the Second Committee's attention to the financial aspect of this question and ask that Committee to refer it to the Fourth Committee for its consideration.

The fact that the German delegate will abstain from voting is duly noted.

The proposals of the Agenda Committee were adopted, the German delegation abstaining.

36. — ELECTION OF THREE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

The President. — Following the practice of my predecessors in this office, I would remind you of the provisions of the Assembly resolution of September 15th, 1926, 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 1, paragraph 1, reads as follows:

"The Assembly shall each year, in the course of its ordinary session, elect three non-permanent Members of the Council. They shall be elected for a term commencing immediately on their election and ending on the day of the elections held three years later by the Assembly."

Before opening the ballot, I would again remind you of the provisions of Rule 22 (a) of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, which apply in this case.

The rule reads as follows :

" (1) The Members whose representatives are to sit on the Council as non-permanent Members of that body shall be selected by the Assembly by secret ballot.

" (2) Where several seats are to be filled, the election shall be made by voting a list of names. Any ballot-paper containing more names than there are seats to be filled shall be null and void.

" (3) No Member shall be elected at the first or at the second ballot unless it has obtained at least the absolute majority of the votes. If, after two ballots, there still remain seats to be filled, a third ballot shall be held upon a list consisting of the candidates which obtained most votes at the second ballot, up to a number double that of the seats still to be filled, and those Members shall be elected which obtain the greatest number of votes.

" (4) If two or more Members obtain the same number of votes and there is not a seat available for each, a special ballot shall be held between them ; if they again obtain an equal number of votes, the President shall decide between them by drawing lots."

In computing the absolute majority prescribed for the first and second ballots, the Assembly will, I think, agree with me that, as at previous sessions, we should here, by analogy, apply the rule contained in the Assembly resolution of September 15th, 1926, concerning the "rules dealing with the election of the nine non-permanent Members of the Council, their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility".

This resolution provides as follows :

" 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 papers deposited, blank or spoilt votes being deducted."

In electing the non-permanent Members of the Council, blank or spoilt voting papers must not be counted when the number of votes is reckoned. The absolute majority should be calculated on the basis of the total number of valid voting papers.

If no one has any remarks to make, I shall assume that the Assembly, adopting the precedents of previous sessions, agrees to take the course I suggest.

The proposal was adopted.

The President. — I would emphasise the point that, to be valid, voting papers must bear the names of States and not of representatives of States. Further, no voting paper must bear more than three names ; otherwise, they will be regarded as invalid.

May I ask the Rt. Hon. Ormsby-Gore, delegate of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Baron Aloisi, first delegate of Italy, to come to the platform and act as tellers?

(The Rt. Hon. Ormsby-Gore and Baron Aloisi took their places on the platform as tellers.)

The President. — We will now proceed to ballot by roll-call.

(The ballot was taken by roll-call.)

The President. — The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of votes cast	53
Voting papers blank or spoilt	0
Voting papers valid	53
Absolute majority	27

The votes obtained by the States are as follows :

Denmark	52
Argentine	49
Australia	47

I therefore declare Denmark, Argentine and Australia, which have obtained the requisite majority, elected non-permanent Members of the Council for a period of three years. I have pleasure in congratulating these States.

I wish also to thank the tellers for their kind assistance.

37. — REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SINCE THE THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY : CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the general discussion of the report on the work of the League since the thirteenth session of the Assembly.

M. de Madariaga, delegate of Spain, will address the Assembly.

M. de Madariaga (Spain). — The Assembly will readily understand my desire to begin by paying a personal tribute to Sir Eric Drummond. I do not intend to repeat the praises which have already been voiced by others of far greater authority than myself. I should only like to say that I have worked for six years under his direction in the League Secretariat and collaborated with him for two years in the Assembly, the Council and the Disarmament Conference, where — especially in the Council — I have not always been so happy as to find myself in agreement with him ; and the admiration I have always felt for his great moral and intellectual qualities has steadily increased. I wish him every success in his new sphere of activity.

I should like to associate with his name that of his successor, my eminent friend, M. Avenol, whose authority and experience in the affairs dealt with at Geneva afford us good earnest of his success.

Allow me also to mention another old friend, M. Pierre Comert, the value of whose twelve years' work in the Information Section has left an indelible mark.

The new Secretary-General must, I am sure, have taken up his duties with courage, doubtless, but also with a certain melancholy ; for the League is passing through a period of serious crisis, a fact which — with only too much reason, alas! — has become the *leitmotiv* of the speeches delivered this year from this platform.

It often happens that the most familiar words — by their very familiarity — conceal, instead of revealing, the ideas they are intended to convey. When we hear of a crisis in connection with the

League of Nations, we often think simply of the organisation at Geneva, whereas it is obvious that the real crisis is in the society of nations — that is to say, the association of civilised peoples for the organisation of human life on earth. That is the crisis of which, with your permission, I wish to speak to you to day, since therein lies the root of the disease, of which the other crisis is but a symptom.

The fact that a society is in a state of crisis means that it is suffering from something contrary to the very conception of society — anarchy. To-day, wherever we look, whether on ideals or realities, we see nothing but anarchy. In fact, the word "anarchy" is really not adequate. What we are faced with is anarchy in the second degree, a network of anarchies, an anarchy of anarchies. I do not propose to describe it to you fully; to do so would be an endless and a melancholy task. I should like, however, to say something about it from certain aspects, in particular, its relationship to facts, to the minds of men, and to methods.

I will take facts first. The anarchy which exists in economic facts is particularly apparent. Whereas progress in finance, transport, taste, civilisation and the standard of life have made nations more and more interdependent, there now appears that dangerous Utopia of autarchy, whose name is as forbidding as the idea is absurd. The old smooth-working system of balancing payments by means of free trade, of financial systems, loans and the whole machinery of financial arbitration, is giving place to the unattainable ideal of levelling trade balances by dual agreements — that is to say, by agreements between States two by two.

Moreover, at a time when finance has reached the most advanced and complex state of development, nations are returning to the medieval system of barter, and national economic policies are perforce reverting, in spite of the very lofty and complicated, but often only too contradictory, advice of economists, to the narrow and empirical financial methods of the humble peasant.

In politics, anarchy is no less evident. This year, our League has had to deal with three serious and even grave conflicts. It gives me pleasure, not only from a general standpoint as a delegate to the League but more particularly as a delegate of Spain, to be able to state that one of these conflicts — I refer to that which has existed for too long between Peru and Colombia — is approaching a solution, thanks to the wisdom displayed by the two parties in submitting to the requirements of the Covenant of which they are both signatories.

I wish I could make an equally optimistic statement with regard to the dispute between two other countries of Spanish America — Bolivia and Paraguay. At a meeting of the Council, I felt it necessary to emphasise that this conflict had become embittered because it had been submitted to too many procedures, that the initial difficulty had been aggravated by the fact that the conflict had been submitted to all kinds of procedures before more or less voluntary agencies, whereas the League was, by its legal standing, the only one which was under an obligation to find a solution. On that occasion, I urged — and in this I had the honour of being supported by my colleagues — that the Council should take the matter in hand and not relax its grasp until a settlement was reached. But the course of international affairs can never be foreseen, and we found one day that the two parties, which for so long had been unable to reach an agreement on the substance of the question, had been able to agree on procedure. On the eve of the departure of the Commission which — as we at least believed and were

entitled to hope — would arrive at a rapid solution of the conflict by common agreement, the parties asked us to refer the matter to a committee of four South-American Powers — the Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Peru.

Whatever doubts we may have felt as to the advantages of this new procedure, we could not raise any objection in view of such a striking conformity of views between the two parties, and the Council asked the A. B. C. P. to deal with the question. It is already, I believe, a matter of common knowledge that these four countries, after the most painstaking and patient efforts, had to abandon the attempt to find a solution, and referred the matter back to us. All we gained by referring the question to these four Powers was a renewed assurance that the Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Peru would always lend us their support in any attempt to solve the problems submitted to the League.

I have dwelt at some length on this conflict because it affords a striking illustration of the argument, which I propose to develop later, that the affairs of the world must be centralised in the League, and that every time we depart from that rule we are riding for a fall.

There is a third dispute — and I should be sorry to say anything to increase its difficulties — namely, that which has existed since September 1931 between China and Japan. The facts are well known to all of you and I do not propose to say anything definite on the matter. I only wish to express my Government's earnest hope that this dispute, which, we are convinced, has only become embittered because, from the outset, the strict application of the principles of the Covenant was set aside, may once more be brought within the normal channels and that, through the strict application of the principles that were forgotten, we may soon be able to celebrate the restoration of peace between those two Members of the League and the return of that greatly respected country which, though it has not yet officially left us, may perhaps be lost if the dispute is not settled. When I say "lost", I have in mind both that that State would lose our collaboration and that for our part we should lose the advantage of the high authority of its opinion and advice in our Assemblies.

I venture to say that one of the most grave and disquieting signs of the political anarchy in which we are involved is the fact that, while the Council and the Assembly were patiently trying to find a solution for these conflicts, and the Disarmament Conference was endeavouring to frame a Convention, at that very time armament dealers were still selling arms to the parties to the disputes.

In the years between 1921 and 1930, the traffic in arms, calculated in millions of dollars, was as follows:

Year	Traffic in arms in millions of dollars, <i>excluding</i> the figures relating to aircraft and naval armaments
1921.	43
1922.	42
1923.	39
1924.	46
1925.	48
1926.	51
1927.	48
1928.	59
1929.	64
1930.	55

Moreover, in 1932, while we were striving to make peace between two countries which were in conflict with the League, one exporting country alone

supplied to them — I am speaking of exports to only two countries in one single year — four times more munitions than it had sold to all the countries of the world in 1930.

I would draw your attention to a third extremely grave fact. According to the figures published by the League, the total for the export of arms from all countries in the period 1920 to 1930 was 616 million dollars. Of this amount, only 478 millions appear in the total figure given to the League for imports. There remain, therefore, 138 million dollars' worth of arms the destination of which is unknown. Is it possible that a civilised and organised world regulated by a system like ours could allow 138 million dollars' worth of arms to disappear every ten years without being able to find out where they go?

I lay stress on this problem, for this platform seems to me the right place from which to speak of such serious and difficult matters.

Side by side with the anarchy of facts there is the anarchy in men's minds. Before entering upon this delicate question, I should not like it to be said that I had forgotten the line which separates domestic politics from foreign politics. I therefore entirely associate myself with the view expressed here at the beginning of the present Assembly by the delegates of Sweden and the Netherlands, who spoke with more authority than I can do, with regard to the undeniable fact that this line is becoming more and more vague and that it is extremely difficult to respect it in the old strict and legal sense, seeing that we are all living in the same world and that the domestic politics of one country react, or may react, most seriously on those of other countries, and also — which is still more serious — on international politics. In my opinion, it is far less important to respect the line between domestic and foreign politics than the line which separates peace from war,

The anarchy in men's minds has in our day become extremely complex, because, in former times, politics were regarded almost as a straight line between the extreme of conservatism and authority, on the one hand, and the opposite extreme of liberalism and democracy, on the other. Not that I claim that the words "liberalism" and "democracy" are equivalent in meaning; I think, indeed, that their meanings are often opposite. But there is no doubt that during the nineteenth century, though sometimes an ill-matched pair, they did at least pull in the same direction. That beautiful simplicity no longer exists.

The day came when we saw the rise of a dictatorship which, though directed against democracy, was endowed from the left with a sort of dignity, inasmuch as it arose from the extreme left wing of socialism; since that time, political systems, which must inevitably gravitate between the two poles of authority and liberty, have been more or less equally divided as between the authoritarian and the liberal poles. We must respect the right of each country, not exactly its sovereignty — for since the birth of the League this conception is perhaps destined, slowly or rapidly, to fade away — but the right to develop its own personality and to follow its own evolution in accordance with its own genius. There is, however, a reciprocal duty — namely, to adjust this inward evolution to the outward evolution of humanity. At a time when we are endeavouring, in the international field, to ensure the peace of the world by respect for the liberty of each people and by free discussion, it is, to say the least, disturbing, and naturally gives the impression that anarchy among men's minds is increasing, to observe the rise of movements in which the authoritarian element predominates

too strongly over the liberal element; such systems can only be regarded as in decreasing harmony with the Geneva system, which believes, and has always believed, in free discussion and in liberty.

In conjunction with these causes of anarchy in the international ideas of mankind, and perhaps not entirely unconnected therewith, we may note yet another feature: I refer to the extent to which the movement towards solidarity and organisation on universal lines is now faced, in the sphere which, since the war, has been its own, by a growing spirit of nationalism and by a growing scepticism in regard to the gospel of internationalism.

And in addition to all this, as if the existing spiritual and material anarchy were not enough, we are faced also with an anarchy of method.

We have all complained that confidence has entirely, or largely, disappeared. Confidence is the gold of the international political bank; its paper money is represented by agreements. The stock of confidence has not increased, but tends rather to disappear, whereas the paper money of agreements continually increases and is the most dangerous of all forms of inflation. We are applying inflation to agreements, and the more agreements we make the smaller becomes the gold reserve of confidence and the less value is attached by the peoples who use them to each additional agreement we conclude.

Side by side with the inflation of agreements, there is the inflation of war budgets, and side by side with the inflation of war budgets, the inflation of conferences and an increasing number of failures.

Why has this state of affairs arisen? Because our methods are in a condition of complete anarchy; because, as the eminent statesmen who prepared the Covenant of the League had learnt from their indisputable political experience, if conferences are to succeed, the problems must first be prepared methodically and without intermission, because (if I may use a homely metaphor) conferences should be dining-rooms and never kitchens, because a meal should be served only when it is ready and when the guests have the appetite to eat it.

Thus it has come about — still further increasing anarchy of method — that, while heroic efforts are being made to create confidence by means of speeches (of which mine is, unfortunately, an example), the Governments are taking action which must inevitably increase mistrust. It is not that Governments are not anxious to increase confidence. It is because they have not been able to bring into existence something which I ask you to consider with me — namely, the re-organisation of the organic whole — that Governments have been compelled to take refuge in national, and even in nationalistic, measures; and that the result must inevitably be distrust.

What is the conclusion to be drawn? The conclusion drawn by our critics — and there is no lack of them — is that the League has failed. Here I should like to apply to the League the very witty remark of a contemporary Irish dramatist regarding Christianity, by saying that the League has not failed because it has never been tried.

In a period of complete anarchy we should follow the example of the sailor lost on the high seas. He sets his course by the stars. Our stars are principles. Let us return humbly but resolutely to simple ideas, to essential principles; let us ask ourselves what exactly the League of Nations is.

The League of Nations must be regarded as a manifestation, in the sphere of human institutions, of an age-long process by which mankind in the course of his evolution is constantly led towards

a conscious and organised unity. Of this process almost forgotten instances can be found in ancient history, and particularly in the history of China; and in Europe in the sixteenth century there was a most interesting attempt along the same lines. A great monarch, part German and part Spanish — namely, Charles the Fifth of Germany and the First of Spain — endeavoured to construct Europe. He was the first political ancestor of Aristide Briand, and history has so willed it that the man who at that time showed no understanding was Aristide Briand's fellow-countryman, Francis I.

I would refer you to the great speech delivered by Charles the Fifth to the Pope at Bologna in 1535 — a speech that might have been delivered to the Assembly of Geneva by Aristide Briand — when Charles exclaimed three times: "I want peace; I want peace; I want peace".

The attempt failed, but not for want of eminent jurists to assist in bringing it into effect; at Salamanca during the same period Francisco of Vitoria was teaching doctrines which should even to-day be at the base of the work of the Mandates Commission. The attempt failed because its basis was too narrow; Charles the Fifth endeavoured to build a united Europe on the basis of Christianity, and therefore acted with injustice and even with cruelty towards two great races and two great religions — Islam and the Jews.

To-day, when the Jewish question is to the fore, the Spanish Republic turns its eyes towards that great race, to which it is indebted for illustrious men of letters, lawyers, mystics, doctors and statesmen. Spain believes that the attempt to be made in the twentieth century should cover the entire world and — to use the words of a famous French writer — nothing but the world, that it should embrace all men, all races, all religions, all nations.

It is because we believe the League to be the manifestation, in the institutional sphere, of the organic and self-conscious unity of humanity on this planet that we have an intellectual faith in the League which nothing can shake. We believe, none the less, that its development must necessarily be slow, and we can therefore bear patiently with setbacks because — and this is our third point — we are profoundly convinced of its ultimate triumph.

There are two ways of looking at the League. It may be regarded as the chamber in which rivalries of all kinds, rivalries of ambition and prestige, are balanced up one against another; to a certain extent, inasmuch as historical evolution must always proceed from the existing historical stage towards a higher stage, such a state of affairs is unfortunately inevitable. Criticisms of the League along these lines leave us undismayed; it is quite natural that they should arise. We shall endeavour to reduce this kind of criticism to a minimum, and to decrease its frequency as time advances; but, I repeat, such criticism must inevitably arise, and it causes us no dismay.

Nevertheless, the League towards which we must strive is the directing body of a co-operative association for international affairs, and in this connection I should like to draw a few conclusions. In the first place, we consider that the Covenant in its present form is adequate; in our opinion it provides an admirable documentary basis for such a co-operative association in the political field as the League, and we consider that the organisation is, in its main lines, excellent. I make this remark, which may in some respects seem a truism, because of the existence of two lines of criticism of the League, which are often contradictory, and neither of which is just.

On the one hand, we are told that the League is failing because it does not confine itself to its

proper sphere, which should be that of technical humanitarian and social questions, politics being left to the old diplomacy. On the other hand, we are told that the League of Nations is failing because it wastes its energy in dealing with secondary questions of technical, humanitarian and social interest, and neglects its real duty, which is to deal with political questions.

In our opinion, the League should deal with everything; and just as we consider that its activities should not be restricted to political questions, to humanitarian, technical or social questions, but should be extended to cover all the activities of organised humanity, so we are convinced that it is a mistake to endeavour to confine its action to any single continent, and that it is of necessity universal. The League should, therefore, deal with everything everywhere.

And why? It will be sufficient, in reply, to give a short analysis of the disarmament question. What is necessary for disarmament? To disarm we must be sure of peace. When shall we be sure of peace? Only when there is mutual confidence. We shall have mutual confidence when a community of aims exists. We shall have community of aims when we are really willing to collaborate. Disarmament therefore leads to collaboration. But collaboration in what? In everything: not merely collaboration in frontiers or in armaments, but collaboration in everything. Without collaboration in everything we cannot disarm. In other words: Why are there wars? Because there are disputes. Why are there disputes? Because problems become aggravated. Why do problems become aggravated? Because they are not studied at the stage when they are no more than questions. The conclusion is the same: if we want to avoid war, we must not concern ourselves merely with the last stage — namely, material disarmament, when weapons fall from men's hands. We must go further back, we must find out the reason why men are carrying arms; it lies in the fact that their aims are irreconcilable. They must therefore be made to collaborate, so that they learn the habit of co-operation. We must therefore have a co-operative association of international work; and when this co-operative association is active in every sphere — economic, humanitarian, political and social — then, and then only, may we be sure that the weapons will fall from men's hands.

I would like to draw one further conclusion. For the reasons I have just given — reasons which are fundamental and are not merely formal in character — the Spanish Government has never supported, save under the pressure of necessity and the need for unanimity, the arguments advanced here in favour of systematic and *a priori* economising on the League budget. Our Government, like all others, is solicitous of the interests of its citizens, and is anxious that every centime expended on the League should produce the maximum of return. But it has never been able to understand why a ridiculously small budget should be subjected to such heavy and systematic attack with a view to its reduction.

Our Government considers that, since the League is an institution which is in process of evolution — and it should be a progressive evolution — towards the international organisation of humanity, its budget must necessarily increase year by year — though that increase, of course, must not exceed the requisite minimum. The child must grow, and if it grows it will require more nourishment every day. In this connection, I should like to express grave doubts as to the wisdom of having allowed, so far as the Assembly is concerned, the Supervisory Commission and the

Fourth Committee to become, by almost imperceptible degrees, the bodies on whom, in the last resort, the adoption or rejection of any given resolution depends. If, after taking due note of the financial position as put before them by the Supervisory Commission and the Fourth Committee, the various Committees decide that any given policy should be followed, then it should be for those Committees and for the Assembly to take the final decision. To leave that decision to the Supervisory Commission and the Fourth Committee would involve a complete change in the existing hierarchy.

The League's budget is so very small — one five-hundredth or one-thousandth part of the war budgets of the entire world — that there is no reason for attaching so great an importance to finances. Indeed, there would be every reason for a gradual increase in its budget if the nations really had faith in the League.

In conclusion, I should like to refer to the session of the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters at Madrid this summer. It is with sorrow and surprise that I have to inform the Assembly that the two highly respected Committees to which I have just referred, and which, in spite of the valuable services they render, are sometimes dangerously zealous, have not included in the budget the modest sum of 8,000 Swiss francs required for the expenses of this Permanent Committee.

The Permanent Committee, which, with one exception, was composed of men of great eminence, enquired into the problem of the future of civilisation, and reached various conclusions, the most important of which I will read to you.

"The Committee expresses the opinion that the future of civilisation, even within the various national units, is essentially bound up with the development of its universal elements, which in its turn is conditional upon the organisation of mankind as a moral and legal entity.

"That national civilisations can only be conceived in relation to one another and to the universal civilisation which includes all countries, and that, in consequence, man can only reach full civilisation when there is complete liberty of intellectual intercourse between individuals, nations and institutions.

"The Committee expresses the opinion that the reasons which justify limitation of the liberty of the individual within the national group remain valid for the nations themselves both in their individual conduct and in their dealings one with another;

"That, having reached its present stage, universal civilisation cannot develop or even be maintained unless nations, in their own interests, consent to a limitation of their freedom of action by moral and legal rules, the moral and legal unity of mankind being, as the Committee has already affirmed, a necessary condition of the future of civilisation."

Nothing could be wiser than these remarks of these men, who, while politically independent, are close observers of human evolution.

It is essential that the League should develop in every direction and in all spheres; it is essential that we should acquire more and more the habit of co-operation. In too many cases the sharp attacks made on the League are due to ignorance. The evolutionary process bearing man towards the League is a process that has been operating over untold centuries, a process that is leading him away from the empire of force and on to the higher empire of reason. This evolution is therefore

a fundamental one, and those opposed to the League are opposed to it also. The League cannot fail, for it is the expression of human reason. If anyone believes that it is failing, let him come here and we will lead him in a friendly manner towards the light. To those who desire the League to fail, we can only apply the immortal words of Dante: "*Non ragionam di lor, ma guarda, e passa*".

The President. — M. de Vasconcellos, first delegate of Portugal, will address the Assembly.

M. de Vasconcellos (Portugal):

Translation: The Government of the Portuguese Republic, as one of the original Members of the League of Nations, has for the past fourteen years given its most loyal and disinterested assistance in the work of peace and international solidarity undertaken by the League. Both in the Assemblies, which they have never failed to attend, and in the Committees, where their collaboration has never been wanting, the Portuguese representatives have striven modestly, but with sincere devotion, to promote the noble endeavour to organise peace among the nations. As assiduous and active collaborators in all departments of the League's work, we have spared no effort in the struggle against opium and other dangerous drugs and in the work of the child welfare organisation, whose remarkable achievements we are proud to see.

As regards communications and transit, our assistance has been no less considerable: we even had the honour to hold at Lisbon one of the conferences on these matters — the Conference on Buoyage and Lighting of Coasts. That Conference succeeded in drawing up rules to govern this question, which is of such great importance to shipping, and these rules are in course of being adopted by almost all the countries of the world.

In health matters and in matters of intellectual co-operation we have also given evidence of our active collaboration.

When the financial and economic disturbances now ravaging the world began to produce their effects, and the League of Nations endeavoured at successive conferences to study the phenomena of the depression and to seek means for putting an end to it, Portugal invariably took her part in all the attempts at recovery that were proposed and in all the endeavours to institute a policy of international solidarity in economic matters, which has unfortunately been given more lip-service than practical application. Thus, we were one of the few countries which ratified the Convention on Import and Export Prohibitions, of such ephemeral memory. Moreover, apart from all conferences, Portugal, by putting her finances in order, by balancing her budget and re-ordering her ravaged economic life — and this in the midst of the crisis and by her own efforts alone — has given the world an eloquent example of the possibility of reconstructing the economic life of a nation which, under intelligent and able leadership, voluntarily shoulders the sacrifices indispensable for the success of this heavy task of recovery.

On the Mandates Commission, in the struggle against slavery, in the protection of natives, the Government of the Republic has placed in the common stock its skill and its centuries-old experience in colonial matters. It has found — and it has never concealed its view — that there are few colonial problems which can be discussed by big committees or assemblies, as it is difficult, and even harmful, for such problems to be made the

subject of criticisms and decisions by a majority ignorant of their substance and details.

The Government of the Republic, which has given proof of such long and devoted collaboration with the League, considered that, in such circumstances, it might be deemed worthy of the confidence of the Assembly as one of its representatives on the Council, and consequently, since the 1926 reform, it has on two occasions submitted its candidature to a non-permanent seat on the Council.

On the first occasion it received a fair number of votes, and on the second occasion the votes cast in its favour, which were well in excess of the absolute majority, showed it that it did not lack the confidence of the Assembly; but the study of the system of election in force proved to us that there was a defect in its practical operation, in the matter of the election of the non-permanent Members, which resulted in some fifteen States being in reality deprived of all possibility of ever becoming Members of the Council.

We drew attention to this in the speech made at the eleventh Assembly, during the discussion of the Secretary-General's report.

After the 1930 election, the Government of the Republic publicly announced its decision to abstain from becoming a candidate for the Council. I will read the actual words:

"Decides, as long as the present situation continues, to abstain from becoming a candidate for the Council, and to use every effort to introduce into the system in force such amendments as are indispensable for safeguarding the essential principle of the equality of States."

Shortly after, the Portuguese Government addressed to all the States Members a memorandum laying before the Governments the question of reforming the electoral system in force, which had become indispensable, and dealing with the participation of States in the composition of the Council. At the twelfth Assembly, the Government of the United Kingdom submitted, through the authoritative voice of Lord Cecil, a draft resolution proposing the creation of a special Committee to study the system of elections to the Council.

After a detailed discussion by the First Committee, the Assembly adopted the resolution proposed, and the Committee was appointed, met and drew up the report which will be submitted to you.

My object in mentioning this question now, without desiring in any way to touch upon a discussion of the Committee's report, is to show that, through the initiative taken by Portugal and the United Kingdom and sympathetically received by successive Assemblies, the state of affairs to which the above-mentioned Portuguese declaration referred will be changed and that, in consequence, the Government of the Republic will regard it as its moral duty to submit its candidature for the Council once more if the Committee's report is adopted and if the Council sanctions the provisional increase in the number of non-permanent Members which will then be proposed to it.

I could enumerate all the various services which justify my country's aspiration to the honour of a seat upon your Council.

I will merely say that Portugal has had her frontiers definitely fixed for a longer period than any other European country. It is called a small country because its European territory is not very large; but it is certainly a great country whose language is spoken by some 60 millions, as

will be realised when it is recalled that its colonial empire covers more than 2 million square kilometres and greatly exceeds the total area of Spain, France, Germany and Italy combined. It will perhaps be said that ours is an immense empire with a very small number of Europeans, but that is not true. If the figures for the Europeans inhabiting the vast colonies of French Equatorial Africa, the Cameroons and Madagascar, the Belgian Congo, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are compared, and also the area of these territories and their black populations, it will be found that in these colonies the largest proportion of Europeans is 25 to every 10,000 natives, while in the Portuguese colonies there are 80 Europeans to 10,000 natives. Moreover, while in the above-mentioned colonies the largest is 24 Europeans per 1,000 square kilometres, the figure is 30 for the Portuguese territories.

It is not, however, solely in virtue of the number of colonists that the Portuguese colonial empire deserves to take a leading place among those of the great colonial nations: let us take one of the most important factors in the development of civilisation — the trade figure. The total trade of French West Africa amounts to 249 francs per head of the population; the imports and exports of French Equatorial Africa and Madagascar amount to 230 francs per head of population; the total trade of the British colonies of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika amounts to £2 6s. per head of population; the maritime trade of the Italian colonies in Africa amounted in 1930 to 373 lire per head of population; and the foreign trade of the Belgian Congo amounts to the enormous figure of 395 francs per head of population; but the total trade of the Portuguese colonies is 598 escudos per head of population, the Portuguese escudo being, at the present rate of exchange, roughly equivalent to the French franc.

If I add that we possess in Angola and Mozambique 3,750 kilometres of railways at present in operation, and more than 58,000 kilometres of good roads in all our colonies, and that the two most important ports of the east and west coasts of Africa — Lourenço Marques and Lobito — are also Portuguese, you will be able to form a general idea of the gigantic efforts made by this people, which, not content with discovering these territories, has done its utmost to further their civilisation and progress as the greatest nations of the world have done.

If I quote these figures, taken from the admirable speech delivered by our young Minister for the Colonies at the inauguration of the twenty-second session of the International Colonial Institute and quoted in the Belgian Senate by His Highness the Duke of Brabant, it is to bring home to you that, in spite of this constructive work, Portugal is the only colonial nation that has not yet been represented on the Council. I will confine myself to the present and not weary you by appeals to the history or to the colonising genius of my country, as evinced by the creation of Brazil and the maintenance of its unity until the proclamation of its independence — regarded by the greatest historians as one of the finest achievements in the work of civilisation, and one of which any nation may be proud.

None is better qualified to appreciate the value of this effort than you, Mr. President, representing as you do a nation which, in order to do justice to the great Portuguese figures of the past, has just opened, in the magnificent building that houses its representatives in London, two rooms in honour of the immortal names of Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco da Gama.

I do not propose to touch upon the discussion which has just taken place on the reverses and successes attending the work of the League. I note with the greatest satisfaction the unquestionable successes achieved by the technical organisations in their campaign against dangerous drugs, in the realm of public health, in communications and transit, intellectual co-operation, child welfare, etc. I do not take a very pessimistic view of the League's political and economic activities, as I think that, if there have been any reverses, they should be attributed rather to the Governments than to the institution, whose advice, opinions and proposals have been misunderstood or even flouted.

I will quote to you in this connection the words written a short time ago by the Head of our Government, whose financial achievements you have on a number of occasions had the opportunity of appreciating. He wrote as follows :

"Discourses in favour of peace and co-operation are followed by aggressive measures and relentless selfishness. Speeches worthy of attention have been followed by laws which should never have been passed — an evident sign that the laws are made by some people and the speeches by others. The truth is that there are few Governments to-day which can answer for their own peoples. The acuteness of the crisis has made men restive and uncertain of mind, and has produced a soil favourable for the machinations of speculators in the political and social fields. When we return home from these great international gatherings and renew contact with our own countries, which resound with the complaints of our fellow-citizens, we are led to adopt makeshift solutions likely to produce an immediate effect, and these solutions are generally inconsistent with the sound principles that have just been preached. Difficulties are frequently shelved in the hope that that great statesman, Time, will solve them or help to solve them."

And he added :

"The work we have done in the financial field is the condition and the essential basis of one small part of the work of national reconstruction which must be pursued in all spheres, from the production of wealth to the education and civilisation of the Portuguese people. We have, indeed, begun with the financial and administrative reconstruction of the country in order to acquire such material resources and such labour in the service of the State as may enable us to utilise the available funds for the benefit of the whole nation."

That is a fine programme, and success has constantly attended its execution ; why should it not be tried in the majority of cases ?

With the reconstruction of the nations' finances and the restoration of their economic systems, sound policies would soon be inaugurated.

National reconstruction and international solidarity — those are the broad roads that will lead to the regeneration of the world. They will lead to the organisation of peace through the firm and unfaltering application of the principles of the Covenant and respect for treaties signed and ratified.

For this fruitful work of progress and of peace, you may count on all the strength and energy of the Government and people of my country.

The President. — M. Paul-Boncour, delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

M. Paul-Boncour (France) :

Translation : Although the whole French delegation is following the work of this Assembly with close attention, I did not intend to take part in this general discussion. My thoughts and cares are all, I confess, directed towards that coming date, which, I agree with Sir John Simon, cannot be deferred, when, after nineteen months' work, we shall see whether the Disarmament Conference can produce results or not and, consequently, whether or no the armaments race will be resumed, that race which must sooner or later lead to the catastrophe which the League of Nations, its machinery, discussions and meetings (I agree with M. de Madariaga that they need not be so numerous), were designed to avoid.

But, during the discussion, things have been said and questions to some extent raised to which my country feels in duty bound to reply, and to which I shall reply very simply and very briefly.

I can assure the first delegate of Norway, who opened and, if I may say so, gave the tone to the Assembly, that he interpreted my country's intentions aright when, in response to the initiative of the Italian Government, frank and detailed discussions were instituted which, while dispelling any misunderstanding as to its future application, led to the signing of the Four-Power Pact in the form in which it will be submitted to the French Parliament for ratification.

You were right : France has never abandoned and never will abandon a policy of confidence and co-operation with the League of Nations. That policy has been consistently pursued by France ever since the inception of the League, and has been followed by every other Government. The attacks that have been made upon it in France have been negligible, and they have had no effect on public opinion, passionately devoted as it is to peace and, in particular, to that democratic form of peace, the assembly of nations, meeting in unity and on equal terms, as embodied in the League.

It was reassuring to us, and to me personally, who have been in the forefront of the battle, that the first words spoken here, consecrating our efforts, so to speak, and epitomising their significance, should have been spoken by the representative of one of those nations which at one time, we had reason to fear, would regard themselves as prejudiced by the system of co-operation which four great Western and neighbouring Powers were attempting to organise among themselves.

Sir John Simon told us with kindly irony that we would have to choose between two opposite criticisms as contradictory as those mentioned just now by M. de Madariaga. When the great Powers meet to discuss with one another, those who do not attend those meetings are inclined to regard them as conclaves at which the right is arrogated to deal with questions within the province of the whole Assembly or at which even attempts are made to achieve results likely to be harmful to the small States as a whole.

Yet we are always being told that progress is being retarded because the great Powers, which are expected to give a lead, have not definitely agreed in advance among themselves on a common line of policy, which the other Powers would be prepared to adopt.

We must choose, and the choice is easy ; or, rather, it is that we must, now as always, reconcile the different points of view.

Those with experience of the League know perfectly well that the greatest service we can render it is to avoid embarking without preparation

upon public debates and thus widening divergences which concerted diplomatic action might have reduced, and obliging the small Powers to mediate between the great Powers in disputes which the great Powers have not taken the trouble to avoid. The great Conferences — the Economic Conference, the Disarmament Conference — the adjournment or procrastination of which is so largely responsible for the spirit of pessimism which seems to be weighing down the atmosphere of this Assembly, would have succeeded better had they been more carefully prepared.

The countries which refuse to lose faith in these great international meetings — and France is one of them — must not neglect any of the factors which have always been the condition of success in international relations. These factors may be deduced from the rules of intelligence as much as from those of diplomacy. We must proceed from the simple to the complex. We must first settle, if we can, the common questions, the individual interests as governed by proximity and by political relationships. Although the year which has elapsed since the last Assembly is closing on a note of anxiety which should not be ignored and which no one, moreover, has ignored, yet it has in many valuable ways enhanced the efficiency of the machinery of peace by regional agreements — the Four-Power Pact and the Pact of the Little Entente — and the pacts of non-aggression and pacts for the definition of the aggressor which Poland, Roumania and the other neighbouring States have so wisely concluded with Russia and with one another.

As at Locarno, where the principles of a protocol which it had not been possible to apply universally were applied to a particularly sensitive spot of Europe, so now, since Europe, unable to set up a coherent structure at one stroke, is building piece by piece, it is the duty of diplomacy to try to extend that structure and to join its parts together. To join them together, that seems to be the League's great task.

We must compare, conciliate and co-ordinate in the international organisation these regional structures which would be antagonistic to one another if the League were not there to incorporate them in the rules and practice of a pact which makes provision for them all and, by so doing, commends them to our attention and to our use.

Such agreements are even more necessary when, as in the case of the Four-Power Pact, the Powers affirming the need for such collaboration are bound to each other by the prior Pact I mentioned just now — that of Locarno. For the Four-Power Pact is but the sequel and implementation of Locarno, which, if peace is to be assured, it is now more necessary than ever to keep alive and active. The essential point of these individual pacts is that, in the last resort, it is the League which decides; but it must decide, it must speak, it must act.

Too often, slowness of procedure and hesitation to embark on a course of action and follow it up, and, above all, reluctance to take a final decision compelling a definite statement as to who is in the right and who in the wrong — and that is, after all, why we are here, and we have, by signing the act, committed ourselves in advance to listening to and respecting decisions of this nature — all this has helped to dash the high hopes which the peoples had placed in the League. Already, on all hands, those who, in their hearts, have never admitted that rules of law should replace solutions by force are raising their heads again. But, never fear! the nations have suffered so much from settlements by violence that they are standing by us. They will retain their confidence in the League, if it retains confidence in itself.

It is precisely because, during this discussion, the League has received a moving request from a number of nations, including some which, for historical or geographical reasons, were spared the recent conflicts, but which nevertheless realise that the threat of new conflicts will not spare them, that I have come to this platform to tell them that France is with them. France is with the first delegate of Norway, who was the first to say what needed to be said; with the first delegate of Austria, in defending the independence of his country against all machinations, external or internal; with the first delegate of Sweden, who, quoting Kant, recalled that man must not be the slave of man; with the first delegate of the Netherlands, in support of the noble initiative he has taken; and, I hope, with you all, in the desire and the determination that, not force, but the League of Nations, its procedure and its verdicts, may remain our common safeguard and the guarantee of a peace which cannot be jeopardised unless we show ourselves incapable of defending it, and defending it here.

The lesson to be drawn from this Assembly, its object, the watchword that must be heard throughout its discursive debates, must be sought, not in constantly restated formulas of vague hope, nor as an echo of the pessimism of our detractors, but by taking firm resolves.

In a Europe where so much violence is once more being meditated, the hour is past for mere idle or idyllic words. It is time to know whether international security will be ensured by the scrupulous observance of the provisions of the Covenant and of the Pacts which define and strengthen it; whether the Disarmament Conference will produce a reasonable and equitable convention acceptable to all; whether there will be a mutual, equal and effective supervision to ensure its execution; and whether the signatory States will stand firm in making it respected.

Thus the two tasks before us are closely bound up with one another — our present task and our future task. It will depend on the tone and the resolutions of this Assembly whether there is to be an atmosphere favourable to the resumption and success of the Disarmament Conference, on which, as you realise, the whole trend of affairs in Europe and throughout the world now hangs.

I apologise if the need to speak frankly and, in the case of a great country, the duty to reply frankly to the questions put by the small nations that have spoken here have caused me to use language rather different from that we are accustomed to hear from this platform; I beg that you will attribute this solely to my zeal for the accomplishment of the task to which we all, equally and with a common mind, have set our hands.

The President. — Mirza Abol-Hassan Khan Foroughi, delegate of Persia, will address the Assembly.

Mirza Abol-Hassan Khan Foroughi (Persia):

Translation: I venture to address you to-day because I see, in the anxiety caused by what appears to be wavering faith in the League of Nations, a significant fact showing that the time has come to raise a general question which, though of a speculative nature, is at the same time of vital importance from a practical point of view: I refer to the need to investigate the principles on which the League is based and thus seek more exactly to determine the true part which this international institution should play in the interests of mankind in order to enhance its prestige in the eyes of the public and to place it where it will be safe from its detractors.

Conscious of the horror which was everywhere aroused by that extraordinary fratricidal struggle, the world war, the founders of the League, and public opinion itself, considered that they were endowing that great international institution with its closest definition and the highest expression of its aims by holding it up as a superior instrument which was henceforth to safeguard world peace. In the circumstances, that was, and it still remains, the best expression of the truth.

Nevertheless, the only rational principles on which world peace could be based — that universal and lasting peace which alone could inspire in the human breast a reaction against the horror that was the world war — necessarily subserve a higher ideal, on the basis of which society to-day must be radically transformed. That was the view, or at least the ideal, gradually formulated during the organisation of the practical system which was to make it a reality, an ideal that led the highest representatives of intellect and thought to rally round the League with greater enthusiasm than the statesmen themselves, and thus gave the meetings held here the reassuring appearance of a happy and cordial agreement between the theoretical and the practical intellect. That disinterested enthusiasm felt by the élite of the purely intellectual world appears to be waning, and is withdrawing into itself in face of the practical arrangements left to diplomats or technicians, who, overwhelmed with work, are displaying an aloofness that must be regarded as the most alarming symptom claiming the attention of the League's supporters.

I do not believe that that enthusiasm is really waning. The true representatives of the intellectual world, who are competent to appreciate, as the Netherlands delegate aptly observed, the value of those seconds of eternity represented by individual human existences, can never allow themselves to be discouraged by such vicissitudes as may awaken the legitimate apprehensions of the impatient public. Nothing short of a re-adjustment of the intellect will suffice in such circumstances to carry out an examination of every aspect of the problem of finding a satisfactory and constant formula for the human ideal, an examination such as will, if crowned with success, yield a practical result by raising the ideal itself still higher. In order that this readjustment may not be so protracted as to engender disappointment, I will try to place the reasons for our attachment to the League in a new light for the benefit of the public, which has, perhaps, understood the expression "lasting peace" in too limited a sense — namely, as the sole safeguard constituted by the treaties terminating a disastrous war, the ineffaceable spectre of which still haunts us. And I find this new light in the contribution to world civilisation that must be made by the nation to which I have the honour to belong; for the mission of that nation, placed as it is between East and West, has always been to act in all things as a channel of mediation and of regenerating synthesis.

The human mind itself is a synthetic reality, which finds remarkable expression in the extraordinary synthesis represented by the structure of our brain. All the great feats of progress accomplished by man in the course of his long history have been the products of synthesis between the various geniuses of different nations and civilisations. That is a truth which we Iranians are best qualified to know from our own experience, as we have almost continuously lived this life of synthesis resulting from frequent contact with different national geniuses and fostered by the conciliatory spirit of our race, which has often

sacrificed the splendour of its own originality to reconcile apparently conflicting expressions of higher culture.

These syntheses, in themselves so regenerating and so productive of progress, have, unfortunately, through some defect in the constitution of our globe or of our material world, always coincided with the decadence or disappearance of the older society, so that the two societies whose combined civilisations had this regenerative influence never survived under the same conditions of prosperity. Human civilisation, transplanting itself with this change of destinies, was reborn and continued its unpredictable progress across the ages, employing, to the advantage of one portion of mankind and to the great detriment of another portion, the weapons of war and conquest, which constituted the principal element of change, accentuating as they do this disequilibrium. Such was the case with the ancient empires of the East, whose civilisations were inherited by the glorious dynasty of the Achemenides of Persia; the splendour of the Roman Empire, enslaving ancient Greece whence it had drawn its culture; the civilisation of Arabia, offspring of a fertile union to which ancient Iran imparted her own glorious independence; and finally, such is the case with the splendid modern civilisation of the West, that found a first impulse in the East, when its star was setting in the misty horizon of decadence.

Although civilisation has always tended to expand, in order, with contemporary progress, to bring the whole world under its influence; although, through this inescapable process of propagation, the whole of mankind is to-day permeated with a universal desire to enjoy the benefits of civilisation some day, yet eventually this original evil, which has always linked progress with decline, must find its remedy in the very course of the laws governing human evolution, or in the resources of the higher intellect and will of man. For otherwise there will be a perpetual conflict between light and darkness, between prosperity and disaster, troubling the atmosphere of peace and concord necessary to the life of human groups that are so closely dependent on one another, and the more backward of which will always aspire to a share in all the benefits of civilisation. This time is, you will perceive, the time in which we live, when the whole world is no longer divided into two great camps of civilisation — the West, now approaching its zenith (a presage of coming decline), and the East, now awakening from its long sleep which, not being death, could but come to an end, now achieved by the dazzling light and by the tremendous upheavals of Western civilisation itself.

A reassuring synthesis — the vastest and profoundest that humanity has known — is already entering upon its consummation, despite all the material difficulties which in appearance are leading the League to ruin. If, however, in this new stage of regeneration by synthesis, the original evil still makes its influence felt by placing regeneration and progress at the exclusive service of one party, yet the human ideal, though it finds that the universality of its consummation, so clearly prepared, is being attacked, will certainly surmount the obstacle through the very force of its need to realise itself. Since the influence of civilisation has no margin of apathetic ignorance to mitigate the violence of the blow, the world will have either to explode or to prepare itself for the universal

attainment of the human ideal, when the two great societies whose combined geniuses are regenerating civilisation for the last time may share equally the benefits of the progress thus achieved. East and West must attain to an equal level of civilisation, which must progress in both, this progress being accelerated by the influence of complementary qualities designed to perfect each of the parts which have finally entered upon a happy union.

This is the conclusion: progress towards the universal attainment of the human ideal is necessary, if not inevitable, since the free choice of the human will will perforce create the necessity. As this choice is not necessarily unanimous, there are two alternatives. If we freely acquiesce in the unanimous choice of an agreement to work for civilisation, which will be perfected by the voluntary operation of the synthesis, we shall develop happily and wisely; but, if we use our liberty to depart from such a beneficent agreement, there will be a terrible revolution, which, in spite of ourselves, will lead us, though through the very destruction its conflicts will engender, to the inevitable goal where what is left of humanity will find its happiness.

It will inevitably lead there this time, for humanity has so much vitality that it cannot die out entirely through any evil. Provided that a small handful of intelligent beings survive, the spirit of man will mend the broken chain of progress, for that spirit is the force that will rise above ruin to repair the havoc, which is not irreparable. Nevertheless, we do not suffer scourges willingly; and revolution, like war, is the most terrible scourge. Even the extremest of revolutionaries, if he really wants revolution — as he always says he does — in order to achieve an object far removed from destruction and cruelty, could not reasonably deny that his tactics, involving as they do horrible destruction, are a terrible means which no one can wish to employ so long as he can hope for a better way.

Since the world war, the public has constantly gone in fear of war. What it fears comes within the scope of the general idea which I have called revolution, applying revolution to every acute phase reached in an ardent determination to advance in a particular direction. If the inevitable imperfection of man and his institutions is recognised, the inescapable necessity of a certain form of revolution for the progress of humanity will be admitted. But the reality being extremely complex, the present transformation of society involves progress in an infinite number of directions — which progress the regenerative synthesis of the two geniuses, Eastern and Western, is destined to vitalise and to guide — and it will be seen that many and serious vicissitudes are to be expected before the day comes when man will find his salvation in real progress, in the already perfected synthesis of all the different geniuses, and in the true wisdom acquired by hard experience.

In order to avert the great peril that may beset society and civilisation during all these vicissitudes, a higher, and hence international, institution is necessary to regulate movements and temper the blows that will inevitably be sustained.

That institution, which, if it is to be complete, must itself keep a watchful eye on the collective mind and wield international authority enabling minds which can visualise the human ideal to procure enlightenment for themselves and illumine the world with its beams — that institution, the importance of which must be measured by the vastness of the universal ideal of mankind and by the difficulties to be overcome before the noble

object in view is attained, can be defined only by its title of League of Nations. It is the League of Nations as at present constituted, the League which has already rendered such genuine services to the cause of peace and concord in international life. It will become what we may justifiably expect it to become, provided that public opinion in all countries understands that its support of the League and its just appreciation of the League's rôle and usefulness will constitute its effective authority, and provided that the intellectual world continues to see in its supple perfectability and in the universality implied in its international character — favourable as it is to the beneficent synthesis of the different geniuses and of the various elements of civilisation in all their wealth — a sufficient reason for maintaining an unflagging interest in the League.

In concluding my speech, from which I have intentionally omitted all mention of political and economic matters of immediate interest in order to show how it is proposed to broaden the conception, I will, as a practical contribution, express the hope that the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation may be supplemented by a special study and propaganda section for investigating the principles on which faith in the League of Nations and the definition of its true rôle must rest, and for the study, in this connection, of the synthesis to be achieved between the two geniuses, Eastern and Western. Such a task will mean an effort at mutual understanding.

This attempt to investigate the principles involved may usefully serve as the propaganda advocated by many enlightened minds. The synthesis between the genius of the East and that of the West will help to solve many problems which to-day defeat learned and rational Western thought and, as we all realise, call loudly and insistently for solution.

38.— SYSTEM OF ELECTIONS TO THE COUNCIL: REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the question of the system of elections to the Council. The report of the First Committee on this question has been distributed to the delegations (document A.31.1933).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Motta, President of the First Committee, and Count Piola Caselli, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President. — Count Piola Caselli, delegate of Italy, will address the Assembly.

Count Piola Caselli (Italy), Rapporteur:

Translation: The First Committee has the honour to submit for your approval two distinct proposals: The first, which relates to the increase by one of the elected seats on the Council, is a question for decision by the Council, in accordance with the provisions of Article 4, paragraph 2 of the Covenant. As, however, the Council's decision must be accompanied by the approval of the majority of the Assembly, you are asked to give that approval.

The second proposal comes exclusively within the competence of the Assembly, in accordance with Article 4, paragraph 2*bis* of the Covenant, as it concerns a reform in the procedure of the elections, and your approval, under the terms of that article, must be given by a two-thirds majority.

I think that a few brief observations will be sufficient to supplement the contents of the printed report which you have before you.

The justification for the second proposal was given by Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, the representative of the United Kingdom, who advocated it on the Special Committee of which I had the honour to be Chairman, observing that it was necessary to avoid candidatures being put forward at the last moment without sufficient consideration and liable to lead to unfortunate results.¹

In order to avoid these surprise votes, it is proposed, on the model of a system in force in the electoral laws of England and other countries, that candidatures should be publicly declared forty-eight hours before the elections. The declaration made by the candidate, or by the electors supporting the candidature, must be communicated in writing to the Secretary-General, who will forthwith bring it to the attention of the Assembly.

For the reasons stated in the printed report, this reform cannot come into force before the elections at the ordinary session of the Assembly next year.

The first proposal, relating to the provisional increase by one of the elected seats on the Council, is, I should like to point out, the outcome of an exhaustive examination by the Special Committee of the electoral system at present in force.

This Committee, composed of fifteen Members of the League, carefully examined the various aspects of the difficult, complex, delicate and thorny problem of the elective composition of the Council — a problem which has been a source of preoccupation and anxiety from the very origin of the Covenant and which, in view of the different solutions it offers for discussion, would seem to involve not only the past, but also the present and the future, of the League.

As a result of its discussions, to which the highest political personalities connected with the League have brought their contributions, the Committee proposed a solution which is in the nature of a provisional compromise between two opposing tendencies and opinions.

As is generally the case with a compromise, it does not wholly satisfy either of these tendencies and opinions, and it is open to criticism on both general and theoretical grounds. But, in the unanimous opinion of the Special Committee, which was approved by the First Committee, it meets the needs of the moment and gives evidence of wisdom and prudence.

The increase of the elective seats by only one may seem insufficient to enable the Members of the League not included in groups to find a place without difficulty in the normal rotation of Council elections. But the groups have no obligatory and absolutely rigid consistency. Their machinery can in practice, if desired, be made more adaptable, more adjustable and fairer to those Members, without any need for regulation by law. In any case, the Committee's discussions seem to show that the proposal to add two seats would have no chance of securing the necessary unanimous acceptance by the Council, and might give rise to an undesirable conflict between Council and Assembly on a serious constitutional question.

The reform of an electoral law, when associated with a change in the composition of the political body to be elected, must obviously develop into a reform of a constitutional character. Considered in relation to the composition of the League Council — that is to say not only the question of the existence and number of the elective seats, but that of the existence and proportionate number of permanent seats — this question goes to the very root of the Covenant.

The Committee wisely and prudently took the view that the present was not an opportune moment to discuss so vast and momentous a question. But the vote you are asked to take to-day will not bind you in any way; it cannot prevent the question from being reconsidered at any moment you may choose.

The period of three years indicated in the proposal is intended solely to give the minimum stability necessary for the new seat. It will be clear, however, from the Committee's Minutes (I refer especially to the Minutes of the meeting of May 19th, 1933) that there was no intention — and, indeed, any such commitment would have no value — to encroach upon the sovereign power of the Assembly and of the Council.

When, in the considered opinion of the Assembly and the Council, the time has come to reconsider the constitutional question, their faith in the fundamental idea which justifies the League's very existence will certainly suggest to them solutions calculated to consolidate the League's authority and perfect the working of its organs.

For these reasons, I have the honour, on behalf of the First Committee, to recommend for your adoption the following draft resolutions:

I.

The Assembly,

Having considered the report of the Committee appointed to study the existing system of election to the Council,

Approves the recommendation of the Committee for the provisional creation of one new non-permanent seat on the Council, and accordingly declares that it is desirable 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 will be reconsidered and that all the Members of the League will remain entirely free to propose any final solution of this question which they consider desirable.

The Assembly instructs the Secretary-General to bring this resolution to the attention of the Council.

II.

The Assembly,

Having considered the report of the Committee mentioned in resolution No. I,

Adopts the following provisions as an addition to the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926:

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, which shall not be held before the seventh day of the Assembly's session;

The notice of the candidature shall be given in writing to the Secretary-General, who shall forthwith bring it to the attention of the Assembly. The Secretary-General shall at the time of the election place before the Assembly a list of the Members which have been duly put forward as candidates.

*The draft resolutions were adopted.
(The Assembly rose at 7.45 p.m.)*

¹ See Minutes of the meeting of May 19th, 1933.

SEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

Saturday, October 7th, 1933, at 4 p.m.

CONTENTS :

39. ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF M. DOLLFUSS, CHANCELLOR OF THE AUSTRIAN REPUBLIC.
Communication by the President.
40. PENAL AND PENITENTIARY QUESTIONS : GRADUAL UNIFICATION OF CRIMINAL LAW AND CO-OPERATION OF STATES IN THE PREVENTION AND SUPPRESSION OF CRIME.
Report of the First Committee.
Resolution.
41. TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN : CONVOCATION OF A DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE TO PREPARE THE FINAL TEXT OF A CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF TRAFFIC IN WOMEN OF FULL AGE.
Draft Resolution proposed by the Fifth Committee.
42. PENAL AND PENITENTIARY QUESTIONS : STANDARD MINIMUM RULES FOR THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS : ACTIVITIES OF THE TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS.
Report of the Fifth Committee.
Resolution.
43. WORK OF THE HEALTH ORGANISATION.
Report of the Second Committee.
Resolution.
44. RUSSIAN, ARMENIAN, ASSYRIAN, ASSYRO-CHALDEAN AND TURKISH REFUGEES.
Report of the Sixth Committee.
Resolution.
45. MANDATES.
Report of the Sixth Committee.
Resolution.
46. WORK OF THE COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT ORGANISATION.
Report of the Second Committee.
Resolution.
47. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL QUESTIONS.
Report of the Second Committee.
Resolution.

President : Mr. C. T. TE WATER.

39. — ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF M. DOLLFUSS, CHANCELLOR OF THE AUSTRIAN REPUBLIC : COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President. — On receiving the news of the attempt on the life of Dr. Dollfuss, Chancellor of the Austrian Republic, I felt I was acting in accordance with the feeling of the Assembly by sending a telegram of sympathy and congratulation to Dr. Dollfuss. The following is the text of that telegram despatched on October 3rd, 1933.

“ On behalf of the Assembly of the League of Nations, I would express my deep concern at the attempt of which you have been the

victim. I send you my most cordial congratulations on your escape and sincere wishes for your speedy recovery. — TE WATER, *President of the Assembly.*”

Chancellor Dollfuss was good enough to reply to me on October 4th by the following telegram :

“ I beg you to transmit to the Assembly of the League of Nations my most sincere thanks for the kind congratulations and wishes which you have been good enough to send me. — Chancellor DOLLFUSS.

I felt I should inform the Assembly of this exchange of messages, as I was anxious to give it an opportunity of approving the action I had taken in its name.

The President's action was approved.

40. — PENAL AND PENITENTIARY QUESTIONS : GRADUAL UNIFICATION OF CRIMINAL LAW AND CO-OPERATION OF STATES IN THE PREVENTION AND SUPPRESSION OF CRIME : REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.

The President. — The first item on the agenda is the discussion of the First Committee's report on the gradual unification of criminal law and co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime (document A.37.1933.V).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Limburg, Vice-Chairman of the First Committee, and M. Pella, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President. — M. Pella, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Pella (Roumania), Rapporteur :

Translation : In submitting to you the work of the First Committee on the problems of the gradual unification of criminal law and co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime, I will merely put before you the two views expressed.

The first view was favourable to the progressive unification of criminal law in cases where the divergencies between national legislations allow, in practice, the impunity of criminals. As regards the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime, the supporters of this view stated that there could be no effective co-operation of States in the absence of uniform regulations governing extradition and of co-operation between police forces.

The second view was that the League's field of action should be carefully circumscribed in such matters, particular questions being chosen and studied separately. The League could take action only when international interests called for the

co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime.

In view of the differences in the two views advanced, the First Committee considered that it should adopt a compromise; the League's assistance should consist of closer collaboration with the technical organisations mentioned in the resolution adopted by the Assembly in 1931, and their opinion should be asked on penal and penitentiary questions.

Moreover, if the work of those organisations led to definite results, and if practical necessity and international requirements demanded League action, the League might intervene with the object of securing, if possible, the conclusion of international conventions.

The First Committee also noted in its resolution the re-organisation of the International Bureau for the Unification of Criminal Law, and considered that, in cases where the organs of the League felt it appropriate to do so, that Bureau might be entrusted with the preparatory investigations undertaken in connection with the drawing-up of any convention on the subject that might be contemplated.

Legal theory and practice in penitentiary questions might be made the subject of collaboration with the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission.

For my part, in view of the need for closer solidarity between States in the suppression of crime, which should nowhere find impunity and asylum, I would ask the Assembly to approve the following resolution adopted unanimously by the First Committee:

The Assembly,

Having examined with the greatest interest the joint reply given by the seven technical organisations which the Secretary-General consulted on the subject of the form in which the League of Nations might lend its assistance in the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime (document A.7.1933.V, Annex);

Noting the re-organisation of the International Bureau for the Unification of Criminal Law by the entry of representatives of the six other organisations into that body;

Considering that the Members of the League have been consulted on the question of the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the campaign against crime and that the majority of the replies received are favourable, in principle, to collaboration by the League in these matters;

Considering that certain other Governments have expressed the opinion that the only method by which useful results in this sphere may be obtained consists in studying each particular question separately, if it is of international interest, as and when need arises:

Recognises the value of the international exchange of views on criminal matters which occurs within the technical organisations;

Is of the opinion that, when the work of these organisations leads to definite proposals, the League of Nations may intervene with the object of securing the possible conclusion of international conventions if the proposals referred to answer to real needs recognised as such by the organs of the League—in which case, the procedure would be that normally followed in the conclusion of conventions under the auspices of the League of Nations;

Thanks the seven technical organisations for their offer to place the results of their work at

the disposal of the League of Nations, the possibility of having recourse to this collaboration obviating the necessity for the creation of a special organ of the League to deal with criminal and penitentiary questions;

And considers it desirable that, in cases where the organs of the League feel it appropriate to do so, those organs should consult the said organisations. In such cases, the International Bureau for the Unification of Penal Law might be asked to give its assistance in the preparatory investigations undertaken in connection with the drawing-up of any convention which may be contemplated. So far as concerns law and practice in regard to penitentiary questions, the assistance of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission might be obtained.

The President. — If there are no delegates who wish to speak, I shall consider the First Committee's report and the draft resolution accompanying it as adopted.

The draft resolution was adopted.

**41. — TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN :
CONVOCATION OF A DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE TO PREPARE THE FINAL TEXT OF A CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF TRAFFIC IN WOMEN OF FULL AGE: DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE FIFTH COMMITTEE.**

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the examination of a resolution adopted by the Fifth Committee with regard to the convocation during the present session of the Assembly of a Diplomatic Conference for the purpose of drawing up for signature the final text of the Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age (document A.47.1933.IV).

(On the invitation of the President, Mlle. Hesselgren, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, and Miss Horsbrugh, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President. — Miss Horsbrugh, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Miss Horsbrugh (United Kingdom), Rapporteur. — The subject of the report I have the honour to present to the Assembly is the convocation of a Diplomatic Conference to study the draft Convention for the Abolition of the Age-Limit in the existing conventions on the traffic in women and children between different countries.

The question of the abolition of the age-limit has been discussed by the Committees of the League for many years, and at the last session of the Advisory Committee it was unanimously agreed that the time had come to take a decision and that the age-limit could be abolished. This was reported to the Council in May of this year, and the Secretary-General was instructed to ask the Governments for their observations on the subject. In the replies that have been received, there is a very wide measure of support for the signing of the Convention during the present Assembly.

In the discussions in the Fifth Committee, the principle of the abolition of the age-limit was

approved with almost complete unanimity. A Sub-Committee was set up to consider the observations of the Governments, to make certain drafting amendments, and especially to make clear a phrase in order that the offence of taking a woman from one country to another for immoral purposes might be punishable even if the country to which she was taken was a colony or mandated territory under the sovereignty of the country from which she came. The Sub-Committee completed its work and reported to the Fifth Committee.

We hope that the Assembly will adopt this resolution, that the Diplomatic Conference will be called, and that it will be possible to sign the Convention, because we believe that, with its signing, we shall have made some considerable advance in abolishing this traffic which is abhorrent to all of us.

The draft resolution reads as follows :

The Assembly,

Having taken note of the answers of the Governments on the draft Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age contained in documents A.24.1933.IV and A.24(a).1933.IV, and having heard the statements on the Convention of delegates in the Fifth Committee ;

Considering that the great majority of Governments which have submitted observations on the draft Convention are in favour of holding, during the present session of the Assembly, a Diplomatic Conference for the purpose of drawing up for signature the final text of the Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age :

Decides to convoke this Diplomatic Conference during its present session.

The President. — If there are no observations, I shall take it that this proposal, together with the explanations verbally given by Miss Horsbrugh, are accepted by the Assembly, and that the Conference will therefore be convoked under the suggested conditions.

If no delegate wishes to speak, I shall consider the draft resolution of the Fifth Committee as adopted.

The draft resolution was adopted.

The President. — The Diplomatic Conference charged with drawing up the final text of the Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age will meet at the Secretariat on Monday next, October 9th, at 10 o'clock.

Those States which have not yet accredited their delegates to the Conference are asked to indicate in writing to the Secretary-General to-day the name of their delegate or delegates to this Conference. The credentials authorising delegates to sign the Act which may be finally adopted should be deposited at the Secretariat, Room 109, before Monday next.

42. — PENAL AND PENITENTIARY QUESTIONS : STANDARD MINIMUM RULES FOR THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS : ACTIVITIES OF THE TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS : REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the examination of the Fifth Committee's

report on the standard minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners and the activities of the Technical Organisations (document A.44.1933.IV).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Pella, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

The President. — M. Pella, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Pella (Roumania), Rapporteur :

Translation : I will not read you the report on penal and penitentiary questions ; it was unanimously adopted by the Fifth Committee and has already been communicated to you.

I merely desire to draw your attention to the decision taken by the Fifth Committee on the standard minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners.

The International Penal and Penitentiary Commission gave effect to the resolution adopted by the Assembly in 1931 by revising these standard minimum rules in the light of the observations of the various Governments and of the organisations consulted. The revised rules represent the minimum necessary for the humane and rational treatment of convicted persons, and are easily adaptable to local circumstances and to the peculiar position of each country. It is thus a question of submitting these rules to the Members of the League and to the non-member States, requesting them to state whether, in view of their existing or proposed laws and regulations, they are in a position to consider approving and applying these rules in whole or in part.

The question of a recommendation with regard to the standard rules, and, on the other hand, that of their mere approval by the League or the possible conclusion of an international convention, was reserved for the next Assembly, it being naturally understood that the prior opinion of the Governments would be sought.

Further, without expressing an opinion on the substance of certain other cognate questions, the Fifth Committee requested the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission to continue its work in this field. As regards convict labour in particular, the International Labour Office was also requested to continue its studies.

The Fifth Committee also advocates collaboration with the technical organisations which deal with penal and penitentiary questions on an international scale and which are referred to in the resolution of the 1931 Assembly ; this collaboration would obviate the necessity of creating a special League organisation for penal and penitentiary questions.

A report by the Secretary-General on the work of the women's organisations mentioned in the 1931 resolution was also referred to the Fifth Committee, which expressed its satisfaction at the valuable work done by those organisations.

I personally am convinced that, by the humane and rational treatment of the convict in accordance with modern principles of law and of modern penitentiary practice, and by the international solution of certain cognate problems, we shall achieve the main object of contemporary criminal law, which is the reformation of the convict — that is to say, the transformation of the negative factor which he represents into a positive factor of value to the community.

For this reason, I venture, on behalf of the Fifth Committee, to ask you to adopt the report which I am submitting to you and which has been

unanimously adopted by the Committee, and accordingly to pass the following draft resolution :

The Assembly adopts the report of the Fifth Committee on penal and penitentiary questions.

The President. — If no delegate wishes to speak, I shall consider the Fifth Committee's report and resolution as adopted.

The draft resolution was adopted.

43. — WORK OF THE HEALTH ORGANISATION: REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Second Committee's report on the work of the Health Organisation (document A.38.1933.III.)

(On the invitation of the President, Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Second Committee, and M. Baranyai, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President. — M. Baranyai, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Baranyai (Hungary), Rapporteur :

Translation : The Second Committee's report to the Assembly was unanimously adopted by the Committee and is in your hands; and I need not therefore read it. It summarises the manifold activities of the Health Organisation. In the first place, it mentions the work of that Organisation carried out at the request of the Governments of certain of the States Members which turned to it for assistance in the solution of problems that, transcending the national sphere, can be solved only on the international plane. During the past year, the four principal continents were represented among the countries which thus called upon the Health Organisation for assistance. The report also mentions the work of the Eastern Bureau, that sentry placed at Singapore by the Health Organisation to announce the appearance and watch the development of epidemics of pestilential diseases.

It then goes on to discuss the various special committees and the other activities of the Health Organisation.

After thus reviewing the varied and fruitful work of our Health Organisation, the report deals with certain aspects of the discussion in the Committee.

Before considering the work of the Health Organisation, the Second Committee desired to pay a tribute to the memory of the Vice-President of the Health Committee, M. O. Velghe, Chairman of the Permanent Committee of the Office international d'Hygiène publique, who died during the last session of the Health Committee.

In the course of the discussion, the representatives of the countries which the Health Organisation has endeavoured to assist offered it their unanimous thanks.

The Chairman of the Second Committee was glad to note that the curtailment of the financial resources at the disposal of States had had scarcely any detrimental effect on the essential task of

protecting public health. Speaking as the representative of Belgium, he stated that his Government took particular care to encourage the employment on sanitary projects of those without work.

The report adopted by the Committee is, however, the outcome of the speeches of all the delegates who took part in the discussion. An account of the discussion is contained in the official records, which will be of the greatest value to the Health Committee when it comes to prepare and carry out its programme of work.

I should like to mention here certain statements to which the report does not allude.

The Roumanian delegate referred to the interest which his Government took in the investigations into infant mortality carried out under the auspices of the Health Organisation. The Organisation lent its support to the enquiry set on foot in Roumania, and the results were found so valuable that the Minister of Health decided to extend them to the whole country. The Roumanian delegate then spoke of the international anti-malaria campaign, in which his country had participated together with the Health Organisation, and of his Government's interest in the pellagra question, which the Health Organisation had studied. Roumania, he said, was at the disposal of the Health Organisation in whatever field her collaboration might be desired.

The South African delegate paid a tribute to the way in which the Health Organisation brought to a successful issue the Health Conference convened at the Cape on the request of his Government.

The Chinese delegate expressed his gratitude for the support accorded by the Health Organisation to his country in its work of technical reconstruction.

The Czechoslovak delegate also expressed the thanks of his Government for the technical assistance given to his country by the Health Organisation.

I should like to thank these delegates and others who have made such useful contributions to the discussions and thus facilitated my task as Rapporteur.

In conclusion, I will read the following resolution :

The Assembly :

Values highly the results obtained in the Health Organisation's various fields of work ;

Attaches special importance to the work accomplished by that Organisation, particularly as regards the campaigns against malaria, tuberculosis, diphtheria and infant mortality, as well as in connection with biological standardisation ;

Is gratified at the increasing importance of the part played by the Eastern Bureau in the prevention of pestilential diseases ;

Notes with satisfaction that the countries which have requested the Health Organisation's technical collaboration have received all the assistance which they desired ;

Takes note of the report (pages 92 to 97 of document A.6.1933 and pages 43 to 45 of document A.6(a).1933) which has been submitted on the work of the Health Organisation, and approves the general work carried out by that Organisation since the last session of the Assembly.

The draft resolution was adopted.

44. — RUSSIAN, ARMENIAN, ASSYRIAN, ASSYRO-CHALDEAN AND TURKISH REFUGEES: REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Sixth Committee's report on the work of the Nansen International Office for Refugees (document A.39.1933).

(On the invitation of the President, Sir Denys Bray, Vice-Chairman of the Sixth Committee, and M. Antoniadé, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President. — M. Antoniadé, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Antoniadé (Roumania), Rapporteur :

Translation : The Sixth Committee had to examine, on the basis of the annual report by the Governing Body of the Nansen Office for Refugees, the work of that Office during the past year. The Committee unanimously recognised that, thanks to the enlightened guidance of its Chairmen, first M. Max Huber and afterwards Professor Werner, and despite the economic difficulties which affected its resources, the Office was able to carry on its very varied and complex work.

The Office, meticulously carrying out the resolutions of the previous Assembly, has continued to render important services in the humanitarian and economic fields, and has at the same time helped very considerably to promote political and social stability. Having to deal with nearly a million refugees, of whom almost 150,000 are wholly unemployed and about 55,000, disabled and children, are physically unable to earn their living, the Office granted assistance and relief to some 72,000 refugees and succeeded by its judicious action in preventing an increase in the number of unemployed.

The details as to the work done to promote the settlement of Armenian refugees in Asia Minor, the transfer of other Armenians to Erivan and the settlement of refugees in countries open to colonisation, particularly Brazil, will be found in the Office's report and in my own.

One question which claimed the Committee's attention is the draft Convention prepared by the Office in co-operation with the Advisory Inter-Governmental Commission and designed to ensure protection for refugees. A Conference is to be held shortly to establish a real legal status for refugees, that status having been provided hitherto by mere inter-governmental arrangements. When this Conference is held, a decision will have to be taken on the somewhat thorny question of the expulsion of refugees.

In view of the importance of the work to be done by the Office, the reduction of the means at its disposal prior to the present year and the sharpening of the crisis, the Committee is of opinion that, in its budget for 1934, it is necessary to keep the figures as already approved in the scheme for the liquidation of the Office adopted by the twelfth Assembly.

I have the honour to submit to the Assembly the following resolution, which has already been approved by the Sixth Committee :

The Assembly,

Having considered the report of the Governing Body of the Nansen International Office for Refugees on the important assistance given during

the past year to thousands of Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish refugees :

Thanks the organs of the Office for the humanitarian and economic services they have rendered, and for the important contribution they have thus made to political and social stability ;

Requests the Nansen International Office to continue its study of the possibility of transferring to Erivan new groups of Armenian refugees ;

Notes with satisfaction the steps taken by the Office, in close co-operation with the Inter-Governmental Advisory Commission for Refugees, to prepare a draft Convention for ensuring the protection of refugees ;

Urges the Inter-Governmental Conference which has been summoned for the purpose of examining that draft Convention to give the most sympathetic consideration to the recommendations contained therein ;

In view of the growing difficulty of settling certain classes of refugees in Europe :

Invites immigration countries which are desirous of developing their territories to co-operate with the Office in settling refugees suitable for those territories ;

Recognising the dangers to which expelled refugees are exposed, and the difficulties caused to the countries to which they proceed :

Repeats its earnest appeal to Governments not to expel refugees before they have obtained formal permission to enter an adjacent country ;

Invites the Council to take the necessary action to give effect to this resolution ;

And confirms its approval of the figure of 300,000 francs for the year 1934 contained in the liquidation plan adopted by the Assembly at its twelfth ordinary session.

The President. — If no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the Sixth Committee's report and the draft resolution as adopted.

The draft resolution was adopted.

45. — MANDATES: REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Sixth Committee's report on the question of mandates (document A.45.1933.VI).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Lange, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

The President. — M. Lange, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Lange (Norway), Rapporteur :

Translation : I will not read my report, but will merely point out the importance of the conclusion to be drawn from it, which is summarised in paragraph (a) of the draft resolution — namely, the expression of the Assembly's confidence in the mandatory Powers, the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council, as regards the execution of Article 22 of the Covenant.

I should like, however, to add a few words on the paragraph of the report devoted to the mandate for Palestine. This is the aspect of the work in connec-

tion with mandates which has principally claimed the attention of the Sixth Committee. Nearly all the speakers, in the course of the discussion, mentioned the remarkable progress recently made in Palestine, which has ensured a considerable improvement in the well-being of the population as a whole. Mr. Ormsby-Gore quoted some quite conclusive figures in this connection.

I am sure we are all glad to congratulate the mandatory Power, which has been able to reconcile with the legitimate interests of the non-Jewish population its obligations towards the Jewish National Home, defined as follows in Article 2 of the Mandate :

"The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home, as laid down in the Preamble."

I am sure we should all like to add to our congratulations to the mandatory Power our congratulations to the Jewish Agency for Palestine, which has carried out its great work so efficiently in spite of all the difficulties.

I will ask you, on the strength of the discussions in the Sixth Committee and of my report, to adopt the following resolution :

The Assembly,

Having taken note of the work accomplished by the mandatory Powers, the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council in regard to the execution of Article 22 of the Covenant :

(a) Renews the expression of confidence in them voted by the past sessions of the Assembly, expresses its appreciation of the results secured and its hope that the spirit of co-operation which inspires their work will enable them to achieve further progress along the lines indicated by the principles on which the mandates system is founded ;

(b) Expresses the hope that the native populations of the mandated territories may, to the utmost possible extent, be spared the consequences of the economic depression, and notes that this object has been secured in one of these territories through the efforts of the mandatory Power with the co-operation of the population concerned.

The President. — M. Lucien Hubert, delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

M. Lucien Hubert (France) :

Translation : The submission of the excellent report of our colleague and friend, M. Lange, leads me to sketch very rapidly a few general ideas on mandates policy.

For some ten years, the Permanent Commission has been doing fruitful and important work, consisting in the constant supervision of the political, economic and social life of the mandated territories. There can be no doubt that the work of the Commission, assisted by the authoritative opinions of the Council, is being recognised as one of the most hopeful branches of the League's activities. There are several reasons for this success : in the first place, the rôle and the work of the Committee rest upon precise texts — Article 22 of the Covenant — and on the various statutes which constitute so many charters for the various countries. Moreover, this work is strictly limited to the territories which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world. Secondly, the success attending the Committee's work has been due to the ability of its members. In this field, technical knowledge is indispensable,

and the colonising Powers have used it : they and they alone could, in view of their past and the results obtained in their own colonies, ensure the regular progress of the work. The Council, as the supreme body, by entrusting them with the tutelage of certain peoples, thus acted wisely and rendered the very greatest services to these peoples themselves and to the League.

Nevertheless, the mandates question is an extremely delicate one, as is the colonial problem generally. By placing the mandates in different categories, the Covenant clearly intended to show the impossibility of uniform but sterile conclusions. A very light touch will always be necessary in dealing with this matter, especially as, within the different mandated areas, economic and social conditions vary according as the people are still in the stone age or are highly developed people using typewriters and motor-cars. It is here that the experience of the colonising nations is the best guide on the road of progress, and in the efforts to increase the material and moral welfare of the populations placed under the League's control. In this complex sphere, caution must be the rule ; caution alone will enable the Permanent Mandates Commission to build up, on the basis of the experience of the colonising nations, such legal practice and doctrine as may later become the manual of the perfect mandatory Power.

The fact that the Sixth Committee was able to accord sincere praise to the Permanent Mandates Commission was due mainly to the close parallelism between the lines of action taken by the mandatory Powers in their own colonies and in the countries they administer under mandate. Their experience in their oversea domains, the knowledge they have acquired of native conditions and the economic work undertaken in the various distant possessions have all been utilised by them in the sole interest of the mandated country. That is an asset of incalculable value which the colonising nations have placed at the service of the League, and it should never be forgotten.

These considerations explain why the colonising Powers that have been given mandates are particularly appreciative of any praise they may receive here each year.

In a rapid review of the question of colonial mandates, the mind is inevitably led, by the contemplation of the successful development of those territories, to wonder, with our colleague M. Lange, whether the mandate form is not the ideal form of colonisation.

There once more arises, therefore, the complexity of colonial problems. In colonial matters, the most hard and fast forms are the worst. There can be no single form of colonisation ; there must be a whole range of possibilities. What may be good in one case may be bad in another.

If the United Kingdom's centuries of experience has resulted in the establishment of various kinds of institutions — dominions, protectorates, Crown colonies — France's experience has also led her to follow different roads — assimilation, decentralisation, association. But the object to which all efforts overseas tend in the long run is to transform backward races with a view to enabling them to collaborate with the modern world.

This collaboration can be realised, as we see in our own case, by the maintenance of a close bond between colonies and mother-country and by the real embodiment of the colony in the nation. It may exist also in the form of a dominion or follow the same evolution as mandated countries follow in their progress towards liberty of action. It would, however, be a great mistake to pin our hopes to a hasty generalisation which would clash with age-long traditions, community of culture and

legitimate interests maintained by the invisible but none the less solid bond of common sacrifice.

I will not rehearse the very interesting details of the Sixth Committee's discussion. Its distinguished Rapporteur took account of that discussion and gave prominence to it in his report, and I will, in conclusion, merely refer to one of his many sound reflections, which is of peculiar interest at the present moment.

In connection with the mandate for Palestine, our eminent colleague, M. Beneš, raised quite logically, the question of Jewish refugees — a particularly distressing and delicate problem.

Throughout the ages, the Jews have tended to incorporate themselves in the various nations which have received them; but after the great war it was asked whether the Jewish nation might not perhaps arise from the tomb of centuries and return to Zion. Palestine seemed to be an opening, but Palestine is the cradle of so many religions and so many legends; the thunders of Sinai gave birth to the Mosaic Law. On the banks of the Lake of Tiberias, the gentler doctrines of Christianity were given to the world; while the burning flame of Islam issued forth from the desert of Damascus. In this land of Job and his misfortunes, Jerusalem is the meeting-point of Christianity, of Mohammedanism and of Judaism; and that is the great difficulty.

It might have been thought that, after so many racial quarrels, an indissoluble bond would have been welded between the Jews and the nations which gave them refuge.

When the call to arms came, the Jews, too, rallied *pro aris et focis*, and their loyalty was made manifest on both sides of the battle-line.

That was not enough; and we are now faced with a really mediæval problem which touches at once our reason and our hearts. M. Beneš was right in linking the problem of the German refugees with that of the mandates of the Levant. But, when the Jews left their native home, it was amply large enough to harbour them. During long journeyings through the world, the family has increased, and now that the question of their returning — or even a minority of them — has arisen, their home has become too small for them, and their neighbours are not in the mood to give up theirs.

That is an essential aspect of the problem; and, in conclusion, I should like to say that I concur wholeheartedly in the wise remarks of the United Kingdom delegate to the Sixth Committee.

The President. — If no delegate wishes to speak, I shall consider the report of the Sixth Committee and draft resolution adopted.

The draft resolution was adopted.

46. — WORK OF THE COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT ORGANISATION. REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report on the work of the Communications and Transit Organisation, submitted by the Second Committee (document A.41.1933.VIII).

(On the invitation of the President, Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Second Committee, and M. Wohlin, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President. — M. Wohlin, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Wohlin (Sweden), Rapporteur:

Translation: The Second Committee unanimously adopted its report on the work of the Communications and Transit Organisation between the thirteenth and fourteenth ordinary sessions of the Assembly.

The information supplied by the Secretary-General on the work of the League shows that the Communications and Transit Organisation has continued to work under the same conditions, and with the same methods, that have frequently received the approval of the Assembly. The Organisation has tended, in present circumstances, to restrict its activities and to concentrate on a limited number of problems.

In connection with air navigation, special studies have been made in regard to the establishment of essential air communications on the European continent, a question to which the Assembly has always attached special importance.

As regards maritime navigation, the efforts to achieve the unification of buoyage have continued. A draft Agreement and Regulations for a uniform system of buoyage has been drawn up by the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit.

I venture also to draw the Assembly's attention to the work of the Special Committee for Questions relating to Road Traffic. This work is mainly connected with light signalling, the codification of signalling by officials directing traffic and drivers of motor vehicles, and the problem of commercial motor traffic.

A new question of great importance for transport by rail has also begun to be studied: that of supplementary signalling at level crossings.

Apart from questions relating to the international regulation of communications, the Second Committee has also studied certain problems relating to public works. Thanks to the goodwill displayed by my colleagues and to their spirit of collaboration, the Committee, while avoiding any discussion of questions which might give rise to divergencies of opinion, has accomplished useful work in this connection. The circumstances which led the Communications and Transit Organisation to set up a Committee of Enquiry into Questions relating to Public Works and National Technical Equipment are well known. Originally, the main questions which were to be considered by the Committee were those relating to international large-scale public works. The Committee of Enquiry found it necessary, however, to concentrate its efforts chiefly on considering the schemes for national public works, the financing of which requires an appeal for foreign capital, and which were submitted to it by a certain number of Governments.

A report on the work done by that Committee has been submitted to the Monetary and Economic Conference. This Conference has not so far been able to undertake a full discussion of the questions relating to public works schemes. It has provided for the setting up of a special Sub-Committee to deal with this matter.

Quite apart from the question whether the execution of such works involves an appeal for foreign capital, a continuous study of general questions relating to public works financed by States themselves without recourse to foreign capital would no doubt be of considerable interest. It would enable information to be collected as to the experience acquired in the different countries. Such information would be particularly useful and would enable Governments to judge of the possibility and desirability of pursuing, in present circumstances, a policy of carrying out programmes of public works on parallel lines.

On behalf of the Second Committee, I beg to submit to you the following resolution :

The Assembly :

Takes note of the work done by the Communications and Transit Organisation between the thirteenth and fourteenth ordinary sessions of the Assembly ;

Expresses its lively satisfaction at the fact that the Communications and Transit Organisation, while carrying on its work under the conditions and in accordance with the methods already approved by the Assembly, is continuing, within the limits of the resources at its disposal, to render to the Members of the League the important services which the latter expect of it ;

Recalls its statement at its thirteenth session that it attaches special importance to the work done by the Committee of Enquiry on Questions relating to Public Works and National Technical Equipment ;

Refers to the discussions in the Second Committee on the question of public works, including national public works, and to the recommendation adopted by the Second Committee with regard to the appointing and convening as soon as possible of the Committee which the Monetary and Economic Conference decided to set up to study the problem of public works and other means for reducing unemployment ;

Adopts the report on the work of the Communications and Transit Organisation between the thirteenth and fourteenth ordinary sessions of the Assembly, submitted to it by the Second Committee.

The President. — M. de Castro, delegate of Uruguay, will address the Assembly.

M. de Castro (Uruguay) :

Translation : I venture to claim your attention for a few moments to consider the serious question of unemployment, which has been causing us so much anxiety for nearly three years. I should like quite briefly to examine the situation with you, so that public opinion throughout the world may realise that the League of Nations has not failed in the task imposed upon it by the distressing conditions of the last few years.

Allow me first of all to quote some figures which we should constantly bear in mind. In his speech last year at the thirteenth session of the League Assembly, M. Léon Jouhaux pointed out that, in twenty countries, the annual loss of wages of some 20,000,000 wholly unemployed persons represented, on the basis of the corresponding data for the end of 1931, a total sum of 115 to 125 milliards of Swiss francs. He added that if the whole world were taken, instead of these twenty countries, 275 to 300 milliards would certainly not be an overestimate. At the London Conference, M. Cahen-Salvador showed that there were at present nearly 35,000,000 unemployed in the world, and that, in Europe, the expenditure on unemployed relief and insurance amounted to nearly 40 milliards a year.

Those figures have already given much food for reflection, and should lead us to take with as little delay as possible all decisions necessary to prevent an economic catastrophe. Such a catastrophe would without doubt give rise to almost insoluble national and international problems ; for we have already witnessed examples of countries which, as

a result of sudden suffering coming upon their unemployed, have fallen into the most terrible political and social disorder.

I am therefore authorised to say that the delegation of Uruguay cordially supports the resolution which the Second Committee is now submitting to us and in which the Assembly requests the Bureau of the Monetary and Economic Conference to appoint and convene as soon as possible the Public Works Committee which the London Conference itself decided to set up.

The remedies specially contemplated for combating the depression include, as you know, the execution of national and international public works.

I will not go into the substance of the question. I know that the Governments are not all in agreement as to the efficacy of a remedy championed by Albert Thomas and, after him, by the present Director of the International Labour Office, Mr. Butler ; but I also know that the great majority of them consider that, at all events, this scheme merits careful examination on the eminently sound principle that, at a time of economic depression, no solution should be incontinently cast aside.

I think it ought to be pointed out that, both in Geneva and in London, very considerable progress has been made in the direction of practical achievements in this field.

As representative of Uruguay at the International Labour Conference, I took an active part in the study of this question. From the beginning of the crisis, my Government has shown its eagerness to assist its unemployed, and I had occasion to inform the last Labour Conference of the steps it had taken to check the evils of unemployment. These steps included the re-opening of workshops which had been closed, and the execution of large-scale public works — roads, bridges, railways, the construction of large electric power stations to be supplied from an artificial lake, which still remains to be made and is an ambitious piece of work.

These public works will give employment to several thousand Uruguayan and foreign workmen and technical experts and will perhaps open up once again the way to European emigration.

The latest news which has reached me to-day is that, in the city of Montevideo alone, the special public works undertaken by the municipality in the short space of the last four weeks, with the sole object of combating unemployment, have given work to more than 10,000 men.

As M. Salinas, delegate of Mexico, reminded our Second Committee, the Uruguayan delegation secured the adoption by the International Labour Conference of a recommendation instructing the International Labour Office to "request the Governments concerned to place upon their programme of public works intended to diminish unemployment, public health works, and, in particular hydraulic works, water-supply, abolition of unhealthy conditions, construction of workers' dwellings and electrification of rural districts." I would add that these public works have been placed by the League of Nations Committee on Public Works in the category of those likely to give a direct return.

In my statement at the International Labour Conference which completed its discussions last June, I said it would be well, in order to save valuable time, to entrust the preliminary study of the question of public works to a special Com-

mittee which should also be instructed : (a) rapidly to collect and co-ordinate schemes of public works ; (b) to study them, not only from a technical, but also from a financial point of view ; (c) to report to the 1934 Conference and, in the meantime, to give a purely advisory opinion on each of them.

I added that such a body might facilitate contact between Governments, producers and the financial world on the one hand, and the world of labour on the other, and thus speed up the organisation of the financing of public works.

I was interested to note that this idea was taken up and developed at the Monetary and Economic Conference by M. Oersted, the representative of the employers' group of the International Labour Conference. M. Oersted, whose qualifications are unquestioned, suggested the setting up of a permanent international commission under the auspices of the League, with the participation of all its competent technical bodies and also including Government representatives who might be chosen from the National Economic Committees, where such existed, representatives of the International Labour Office and representatives of the Bank for International Settlements. In M. Oersted's opinion, this permanent commission would constitute a competent organ of guarantee and control worthy of public confidence ; it would include financial experts, who would also act as advisers to the public and to public and private undertakings. The Committee would also act as an office for documentation, information, guarantee and supervision.

It will be for the Public Works Committee of the Monetary and Economic Conference to give its opinion on this proposal, to which I have referred with the sole object of bringing it to your notice and to that of public opinion generally. It is, in fact, a clear indication of the very real desire which is making itself felt at all our official meetings — namely, that the question of public works should now enter upon the stage of practical achievement.

Although the League Committee on Public Works has done valuable work, which we all appreciate, it is none the less true, as its representative at the London Conference, Sir John Baldwin, pointed out, that it has not taken up the financial aspect of the question, which does not indeed come within its province.

The Public Works Committee would therefore seem to be indicated as the centre round which the special committee, the need for which has been shown by many of us, might be formed.

I cannot conclude without paying a tribute to the distinguished Director of the Transit Organisation of the League of Nations. The indefatigable devotion of which M. Haas has given proof during the numerous missions entrusted to him and his enlightened efficiency are so many titles to our gratitude. It is thanks to such men that we can hope one day to find a solution for all the serious problems now facing us.

The President. — If no other delegate wishes to speak, I shall consider the Second Committee's report and the draft resolution as adopted.

The draft resolution was adopted.

47. — ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL QUESTIONS : REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Second Committee's report on the work of the Economic and Financial Organisation (document A.42.1933.II.)

(On the invitation of the President, M. Schmidt, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

The President. — M Schmidt, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Schmidt (Estonia), Rapporteur :

Translation : This year the discussion in the Second Committee on the economic and financial work of the League of Nations has taken place in very special circumstances.

As you know, in the course of the past year the economic work of the League has been practically merged in the preparation for the London Monetary and Economic Conference and the actual work of that Conference. You know, too, that the London Conference has postponed the continuation of its work until a more favourable season. It decided, however, pending the reassembly of the Conference, to continue the study of certain special questions which were examined by some of its Sub-Committees. The responsible organs of the Conference have to decide for what questions and to what extent the studies undertaken could be usefully pursued. In these circumstances, the Second Committee preferred to refrain from any detailed discussion of the various questions referred to the London Conference.

Nevertheless, an interesting exchange of views took place in the Committee regarding the general economic situation, and, in particular, certain signs of improvement which are beginning to be discernible in a large number of countries. The Committee thought that attention should be drawn to these signs, and, for that purpose, special tables are annexed to the report which has been distributed to you and which, on behalf of the Second Committee, I have the honour to submit for your approval. These tables have been drawn up by the competent service of the Secretariat on the basis of the most recent available figures. They will undoubtedly be of as much interest to specialists on the question as to persons desiring to follow the development of the world economic situation.

As regards, in particular, the League's work in the financial field, you will certainly realise from the report the hard work which the Financial Committee has had to do in the last twelve months. It has had to take up problems exceptional both in their complexity and in their gravity. It has accomplished this difficult and often thankless task with a masterly ability which the Assembly, I am sure, will not fail to appreciate.

I need not, perhaps, dwell upon the other parts of the report, which I hope you may have had an opportunity of consulting. I therefore ask the Assembly to approve the resolution which accompanies the report and which is worded as follows :

The Assembly approves the report submitted

to it by the Second Committee on the Economic and Financial Work of the League of Nations.

The President. — If no delegate wishes to speak,

I shall consider the Second Committee's report and the draft resolution as adopted.

The draft resolution was adopted.

(The Assembly rose at 6.15 p.m.)

EIGHTH PLENARY MEETING

Monday, October 9th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m.

CONTENTS :

48. PROVISIONAL CREATION OF ONE NEW NON-PERMANENT SEAT ON THE COUNCIL.
Resolution adopted by the Council on October 4th, 1933.
49. ELECTION OF ONE NON-PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL.
50. WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.
Report of the Sixth Committee.
Resolutions.
51. CO-OPERATION OF THE PRESS IN THE ORGANISATION OF PEACE.
Report of the Sixth Committee.
Resolution.

President : Mr. C. T. TE WATER.

48. — PROVISIONAL CREATION OF ONE NEW NON-PERMANENT SEAT ON THE COUNCIL : RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL ON OCTOBER 4TH, 1933.

The President. — The first item on the agenda of the present meeting is the resolution adopted by the Council on October 4th, 1933, with regard to the provisional creation of one new non-permanent seat on the Council. The text of the resolution reads as follows :¹

"The Council,

"Having had before it the resolution adopted by the Assembly on October 2nd, 1933, in favour of the provisional creation of one new non-permanent seat on the Council ;

"Acting in accordance with the provisions of Article 4, paragraph 2, of the Covenant :

"Decides as follows :

"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 shall 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 will be reconsidered and that all the Members of the League will remain entirely free to propose any final solution of this question which they consider desirable."

¹ Document A.43.1933.V.

The action which the Council has taken is the action in favour of which the Assembly declared itself in its resolution adopted at its sixth meeting on October 2nd, on the proposal of its First Committee.

In these circumstances, I believe that I am interpreting the views of the Assembly in considering that the Council's action is unanimously approved by the Assembly and that therefore the creation of the provisional non-permanent seat has been effected in accordance with the decision of the Council.

If there are no observations, I will consider that this is the view of the Assembly, and that the decision of the Council having entered into force and the provisions of Article 4, paragraph 2, of the Covenant having been fulfilled, the Assembly can now proceed to the next item on its agenda — namely, the election by which the new seat is to be filled.

Agreed.

49. — ELECTION OF ONE NON-PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL.

The President. — The rules applicable to this election are those laid down in Rule 22 (a) of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly.

In accordance with paragraph 1 of this Rule, the election will take place by secret ballot. In accordance with paragraph 2, ballot-papers must contain only a single name, as there is only one seat to be filled, otherwise they will be considered null and void. In accordance with paragraph 3, an absolute majority of the States will be required for the first and second ballots. If the first two ballots give no result, a third ballot will be held among the candidates which obtained most votes at the second ballot, up to a number double that of the seat to be filled — that is to say, two candidates. The one of these two candidates obtaining the greatest number of votes will then be elected. In accordance with paragraph 4, if the candidates obtain the same number of votes, a special ballot will then be held between them. Should they again obtain an equal number of votes, the President will decide between them by drawing lots.

As regards the calculation of the absolute majority prescribed for the first and second ballots, the Assembly, according to its usual practice, will not include null and void or blank voting-papers in reckoning the majority. The absolute majority will therefore be calculated only on the basis of the total number of valid voting-papers.

I must also draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that voting-papers must contain the name

of a single State and not of the representative of a State; otherwise they will be null and void.

May I ask Baron Alfredo Acton, delegate of Italy, and Mr. Ormsby-Gore, delegate of the United Kingdom, to come to the platform and act as tellers?

(Baron Alfredo Acton and Mr. Ormsby-Gore took their places on the platform as tellers.)

The President. — We will now proceed to ballot by roll-call.

(The ballot was taken by roll-call.)

The President. — The result of the ballot is as follows:

Number of votes cast	51
Voting papers blank or spoilt	1
Voting papers valid	50
Absolute majority	26

The votes obtained by the States are as follows:

Portugal	30
Turkey	20

I therefore declare that Portugal, having obtained the requisite majority, is elected a non-permanent Member of the Council for a period of three years.

I have pleasure in congratulating Portugal.

I wish also to thank the tellers for their kind assistance.

50. — WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION: REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Sixth Committee's report on the work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (document A.46.1933. XII).

(On the invitation of the President, M. de Madariaga, Chairman of the Sixth Committee, and M. Mistler, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President. — M. Mistler, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Mistler (France), Rapporteur:

Translation: I have the honour to lay before the Assembly the report of the Sixth Committee on the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. This document contains a summary of the work done during the past year and an all too brief sketch of the interesting discussion which took place on intellectual co-operation in the Sixth Committee, under the chairmanship of M. de Madariaga. The unanimous adoption by that Committee of the eleven resolutions now before you justifies our belief that there will be an exchange of views in the Assembly rather than a real discussion. I will therefore ask your leave to speak less as Rapporteur for intellectual co-operation than as a convinced advocate of that co-operation and as the delegate of a country which, in presenting to the League the universally honoured Institute in the Palais-Royal, is conscious of having done yeoman service to the cause of peace.

When listening to the succession of distinguished speakers from this platform during the general

discussion on the Secretariat's report, I, like all of you, was struck by the gravity of their words and by the anxiety they expressed as regards the methods and the views of the League of Nations. I do not profess to be able to throw light on the causes of this uneasiness, but is not the fact that the League has had to breast the blows of circumstance, and that the daily disturbances to the atmosphere of Europe are felt so keenly at Geneva, due to an uncertainty which has never been entirely dispelled during the last fourteen years — uncertainty as to the very rôle of the League, its rights and duties, and the differences of opinion between countries as to the principles on which the organisation of a new world should be based?

Whereas the intention of the promoters of the League was that it should in some sort foreshadow a kind of confederation of States, it seems that, under the pressure of events, under the pressure of the changing exigencies of political life, it has in fact become primarily a centre for the discussion of economic and financial problems arising day by day — a tribunal for settling differences of all kinds. No one, it is true, will object to the League being saddled with this necessary, if ungrateful, task. Are we, however, while seeking empirical remedies for superficial symptoms, at the same time endeavouring to remove their deep-lying cause? The mere fact that representatives of fifty States are meeting in the same town could hold no magical virtue if the delegates of each country were merely to echo hereditary quarrels and national rivalries, tempered only by the forms of courtesy.

Paul Valéry said some years ago: "La Société des Nations suppose une société des esprits." The work of intellectual co-operation consists, and will consist to an increasing extent, in eliciting the factors making up an international moral code, in laying the foundations of a world conscience. This object will be attained when the nations have realised that, outweighing the needs of the State, which is too often made a god, there are human needs.

In one of the last volumes published by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, M. de Madariaga recalled the time when Europe, through famine and plague, wars and alarms, still remained conscious of the moral unity of Christendom. True, the ideal of the Middle Ages was not of this world; in the minds of those clergy who constituted one spiritual community from Oxford to Salamanca, and from Paris to Cracow, the city of God alone knew that permanent peace of which the cities of men dreamed. To-day, more sceptical of the future or less resigned to the present, we would fain realise this ideal here below. I venture to say that we are perhaps wrong to depend, in our attempts to ensure peace, on the physical weariness of men rather than on their intellectual activity. The fear of war, the memory of its past atrocities, the evocation of its possible horrors in the future — these guarantees are not enough; for the fundamental law of human action is to forget bereavement, and to trust in the future, as the law of the forest is to forget winter and to trust in the coming of April.

To justify this instinctive trust — this stubborn hope — and to provide it with the positive doctrine that it needs — *spes quasens intellectum*, as St. Augustine said — must we leave it to the intelligentsia to act, or ought we to hold, as some do, that moral progress has been finally outdistanced by material progress, and that human thought is no longer capable of anything but negative action? We may be tempted to fear this when we see certain philosophies of action contrast the soul with the

mind, or exalt instinct at the expense of reason. Perhaps it is easier to stir the masses of the people to action when they have been given some elementary and confused ideas as a watchword; but do we know to what abysses this march forward in the darkness is hurrying, and must we abandon for ever the example and the lessons of the sages?

Let us rather hearken to the heir of classic reason, Goethe, in his "Gespräche": "National hatreds", says the sage of Weimar, "are something peculiar. You will always find them stronger and more ardent in the lower stages of civilisation; but there is a stage when they disappear entirely, when a super-national point is reached, when the happiness or misfortune of a neighbouring nation is felt as if it were your own. . . ."

Far though the world is from this Olympic serenity, there is no reason to believe that it will never be approached. A few years ago, when the countries of Europe, in the full tide of war, were bending their utmost efforts to the struggle, the intelligentsia itself donned harness and entered the fray, and we have not forgotten those polemics in which the belligerents used any and everything as a weapon, including the glory of their own great dead.

To-day, thanks to the organisation of intellectual co-operation, we see the most representative men of all countries exchanging ideas and comparing systems by correspondence or conversations. Their object is no longer to give predominance to any national point of view, but to bring that point of view as a contribution to the common fund of international wisdom. Let us welcome this movement towards reconciliation, which is being carried on at the present time in different parts of the world by some of the minds which are the greatest honour to mankind.

Here we touch upon the very principle underlying the work which brings the representatives of so many nations together here. To project on the universal plane the rational discipline which creates the sage on the individual plane — that must be our common aim. The issue at stake is not merely the future of international relations, but the future of civilisation itself, which, as the Madrid Committee recently reminded us, depends on "the organisation of mankind as a moral and juridical unit". And the same Committee solemnly affirmed that "national culture is inconceivable, save in relation to the neighbouring national cultures and the universal culture which comprises them all; and consequently mankind cannot attain its full culture except in complete freedom of intellectual intercourse between men, nations and institutions."

After the inevitable hesitation at the outset, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is now advancing in two fields: it is creating the technical machinery for intellectual co-operation, and it is endeavouring to awaken the spirit, the breath, that will set it in motion. As a model of the universal wisdom of which we dream, it is holding up to mankind certain representative types of individual wisdom, in the hope that their example will be followed and their methods generally adopted.

In one of the most venerable books of one of the most venerable civilisations, the "Great Teaching" of Tseng-Tsan, a disciple of Confucius, we read these lines:

"When we have studied phenomena, we may attain knowledge; when we have knowledge, we acquire goodwill; when goodwill is acquired, the heart is chastened; when the heart is chastened, man is cultured; when man is cultured, order reigns in his family; when order reigns in his family, it reigns also in his country; and when order reigns in every country, peace reigns in the world."

Perhaps it is over-optimistic to believe that truth and wisdom have in themselves sufficient power of irradiation to spread themselves abroad; but it is for the very purpose of helping them to do so that the League is attaching increasing importance to the work of intellectual co-operation. It is an immense field, in which progress will be slow, in which the ground won day by day will be almost imperceptible; perhaps even — for human progress has never been continuous — we may experience momentary setbacks, apparent failures. Yet we believe — and the resolutions which your Sixth Committee is submitting to you are evidence of it — that the results already obtained must inspire confidence. We believe it essential in every country to protect the mind against the material obstacles which would hamper its free scope, and moral disarmament will so become possible. We refuse to admit that the human intellect is turning its efforts against itself so far as to become a destructive element through the moral isolation of each individual nation. We believe that the idea of collaboration, which already links the loftiest minds together, will gradually penetrate into every social sphere and will spread through its own irradiation; for mankind, like the earth, must gain its light from its topmost peaks.

The draft resolutions which I have the honour to submit to the Assembly are as follows:

The Assembly,

After taking note of the report (document A.14.1933.XII) of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation on the work of its fifteenth session:

(1) *Fully shares the views expressed by the Council in its resolution of September 22nd, 1933 (document A.VI/1.1933), as to the value of the work performed by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation during the past year, and expresses its gratification at the excellent results of the work of the Plenary Committee, of the various Committees under it and of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation;*

Wishes to emphasise the importance of the method of exchanges of correspondence and the value of the "conversations", such as that held at Frankfort on Goethe and at Madrid in May 1933 regarding the future of civilisation;

Trusts that this experiment will be continued;

(2) *Fully recognises the value to the League itself of disinterested studies based on a spirit of scientific impartiality, such as those carried out with regard to State intervention in economic life; approves the continuation of this work and the execution of the plan adopted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation on Professor Shotwell's proposal for the co-ordination of studies in the field of social and political sciences;*

(3) *Approves the programme of work for 1933-34 based on the resolutions of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Sub-Committee of Experts on the Instruction of Youth;*

(4) *Requests the Governments to assist the Committee in carrying out its lofty task by supporting those organisations and persons who in the various countries are helping to carry out the programme;*

(5) *Endorses the resolution of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation drawing the attention of Governments to the regrettable effects that further budgetary restrictions weighing particularly heavily on national educational and scientific research*

organisations might have on the level of contemporary culture ;

(6) *Adopts the Committee's resolution concerning the preliminary draft Convention on mutual assistance between Governments with a view to the return of works of art illicitly removed from the respective national artistic heritages ;*

Requests the Secretary-General to transmit this preliminary draft to the Governments for their observations ;

(7) *Recommends to the various Governments the proposal of the International Museums Office that an International Historical Monuments Commission be set up ;*

(8) *Requests the Secretary-General to draw the attention of States signatories to the Rome Act of June 2nd, 1928, which have not yet ratified it, to the importance of the prompt application of that Convention ;*

(9) *Congratulates the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation on the action taken by it in pursuance of the resolution of the twelfth Assembly regarding the study of the international aspects of broadcasting, considers that the work in progress is of real value, thanks the broadcasting undertakings and the International Broadcasting Union for their assistance, and trusts that the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation will shortly be in a position to submit to the Governments, as a basis of discussion, the draft text contemplated by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ;*

(10) *Approves the addition by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of atlases and dictionaries to the list of books to which the procedure laid down in the "Casares Resolution" on the revision of school text-books (1932 text) will be applicable ;*

(11) *Notes the proposals relating to moral disarmament framed by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and, considering their great importance and practical scope, asks the Conference for the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments to use them, as far as possible, as a basis in establishing the final texts to be adopted.*

The President. — Mademoiselle Hélène Vacaresco, delegate of Roumania, will address the Assembly.

Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco (Roumania) :

Translation : Every year, almost to a day, and from this same platform, I venture to exalt before you the power of the spirit. The rights of the spirit, though sometimes ill understood, remain imprescriptible. You have just heard M. Mistler's magnificent eulogy of them. I am under no illusion as to the weight and authority of my own words. Other voices more resounding than mine, and equipped with more telling arguments than any I can possibly adduce, are being raised, and will continue to be raised, in emulation to proclaim far and wide a loftiness of thought beyond my range. You have a host of merits to which I can lay no claim ; and to win your approval I can, I feel, but convince you that my words are an echo of your own, and my thoughts a reflection of your own beliefs. My means are small indeed, but my faith is unbounded ; and faith moves mountains, though I will not ask it to do as much. The peaks that lie around Geneva and enframe our toil with their beauty may rest reassured. All we need is to prove that faith triumphantly surmounts

the worst obstacles. In affirming here the power of the spirit, let us realise that, in the present times, that power must be affirmed at all costs.

The crisis — that hundred-headed hydra of a hundred names — is heavily retarding the movement of the world. Since the war, we have been passing through an enchanted period, when nothing seemed impossible — when societies, sentiments, distances amalgamated, contracted or expanded at our will. There was a firm faith in the coming of justice and in the eternal reign of goodness. We can judge of the intoxication we felt then by our stupefaction now at our rude awakening from our dreams, which yet seemed based on the solid fabric of everyday things. Now, with the monster Crisis hard upon them, the nations, the whole of mankind, have had an awakening indeed. Hatred still lives ; sharp tooth and claw are ready ; prejudice is once more rearing its head. And all this because we are unhappy, because the man who but yesterday worked and reaped his reward can find no more to do. He is earning less and has thus no means wherewith to seek amusement or even instruction or the pleasures of travel. Is our globe, which the frenzied energies of its inhabitants have covered with a network of vital activities, to revert to the aspect it wore in the ages that knew nothing of the aeroplane and little of the ship ?

To the succession of crises, the abstract effects of which we realise here, we must add one more crisis : that of the adaptation of man to new conditions of existence. While we fondly believed that men and societies had come of age and were in full possession of their faculties, they were really reverting to a sort of retarded adolescence, in which they had to be taught to live, to ply a trade, to justify their existence. The characteristics of adolescence — doubt, anxiety, a riot of seething but still captive forces — those familiar characteristics are typical of our time. At once spectators and actors in an age of transition which will carry us far from all that was the — scarce dead — age of yesterday, we are suffering from what I can only describe as growing pains. Let us frankly admit that the various material crises for which you are so earnestly seeking a remedy form but one of the aspects of the problem before you. New conditions of existence have come into being. Those conditions are hard and we must be wary. So long as individuals and societies persist in living in a new world with the conventions and habits of the old, so long as we use the errors of the past to prop up the present, so long will our well-meant efforts be vain, and vain our desires.

In the last resort, it is the re-education of men and of societies to which we must apply ourselves, and their re-adaptation through the spirit to the new conditions of existence to which we are committed.

These new conditions of existence may be characterised in a word : they are subject to the idea of the universal. We are fast bound by the tyrannical laws of solidarity. If, in the intellectual and moral sphere, these laws of solidarity make their inexorable power felt less acutely and less perceptibly, they nevertheless make themselves felt. An outstanding discovery in pure chemistry, for instance, or in physics, sooner or later modifies the habits of thought of all men, not only in the scientific circles where it was born, but in all human circles, and not only among savants capable of understanding its full scientific significance, but also among amateurs, the merely curious and even the ignorant. Similarly, the creation of a beautiful work of art or literature is in itself an act connoting

the renewal, progress or change of man's mind as a whole.

A beautiful poem or novel contains in essence a particle of the spiritual future of mankind.

Men must learn from this an elementary lesson in wisdom and must consciously seek to live in the universal; but from a unanimously accepted theory to its effective and reasoned application is a far cry. In this domain of the impalpable, where errors sometimes bear so strong a resemblance to truth, there are so many hidden traps, so many dangerous corners, so many unsuspected cross-roads. The League of Nations has foreseen these difficulties and has provided an organisation to solve them. That organisation is the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which has the ungrateful task of distinguishing truth from error and dream from reality; of discovering the path of the future in the maze of blind alleys in which we find ourselves at present; and of facilitating and organising spiritual intercourse in the world.

Let us glance at the general report by the Director of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, M. Bonnet, to the Committee of which that Institute is the instrument. A perusal of that report will leave our minds greatly reassured. We see from it that the Institute has extended its sphere of action, and — what seems to me essential — it has established a system of work which enables it to take up the various problems before it with every prospect of success. Whereas, during the first few years of its existence, its youth and prudence forced it to cling to a kind of compulsory formalism, to the modest rôle of a liaison agent, and to act — as has been remarked here — as a kind of intellectual tourist office, we now see it gaining in authority and going to the heart of problems, for which it seeks to find, not purely theoretical solutions, but real solutions fully consonant with facts. As you know, a beginning has been made with the scheme for correspondence between the most eminent men in the world on subjects concerning the future of mankind, and conversations between *savants* and artists are beginning to elucidate certain burning and highly controversial questions.

Correspondence; conversations: it is difficult to exaggerate the significance of this initiative, which is so admirably adapted to the exigencies of our time. Action has been taken in other directions and has, to some extent, been attended with the same success. A Conference of Higher International Studies, held under the auspices of the Institute, has endeavoured to determine what relations should exist between States and economic life. Then the social and political sciences are claiming the attention of the Committee and of the Institute, and it must be admitted that, if international co-operation is desirable and necessary in practically all fields, it is nowhere more so than in the sciences which aspire to regulate the life of societies and States.

These various efforts are based on one and the same idea and use the same technique. The object is to state and define essential problems, and stimulate around them discussions calculated to throw light on the most rational solutions. These solutions often seem contradictory. The eminent men who formulate them represent divergent conceptions, a different spiritual training, a different past and different environments. But it is here that the importance of these conversations and exchanges of views lies. Before our time, each individual professed only his own doctrine and conceptions and ignored as far as possible what his foreign *confères* thought on the same subjects: hence the irreconcilable differences between specialists in the same field. To bring these men together, to enable them to meet one another and compare

their views, constitutes a very considerable and definite achievement.

It is always useful to stimulate discussion, especially when the subject seems of burning interest. Truth is born of the clash of opinion.

Far more than we imagine, the world is peopled with *fâcheux* and with the thoughtless. Enough for them a catchword that will serve them for gospel and relieve them of all need to act or speak. Of these catchwords, adapted to their meagre needs, there is one which especially delights them, which has gone round the world and become almost a proverb: "People talk too much." "The League of Nations talks and talks." Yet we here all know, and the best minds of our time know, how necessary it is to talk incessantly, without respite, but with conviction and ardour, to drum individual truths into the universal conscience. The maze of crises which is stifling us — the financial crisis, the wheat crisis, the cotton crisis, the coal crisis, the currency crisis, and how many more — are all contained in the one great, significant and terrible crisis which I would call the crisis of confidence. We are perishing for lack of faith in ourselves and in others. This lack of faith is being met by acts of faith, which will overcome it. Acts of faith alone can create a properly equipped international body such as the Paris Institute. If any still doubt the efficacy of its work, they need only read the magnificent *Index Translationum*. A bibliography of that kind, for which a crying need has so long been felt, could not have seen the light without the assistance of the Institute, without, that is, the enlightened efforts and untiring labour of its Director, M. Henri Bonnet. The *Index Translationum* marks an appreciable step forward in the matter of international relations.

That group of activities which I will term co-ordination work is an act of faith. Whether it be broadcasting, the cinema, the standardisation of terminology in different fields, collaboration between museums, libraries, archives, literary and artistic societies, the cinema — that realm where the International Institute of Rome and its enlightened and energetic Director, M. de Feo, are doing such brilliant and successful work — everywhere we find the same method and the same conception: the endeavour to bring order out of chaos, to supersede unguided effort and ungoverned endeavour by a beneficent unity of view, agreement of policy and harmony of plan.

Then again, the Madrid meeting of the Committee on Arts and Letters is an act of faith, and what a compelling and far-reaching one! The old Castilian grace informed the hospitality offered to the Committee by the Spanish Government, itself composed largely of intellectuals, some of whom could have collaborated on an equal footing with the eminent persons (I except myself) who composed that meeting.

An act of faith, indeed, transcending all divisions, a triumphant exaltation of the sovereign spirit, illuminating and lofty discussions of the future of that culture which is to souls what civilisation is to morals. A *Magnificat* of thought which cannot be ignored or kept in leash, a Franciscan gaiety of conversation, maintained on the joyous plane of the ideal — that was what our meetings in Madrid had to offer us. A sympathetic and loyal public assured us that these meetings, which were rendered possible thanks to the Spanish Government, were neither obscure nor tedious. Then M. de Madariaga was there. Need I say more? M. de Madariaga, who brings us with his every word a promise of peace, reminds us of the saying of Bacon: "Learning taketh away the wildness

and barbarism and fierceness of men's minds", which is to say that a high culture robs the human spirit of what savagery, barbarity and ferocity might be left in it.

I only speak of M. de Madariaga and of the Committee on Moral Disarmament, for I need hardly remind you that Roumania was the first country to make war propaganda an offence under its Penal Code. We owe this tribute to the participation of the spirit in the work of peace to a motion introduced by M. Pella, delegate of Roumania on the Committee for Moral Disarmament, who also gave it a legal form and a prominent place in the memorandum drawn up at the request of the Committee for Moral Disarmament. I confess that, in spite of my admiration for the mind which conceived it, the work of this Committee seemed to me fated to remain bereft of contact with realities or to be reduced to those mere paper considerations which remain buried in the pages where they are written, or are lost in the quickly hushed echoes of the meetings at which they are enunciated.

But it has not been so for moral disarmament. That is one of the ideas which, immediately they are born, take wings and fly forth unchecked. Such an idea is that which, as you will remember, Senator Ciruolo put forward from this platform in favour of assistance by nations overcome by disaster, and which has since been brought so successfully to fruition by the League and in every country. Another such idea was that which led to M. Pella's proposal on the Committee for Moral Disarmament, when he declared his conviction that, with the help of legislative provisions for suppressing war propaganda, it would be possible to counteract the evil influence exerted by certain elements on the masses of the population. He added

"These elements have often succeeded in arousing in the masses a reckless state of mind which has given rise to so many violent demonstrations";

and again:

"We are convinced that their action, so harmful to the development of international life, can be vigorously combated when war propaganda is made an offence under all Penal Codes."

Article 213, paragraph 1, of the Roumanian Penal Code does indeed provide for the "infliction of a sentence of detention in custody not exceeding one year and a fine upon anyone who, by disseminating false or fictitious news (or forged or distorted documents), in any manner imperils the international relations of Roumania with another country." This applies only to Roumania; but, under the auspices of the Committee for Moral Disarmament, it will, it must, be introduced in all countries which, having adhered to the Covenant and to the Paris Pact, recognise that that Covenant and that Pact are legally binding.

The theme: "Away with calumny, away with false rumours, and, above all, away with spite and racial hatred" inaugurates a series of measures which the Committee for Moral Disarmament will make it a point of honour to carry through. We can only be grateful to it for having brought them to the fore. It is this aspect, in particular, of its work which brings the Committee for Moral Disarmament into touch with the International Institute of Paris; and, in speaking of the first, I have by no means ceased to refer to the second. The Institute represents the idea of order *par excellence*, and of organisation — pre eminently a tendency towards unity and unification. It also affirms — and daily more clearly — its rôle as the intellectual mentor of our time. It has no ambition

to invent dogmas or to harness the spirit. On the contrary, it respects the creative autonomy of the spirit and seeks to canalise the results of its researches and to spread their influence.

The power of the spirit is infallible, and the confidence we feel in it is boundless.

The President. — If no other delegate wishes to speak, I shall consider the Sixth Committee's report and the draft resolutions accompanying it as adopted.

The draft resolutions were adopted.

51. — CO-OPERATION OF THE PRESS IN THE ORGANISATION OF PEACE: REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Sixth Committee's report on the co-operation of the Press in the Organisation of Peace (document A.36.1933).

(On the invitation of the President M. de Tesson, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

The President. — M. de Tesson, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. de Tesson (France), Rapporteur:

Translation: The Sixth Committee has the honour to submit to you a resolution on the co-operation of the Press in the organisation of peace. This resolution is at once theoretical and practical. It is theoretical inasmuch as it corresponds very closely to the spirit of the League of Nations, which demands the mobilisation of all the intellectual and moral forces of the world in the cause of peace. How, at a time like the present, can a country fail to realise the value of the printed word, of daily publications, of the telegraph and telephone and of wireless, bringing us as they do from all parts of the world the news which we receive each day for our recreation and instruction and which gives the nations certain spiritual elements that are indispensable? The question before us is whether it is possible to place these powerful means at the service of peace and the ideal of solidarity, which is the ideal of this Assembly.

Both from the point of view of the education of the masses and from that of the moral disarmament which should result from that education, this Press work has already formed the subject of important discussions in the Sixth Committee and from this platform itself, where, last year, Lord Cecil submitted a number of valuable proposals and recommendations with a view to enabling the great power of the Press to be used to promote mutual understanding. The opinion was then expressed that a serious and strenuous effort should be made to prevent the dissemination of news calculated to disturb international harmony, and our discussions on the Sixth Committee and here were concerned with the means of rectifying those errors which are so harmful to the community of mankind. An attempt was made to devise practical means of enabling the Press to issue prompt denials of harmful rumours and statements and to replace them as far as possible by accurate news. But, as you know, it is often easier to state truth in words than to translate it into deeds. We must allow for human passions,

for the diverse characters of Governments and for a number of widely differing psychological factors. That is why the problem of false news is so difficult to treat and why it is so hard, in view of the variety of newspapers in all countries, to attain that spiritual agreement which we are all trying to realise here.

The co-operation of the Press in the problem of peace may however be approached from a practical angle. Naturally, this problem includes a number of technical questions, with which I cannot deal here, connected with the internal legislation of the various States, the professional standing of journalists in their respective countries, facilities for international transport and communications, duties on printing paper, facilities accorded to journalists to travel and make enquiries designed to enlighten the public on important events of universal interest.

This brief list will give you an idea of the wide scope of the Press problem and the complexity of the Press co-operation which we claim for the organisation of peace. That is why we are glad to welcome and express our good wishes for the success of the Madrid Conference to be held at the beginning of next month. It will be attended by all the experts who can approach these questions in the spirit of mutual comprehension which we all desire to promote. There will be in Madrid, not only editors of newspapers, owners, managers of agencies, organised and free-lance journalists and writers from all parts of the world, but also representatives of the great international associations. Their work may, if carried on in the spirit of co-operation without which no progress is possible, yield important results, which we shall examine next year in the Sixth Committee and in the Assembly. For the moment, the Sixth Committee can do no more than state its approval in principle of a fresh attempt at intellectual and moral *rapprochement*, and to give expression to its special interest in Press work and the treatment of journalists.

It is in this spirit that we have proposed the adoption of the following resolution :

The Assembly,

Having learnt with great satisfaction that the Government of the Spanish Republic has convened a Press Conference to be held in Madrid on November 7th next to formulate concrete proposals

to give effect to some of the principal suggestions offered by the Press organisations during the enquiry into the problem of the spread of false information which may threaten the peace of the world and the good understanding between nations:

Wishes this Conference every success and expresses the hope that the next Assembly will be able to note its satisfactory results ;

And renews its recommendation that the Secretariat should continue to devote its attention to the development, by all the means at its disposal, of the swift supply to the Press of the fullest possible information concerning the work of the League of Nations.

The President. — M. Doussinague, delegate of Spain, will address the Assembly.

M. Doussinague (Spain) :

Translation : I should like to thank M. Mistler, Mlle. Vacaresco and M. de Tessan for their very friendly references to the Spanish Government and to the first delegate of Spain, M. de Madariaga.

Spain regards it as an honour to have been requested to organise the International Conference of Press Bureaux and of Press representatives which is to open in Madrid on November 7th. The principal aim of the Conference — the collaboration of the Press in the organisation of peace, mainly through the campaign against the dissemination of incorrect news — constitutes one of the firmest foundations of moral disarmament. The Press, a powerful constructive instrument by virtue of its ability to spread noble ideas and thus to promote progress, will, we hope, one day definitely set its face against instruments of destruction and war. The Spanish Government, which is always ready and eager to collaborate with all its power in the work of the League of Nations, especially in such work as concerns the organisation of peace, will take all necessary measures for the success of the Press Conference, success which we may regard as certain.

The President. — As no other delegate wishes to speak, I shall consider the Sixth Committee's report and the draft resolution as adopted.

The draft resolution was adopted.

(The Assembly rose at 5 p.m.)

NINTH PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, October 11th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

CONTENTS :

52. SIMPLIFICATION OF THE PROCEDURE OF THE ASSEMBLY.
Report of the First Committee.
Resolution.
53. NATIONALITY OF WOMEN.
Resolution of the First Committee.
54. SLAVERY.
Report of the Sixth Committee.
Resolution.
55. TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.
Report of the Fifth Committee.
Resolution.
56. PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.
Report of the Sixth Committee.
Resolutions.
57. PROTECTION OF CHILDREN.
Report of the Fifth Committee.
Resolutions.
58. ORGANISATION, ON AN INTERNATIONAL BASIS, OF ASSISTANCE FOR REFUGEES (JEWISH AND OTHER) COMING FROM GERMANY.
Report of the Second Committee.
Resolution.
59. TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS.
Report of the Fifth Committee.
Resolutions.
60. RE-ORGANISATION OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION AND WELFARE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE.
Report of the Fifth Committee.
Resolutions.
61. CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARREARS.
Report of the Fourth Committee.
Resolution.
62. FINANCIAL QUESTIONS.
Report of the Fourth Committee.
Resolutions.
63. SIGNATURE OF THE CONVENTION PREPARED BY THE DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE FOR FACILITATING THE INTERNATIONAL CIRCULATION OF FILMS OF AN EDUCATIONAL CHARACTER.
64. CLOSING SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT.

President: Mr. C. T. TE WATER.

52. — SIMPLIFICATION OF THE PROCEDURE OF THE ASSEMBLY: REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President. — The first item on the agenda is the discussion of the report of the First Committee on the simplification of the procedure of the Assembly (document A.49.1933.V).

The First Committee has asked its Chairman, M. Motta, delegate of Switzerland, to submit to the Assembly its report on this question and to give some verbal explanations.

(On the President's invitation, M. Motta, Rapporteur, took his place upon the platform.)

M. Motta (Switzerland), Rapporteur:

Translation: I shall claim your attention for a few moments only. The First Committee's report and the draft resolution which follows being already in your hands, I think I need not read them. What we propose is an experiment, and, for the time being, that experiment will be limited to the next ordinary session, that of 1934.

After consultation with the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, the President of the Council will be empowered to summon the Finance Committee a few days before the Assembly. He will not take such a course unless convinced that it will prove genuinely useful, and I would add in passing that this year's experience does not seem likely to encourage the President of the Council to make any excessive use of his powers.

The First Committee was not unanimous. There were abstentions and, indeed, a considerable number of negative votes. But even the scheme's opponents allowed themselves to be influenced by the consideration that we are proposing nothing more than an experiment, and I venture to urge you to attempt that experiment.

On the other hand, that it is desirable for the plenary Assembly's procedure to be modified is, to my mind, self-evident. Whenever a Committee unanimously decides that, in its opinion, a discussion before the plenary Assembly is unnecessary, the President of the Assembly will merely announce that he has received the report and will have it placed on record. Such reports will be distributed at least twenty-four hours in advance, and any delegation will be entitled to call for discussion, notwithstanding a unanimous vote of the Committee. The rights of all parties are therefore safeguarded, but delegations will presumably avail themselves of this possibility only in exceptional cases and for important reasons. The Assembly's work will thus be rationalised; it will be made more elastic and less cumbersome.

A purely personal suggestion which I venture to make to the Secretary-General, in whom I have the most complete confidence, is that he should not lose sight of the problem of the relation to be established between the work of the Assembly and that of the Committees. I feel sure that im-

provements and simplifications, the importance of which are greater than might appear at first sight, are feasible. Experience, I consider, has shown that the general discussion during the first few days of the Assembly is useful and necessary. This fact has been evident even this year, in spite of the difficult times and of certain inhibitions which may have been at work in the conscience of each of us. It is, however, clear that, once the general discussion has been concluded and the delegations have been able to state their views on the League's policy, and the work of the Committees has begun, matters take on a different aspect.

The discussions of the Committees allow for the expression of opposing points of view, and it is in this fact that their chief value lies. I hasten to add that the spirit of the League demands that this expression of opposing views should be couched in the most courteous terms and that each delegation should evince its understanding of the points of view expressed by other delegations; but I would repeat that the distinctive feature of discussions in committee is this confrontation of opposing views, the object of which is to clarify and illuminate the debate.

After the conclusion of the Committees' discussions, the reports are submitted to the Assembly, and, as a general rule, the Assembly has to come to a decision on the resolutions, which must be unanimously adopted. Consequently, the expression of opposing points of view, characteristic of the Committees, does not take place in the Assembly. The debates in the latter are rather in the nature of declarations and sometimes even of monologues. It is in the interests of the League that this unavoidable state of affairs should not lead to pointless discussions. For this reason, it is essential to find a system whereby no regular discussion will take place on any subject already discussed in a Committee, except in very special circumstances — namely, when the wide interest of the problem, its importance and its scope demand that it should be discussed in circumstances of peculiar solemnity.

I request you to be good enough to give your accession to the following draft resolution drawn up by the First Committee:

The Assembly decides that the following procedure shall be applied, as an experiment, at the ordinary session of 1934:

1. The President of the Council, after consulting the Chairman of the Supervisory Committee, may convene the Finance Committee for a date preceding by not more than one week the first meeting of the ordinary session of the Assembly. The Committee shall be composed of the representatives accredited for the purpose by the Members of the League. It shall appoint its Chairman, who shall thereby become a member of the General Committee of the Assembly under the terms of Article 7 of the Rules of Procedure. The establishment of the Committee shall be reported to the Assembly at the first plenary meeting of the Assembly.

2. (i) When the reports and resolutions submitted by the various Committees of the Assembly are brought up for adoption in plenary session, the President, in the cases indicated below, shall read the titles of the reports and put forthwith to the vote the resolutions which are proposed.

(ii) The procedure provided for in paragraph (i) shall only apply in cases where the Committee has unanimously declared that it does not consider a discussion of the report in plenary session to

be necessary and where no delegation has subsequently asked the President to open a discussion on the report. The report must be circulated to the delegations twenty-four hours before it is brought up in plenary session.

The President. — If there are no observations, I will consider the report of the First Committee, together with the resolution, as adopted.

The draft resolution was adopted.

53. — NATIONALITY OF WOMEN: RESOLUTION OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the resolution adopted by the First Committee on the nationality of women (document A.48.1933.V). In this connection, the Chairman of the First Committee has sent me the following letter, dated October 5th, 1933:

"I have the honour to inform you that the First Committee, in approving the draft resolution on the nationality of women, which it submits to the Assembly, was unanimous in considering that this draft did not call for discussion in a plenary meeting of the Assembly.

"Consequently, the Committee is of opinion that it should propose that you apply, as far as the draft resolution is concerned, the simplified procedure for the adoption of resolutions which was envisaged in the First Committee's report with regard to the simplification of the procedure of the Assembly.

(Signed) MOTTA,
Chairman of the First Committee."

The text of the draft resolution is as follows:

The Assembly,

Having regard to the resolution voted by the Assembly on October 12th, 1932, on the question of the nationality of women;

Having examined the suggestions made by the delegation of Chile in regard to this question, which, at the request of the Chilean Government, had been placed on the agenda of the Assembly;

Having regard to the fact that a certain number of States give in their law a very wide application to the principle of the equality of the sexes:

Expresses the hope that, before the next session of the Assembly, the Governments will have put the Secretary-General in a position to communicate to the Council information as to the effect which they have found it possible to give to recommendation No. VI of the Codification Conference.

If there are no observations, I shall consider the draft resolution as adopted.

The draft resolution was adopted.

54. — SLAVERY: REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Sixth Committee's report on the question of slavery (document A.51.1933.VII).

(On the invitation of the President, M. de Madariaga, Chairman of the Sixth Committee, and, in the absence of the Rapporteur, M. Finat y Rojas, took their places on the platform.)

The President. — M. Finat y Rojas, delegate of Spain, will address the Assembly.

M. Finat y Rojas (Spain):

Translation: In the absence of M. López Oliván, who has been called away from Geneva by other duties, I have the honour to submit to you the report of the Sixth Committee and the following draft resolution for your approval:

The Assembly:

Notes the information communicated by a number of Governments regarding the progressive abolition of slavery, in accordance with the Assembly resolution of September 25th, 1926, and embodied in the Council's annual report.

Whereas, under the terms of the Assembly resolution of October 12th, 1932, the Advisory Committee of Experts on Slavery cannot enter upon its special duties until it has drawn up its rules of procedure and they have received the sanction of the Council;

Whereas the appropriation made in the budget for the financial year 1934 will enable the Committee to hold, in the course of that financial year, the single meeting devoted to framing the said rules of procedure;

Whereas the Assembly is anxious both to expedite the execution of the programme laid down by the 1932 Assembly and to hasten as much as possible the examination of the material to be forwarded by Governments:

The Assembly:

Hopes that the Council will proceed as soon as possible, in pursuance of its resolution of January 24th, 1933, to set up the Advisory Committee, and will convene the same at a date early enough for the rules of procedure to be approved at the Council session in January 1934;

Decides that the Committee of Experts shall hold its first biennial session in 1935, and shall devote it to the study of the material to be forwarded by Governments;

And accordingly requests the Secretary-General to make the necessary appropriation for that session in the draft budget for the year 1935.

The President. — If no other delegate wishes to speak, I shall consider the Sixth Committee's report and the draft resolution accompanying it as adopted.

The draft resolution was adopted.

55. — TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Fifth Committee's report on the traffic in women and children (document A.50.1933.IV).

(On the invitation of the President, Mlle. Hesselgren, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, and Miss Horsbrugh, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President. — Miss Horsbrugh, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Miss Horsbrugh (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland), Rapporteur. — In the report that I have the honour to present, it will be seen that we are dealing here with the

traffic in women and children, about which I have already had the honour to present a report, in connection with the convocation of the Diplomatic Conference for the preparation of the final text of the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age.

The fact that there has been almost complete unanimity in our discussions on the traffic in women and children in the Fifth Committee made the work of the Rapporteur very easy and also showed, I think, that we are in agreement with the work done in the past and that which will be done, we hope, in the future.

The main points dealt with concerned the Commission of Enquiry in the Far East, and we decided that the work of that Commission should be considered at the next session of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee, since its report came into the hands of the Advisory Commission only a very short time before its last meeting. The volume runs to five hundred pages and is of an interest that cannot be exaggerated. There is, therefore, a great deal of information deserving of very detailed discussion.

In noting this point, I should like to emphasise that the Committee was unanimous in agreeing that we should, if possible, be provided with an abridged edition of the Commission's report. As I have said, the present edition is voluminous, as well as expensive. In the beginning of that report, the Chairman urges the necessity of very wide publicity, both in the East and in the West. I cannot think we shall get that wide publicity if we do not have some form of abridged edition. As the Committee did not discuss that report in any detail, I will say nothing more about it, except to extend our thanks to those who made the Commission possible.

The draft Convention for the Suppression of the Age-limit in the present Conventions on the traffic in women and children was also discussed, and, as I have said before, the Advisory Committee was unanimous in agreeing that the time had now come for such a step to be taken. This question has been discussed for many years (I believe since 1928), and I am perfectly certain that the Fifth Committee was in agreement with me when I pointed out that the world looks to the League for decisions. We do not ask for decisions before any matter has been discussed in detail, for we do not want hasty decisions; but, when a subject has been discussed fully for many years, we must decide whether we are going forward or else clearly state that we have rejected the Convention that was brought before us.

I am glad to say that, with almost overwhelming support, the decision was reached to send the draft Convention to a Diplomatic Conference, and it is with the utmost pleasure that I announce that the Convention will, we hope, be signed before many hours have passed. With the signature of the Convention, however, we have not completed our work, though I feel that we have reached a measured agreement for a step forward in the elimination of this lamentable traffic, which is a blot on our civilisation.

I would therefore ask the Assembly to accept the resolution of the Fifth Committee, which reads as follows:

The Assembly,

Wishes again to place on record its recognition of the importance of the campaign against the

traffic in women and children and its appreciation of the services rendered by the Advisory Commission dealing with this work ;

Draws the attention of the Governments concerned to the report of the Commission of Enquiry on Traffic in Women and Children in the East and expresses its gratitude to the New York Bureau of Social Hygiene, which supplied the funds necessary to the investigation ;

Welcomes the decision that has been taken to hold a special conference for the adoption of the draft Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age procured in one country, even with their consent, for immoral purposes to be carried out in another country ;

Invites the Governments to continue their efforts for the suppression of the traffic in women and children.

The President. — If no other delegate wishes to speak, I shall consider the Fifth Committee's report and the draft resolution accompanying it as adopted.

The draft resolution was adopted.

56. — PROTECTION OF MINORITIES: REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.

The President. — The next item is the discussion of the Sixth Committee's report on the protection of minorities (document A.52.1933.I).

(On the invitation of the President, M. de Madariaga, Chairman of the Sixth Committee, and M. Holsti, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President. — M. Holsti, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Holsti (Finland), Rapporteur. — I have the honour, on behalf of the Sixth Committee, to submit for the approval of the Assembly the report on minorities, and the resolutions accompanying it.

I do not think that, as Rapporteur, I should make comments on the subject-matter of the report, and therefore consider it my duty to abstain from any remarks beyond those I have already made in the report.

The draft resolutions are as follows :

" I. The Assembly,

" Reiterating the recommendation which it passed on September 21st, 1922 :

" ' Expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their own racial, religious or linguistic minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties and by the regular action of the Council.'

" II. The Assembly considers that the principles expounded in resolution I, which reaffirms the recommendation of 1922, must be applied without exception to all classes of nationals of a State that differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

" III. The Assembly requests the Secretary-General to communicate to the Council the discussion which has taken place in the Sixth Committee on the question of minorities as a whole."

The President. — M. von Keller, delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly.

M. von Keller (Germany) :

Translation : In accordance with my statement yesterday at the Sixth Committee, the German delegation will vote for the first and third resolutions and against the second resolution.

The President. — M. Holsti, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Holsti (Finland), Rapporteur. — In view of the declaration made by M. von Keller, I think it would be right to have two votes, the first on resolutions I and III and the second on resolution II.

The President. — In accordance with the Rapporteur's proposal, resolutions I and III, which read as follows, are put to the vote :

I. The Assembly,

Reiterating the recommendation which it passed on September 21st, 1922 :

" Expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their own racial, religious or linguistic minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties and by the regular action of the Council."

III. The Assembly requests the Secretary-General to communicate to the Council the discussion which has taken place in the Sixth Committee on the question of minorities as a whole.

Resolutions I and III were adopted.

The President. — As regards the second resolution, the German delegation having declared that it is unable to accept it, I shall consider that this resolution is not adopted by the Assembly.

Resolution II was rejected.

57. — PROTECTION OF CHILDREN: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Fifth Committee's report on child welfare (document. A54.1933.IV).

(On the invitation of the President, Mlle. Hesselgren, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, and Mme. Hubicka, Rapporteur, came to the platform.)

The President. — Mme. Hubicka, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Mme. Hubicka (Poland), Rapporteur :

Translation : The report before you contains a brief account of the Fifth Committee's discussions on child welfare. I should like to draw your attention to the fact that the main subject of the discussions on child welfare during the last few meetings of the Committee was that of the effects

of the economic crisis and unemployment on children and young people.

This question is no new one; it was discussed last year, and it will be remembered that the thirteenth Assembly adopted a resolution on the subject, whereby Governments were strongly urged to assist those children who are suffering most from the effects of the economic crisis and from the unemployment of their parents. This problem was discussed by the Child Welfare Committee also, which adopted a resolution urging the necessity of obtaining information on the effects produced on children by unemployment and the special measures which are or should be applied. Unfortunately, the information given up to the present has not been adequate, and the Fifth Committee therefore endeavoured to amplify it as far as possible by requesting the members of the delegations to give it any information at their disposal. Several delegations responded to this appeal by giving a brief description of the methods employed in their countries and the results obtained on which the Fifth Committee based resolution No. I.

During the general discussions on the question of the present work of the Child Welfare Committee, the Fifth Committee expressed the opinion that, so far, the Child Welfare Committee and its Secretariat had proved most useful as an information bureau. Also, while not proposing to enter upon a detailed discussion of the rôle of the Committee, which had already been held, the Committee took that opportunity of emphasising its importance in resolution No. II.

Finally, as it became clear, in the course of the discussion, that the funds at present allotted to child welfare work were inadequate for the execution of the Advisory Commission's programme of work, approved by the Fifth Committee, the latter devoted chief attention to the question of those funds. These deliberations resulted in resolution No. III, which expressed a hope, modest enough, but the only one it was thought possible to express in the present circumstances. The three resolutions read as follows:

The Assembly,

I. Desiring to emphasise the importance of efforts to protect children and young people from the consequences of the economic depression and unemployment:

Considers that it would be desirable, with a view to future practical action, for the Child Welfare Committee to study, in conjunction with the International Labour Office, and bearing in mind the statements made in the course of the discussion, the experiments made by certain countries;

II. Recognising the need of centralising information relating to the various aspects of child welfare, recommends that the social work of the League in this field be facilitated;

III. In view of the exceptional importance of the questions submitted to the Child Welfare Committee, recommends that, as soon as circumstances permit, the Committee should be provided with the funds it requires in order to develop its activities.

Finally, it seems to me that our generation — the one which is governing to-day — has not adequately fulfilled its duty of protecting its children

from the effects of a war which broke out before they were born. These children are, fifteen years after peace was signed, enduring sufferings which exceed their power of endurance and are the result of events in which they had no part. If we wish to avoid fresh disasters, it is high time we endeavoured to make them appreciate the value of peace, which, with stability, can alone ensure effective protection for the rising generation.

It seems to me scarcely possible to over-emphasise the necessity of helping in every possible way the children and young people who are now growing up, until improved economic conditions make it possible adequately to assist those whose demoralisation bears the seed of greater dangers than are produced by poverty among adults; for the adults will pass away, and the future is with the young.

The President. — If no delegate wishes to speak, I shall consider the report and draft resolutions submitted by the Fifth Committee as adopted.

The draft resolutions were adopted.

58. — ORGANISATION, ON AN INTERNATIONAL BASIS, OF ASSISTANCE FOR REFUGEES (JEWISH AND OTHER) COMING FROM GERMANY: REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the report of the Second Committee on the question of the organisation, on an international basis, of assistance for refugees (Jewish and other) coming from Germany (document A.53.1933.11).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Parra Pérez, Vice-Chairman of the Second Committee, and M. Guani, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President. — M. Guani, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Guani (Uruguay), Rapporteur, submitted his report and the following draft resolution:

The Assembly,

Having regard to the situation created by the fact that a large number of persons, Jewish and other, coming from Germany have, in recent months, taken refuge in several countries;

Considering that their presence in those countries constitutes an economic, financial and social problem, which can be solved only by international collaboration:

Suggests that the Council should nominate a High Commissioner to negotiate and direct such collaboration, and particularly to provide, as far as possible, work for the refugees in all countries which are able to offer it;

Requests the Council of the League of Nations to invite States and, if it thinks it advisable, private organisations best able to assist these refugees to be represented on a Governing Body of which the duty will be to aid the High Commissioner in his work, the High Commissioner having to submit periodical reports on the development and fulfilment of his task to the said Governing Body, which would forward them to the States likely to be able to assist in the action contemplated;

Suggests further that the expenses of this collaboration and of the High Commissioner's office should be defrayed by funds contributed voluntarily from private or other sources ;

Recommends to the Council that, in accordance with Article 33, paragraph 2, of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League, it should approve that a sum not exceeding 25,000 francs should be advanced to the High Commissioner from the Working Capital Fund, it being understood that this advance will be refunded to the League out of the funds placed at the disposal of the High Commissioner ;

Is convinced that all Governments will assist the High Commissioner to the best of their abilities in the tasks defined above ; with this object, the present resolution will be communicated to States Members and to non-members of the League ;

Finally, the Assembly expresses the firm hope that private organisations will collaborate in every way with the High Commissioner for the success of this relief action.

The President. — M. von Keller, delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly.

M. von Keller (Germany) :

Translation : I shall abstain from voting.

The President. — If no other delegate wishes to speak, I shall consider the report of the Second Committee, together with the draft resolution, as adopted. The German delegate's abstention is noted.

The draft resolution was adopted.

59. — TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Fifth Committee's report on the Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs (document A.55.1933.XI).

(On the invitation of the President, Mlle. Hesselgren, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, and M. de Vasconcellos, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President. — M. de Vasconcellos, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. de Vasconcellos (Portugal), Rapporteur :

Translation : In the first place, you will see from the report that this question is one in which the League has recorded a very great success. You will see that the falling off in manufacture has been progressive, and that all the other steps taken against the traffic have had satisfactory results.

Nevertheless, the traffickers, attacked on all sides, are changing their tactics and, forced to give up secret trading, are going over to secret manufacture, against which very severe measures will have to be taken. I appeal to Governments in the name of the Fifth Committee, which was unanimous on this point, to supply the Supervisory Organ with the information required to arrive at a proper estimate of the consumption of drugs ; and I insist, if I may, on their taking care that their executive

authorities apply the Model Code which has been sent them.

You will find two draft resolutions in the report. One deals with a draft Convention for the suppression of illicit traffic, which you are now considering. It is, indeed, indispensable that additional forces be brought to bear. At present, the traffickers are having an easy time. They are earning millions and run very little risk ; a few trifling fines and perhaps, in the legislation of some of the States concerned, a few days' imprisonment — that is all. To the unscrupulous, the attraction of huge profits with so little risk is very strong. Smugglers of opium and drugs must therefore be punished more severely ; but a distinction must undoubtedly be made between the trade in opium and that in drugs. Opium traffickers are encouraging a vice ; but drug traffickers are criminals of the worst sort, who kill thousands of people to earn their millions. On them we must have no pity ; they must be punished with the severest penalties.

The Advisory Committee is now examining the possibility of convening a Conference for the limitation of raw materials. Such a Conference will be indispensable if the attempts at secret manufacture continue. Against secret manufacture the principal weapon will be, in fact, this limitation of raw materials. This Conference will be difficult to organise and will have to be well prepared. The Advisory Committee now has the matter in hand, and I appeal to Governments to follow its work with the interest it deserves.

I will now read the draft resolutions which the Fifth Committee recommends for your approval :

I. The Assembly,

Expresses its warm appreciation of the results achieved in the campaign against the traffic in narcotic drugs by the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs and by the Permanent Central Opium Board ;

Welcomes the entry into force of the Convention for the Limitation of Manufacture and the constitution of the Supervisory Body provided for by this Convention, and issues an urgent appeal to the Governments not yet parties to the Convention to ratify or accede to it as soon as possible, in order that it may produce its full effects ;

Draws the attention of the Powers signatory to the Bangkok Agreement to the importance of ratifying this agreement with the least possible delay in order to bring it into force, and invites them to give effect, as they have begun to do, to the recommendations of the Bangkok Conference ;

Invites the Governments to consider forthwith the draft Convention for the Suppression of the Illicit Traffic, the purpose of which is to combat the international organisation of the illicit traffic by means of an international organisation for prevention and punishment ;

Emphasises the need for a thoroughly adequate preparation of the proposed Conference for the Limitation of Raw Materials, which it considers more necessary than ever, in view of the extension of clandestine manufacture, and expresses the desire that a first step should be taken by the conclusion of a limitation agreement confined to the producing countries concerned ;

Takes note of the report submitted by the Fifth Committee and adopts the resolutions and the conclusions of the report.

II. Noting that, in conformity with the Council decision of May 26th, 1933, the Secretary-General

communicated to the Governments by Circular Letter No. 159.1933.XI, of August 29th, 1933, a draft international Convention for the Suppression of the Illicit Traffic in Dangerous Drugs, together with a memorandum drawing their immediate attention to the importance and urgency of adopting this draft Convention ;

Noting that, in conformity with the procedure to be followed in the negotiation of all general Conventions under the auspices of the League of Nations adopted by the Assembly on September 25th, 1931, the preliminary draft Convention and the observations of Governments should be communicated to the Assembly, which shall decide whether the subject appears *prima facie* suitable to the conclusion of a convention, in which case the Council shall arrange for the preparation of a new draft convention on the basis of the replies received and shall undertake a second consultation of Governments in regard to the new text ;

Considering that, in these conditions, the replies of the Governments could not be submitted to the Assembly until its session in September 1934, and that the second consultation would thus be considerably delayed ;

The Assembly,

Desirous of facilitating the adoption of the said draft Convention, the urgency and importance of which have been emphasised by the Advisory Committee and the Council, and having regard to the preamble to the Assembly resolution of September 25th, 1931, relating to procedure, which enables the Assembly and Council to adopt more appropriate methods when special circumstances render this desirable :

Delegates to the Council its right of deciding whether the draft Convention should be taken into consideration with a view to the conclusion of a Convention and of proceeding to the second consultation, without prejudice to the final decision of the Assembly as to the advisability of concluding the said Convention and convening a Conference in accordance with paragraph 5 of the aforesaid resolution.

The President. — If no delegate wishes to speak, I shall consider the Fifth Committee's report and the draft resolutions accompanying it as adopted.

The draft resolutions were adopted.

60. — RE-ORGANISATION OF THE ADVISORY COMMISSION FOR THE PROTECTION AND WELFARE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Fifth Committee's report on the re-organisation of the Advisory Commission for the Protection of Children and Young People (document A.57.1933.IV).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Gajardo, Rapporteur, came to the platform.)

The President. — M. Gajardo, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Gajardo (Chile), Rapporteur, submitted his report and the following draft resolutions :

I. The Assembly,

Referring to the programme drawn up by the Child Welfare Committee at the time of its creation, and adopted by the 1924 Assembly ;

Having taken note of the report presented to it by the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People, and fully appreciating the work already performed :

Approves the conclusions of the said report, and asks the Child Welfare Committee to submit to it, if possible during its next session, more particularly in regard to the work of its secretariat as a "documentation centre", a plan of work which will enable it to continue to the fullest extent the task contemplated at the time of its foundation.

II. The Assembly considers that the budget of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People is not sufficient to enable that important body to deal with the duties devolving upon it in the present difficult circumstances which entail the gravest dangers for children, and recognises the need for increased funds as soon as this may be possible.

The President. — If no one wishes to speak, I shall consider the Fifth Committee's report and the draft resolutions accompanying it as adopted.

The draft resolutions were adopted.

61. — CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARREARS: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Fourth Committee's report on contributions in arrears (document A.56.1933.X).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Fotitch, Chairman of the Fourth Committee, and M. Castillo Najera, Rapporteur, came to the platform.)

The President. — M. Castillo Najera will address the Assembly.

M. Castillo Najera (Mexico), Rapporteur :

Translation : In submitting to you the report on contributions in arrears, I will simply quote its most important passages. Before doing so, I must inform the Assembly that a correction must be made in Annex II of the Appendix, to the effect that Colombia, which had promised to make a payment, yesterday paid 34,000 dollars — that is to say, 105,000 francs — and thus reduced her arrears by more than half.

The Fourth Committee desires to draw the special attention of the Assembly to the two following extracts from the Sub-Committee's report :

(a) "The Sub-Committee wishes specially to point out that, among the cases under review, there is not one State which could not have paid at least a part of its contribution even if it was not capable of paying the full amount. Where a situation arises making it absolutely impossible for a State to fulfil its financial obligations in their entirety towards the League, a payment corresponding to its utmost capacity in this respect ought nevertheless to be made."

(b) "It expresses the fervent hope that the States in question will render any further measures of a general character unnecessary by their efforts towards the liquidation of arrears during the coming year."

Certain delegates pointed out that the taking of measures against the debtor States as a whole would be justified, even in time of economic crisis, were it not necessary to take into account the factor of prohibitions and restrictions on the import of raw materials, which in many countries has considerably aggravated the natural effects of the crisis and which the League of Nations has not yet succeeded in remedying, despite the appeal addressed to the Economic Conference by the thirteenth Assembly.

The Fourth Committee considers that the true figure of the total arrears actually due should be taken as being less than ten million francs. This amount is arrived at by the exclusion of consolidated arrears, which are payable over a number of years, and the arrears ascribed to the Argentine, the situation of which country is of a special character.

The Fourth Committee believes that the amount mentioned above can be collected in the course of time by means of arrangements with individual States, which, however, should be made only on the condition that the States regularly pay their current contributions.

The Fourth Committee associates itself with the view of its Sub-Committee that the question of the collection of current contributions is even more urgent than that of arrears. In order to ensure a greater regularity in the payment of contributions, the Fourth Committee has approved certain amendments to the Regulations for the financial administration of the League proposed by the Supervisory Commission.

The Fourth Committee firmly believes that, if all States Members would agree to make it a primary duty to continue contributing towards the expenses of the League, the question of contributions in arrears will eventually cease to occupy the attention of the Assembly.

The following draft resolution is submitted to the Assembly :

The Assembly,

Notes with regret that the amount of unpaid contributions has once more increased this year ;

Appeals to the States having arrears to make every effort during the coming year to liquidate part, if not the whole, of these arrears and at least to pay their current contributions to the League ;

Considers that, unless the situation has distinctly improved during the course of the next year, the Assembly will be obliged to study measures of a general character to enforce the fulfilment by certain States of their financial obligations to the League ;

Decides, as a mark of sympathy for the Dominican Republic, which is still suffering from the effects of the great disaster of 1931, to excuse the payment of the contributions for that year ;

Requests the Secretary-General to continue his efforts for the recovery of arrears and to report to the Assembly at its next ordinary session.

The President. — If no delegate wishes to speak, I shall consider the Fourth Committee's report and the draft resolution accompanying it as adopted.

The draft resolution was adopted.

M. Castillo Najera (Mexico), Rapporteur :

Translation : The representative of the Dominican Republic, who has been obliged to leave Geneva in order to attend an international congress, has asked me to thank the Assembly for its token of sympathy in exempting that State from payment of its contribution for the year 1931. He asked me to add that the Government and people of the Dominican Republic cordially appreciate this kindness and will do their best to respond to it.

62. — FINANCIAL QUESTIONS : REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE : RESOLUTIONS.

The President. — The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Fourth Committee's report on general financial questions (document A.58. 1933.X).

(On the invitation of the President, Mr. Lester, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

The President. — Mr. Lester, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Mr. Lester (Irish Free State), Rapporteur. — The Fourth Committee is notoriously the last to finish its work, but this year we have been able to finish at the same time as the other Committees. This has been due, not to the fact that there has been less interest taken by the Governments in the finances of the League, but merely because the more political questions, which have in the past been dealt with by the Fourth Committee, were, to a large extent, absent this year.

In my view, it is a very healthy sign that the Governments take such a keen interest in the welfare of our three great machines — the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court. Upon the smooth working of these organisations depends to a considerable extent the success of the efforts of the Assembly in other directions.

The Fourth Committee showed its appreciation of the efforts made during the year by the responsible heads of the various administrations to maintain and increase the efficiency of their respective organisations, and they will enter upon another year with the knowledge that they have behind them the complete confidence of the Assembly. No one who has followed the work of the Fourth Committee or has read the excellent reports of our invaluable Supervisory Commission can fail to be grateful for the efforts made during the past year to combine efficiency with a reduction of expenditure. The need for economy, in view of the financial difficulties of the world, has been in the forefront of our discussions ; but, thanks to the combined efforts of the Supervisory Commission and the heads of the administrations, we had before us evidence of substantial economies effected during the past year and plans for a continuation of those efforts. The Committee asks that the Assembly should thank them for these efforts and bid them go ahead with their plans and, if possible, multiply their efforts. Valuable suggestions were made by various delegations, and these, where they could not be accepted at

once, will be fully studied, and we hope to see the fruits of that study at the next Assembly.

The Fourth Committee is able to report a substantial reduction in the budget for 1934. This will be welcome news to all our Governments, more especially as the economies proposed will not hamper the carrying out of the essential duties of the League of Nations.

The question of non-payment of contributions, which is of vital importance, has already been dealt with by my colleague, who is Rapporteur on this matter.

The report of the Fourth Committee contains, I hope, a fair summary of our work and conclusions, and I have the honour to submit it for your approval and to propose the adoption of the resolutions with which it concludes. They are as follows :

1. *The Assembly, in virtue of Article 38 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, finally passes the audited accounts of the League of Nations for the fourteenth financial period, ending on December 31st, 1932.*

2. *The Assembly,*

In virtue of Article 17 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations :

Passes for the financial period 1934 the budget of the League of Nations to the total sum of 30,827,805 francs ;

And decides that the aforesaid budget shall be published in the Official Journal.

3. *The Assembly, in conformity with the recommendation of the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses, maintains at ten the number of units assigned to Turkey.*

4. *The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the various reports of the Supervisory Commission, submitted for its consideration.*

5. *The Assembly :*

Takes note of the report of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund for the year 1933 ;

Adopts the accounts of the Fund as submitted by the Auditor ;

Decides that the pensions of members of the Fund who contribute to the Fund in currencies depreciated in relation to the Swiss franc shall be paid in the currency in which they receive their pensionable emoluments ;

And decides, having regard to Article 7, paragraph (1) (a), of the Staff Pensions Regulations, that the contributions of the League to the Pensions Fund for 1934 shall be 9 per cent of the pensionable emoluments of the members of the Fund.

6. *The Assembly appoints for the period ending on December 31st, 1936, as regular members of the Supervisory Commission :*

*His Excellency M. Stefan Osuský,
M. Jean Réveillaud.*

7. *The Assembly appoints for the period ending on December 31st, 1936, to the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund :*

(1) *As regular members :*

*M. C. Fotitch,
M. A. Hoel,
M. W. Rappard.*

(2) *As substitute members :*

*Mr. Sean Lester,
M. Jean de Modzelewski,
M. C. Parra Pérez.*

8. *The Assembly adopts the present report of the Fourth Committee.*

The President. — If no delegate wishes to speak, I shall consider the Fourth Committee's report and the draft resolutions accompanying it as adopted.

The draft resolutions were adopted.

63. — SIGNATURE OF THE CONVENTION PREPARED BY THE DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE FOR FACILITATING THE INTERNATIONAL CIRCULATION OF FILMS OF AN EDUCATIONAL CHARACTER.

The President. — I have the following announcement to make. The Diplomatic Conference for facilitating the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character concluded yesterday, October 10th, an international Convention. The delegations concerned are informed that this Convention will be open for signature this afternoon after five o'clock at the Secretariat, as well as the Final Act for those delegations which did not sign yesterday.

64. — CLOSING SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President. — Before performing that somewhat melancholy duty which falls to me as one of the privileges of this Chair, of formally declaring this fourteenth session of the Assembly of the League of Nations closed, it is also my privilege — now become by long use a duty — to perform over the ashes of our work that valedictory ceremony which marks at once the end of my own brief term of office as your President and the conclusion of our annual labours.

With regard to my Presidency, the duties of which I most rashly undertook — but it is to be remembered in my favour at your behest — duties, I fear, too inadequately fulfilled, I wish at once to express my sense of deep appreciation of and thankfulness for the generous assistance and un-failing courtesy which I have at all times had from all delegates to this Assembly. Your undoubted authority has been a constant support to me in the many perplexities of my situation. Your experience of affairs has made light for me the burden of my duties. I would therefore express again my feelings of real gratitude for the great and undeserved honour which you have done me by elevating me to this high place. My Prime Minister has cabled me to affirm the deep impression made upon his Government and upon the people of South Africa by the Assembly's action.

I think this is an opportune moment — and, indeed, it would be a great discourtesy on my part were I to fail to do so — to hasten to extend in your name our most genuine admiration to M. Avenol and his capable and experienced assistants of the Secretariat for the ability which they at all times bring to bear upon the work of the League, for their devotion to their duties and to the ideals of the League, and for their patience and untiring courtesy in the face of our importunities, and of

the many difficulties and aggravations in their daily work.

M. Avenol has had that unenviable experience for any man of succeeding to an office held by a predecessor whose so brilliant conduct of that office has led him directly to the highest diplomatic honours in his own country — a well-merited reward for which I would, in your name, extend to Sir Eric Drummond our most sincere felicitations. But after my own personal experience of the ripe judgment which M. Avenol brings to bear upon his work, the authority of his decisions and the unfailing courtesy with which they are accompanied, I may acclaim him a man worthy in every respect to succeed his admirable predecessor and to carry the burden of this high office *cum otiosa et dignitate*.

Finally, I may be permitted by you to single out from this admirable group of men round the Presidential Chair for a special compliment the man who with signal restraint and unfailing patience had to bear the more intimate burden of my own inexperience.

The Assembly would now wish me to review briefly the work of the committees, and it is to be noted at once that in this field our work has been performed expeditiously and in a most workmanlike manner. The Chairmen and Rapporteurs of the committees are to be congratulated on the efficient manner in which they have carried out their duties. They have earned our gratitude. Such, I feel sure, are the feelings of this Assembly.

In the sphere of the constitutional organisation of the League, the Assembly has brought to a satisfactory solution the question of the composition of the Council. It is a provisional solution, but it has been welcomed by all the States as corresponding to the needs of the League in present circumstances.

The Assembly has also shown itself anxious to improve its own procedure, and the new system of simplification which it has adopted will, I am sure, render the Assembly's work easier and smoother in future. It might appear to be a question of detail, but it is none the less important, as the expedition with which the Assembly does its work has a certain significance in connection with the collaboration brought to it by the eminent statesmen who attend its annual sessions.

It is important also to emphasise the continuous progress made by the technical organisations of the League, such as the Health Organisation and the Communications and Transit Organisation. As regards the latter, the Assembly has particularly noted the activities in relation to the much-debated question of international public works, a question which Governments will now be enabled to study more thoroughly with the assistance that the League organisation can give them.

In the humanitarian field, the work of the League is developing favourably, an indication that the States Members are alive to the present need to fight the common scourges which ravage mankind. This work of the League, it is universally agreed, must therefore be pursued with even greater energy, as in times of depression such scourges tend to become more dangerous. In the field of drug traffic, also, the year has been marked by a considerable progress. The new Convention for the Limitation of Manufacture has already become one of the most widely ratified of all League Conventions, and has offered valuable analogies for the use of the Disarmament Conference in its attempt to limit the manufacture of armaments. Again, by extending

the agreements between Governments to combat the traffic in women, and to improve the measures for the protection of children, the League is rendering an immeasurable service to humanity.

When receiving on behalf of the Assembly representatives of the various private international organisations whose work is devoted to the League by spreading its ideals throughout the world, I have been struck by the importance which these men and women of goodwill attach to the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. This Organisation has for some years rightly taken a high place in the activities of the League, for it is in these realms that the thinker, the scholar, and the educationalist is able to make his contribution to the work of the League, widening its scope and contributing a wisdom and experience which hitherto has never been pooled in the interests of humanity. The institutes attached to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation have accomplished notable work and deserve both our thanks and every encouragement.

This year, again, our attention has been devoted to the question of the protection of minorities. The Assembly not only dealt with the question of the procedure to which minorities' petitions are submitted, but a frank exchange of views on much more general issues has taken place during which, you will allow me to mention, it was not possible in all respects to reconcile divergent points of view. At the same time, the hope was expressed that in every State all racial, religious and linguistic minorities might enjoy such treatment as is referred to in the minorities treaties.

For many years the League has dealt with the question of refugees, and it has amply demonstrated the efficacy of the assistance it can give to Governments which have to handle these difficult national, economic, humanitarian and sometimes political problems. To recall to mind the beginnings of the League's work in regard to refugees is to evoke the memory of Dr. Nansen, whose work will remain as a noble example to all who have to deal with this problem in the future. New questions regarding refugees have come before the Assembly and have been discussed with a marked desire to put aside all feeling. By agreeing that the Council shall set up the necessary organisation to deal with the problem, the States Members of the League will have shown a praiseworthy desire to deal with this problem in a helpful manner.

As a representative of a mandatory Power, I am happy to note the interest with which the committees of the Assembly have discussed the mandates question, and have approved the results of the League's work in this domain and the system by which they have been attained. The mandatory Powers have heavy duties and responsibilities which they only fulfil successfully by reason of their close collaboration with the Mandates Commission, the great authority and experience of whose members is so generously placed at the disposal of the Government concerned. I am able to speak personally in the highest terms of praise of the tact, courtesy and helpfulness of the Chairman and members of this most admirable organisation of the League.

I have noted, -too, as a representative of an African country, the importance attached by the Assembly to its action regarding a problem which interests various areas of the African continent: I mean the suppression of the last form of slavery. By agreeing to the creation of a Committee of

Experts, the League has moved forward another stage in the struggle to abolish finally the last vestiges of this evil practice.

The finances of the League have once more engaged the earnest consideration of this Assembly. In this regard it is to be noted that the financial year 1932 ended with a net surplus of over one million francs. While, as to the present year, the situation was indeed serious, it now appears that there will not be a deficit — a result of the considerable economies which have been made.

As to the future, the non-payment of contributions on the part of certain States has been a matter of much concern to the Assembly, but an unduly pessimistic attitude should not be adopted in view of the encouraging statement made by the representatives of most of the States in arrear. The question of the collection of current contributions has become even more urgent than that of arrears. A system has therefore happily been devised which will make it easier for these particular States to effect their payments. In conformity with the general desire for economy, it is to be observed that the budget for 1934 is considerably lower than that for the current year, and it is also to be recorded that the budgetary system of the League will be re-examined before the next Assembly. It is earnestly to be hoped, therefore, that the contributions which, as a result of these reforms, will be more within the capacity of the various States Members of the League will for the future be regularly and fully effected.

In times of difficulty and depression, institutions, like men, learn to know their true friends. Here I would avail myself of the opportunity of again referring to the return of the Argentine Republic to the League as one of the most important and happy events of this session of the Assembly. Every delegation has felt the greatest satisfaction, and has expressed it in the cordial welcome given to the Argentine Government, a welcome which has been given concrete expression in the election of this great South American Republic to the Council.

Proceeding, then, from this rapid survey which I have just completed of the work of committees to the debates which took place in this Assembly last week and the week before, perhaps, if one fact emerged more clearly from these discussions than another, it was the obvious hesitation shown by delegations to express again through their leaders those feelings of anxiety in regard to the ills of the world, those remedies for these distresses, and those urgent hopes for restoration and recovery, which it has been their custom to stress in past years and to repeat and to emphasise again and again. As M. de Madariaga said, in the brilliant speech to which it was our pleasure to listen on the last day of the debate, in the past it has been the tradition in this place to put forward the most heroic efforts to create confidence by means of words. To-day, this hesitation to speak, this unusual phenomenon, appears to me to have its origin in a dawning knowledge. It is the knowledge, so it seems to me, that, while we have been laboriously seeking the answer to our overwhelming and apparently insoluble economic and political problems, while we have been organising our conferences, while we have been making our speeches and failing and despairing, the world itself most amazingly has not despaired. To the doctor's discomfiture the patient has suddenly shown a will to revive, a determination to live, and the doctor grows strangely silent.

That, I repeat, is my own hopeful interpretation of this phenomenon of hesitation and silence. The will to live has asserted itself among the nations of the world. Defeatism is, in turn, being defeated before our very eyes by those powers of innate recovery which many of us have not sufficiently discounted in our gloomy prognoses.

This, then, in simple terms, is my own hopeful view of the state of the world in this most difficult year which is already so rapidly drawing to its close.

Perhaps — if I may digress for one moment — no more important result emerged from the Geological Museum, to which place all roads led in this year of grace, than that the peoples of all nations, despite the threatening prophecies of their statesmen foregathered there on that momentous occasion — prophecies of collapse and ruin were they to fail in finding their formulæ of agreement — the peoples of all countries have continued to proceed on their hard way still more courageously, and with an even greater determination, to find the way out of the gloom.

I invite you to draw your moral from this observation, which I believe to be truly founded. You will therefore permit me to reject wholly the theory of "the anarchy of the spirit". This, if I may say so with the utmost respect to the brilliant creator of the phrase — for I stand back to no man in my admiration for the learning and eloquence of M. de Madariaga — is the eloquence of Europe turned introvert. The spirit of the world is not anarchical. It rejects this over-morbid declaration. Rather, I say, the world, under our eyes, is straining at, and, if I read the signs aright, is succeeding at last in bursting the strait-jacket in which it has been shackled ever since the great war.

Let there be no mistake in our outlook. Is it, an unhealthy sign that we are all of us, each and every one of us, first a Frenchman, first an Englishman, first an Italian, first a Spaniard, and in my own case, first a South African? Is it an unhealthy sign that each country, according to its own genius, is striving to advance the science of government, to evolve with the advance of the times? Is this anarchy, or are not the nations groping forward to new authority and invigorating discipline, to a new spirit of national self-sacrifice? Rather, I say, let us go back to our countries from this place to help on by acts, and again by acts, the recovery of our own peoples, and by bold and resolute precept, give that lead, each to his countrymen, which will inspire and revive; for, until each nation, by its own genius, restores its own economy, how can there be fruitful collaboration among the nations, the successful issue of which is the desire of each one of us? For that purpose we are here, for that collaboration which is at the same time the earnest of international security and peace.

As things are to-day, can there be security for all nations? And until there is security for all nations, can there be peace? If, in this simple thesis, I place national regeneration in the van, if I make it the condition precedent to the success of international collaboration, there remains yet, so it seems to me, an essential which beyond all others is needed to

resolve the tangled web of international misunderstanding into reason and order.

It is generosity.

When I look into the history of my own country — and I pray that you will not tire at my insistence on this strange and interesting parallel — I see that there, for generations, war destroyed all endeavour, threatened ultimately to pervert the very character of our people, and succeeded in separating the two races in my country by a gulf which no device of man seemed able to span. All policies were tried — the policy of might, the policy of conciliation. They all failed. And then, as it were by a revelation, generosity — a new factor in our political life — entered into our policies. To-day my country has recovered that which it lost by war. It stands an independent nation, the equal of other nations, with its peoples

united within its borders ; for generosity breeds a reaction which is the solvent of all disputes.

Let the nations of the world, let the nations of Europe — that continent from which all cultures of the Western world have sprung — let the leaders of the great Powers change their policies, from the policy of fear, and of resentment, to one of generosity. Thus will be achieved that spirit of neighbourliness of which the British Foreign Minister spoke so wisely and so eloquently from this platform. Will not the great nations go forward in this new spirit, so that the peoples of the earth may have peace?

I now declare the fourteenth ordinary session of the Assembly closed.

(The Assembly rose at 1 p.m.)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

Cttee.	=	Committee
Govts.	=	Governments
Int.	=	International
Resol.	=	Resolution

	Page		Page
Accession of Argentine to League of Nations <i>See</i> Argentine Republic, etc.		Children and Young People, Protection and Welfare of Advisory Commission: re-organisation Report of 5th Committee Adoption.	19
Agenda of Assembly <i>See under</i> Assembly		Resolutions, Oct. 11, 1933	91
Argentine Republic: Definitive Accession to League Delegation, absence from fourteenth session of Assembly: communication from Argentine Minister at Berne	56	Report of 5th Committee on work Rapporteur's statement	88-9
Statement by President of Assembly and despatch of telegram to Argentine Govt.	36	Resolutions, Oct. 11, 1933	89
Assembly, Fourteenth Session of Agenda Agenda Committee Appointment	33	Cinematograph, Educational Convention on int. circulation of films Signature	93
Chairman: appointment, and appointment as member of General Cttee.	33, 34	Citizens, Rights of <i>See</i> Rights of Men and Citizens, etc.	
Distribution of items among Cttees.	34-5	Committees of Assembly Agenda Committee, <i>see under</i> Assembly: Agenda	
Examination and adoption	32	Chairmen: election	33, 34
List of items as adopted by Assembly	7-8	Constitution	32-3
Committees, <i>see</i> Cttees. of Assembly		Distribution of items of agenda among General Committee Composition	34-5 34
Convocation	6	Communications and Transit Organisation, Work of Discussion	76-7
Delegates and delegations Credentials of delegates: Cttee. on Verification Appointment of Chairman as member of General Cttee.	33	Report of 2nd Committee Rapporteur's statement	75-6
Election	27-8	Resolution, Oct. 7, 1933	76
Reports	30	Contributions of States in Arrears Report of 4th Committee Rapporteur's statement	91-2
List	9-24	Resolution, Oct. 11, 1933	92
Opening of Assembly and opening speech of President in Office of Council	27, 28-30	Council of League Election of non-perm. Members Election of Denmark, Argentine, Australia	57-8
President, <i>see that title</i>		Procedure <i>re</i> : communication by President in the name of General Committee	36
Speeches in plenary meetings <i>See</i> Report on the work of the League, etc.: Speeches Translation, etc.		Provisional creation of one new non-perm. seat on Council Discussion	78, 78-9
Vice-Presidents Election	34	Election of Portugal	79
List	26	Resolution of Council, Oct. 4, 1933	78
Assembly of League Election of Vice-Presidents: communication by President in the name of the General Committee	49-50	System of elections to Report of 1st Cttee. Rapporteur's statement	67-8
Rules of Procedure Rule 7, <i>see above</i> Election of Vice-Presidents		Resolutions, Oct. 2, 1933	68
Simplification of procedure Communication of President in the name of the General Committee	42	Credentials of Delegates <i>See under</i> Assembly, 14th Session of: Delegates and delegations	
Report of 1st Committee Rapporteur's statement	85-6	Dollfuss, M., Chancellor of the Austrian Republic Attempt on the life of: communication by President and exchange of telegrams	69
Resolution, Oct. 11, 1933	86		

	Page		Page
Economic and Financial Questions		Refugees (Jewish and Other) coming from Germany: Organisation on an International Basis of Assistance for	
Report of 2nd Committee		Draft resol. submitted by Netherlands delegation: reference to Agenda Cttee.	48, 50
Rapporteur's statement	77, 78	Report of Agenda Committee	57
Resolution, Oct. 7, 1933	77-8	Report of 2nd Committee	
European Union, Work of Commission of Enquiry for		Discussion and adoption.	89, 90
Draft resol. proposed by General Committee	37	Resolution, Oct. 11, 1933	89-90
Finances of League		Refugees, Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish	
Report of 4th Committee		Report of 6th Committee	
Rapporteur's statement	92-3	Rapporteur's statement	73
Resolutions, Oct. 11, 1933	93	Resolution, Oct. 7, 1933	73
Health Organisation, Work of		Report on the Work of the League since the Thirteenth Session of the Assembly	
Report of 2nd Cttee.		Discussion	37-42, 43-9, 50-6, 58-67
Rapporteur's statement	72	Speeches by delegates of following countries	
Resolution, Oct. 7, 1933	72	Austria (Dollfuss)	40-1
Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, Work of		Canada (Manion)	41-2
Discussion	81-3	China (Wellington Koo)	45-7
Report of 6th Committee		France (Paul-Boncour)	64-5
Rapporteur's statement	79-80	Greece (Tsaldaris)	52-3
Resolution, Oct. 9, 1933	80-1	Haiti (Frangulis)	50-1
Mandates		India (Brojendra Mitter)	44-5
Reference of certain documents <i>re</i> , to 6th Cttee.: draft resol. of Norwegian delegation	37, 42	Irish Free State (O'Kelly)	55-6
Report of 6th Committee		Latvia (Salnais)	53-5
Discussion	74-5	Netherlands (de Graeff)	47-9
Rapporteur's statement	73-4	Persia (Foroughi)	65-7
Resolution, Oct. 7, 1933	74	Portugal (Vasconcellos)	62-4
Minorities, Protection of		Spain (Madariaga)	58-62
Reference of report <i>re</i> , to 6th Cttee.: draft resol. of German delegation	35, 37	Sweden (Sandler)	43-4
Report of 6th Committee		United Kingdom (Simon)	37-40
Discussion	88	Uruguay (Guani)	51-2
Rapporteur's statement	88	<i>See also</i> Translation, etc.	
Resolution, Oct. 11, 1933	88	Rights of Men and Citizens: Proposed World Convention ensuring the Protection of and Respect for	
Nationality of Women		Draft resol. submitted by Haiti: reference to Agenda Cttee.	56-7
Resolution, Oct. 11, 1933	86	Slavery	
Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs		Report of 6th Committee	
Report of 5th Committee		Discussion and adoption	86, 87
Rapporteur's statement	90	Resolution, Oct. 11, 1933	87
Resolution, Oct. 11, 1933	90-1	Traffic in Women and Children	
Peace, Organisation of		Report of 5th Committee	
<i>See</i> Press, etc.		Rapporteur's statement	87-8
Penal and Penitentiary Questions		Resolution, Oct. 11, 1933	87-8
Gradual unification of criminal law and co-operation of States in prevention and suppression of crime		Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age, Convention for: convocation of a Diplomatic Conference	
Report of 1st Cttee.		Rapporteur's statement	70-1
Rapporteur's statement	69-70	Resolution, Oct. 7, 1933	71
Resolution, Oct. 7, 1933	70	Transit and Communications	
Standard minimum rules for treatment of prisoners		<i>See</i> Communications and transit	
Report of 5th Cttee.		Translation, Simultaneous, of Speeches at Plenary Meetings	
Rapporteur's statement	71-2	Communication by President in the name of the General Committee	36
Resolution, Oct. 7, 1933	72	Tributes to Memories of Deceased Delegates	
President of Assembly (Mr. C. T. de Water)		M. de Agüero y Bethancourt	31
Election	25, 30	Count Apponyi	31-2
Presidential address	31	Vice-Presidents of Assembly	
Speech at close of session	93-6	Election	34
Press, Co-operation in Organisation of Peace		List	25
Discussion	84	Women, Nationality of	
Report of 6th Committee		<i>See</i> Nationality of women	
Rapporteur's statement	83-4		
Resolution, Oct. 9, 1933	84		

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Official Journal

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT No. 116

RECORDS

OF THE

FOURTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION

OF THE

ASSEMBLY

MEETINGS OF THE COMMITTEES

MINUTES

OF THE

FIRST COMMITTEE

(CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL QUESTIONS)

CONTENTS.

	Page
LIST OF MEMBERS	4
AGENDA	6
FIRST MEETING, September 26th, 1933, at 10 a.m. :	
1. Election of Vice-Chairman	6
2. Publicity of Meetings	6
3. Adoption of Agenda	6
4. Appointment of Rapporteur	6
SECOND MEETING, September 26th, 1933, at 5 p.m. :	
5. System of Election to the Council : Discussion of Report of Committee appointed to examine the Existing System : Adoption of Findings of Report : Appointment of Rapporteur	6
THIRD MEETING, September 28th, 1933, at 4.30 p.m. :	
6. Gradual Unification of Criminal Law and Co-operation of States in the Prevention and Suppression of Crime : General Discussion	7
FOURTH MEETING, October 2nd, 1933, at 10 a.m. :	
7. Gradual Unification of Criminal Law and Co-operation of States in the Prevention and Suppression of Crime : General Discussion (<i>continuation</i>)	10
FIFTH MEETING, October 3rd, 1933, at 10 a.m. :	
8. Gradual Unification of Criminal Law and Co-operation of States in the Prevention and Suppression of Crime : Discussion and Adoption of Report	15
9. Simplification of the Procedure of the Assembly : General Discussion	16
SIXTH MEETING, October 4th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m. :	
10. Simplification of the Procedure of the Assembly : Discussion and Adoption of Resolution : Appointment of Rapporteur	17
SEVENTH MEETING, October 5th, 1933, at 10 a.m. :	
11. Nationality of Women : Proposal by the Chilian Government : Discussion and Adoption of Resolution : Appointment of Rapporteur	21

ANNEXES.

1. System of Election to the Council :	
A. Report of the Committee appointed to study the Existing System	25
<i>Appendix</i> : Provisions regarding the Election of Non-permanent Members of the Council	27
B. Report of the First Committee to the Assembly	28
2. Gradual Unification of Criminal Law and Co-operation of States in the Prevention and Suppression of Crime :	
A. Replies of the Governments (Series 1, 2, 3 and 4)	30
<i>Appendix</i> : Joint Reply submitted to the Secretary-General by the Seven Organisations consulted	38
B. Report of the First Committee to the Assembly	42
3. Simplification of the Procedure of the Assembly :	
A. Extracts from the Minutes of the Meeting of the General Committee on September 27th, 1933	43
B. Report of the First Committee to the Assembly	44
4. Nationality of Women :	
A. Communication from the Representatives of Certain Women's Inter- national Organisations	45
B. Report of the First Committee to the Assembly	46
Index	47

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE

Chairman: His Excellency M. Giuseppe MOTTA (Switzerland).

Vice-Chairman: M. J. LIMBURG (Netherlands).

- Abyssinia:*
Union of South Africa: Mr. H. T. ANDREWS.
Albania: M. Fouad ASLANI.
Argentine:
Australia: The Right Honourable S. M. BRUCE, C.H., M.C., M.P.
Mr. K. OFFICER, O.B.E., M.C. (Substitute).
Austria: Dr. E. SCHIFFNER.
Belgium: M. Maurice BOURQUIN.
Bolivia: His Excellency M. Adolfe COSTA DU RELS.
*United Kingdom
of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland:* Sir William MALKIN, K.C.M.G., C.B., K.C.
Bulgaria: His Excellency M. Nicolas MOUCHANOFF.
M. Dimitri MIKOFF (Substitute).
Canada: The Honourable Robert J. MANION, M.C., M.P., M.D.
Mr. Jean DÉSY, K.C. (Substitute).
Chile: His Excellency M. Jorge VALDÉS-MENDEVILLE.
M. Enrique GAJARDO (Substitute).
China: His Excellency Dr. W. W. YEN.
His Excellency Dr. V. Hoo Chi-tsai (Substitute).
Dr. C. Kuangson YOUNG (Substitute).
Colombia: His Excellency Dr. Eduardo SANTOS.
Dr. José Luis ARANGO (Substitute).
Cuba: His Excellency M. Carlos DE ARMENTEROS Y DE CARDENAS.
M. Emiliano DUSSAQ Y FISCHER (Substitute).
Czechoslovakia: His Excellency M. Štefan OSUSKÝ.
Denmark: Count Bent HOLSTEIN.
Chambellan H. A. BERNHOFT (Substitute).
Dominican Republic:
Estonia: His Excellency M. Auguste SCHMIDT.
M. J. KÓDAR (Substitute).
Finland: M. P. K. TARJANNE.
M. P. HJELT (Substitute).
France: His Excellency M. PAUL-BONCOUR.
M. Yvon DELBOS.
M. Marcel PLAISANT.
M. Jules BASDEVANT.
M. René CASSIN.
Mme. MALATERRE-SELLIER.
Germany: Dr. VON KELLER.
Dr. Friedrich GAUS.
Herr Dr. WOERMANN.
Greece: His Excellency M. Nicolas POLITIS.
M. B. P. PAPADAKIS (Substitute).
Guatemala: His Excellency M. José MATOS.
Haiti: His Excellency M. A. F. FRANGULIS.
Honduras:
Hungary: M. Béla DE SZENT-ISTVÁNY.
India: Sir Brojendra Lal MITTER, K.C.S.I.
Kingdom of Iraq:
Irish Free State: Mr. Sean T. O'KELLY.
Mr. F. T. CREMINS.
Italy: His Excellency Count Edoardo PIOLA CASELLI.
M. Giannino FERRARI DALLE SPADE.
M. Tommaso PERASSI.

<i>Japan:</i>	
<i>Latvia:</i>	M. Jules FELDMANS. M. Karlis KALNINS (Substitute).
<i>Liberia:</i>	His Excellency M. Louis Arthur GRIMES. His Excellency Dr. Antoine SOTTILE (Substitute).
<i>Lithuania:</i>	His Excellency M. Vaclovas SIDZIKAUSKAS. Professor Mykolas RÖMERIS (Substitute).
<i>Luxemburg:</i>	His Excellency M. Joseph BECH. M. Albert WEHRER (Substitute).
<i>United States of Mexico:</i>	Dr. Francisco CASTILLO NAJERA. Engineer Arturo PANI (Substitute).
<i>Netherlands:</i>	M. J. LIMBURG.
<i>New Zealand:</i>	Sir Thomas Mason WILFORD, K.C.M.G., K.C. Mr. C. KNOWLES (Substitute).
<i>Nicaragua:</i>	M. Tomás Francisco MEDINA.
<i>Norway:</i>	M. Jon SUNDBY. M. Hersleb BIRKELAND (Substitute).
<i>Panama:</i>	Dr. Ernesto HOFFMAN.
<i>Paraguay:</i>	His Excellency Dr. R. V. CABALLERO DE BEDOYA.
<i>Persia:</i>	M. Moussa Khan NOURY-ESFANDIARY. M. Nasrollah ENTEZAM-WAZIRI. M. Abdol-Hosseini SARDARI (Substitute). Colonel A. RIAZI (Substitute). M. Djevad FOROUGHI (Substitute).
<i>Peru:</i>	
<i>Poland:</i>	His Excellency M. Edouard RACZYŃSKI. M. Simon RUNDSTEIN. M. Ladislas KULSKI (Substitute).
<i>Portugal:</i>	His Excellency Dr. José Lobo d'AVILA LIMA. His Excellency Dr. Augusto DE VASCONCELLOS. Dr. Alexandre Magno FERRAZ DE ANDRADE (Substitute).
<i>Roumania:</i>	His Excellency M. Constantin ANTONIADE. His Excellency M. Constantin VISOIANU (Substitute). M. V. V. PELLA (Substitute).
<i>Salvador:</i>	Dr. Joaquín PAREDES.
<i>Siam:</i>	His Excellency Phya Subarn SOMPATI. Luang BHADRAVADI (Substitute).
<i>Spain:</i>	M. Manuel Martinez PEDROSO. M. Julio LÓPEZ OLIVÁN (Substitute). M. Leopoldo PALACIOS (Substitute).
<i>Sweden:</i>	M. B. Oesten UNDÉN. M. K. I. WESTMAN (Substitute). Mlle. Kerstin HESSELGREN (Substitute).
<i>Switzerland:</i>	M. Camille GORGÉ. His Excellency M. Giuseppe MOTTA.
<i>Turkey:</i>	CELAL HAZIM Bey.
<i>Uruguay:</i>	His Excellency Dr. Alberto GUANI. His Excellency Dr. Alfredo DE CASTRO (Substitute).
<i>Venezuela:</i>	His Excellency Dr. Diógenes ESCALANTE. His Excellency Dr. C. PARRA-PÉREZ (Substitute).
<i>Yugoslavia:</i>	Dr. Marko KOSTRENTCHITCH. Dr. Miroslav PLOY (Substitute).

**FIRST COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION
OF THE ASSEMBLY**

(CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL QUESTIONS)

AGENDA.

1. **METHOD OF ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL.**
 2. **GRADUAL UNIFICATION OF PENAL LAW AND CO-OPERATION OF STATES IN THE PREVENTION AND SUPPRESSION OF CRIME.**
 3. **NATIONALITY OF WOMEN : PROPOSAL OF THE CHILIAN GOVERNMENT.**
 4. **SIMPLIFICATION OF THE PROCEDURE OF THE ASSEMBLY.**
-

FIRST MEETING

Held on Tuesday, September 26th, 1933, at 10 a.m.

Chairman: M. MOTTA (Switzerland).

1. **Election of the Vice-Chairman of the Committee.**

The Committee unanimously appointed M. LIMBURG (Netherlands) Vice-Chairman.

2. **Publicity of Meetings.**

The Committee decided that, in conformity with its usual practice, its meetings would be public.

3. **Adoption of Agenda.**

The Committee adopted its agenda, namely :

1. **System of Election to the Council;**
2. **Gradual Unification of Criminal Law and Co-operation of States in the Prevention and Suppression of Crime;**
3. **Nationality of Women (Proposal of the Chilian Government).**

4. **Appointment of Rapporteur.**

The Committee appointed M. PELLA (Roumania) rapporteur for the question of the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime.

SECOND MEETING

Held on Tuesday, September 26th, 1933, at 5 p.m.

Chairman: M. MOTTA (Switzerland).

5. **System of Election to the Council : Report of the Committee appointed to study the Existing System (Annex 1): Discussion and Adoption of the Findings of the Report: Appointment of Rapporteur to the Assembly.**

M. PIOLA CASELLI (Italy), Chairman of the Committee appointed to study the existing system of election to the Council, in the absence of the rapporteurs of that Committee, explained the position and commented on the report of the Special Committee appointed by the Council on January 29th, 1932, to study the present system of election to the Council and to report to a future session of the Assembly on any reforms which might appear desirable. This Committee had been set up to discover a remedy for the situation which had been brought

to the attention of the Members of the League by a Memorandum from the Portuguese Government dated June 5th, 1931. This situation was serious in that from ten to fifteen States Members of the League had no real chance of becoming Members of the Council. The enquiry conducted by the Secretariat among the Members of the League had elicited only a few replies, with meagre observations, which merely noted the defects of the present system without proposing any remedy. During the discussions in the Committee of the Council, two contrary opinions had emerged, one of which maintained that the non-permanent seats on the Council should be increased, while the other laid stress on the serious disadvantages of such an increase. The alternative solutions proposed were as follows :

1. Modification of the present system as regards representation by groups in such a way that a new group might be represented, consisting of States which did not at present belong to any group.

2. Creation of one or two new non-permanent seats on the Council. The delegate of Italy had made — though subsequently he had not pressed — another proposal — namely, that the period for which the non-permanent Members were appointed to the Council should be reduced from three to two years. In that way a greater number of States would obtain seats.

There had been some danger of the Committee's coming to an impasse, for, though the majority pronounced in favour of the creation of a new seat, the minority opposed thereto consisted of some of the representatives of States having permanent seats on the Council. Any increase in the number of the Members of the Council, however, would have to be accepted by the Council unanimously. The Committee had therefore concluded that it would be preferable to avoid raising such important questions as constitutional questions, and to rest content with a compromise to which the whole Committee could subscribe without definitely affecting the principle of maintaining the present number of Members of the Council. That was the compromise — which, the Committee had thought, would for the time being give satisfaction to all — indicated in the report. The number of Members of the Council would be increased by one, but this decision would be only provisional, as the question would arise again in 1936, when the whole system of election to the Council would be fully examined.

For similar reasons — in particular, because it would be premature to discuss any radical change in the system of election — the Committee had rejected the proposal of the Norwegian Government that elections to the Council should be conducted by proportional representation under the system of the single transferable vote.

On the proposal of Lord Cecil, the majority of the Committee was, however, of opinion that one change in the 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 elections. The time-limit for the submission of nominations would be at least forty-eight hours before the election, which would not be held before the seventh day of the Assembly's session.

The Committee unanimously approved the proposal that the number of non-permanent Members of the Council should be provisionally increased from nine to ten under the conditions specified in the report.¹

The Committee unanimously approved the text of the addition suggested by the Special Committee to the rules for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council, adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926.²

The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee that these resolutions would only become final when they had been adopted by a unanimous vote of the Council.

The Committee appointed M. PIOLA CASELLI (Italy) to draft and submit to the Assembly the Committee's report (Annex 1) on the question of the system of elections to the Council.

THIRD MEETING

Held on Thursday, September 28th, 1933, at 4.30 p.m.

Chairman: M. MOTTA (Switzerland).

6. Gradual Unification of Criminal Law and Co-operation of States in the Prevention and Suppression of Crime:³ General Discussion.

M. PELLA (Roumania), Rapporteur, reminded the Committee that this question had been discussed by the Fifth Committee of the Assembly in 1931, when, among other possibilities, a co-ordination of the work of the various organisations dealing with criminal law problems from an international point of view had been considered, together with the possible creation of a special League of Nations organ for penal and penitentiary questions. It should be noted that, as international life developed, crime also tended to develop on

¹ See Annex 1.

² See Annex 2.

international lines. Consequently the League itself had been obliged to occupy itself with certain forms of international crime, such as the traffic in women and children, obscene publications, slavery, piracy, drug traffic, counterfeiting currency, etc. As regards the international unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the campaign against crime, the 1931 Assembly had decided that there should be a consultation of certain organisations which had specialised in the study of these questions.

In May 1932, there had met at Geneva the representatives of the following organisations : the International Penal Law Association, the International Bureau for the Unification of Criminal Law, the International Criminal Police Commission, the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, the Howard League for Penal Reform, the International Law Association and the International Penal Law Union. They had unanimously adopted the " Joint Reply submitted to the Secretary-General by the Seven Organisations consulted on the Questions of the Gradual Unification of Criminal Law and the Co-operation of States in the Prevention and Suppression of Crime."¹ These organisations were represented by some of the most distinguished specialists on the subject. In order, however, that there might be no misunderstanding as to the weight of the conclusions expressed, each representative expert had preferred to await the endorsement of his opinion by his organisation ; and, in fact, by September 1932 all the organisations concerned had ratified the conclusions of their representatives and each had stated that it placed itself at the entire disposal of the League to collaborate within the limits of its competence. Thus, the 1932 Assembly was asked to consider these conclusions, and decided that they should be referred to the various Governments for an opinion.

Twenty-nine Governments had now expressed their views, so that it was possible to form an idea of the attitude of the various States towards the gradual unification of criminal law and co-operation in the prevention and suppression of crime. He was convinced that, on analysing more fully the scope of the suggestions of the technical organisations, certain objections raised by a few countries would be seen to be based on a misunderstanding, so that it might be possible for the Committee, in spite of these objections, to reach a unanimous conclusion.

Seventeen Governments had definitely declared themselves in favour of the proposal that the League should lend its assistance for the purposes indicated. It would seem from the statements made by their representatives on the Fifth Committee in 1932 that certain other Governments which had not yet replied — namely, Spain, Cuba, Greece and Portugal — were nevertheless in favour of the principle. Other Governments, though of the same opinion, had pointed out that it did not seem desirable to create a special body within the League. In this connection, he felt bound to point out that the organisations themselves, in their joint reply, stated that " the development of the League's activities in the matters mentioned . . . does not involve the creation of new organisations "². One reply, that of the Netherlands, though favourable, called for comment. It advocated " the desirability of amalgamating the International Penal Law Association and the International Penal Law Union "³. A first step had already been taken in that direction towards permanent contact, since both bodies were now members of the International Bureau for the Unification of Criminal Law, and there was thus the possibility of very close collaboration.

Other Governments, in particular the Government of the United Kingdom, had enquired what exactly was meant by the " unification " of criminal law. There seemed to be a fear in certain quarters that some vast activity was proposed. He wished to say immediately, as Rapporteur, that he agreed that any comprehensive scheme was entirely impracticable at present. What he had in mind was not wholesale unification or even unification in the ordinary sense, but the co-ordination, wherever possible, of existing laws with a view to eliminating divergencies, and only such divergencies as made it possible for international criminals to escape punishment. One of the essential conditions was that there must be a definite practical need for unification in a given sphere before any action for unification were undertaken. The fear expressed in the United Kingdom Government's reply, that " there had been some misconception as to the scope of these international conventions "⁴, might be justified if the immediate aim were the unification of penalties. The proposal was, in fact, to unify certain indictments. While the punishment of crimes and offences would be a question remaining within the existing framework of domestic law, the work of international co-ordination might be pursued in the form of the unification of indictments. But, in point of fact, certain international conventions already existed (for instance, Article 22 of the Convention for the Suppression of Counterfeiting Currency), which did, in certain cases, involve a modification of domestic law before the ratification of the Conventions.

M. Pella then quoted a number of instances to prove that lack of uniformity in the definition of crimes and offences did, in practice, often lead to the immunity of criminals. The report which M. de Vasconcellos had just submitted in connection with the suppression of the traffic in opium was further evidence of that fact. Such immunity was often the result

¹ See Annex 2.

² See Annex 2, resolution of May 10th, 1932, Section 3.

³ See Annex 2, reply of the United Kingdom, point 5.

of divergencies, not merely between criminal codes in regard to indictments, but in those fundamental principles contained in the general parts of such codes.

The resolution of the technical organisations only urged the co-ordination of criminal legislation referring to crimes and offences of an international character, and did not connote any extension of the work at present undertaken by the League.

A number of questions now being studied by the League would eventually involve a co-ordination of laws (desertion of family, *souleneurs*, falsification of cheques, etc.). These were a number of entirely different problems which nevertheless raised absolutely identical questions at international criminal law.

Obviously, no new questions could be subjected to enquiry without the consent of the Council and the Assembly. With regard to existing questions, he felt that the procedure proposed would lead not to an increase but rather to a decrease of expenditure. Experts had always to be consulted on technical subjects. All the conventions ratified by the League had been prepared by experts. According to the proposals of the organisations, the League would not itself convene experts, but would refer questions to the outside technical organisations for expert advice. These bodies had offered their services gratuitously.

As for extradition, though it was clear that any effort to frame a universal convention on the subject was bound to fail, the preparation of model treaties to be put into force between countries whose fundamental rules were similar might well be contemplated with some chance of success.

He believed that unanimous agreement could, if certain misunderstandings were eliminated, be obtained on the following points :

1. The League of Nations should recognise the importance of the efforts made with a view to the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States for the suppression of crime, as evinced by the fact that the majority of the replies from the Governments were favourable to assistance from the League in these matters.

2. The League might take note of the joint reply from the technical organisations and of the re-organisation of the International Bureau for the Unification of Criminal Law. The importance of the work done by the technical organisations should be recognised, and it should be decided that, when that work resulted in definite proposals meeting practical needs, the League might take action with a view to the conclusion of international conventions. The main questions were : the unification of certain general rules of criminal law with a view to obviating the differences which at present often allowed international criminals to go unpunished ; the unification of indictments of acts the punishment of which was essential in the international interest ; the improvement and unification of the rules for the extradition of accused and sentenced persons ; international collaboration of police forces ; the improvement of the basic rules for the enforcement of penalties ; and, lastly, the conclusion of international agreements for the repatriation of aliens on release from prison.

3. The creation of a special League organ for penal and penitentiary questions should be rejected. The help of the existing technical organisations might be enlisted.

4. The League should co-operate with these technical organisations, requesting their advice beforehand on any penal or penitentiary question. The technical organisations in question are the seven bodies referred to in the resolution of the 1931 Assembly — namely, the International Criminal Law Association, the International Bureau for the Unification of Criminal Law, the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, the International Criminal Police Commission, the Howard League, the International Law Association and the International Criminal Law Union.

The International Bureau for the Unification of Criminal Law might also be asked to assist in the preparatory studies regarding conventions which raised problems of criminal law and the conclusion of which was contemplated by the League.

For penitentiary questions, the help of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission should be enlisted.

He was sure that this policy would greatly assist the organisations themselves in their work. It would also help to perfect international criminal law, and thereby stimulate co-operation between nations and make for the consolidation of peace.

Sir Brojendra Lal MITTER (India) was not quite clear as to what M. Pella was proposing. In what manner was it suggested that the League should assist ? Would that assistance involve any preliminary research and investigation ? Further, was assistance to be given only in respect of certain specific crimes, or in the case of all crimes of an international character ? If co-operation were contemplated only in respect of specific crimes, who was to supply a definition of such crimes ?

M. D'AVILA LIMA (Portugal) expressed himself as generally in favour of the views of the Rapporteur, while pointing out the importance of certain observations contained in the Italian Government's reply.¹

¹ See Annex 2.

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) wished to say at the outset that, in his opinion, the problem of the unification of criminal law was no matter for the League. Moreover, he entirely agreed with the United Kingdom Government that the prevention of crime was a matter solely for the police authorities and lay entirely outside the League's province. It was much to be regretted that the League showed a tendency to take up all sorts of questions which it had not been created to deal with. Its machinery was thus becoming more and more cumbersome, clogged and costly.

He was prepared to admit that in some special cases — as, for example, the counterfeiting of currency — States might agree to adopt certain uniform rules; but the unification of criminal law was an idea which was, in practice, a Utopian and fantastic proposal against which he felt bound to protest.

M. LIMBURG (Netherlands) emphasised the importance of the Rapporteur's statement, but warned the Committee against entertaining illusions. True, a number of countries had stated that they were in favour of unification in principle, but, when it came to the adoption of concrete proposals, he was afraid that unanimity or even a majority would be hard to secure. Experience in the field of codification was hardly encouraging. In the matter of private law it had been impossible to arrive at any important results — except in the case of bills of exchange and cheques. The Hague Conferences of 1925 and 1928 had, indeed, laid down certain rules which had never been ratified, and yet the codification of international private law ought to be far easier than the codification of international criminal law.

M. Pella had, in quoting certain specific cases in which the League had taken action in the matter of criminal law, been arguing from the particular to the general. He did not feel that this was a sound line of reasoning. The fact that it had been possible to secure the adoption of a few penal sanctions in special conventions concluded under the auspices of the League did not imply that general unification was feasible. The various conclusions of the technical organisations referred to international offences. But what was an international offence? It was almost impossible to supply a definition. A similar difficulty had been experienced fifty years previously, in the national sphere, when endeavours were being made to define "political crime". In this connection, he drew attention to the third and fourth paragraphs of the German Government's reply.¹

He did not object to the proposal that the League should collaborate in the unification of criminal law in so far as that was possible, but it was essential that the League should decide exactly what it wanted and should studiously refrain from adopting any resolutions devoid of practical significance. The Associations might be encouraged to continue their studies and possibly to frame draft conventions. The League, if desired, might be represented at their meetings. The League would then judge whether it was desirable to submit any of these drafts to the States.

The first question to be settled was, What should be the attitude of the First Committee towards the proposals of the seven organisations? In any case, he recommended the avoidance of all discussion as to the nature of international crime.

The CHAIRMAN proposed that the Rapporteur should prepare a short note stating the practical conclusions which he felt able to submit to the First Committee.

Agreed.

FOURTH MEETING

Held on Monday, October 2nd, 1933, at 10 a.m.

Chairman: M. LIMBURG (Netherlands).

7. Gradual Unification of Criminal Law and Co-operation of States in the Prevention and Suppression of Crime :¹ General Discussion (continuation).

M. PELLA (Roumania), Rapporteur, read the following draft resolution, which he proposed as the basis of discussion :

" The Assembly,

" Having examined with the greatest interest the joint reply given by the seven technical organisations which the Secretary-General consulted on the subject of the form in which the League of Nations might lend its assistance in the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime ;

" Noting the re-organisation of the International Bureau for the Unification of Criminal Law by the entry of representatives of the six other organisations into that body ;

¹ See Annex 2.

“ Considering that the Members of the League have been consulted on the question of the unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the campaign against crime, and that the majority of the replies received are favourable to collaboration by the League in these matters ;

“ Considering that certain other Governments have expressed the opinion that the only method by which useful results in this sphere may be obtained consists in studying each particular question separately, if it is of international interest, as and when need arises :

“ Recognises the value of the international exchange of views on criminal matters which occurs within the technical organisations ;

“ Is of the opinion that, when the work of these organisations leads to definite proposals, the League of Nations may intervene with the object of securing the possible conclusion of international conventions if the proposals referred to answer to real needs recognised as such by the organs of the League — in which case the procedure would be that normally followed in the conclusion of conventions under the auspices of the League of Nations ;

“ Thanks the seven technical organisations for their offer to collaborate with the League of Nations, the possibility of having recourse to this collaboration obviating the necessity for the creation of a special organ of the League to deal with criminal and penitentiary questions ;

“ And considers it desirable that, in appropriate cases, the organs of the League should consult the said organisations in relation to questions of penal law as to which action under the auspices of the League may be called for. In such cases, the International Bureau for the Unification of Penal Law might be asked to give its assistance in the preparatory investigations undertaken in connection with the drawing-up of any convention which may be contemplated. For questions of law and practice in regard to prisons which are taken up, the assistance of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission might be obtained.”

Sir Brojendra Lal MITTER (India) declared himself fully satisfied with the draft resolution submitted by the Rapporteur, which had the supreme merit that it did not extend the League's field of activity and it was in keeping with the procedure usually followed by the League, which was both sound and sufficient.

COUNT PIOLA CASELLI (Italy) paid a tribute to M. Pella's untiring efforts to secure the solution of a problem that was of interest to all mankind. The Italian Government had replied favourably to the circular sent to the various Governments by the Secretary-General, only making a reservation regarding prison administration. His acceptance of the draft resolution was therefore subject only to the following considerations :

Firstly, it must be understood that support of the movement for the unification of criminal law did not mean support of a movement to set up new international tribunals, as might be implied from the not very happy use here of the word “ unification ”. Unified law required a tribunal to ensure that it was uniformly applied and interpreted. The conferences for the revision of the important international Conventions of Berne (authors' rights) and Paris (industrial property) had in frequent cases given rise to proposals to attach an organised international judicial penalty to the rules embodied in those Conventions. The Italian Government had not accepted such proposals.

Secondly, in what way exactly was co-operation to be arranged between the League of Nations and the institutions referred to in the draft resolution ? The so-called movement towards unification could proceed in two different directions : first by a spontaneous and unilateral development of national legislation, which, under the influence of doctrine and of national and international legal congresses, would become more consistent with foreign legislation, and also by taking international conventions into account. In its reply, the Italian Government had explained its attitude on this matter and had pointed out that special attention had been paid to international conventions in the recent Italian penal codes.

Progress by individual nations in the suppression of crime contributed towards unification, because the more perfect laws were taken as models for the new legislation of other countries. He drew attention, in this connection, to the great influence which the Italian codes (both the former “ Zanardelli ” codes and the new “ Rocco ” codes) had had upon the texts of the codes of several countries. Italian jurists had often been asked to collaborate directly in drafting them. A magistrate of the Court of Cassation (M. Lavagna), for example, had recently been asked by the Chinese Government to assist in reforming Chinese criminal and penitentiary law.

But it was scarcely conceivable for the League to take any direct action in the preparation of national legislation, and consequently it could only co-operate in the unification of criminal law in the second of the two directions and means of unification — international conventions — and in the special field of suppression.

The Rapporteur had drawn attention, in his draft report, to the carefully devised rules by which the League intended to regulate proposals concerning this type of action, particularly by the resolution adopted by the twelfth Assembly, which defined the preliminary procedure to be followed for the submission to international conferences of questions regarded as sufficiently mature to form the subject of conventions. The League was a political body, which could not co-operate directly with the institutions mentioned in the draft report,

but only through the intermediary of delegates of the Governments to which the institutions were attached. To set a precedent, even in the case of institutions of manifest utility, would be dangerous.

It was, moreover, clearly desirable that no direct relations should exist between the League and private individuals or institutions, so as to avoid further openings for extending the League's activities. In that connection, he supported Sir Thomas Wilford's observations concerning the rather multifarious activities of the League. All human endeavour ran the risk of failure, and that risk increased proportionately to the number of irons in the fire. For that reason, he was of opinion that it was of fundamental importance, not only for the maintenance but also for the strengthening of the League's activities, that no fresh activities should be proceeded with except on the proposal and responsibility of the delegates of the Members.

M. SCHIFFNER (Austria) first examined the question of competence. It had been asked whether the unification of international criminal law was really a matter for the League to deal with. His view was that all the League's work bore a legal character. It was always the legal aspect of questions which came to the forefront, and a legal settlement of questions was sought first in order to ensure the normal course of other activities.

All that pertained to the law fell therefore, in principle, within the competence of the League, provided the questions were of concern to several States and were thus international. This definition applied to questions of international criminal law, which were accordingly, beyond doubt, a matter that the League was entitled to examine. The Committee would remember the discussions which had taken place at the time of the establishment of the Rome Institute of Private Law and that it had been thought only right to place that Institute under the League's auspices, by reason of the League's jurisdiction in every domain of international law.

There was one exception — which, moreover, did not in any way affect the principle — the Hague Conference on International Law. That Conference was due to the enterprise of the Netherlands Government, which long before the birth of the League had already done much in the domain of international law.

As regarded fundamentals, he would merely draw the attention of the Rapporteur and of the bodies which would subsequently be called upon to carry out the preliminary studies to one essential point : the question of extradition treaties. In this connection, countries were divided into two categories : those whose authorities had already prepared a model extradition treaty which they immediately produced when negotiations were begun with neighbouring countries, and those which, like Austria, regarded the type of treaty as of little importance and accepted any draft that allowed the adoption of provisions in keeping with their own legal practice and existing extradition treaties. This latter method facilitated negotiations. It possessed certain disadvantages, however, in view of the prolixity of types of co-existing extradition treaties. He therefore thought it preferable that the legal advisers of the various ministries of foreign affairs should have certain model extradition treaties before them when undertaking negotiations. The Austrian Government would consequently be grateful if the institutions mentioned in the draft resolution were to seek an agreement on model treaties of this kind.

The statement made by the Rapporteur at the previous meeting had shown that the problem was no longer one of unifying criminal law. All delegates had agreed that this was not feasible. The problem was a much smaller one — namely, the avoidance of the conflict of laws. Without seeking the uniformisation of criminal law, an attempt should be made to eliminate the difficulties due to a divergence of laws, as was being done in the case of private or administrative international law with respect to the nationality question.

In the domain of criminal law, divergences between national laws were particularly unfortunate, since they made it possible for clever criminals to escape justice. It was therefore important that the international organisations referred to in the draft resolution should endeavour to prepare a draft multilateral convention by which the disadvantages of the conflict of laws might be avoided wholly or in part.

M. RUNDSTEIN (Poland) thought that the Committee might approve the draft submitted by its Rapporteur. The exchange of views following on M. Pella's first statement had proved that the unification of criminal law was a vast and thorny problem. If, however, an opportunity arose of unifying the rules of what might be strictly termed "international criminal law", the League ought to lend its assistance. The seven technical organisations should prepare the ground, and the League, when it came to take action, should act in accordance with the procedure laid down for it by the twelfth Assembly with regard to the preparation of general conventions. The Committee would remember that the Assembly had suggested two forms of procedure — one in connection with the codification of international law and the other with the preparation of general conventions concluded under the auspices of the League. The two methods of procedure were not identical. In his opinion, the unification of criminal law fell within the sphere of the codification of international law, so that the procedure laid down for the latter was that which should be applied. It should be borne in mind that the Committee on the Codification of International Law had studied several questions connected with the unification of criminal law, in particular the transmission of legal documents, letters of request and the hearing of witnesses, and had recognised that those questions were not suitable for unification and codification on lines

similar to the rules laid down by the Hague Convention on Civil Procedure. He therefore proposed that the last sentence of the sixth paragraph of the draft resolution should be amended as follows :

“ In such cases the methods laid down by the twelfth Assembly in the matter of the progressive codification of international law and the preparation of conventions to be concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations shall be followed.”

He was, moreover, in favour of mentioning in the report the desirability of conducting future work for the unification of criminal law in collaboration with the Conference of South American States.

Though at present the work was merely preparatory, it was to be hoped that one day M. Pella's initiative would bear fruit. It was already exerting an influence on the codification of national criminal laws in certain countries, one of which was Poland. It was therefore important that the League should endeavour to co-ordinate all efforts in this field.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that in the draft resolution it was laid down that “ the procedure would be that normally followed in the conclusion of conventions under the auspices of the League of Nations ”. Surely it was unnecessary to state forthwith what that procedure would be. It was sufficient to say that the method applied would be whichever of the League's methods was most appropriate in the circumstances. He, therefore, thought there was no need to make the drafting amendment proposed by M. Rundstein.

Sir William MALKIN (United Kingdom) thanked the Rapporteur for the conciliatory spirit in which he had dealt with the questions raised in the reply of the United Kingdom Government to the Secretary-General's circular letter.

The United Kingdom Government had drawn attention to the difficulties inherent in every endeavour to bring about a complete unification of criminal law. The replies received and the discussion in the Committee had shown that several other Governments also felt anxiety on this point. The United Kingdom Government did not think it practicable or desirable to endeavour to try to reduce the criminal laws of all countries to a uniform system, nor did it believe that such an undertaking was a matter for the League. That did not mean that no international action with a view to the repression of certain kinds of crime was possible. Though it was difficult, as M. Limburg had observed, to agree on a definition of international crime, all conceded that certain crimes and offences had, in some respects, an international character and that it was in the interest of all countries to co-operate in their suppression. Familiar instances were the drug traffic and the traffic in women and children. There were other cases which called for concerted international measures because they imperilled the security of States, such as counterfeiting currency. In such cases, it was possible for quite useful action to be taken under the auspices of the League, and such action had, in fact, been taken. If other manifestations of international crime occurred, a similar situation would arise and could be dealt with in similar fashion. It would appear, however, that, even in these special cases, what was sought was not uniformity of law, but rather uniform results. The object was that any man indulging in a particular crime of an international character should know beforehand that, in whatever country he might happen to be, he would be liable to punishment. In the course of achieving this object, it was possible a certain measure of uniformity would be attained ; some uniformity as regarded the standard of penalties would, for instance, be highly desirable. But these were only subsidiary aims. The main aim was the suppression, by co-operative action, of certain crimes which it was in the common interest to suppress. The only method of obtaining results on these lines was to tackle separately any particular category of crime as to which there was a sufficient measure of agreement to warrant international action. He thought it would be very unwise to entrust any organisation with a roving commission to review the various circumstances in order to suggest forms of crime which called for international action. The League of Nations had already had experience of this method of procedure in the matter of the codification of international law. Those who were aware of the circumstances could not regard that experiment as encouraging. In the past, tangible results had been obtained without the creation of special organs.

Consequently, the United Kingdom Government would have found it difficult to accept the resolution submitted in May 1932 by the seven organisations consulted by the League. Section 2 of that resolution referred to co-operation between the police of the various countries. The United Kingdom Government felt, in the light of its considerable experience, that informal understandings and personal contact between the heads of police forces gave better results than international conventions. Consequently, the United Kingdom delegation felt that this also was a matter with which the League should not deal.

The draft resolution at present submitted to the Committee was, however, on a much less ambitious scale and was consequently far more practicable. It encouraged the private organisations to continue their scientific work, the value of which was recognised by all. It also provided that the League should consider the possibility of taking certain steps, such as the preparation of a draft convention in cases in which a need for international action existed and was recognised to exist by the League. Finally, it provided that the League should then seek the assistance of such of these organisations as were specially concerned with the particular question — for instance, the International Bureau for the Unification of Criminal Law.

In view of the fact that the draft resolution submitted by the Rapporteur formed a practical and realisable programme, the United Kingdom delegation was prepared to support it.

M. Marcel PLAISANT (France) joined with previous speakers in paying a tribute to M. Pella's efforts to discover a practical solution of the harassing problem of international crime. The extreme complexity of the task of unifying law must, however, be admitted. The Hague Conferences of 1925 and 1928 had shown the difficulty of unifying private law. The work of unification became extremely delicate in the case of criminal law, since criminal law, transcending the plane of the purely intellectual, touched on problems of a moral nature, even the ethical tenets of States and in many cases religious beliefs. Switzerland was a typical example, since she had as yet been unable to unify the criminal law of her various cantons.

It was, nevertheless, possible to obtain partial results provided too much were not attempted. The Conventions for the protection of industrial or literary property were evidence of that. There could be no question of unifying criminal law or securing the application of identical penalties, but existing laws could be co-ordinated, spheres of jurisdiction delimited and indictments defined. These endeavours would invariably be supported by the French Government, which, in the sphere of criminal law, was still a partisan of the doctrine of the rights of man and of the citizen.

He therefore approved the report and draft resolution, which had the merit of allaying anxiety, while opening out an extensive vista of possibilities.

M. DE SZENT-ISTVÁNY (Hungary) also approved the draft resolution, noting that the text did not depart from the methods previously followed, but merely recommended the embodiment in international conventions, whenever occasion demanded, and in circumstances carefully defined beforehand, of the principles of criminal law in connection with certain specified subjects. He thanked the Rapporteur for having taken into account the observations and reservations put forward by various Governments, including the Hungarian Government.

M. WOERMANN (Germany) had felt some anxiety when the discussion began. That anxiety had not been allayed by M. Pella's statement. The German Government was rather afraid of the idea of the progressive unification of criminal law, since such unification might lead to the imposition on Germany of ideas and concepts other than her own. In the legal reform it was now undertaking, the German Government intended to revert to the sources of Germany's common law. That did not, however, mean that it refused to co-operate in the unification of criminal law whenever such unification was possible.

He agreed with Sir William Malkin's observations, and added that the draft report to a large extent took the observations of the German Government into account. He therefore supported the draft resolution and hoped that all projects for the unification of criminal law would henceforward be avoided in the discussions of the First Committee, save with a view to the adoption of exceptional and clearly specified measures.

M. KOSTRENTCHITCH (Yugoslavia) accepted the draft resolution without reservation. He was convinced that the League ought to deal with the question of international crime, and aim not merely at the unification of criminal law but at the co-ordination of national criminal laws.

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) thanked the Rapporteur for the conciliatory spirit he had shown him. He had only one criticism to make of M. Pella's draft — namely, that it did not state clearly enough that it was for the League itself to assume the responsibility of launching any effort to achieve international co-ordination in the matter of criminal law. He therefore proposed that the fifth paragraph of the draft resolution should begin as follows: "Considers it desirable that, in cases where the organs of the League consider it appropriate to do so . . ."

M. DE ARMENTEROS (Cuba) entirely approved the draft resolution. The discussion had once more convinced him of the need for the codification of criminal law, a subject on which he had been working for several years. A great step forward had been accomplished in this respect by the States of Latin America at the Montevideo Conference. He was certain that unification would become a fact in the future, and would have been glad if the report had mentioned the results obtained at the Montevideo Conference.

M. ESCALANTE (Venezuela) referred to the favourable reply which his Government had sent. He fully approved the draft resolution submitted by the Rapporteur. This draft was prudent and judicious and would entirely meet the main objections raised.

M. PEDROSO (Spain) said that the Spanish delegation approved the draft resolution, which it nevertheless deemed to be too unambitious. The spirit of conciliation seemed to have outweighed the Rapporteur's convictions. He would have liked to see introduced at the beginning of paragraph 2 a real word of encouragement to the private institutions to submit their work to the League, particularly with a view to the preparation of a draft convention on extradition. The International Conference on Criminal Law was to meet at Madrid, and he would be glad if the League could send to the Conference a more direct message of encouragement.

The draft resolution mentioned possible action on the part of the League. Personally, he felt that the League was bound to take action to ensure unification of criminal law.

M. GORGÉ (Switzerland) explained that, if Switzerland, contrary to her usual custom, had failed to reply to the League's circular, it was because she experienced scruples and some little anxiety. She had not yet succeeded in unifying her own criminal law. It was therefore difficult for her to pronounce in favour of international unification. Being aware of the difficulties encountered by such unification in the national sphere, she hardly dared encourage international endeavour in this direction.

Switzerland was, in principle, in favour of every effort to achieve unification which might be useful. She had welcomed the signature of the Convention unifying various indictments in certain specific matters such as slavery and the traffic in women and children. The Swiss Government could not have supported so radical a resolution as that adopted in May 1932 by the seven organisations consulted. He was now, however, able to accept without reservations the draft submitted by M. Pella, which contemplated unification only in so far as the need for such unification was recognised by the organs of the League and by the various Governments.

FIFTH MEETING

Held on Tuesday, October 3rd, 1933, at 10 a.m.

Chairman: M. MORRA (Switzerland).

8. Gradual Unification of Criminal Law and Co-operation of States in the Prevention and Suppression of Crime: Report of the First Committee to the Assembly (see Annex 2) and Resolution: Discussion and Adoption.

M. WESTMAN (Sweden) pointed out that the Swedish Government had briefly stated that it had no objection to the League's assistance being given the proposed work for the gradual unification of criminal law. At the same time, the Swedish Government was not in favour of any vast undertaking, which at present would be bound to fail. In view of the complexity of the problem and the divergence of opinion revealed in the discussion, he wished to make it quite plain that the Swedish Government believed that the League's action should be strictly limited to problems in which there might be some hope of obtaining practical results.

Subject to this observation, he was able to accept the draft report.

Mr. Jean DÉSY (Canada) said that Canada, like other countries, had drawn attention, in her reply, to the difficulties, both political and constitutional, which beset the unification of commercial law. In view of those difficulties, Canada felt that a long and careful study of all the aspects of the problem was essential before that work could be undertaken.

M. GAJARDO (Chile) was glad to note that, in view of the assurance and of the other explanations given, unification on a large scale was not contemplated, and the Chilian delegation was therefore prepared to accept the draft resolution. It would also welcome the establishment of various model extradition conventions.

M. PELLA (Roumania), Rapporteur, was happy to note that all delegations seemed prepared to accept the draft resolution in principle. The discussion had dispelled many misunderstandings and had shown how the League might deal with certain problems connected with the unification of criminal law. For the last time, he wished to make it quite clear that there was no suggestion of attempting to establish a universal penal code. As the very title of the resolution indicated, the work of unification would be gradual. It was, however, absolutely necessary that immediate efforts should be made to secure as great a degree of unification of indictments as possible, and also of the general rules in regard to the punishment of international offences and crimes. These were the lines on which agreement could be reached.

With regard to the joint reply of the technical organisations, it should be noted that these were mere indications. Finally, the League was free in every case to decide what action it might usefully undertake. Points (a) and (b) of these recommendations were little more than an echo of what the United Kingdom Government had said in its reply. On close examination, it would be seen that these recommendations did not really go farther than even the most cautious of the replies received from Governments.

M. Limburg had referred to the difficulty of defining an international delict, and had compared it with the difficulty of defining political delict. He thought the two cases were quite different, the difficulty in the case of political offences being due to the variations of the fundamentals of incrimination. The criteria of immorality for political offences varied both in time and in space. In the case of international offences, on the other hand, exact data were available in conventions such as that for the Suppression of Counterfeiting Currency.

Again, Article 23(c) of the Covenant defined the duties of the League in connection with the traffic in women and the traffic in dangerous drugs, which were the most harassing manifestations of international criminality in 1919. But subsequently other events had occurred which had led to additions to the list. It was more than probable that, in the future, still further additions would have to be made.

Thus, according to Article 23(c) of the Covenant, the problem of international crime came within the League's sphere of activity.

There was no question of an international tribunal for the punishment of international crime, which must never be confused with the transgressions of one State against another. The gradual unification of mentalities would, however, lead to unification of efforts to prevent and punish crime.

The work in connection with extradition would be limited, for the present, to the preparation of model treaties. With regard to police collaboration, it should be remembered that the police authorities had themselves taken the initiative in that direction and had actually met in Conference in Geneva. Points (c) and (d) of the recommendations must be within the competence of the League, since that body was already engaged in discussing them. Finally, point 3 entailed no new organisation.

With regard to M. Rundstein's suggestion, the League itself might safely be left to decide what procedure should be followed according to circumstances.

The Committee adopted the draft reports and resolution, with various drafting amendments.

M. POLITIS (Greece) asked that, in view of the suggested modification in the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, it should be noted that this decision was unanimous.

9. Simplification of the Procedure of the Assembly: General Discussion.

The CHAIRMAN read the following note from the Secretariat :

" The Assembly, having decided on September 29th, on the proposal of the General Committee, to refer to the First Committee certain suggestions made to the General Committee by the Secretary-General for the simplification of the procedure of the Assembly, the Secretariat has the honour to communicate to the First Committee herewith :

" (1) Note submitted by the Secretary-General to the General Committee ;

" (2) Extracts from the Minutes of the General Committee's meeting of September 27th, 1933."¹

The note submitted by the Secretary-General to the General Committee was as follows :

" It is, I think, within the functions of the Bureau to take from time to time the initiative of raising the question whether improvement can be made in the method by which the work of the Assembly is conducted. I therefore venture to raise the question whether, under the present practice, the comparatively brief time for which the Assembly can remain in session is utilised to the best advantage.

" Experience has, I think, shown that, with the increase in the scope of the League's work and the growing multiplicity of the subjects which have to be discussed by the committees of the Assembly, great pressure is imposed upon the committees during the session, and yet it is seldom that the session does not have to be prolonged owing to the inability of one committee or another to complete its task. This applies, in particular, to the Fourth or Financial Committee.

" On the other hand, under the present practice, the last part of the Assembly's session is to a large extent occupied in adopting reports from committees on which there has been unanimous agreement in the committee and which are not of such a nature as to call for elucidation or discussion at a plenary session. So far as they assume this character, the final proceedings of the Assembly naturally do not excite any great interest among the delegates or the public.

" It would seem that it might be desirable to consider whether it would not be possible to establish a system under which some committees of the Assembly, more particularly the Fourth Committee, would be able to commence their work before the first plenary meeting of the Assembly, for the purpose of dealing with questions which regularly appear on the Assembly's agenda in consequence of decisions of the Assembly, and, in the case of the Fourth Committee, for the purpose of examining the regularly recurrent items of the budget.

" It might also be possible to establish, under proper safeguards, a system under which the reports of committees which do not call for any discussion in plenary session would become the object of a mere formal adoption by the Assembly, on the proposal of the President, by a procedure which would involve the minimum expenditure of time.

" Assuming that improvements in existing practice could be sought in the directions above suggested, it might, I think, be possible, before proceeding to an actual amendment of the Assembly Rules of Procedure, to attempt an experiment, as an exceptional measure, in the application of the new procedure, in order to ascertain whether it was satisfactory.

¹ See Annex 3.

" I think the Bureau might, perhaps, suggest to the Assembly that it should ask the First Committee to consider the subject and report whether it feels that some action should be taken on the lines of the suggestions made above."

The Chairman commented on the Secretary-General's suggestions. He pointed out that the thirteenth Assembly had had to prolong its session in order to allow the Fourth Committee to complete its discussions. He also reminded the Committee that, ten years ago, he personally, as President of the Assembly, had drawn attention to the necessity of improving the Assembly procedure. He thought the discussion of these proposals might elicit helpful suggestions with a view to investing the Assembly with all the effectiveness and *éclat* it merited.

M. POLITIS (Greece) emphasised the inconvenience — particularly in regard to expense — caused by the prolongation of the thirteenth Assembly. He thought, however, that the proposal to convene the Finance Committee, or any other, prior to the opening of the Assembly's session nevertheless raised a number of difficult points. Each committee of the Assembly was an emanation of the Assembly, so that it seemed contradictory that a committee should meet before the Assembly itself met. Moreover, under the present system, both the General Committee and the Chairmen of committees were designated by the Assembly itself. The proposal before the Committee was that the Chairman of a committee convened previously to the Assembly should be elected by that committee and not, as was the case at present, by the Assembly or, at all events, by delegation of the powers of the Assembly. Nevertheless, the Chairman in question would become a member of the General Committee as soon as the Assembly met, on an equal footing with other Chairmen duly elected by delegation of the powers of the Assembly.

Two main objections to the proposed system had been raised: It had been said that the appointment of members of a committee before the Assembly met would necessitate a re-verification of credentials later. Personally, he did not think re-verification would be required. When it was found necessary to convene a committee beforehand, the various Governments would be asked to appoint the members of their delegations to sit on that committee. The registration by the Secretariat of the official notification of appointment would be quite sufficient verification. Secondly, it had been pointed out that some countries preferred to appoint their delegates at the last moment. But surely the appointment of one, or at the most two, members to sit on a given committee meeting before the Assembly would not unduly prejudice the composition of the whole delegation, more especially since most of the countries which maintained permanent representatives at Geneva would appoint them as delegates on the committee in question.

The CHAIRMAN added that the procedure was to be adopted only as an experiment and only for one year.

M. PEDROSO (Spain) would like the suggestions made and the new texts, before being discussed by the full Committee, to be submitted to a sub-committee for examination.

The Committee decided to hold a general preliminary exchange of views on the question.

SIXTH MEETING

Held on Wednesday, October 4th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: M. LIMBURG (Netherlands).

10. Simplification of the Procedure of the Assembly: Draft Resolution, submitted as a Basis of Discussion: Discussion and Adoption: Appointment of the Rapporteur to the Assembly.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the Assembly, by a decision of September 29th, 1933, had referred to the First Committee for examination the Secretary-General's suggestions regarding the simplification of the procedure of the Assembly. He proposed that the Committee should take as its basis of discussion the following draft resolution drawn up by the General Committee of the Assembly:

" The Assembly decides that the following procedure shall be applied as an experiment at the ordinary session of 1934 :

" 1. The Finance Committee shall be convened by the Secretary-General one week before the opening of the session. It shall be composed of the delegates accredited for the purpose by the Governments. It shall appoint its Chairman, who shall thereby become a member of the General Committee.

" 2. (i) When the reports and resolutions submitted by the various committees of the Assembly are brought up for adoption in plenary session, the

President, in the cases indicated below, shall read the titles of the reports and put forthwith to the vote the resolutions which are proposed.

“(ii) The procedure provided for in paragraph (i) shall only apply in cases where the committee, when adopting its report, has unanimously declared that it does not consider a discussion of the report in plenary session to be necessary and where no delegate has subsequently asked the President to open a discussion on the report.”

M. SCHIFFNER (Austria) had no objection to the second part of the draft resolution, but foresaw difficulty in establishing a system whereby the Fourth Committee would commence its work before the first meeting of the Assembly. He would oppose any decision not based on the fundamental principles of law and inconsonant with the higher interests of the League. How could it be hoped to maintain the rule of law throughout the world, as it was the League's duty to do, if the legal foundation of the League's own organs were undermined? Nothing was more dangerous than ridicule, and there was surely something ridiculous in bringing the child to life before its mother — to use M. Politis's expression — by convening the Fourth Committee before the Assembly, of which it was an emanation, had met.

True, the desired result might be achieved if the advance meeting of the Fourth Committee were regarded as an extraordinary Assembly. To achieve this reform, it would suffice to add to Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Rules of Procedure a paragraph worded as follows :

“ The draft budget for the ensuing financial year and the report on the accounts for the previous financial year may be included in the agenda of an extraordinary session of the Assembly convened for this purpose by the Council of the League. If so, the agenda of the annual session of the Assembly shall not include this item.”

If this amendment were held to be too far-reaching, the paragraph might be drafted as follows :

“ The budget estimates for the ensuing financial year and the report on the accounts for the previous financial year may be entrusted, by decision of the Council of the League of Nations, to a special committee consisting of delegates accredited for this purpose by their Governments. The rules of procedure for Assembly committees shall apply by analogy to this special committee. The report of the special committee shall be communicated to the Assembly.”

This second wording came nearer to the text submitted by M. Motta and at the same time emphasised the dependence of the special committee on the Assembly, to which its report had to be communicated. The advantage of the system was that the Council would be able to convene this committee if it thought fit.

This procedure would also accelerate the Assembly's work. If necessary, other special committees could be set up and convened beforehand, their reports being submitted to the Assembly. Thus the length of the Assembly could be appreciably curtailed.

M. WOERMANN (Germany) pointed out that the provisions governing the meetings of the Assembly fixed its convocation for the first Monday in September. It would therefore hardly be opportune to convene the Fourth Committee before the Assembly itself, if the intention were to take account of the holidays of the various delegations which composed the committees, and of the Secretariat staff itself. On the other hand, if the Assembly were in future to meet late in September, there could be no objection to convening the Fourth Committee beforehand.

The German delegation had no fixed view as to the legal form in which the amendment should be cast and would in that respect bow to the wishes of the majority.

Sir William MALKIN (United Kingdom) was sure that some method of getting over technical difficulties could be found so as to allow the Fourth Committee to meet before the Assembly if that were thought necessary in order to expedite the Assembly's work. He felt, however, that the Fourth Committee would be in a better position than the First Committee to give an opinion on the subject. Personally, he believed that the routine work of the Fourth Committee could be dealt with before the Assembly itself met. On the other hand, some of the Committee's work was directly connected with the work of the other committees and could hardly be carried out when those committees had not met and were therefore not available for consultation.

It should be noted, further, that members of committees might, on certain questions of principle, find it necessary to consult the heads of their delegations. The latter, however, would probably not be at Geneva during the week in which the Fourth Committee was sitting before the Assembly meeting.

Lastly, he felt that the practical possibility of getting the Fourth Committee to meet in advance was closely connected with the date on which the Assembly itself met.

M. VISOIANU (Roumania) did not consider either the reasons put forward in support of the proposal to convene the Fourth Committee before the Assembly or the objections to that proposal to be decisive. The legal situation was indeed uncertain, but the most recent practice of the League offered other curious cases from the constitutional point of view. For instance,

an extraordinary Assembly had sat at the same time as the ordinary Assembly and had dealt with questions other than those for which it had been convened. In the present case, the formula would perhaps consist in regarding the Assemblies of the League as continuous rather than successive.

The suggestion that the Fourth Committee should meet in advance was an outcome of the Secretary-General's desire to expedite the work of the Assembly. The wish, however, had been based on rather exceptional circumstances which — it was reasonable to hope — would not immediately recur — namely, the necessity for the thirteenth and fourteenth Assemblies to discuss respectively the re-organisation and the rationalisation of the Secretariat.

The Roumanian delegation was rather sceptical as to the advantages of an advance meeting of the Fourth Committee, in view of the interdependence of the work of that Committee, and of other committees. Nevertheless, it would conform to the views of the majority.

M. CASSIN (France) thought that the discussion had demonstrated the importance of the Assembly's "Finance Committee". The French delegation fully recognised the opportuneness of the present proposal. He had never seen an Assembly at which the normal course of events had not been complicated by the insufficiency of time at the disposal of the Finance Committee.

To him, it seemed that the legal objections raised were not absolutely convincing. From one session to another, the Assembly was the same body, the same organ. Moreover, the Finance Committee — and he deliberately referred to a "Finance Committee" and not to the "Fourth Committee" — included delegates of all the Members of the League. There could therefore be no legal objection to this Committee meeting before the Assembly itself.

The consideration of the proposals for the future financial year, which formed the second part of the work of the Fourth Committee, could not be carried out until the various technical committees of the Assembly had met. But the first part of its work, which was generally the longest and caused delay, consisted mainly of examining the budget accounts of the past year, and could be disposed of beforehand. There would be no objection to this Committee meeting not more than eight days before the Assembly itself met. He proposed the addition to paragraph 1 of the draft resolution of the words: "The President of the Council may convene the Finance Committee for a date not earlier than eight days before the opening of the ordinary session of the Assembly".

M. PERASSI (Italy) believed that the majority of the Committee would be able to accept the Secretary-General's suggestion as an experiment.

M. Politis had explained the legal disadvantages and difficulties inherent in the juridical aspect of the proposed change. Those difficulties were not insuperable. It was quite possible, while respecting the provisions of the Covenant and the Rules of Procedure, and in particular making it clear that the Finance Committee, which it was proposed to convene earlier, was an organ of the Assembly, to conceive of the opening of the Assembly session as coinciding, not with the first plenary meeting, but with the beginning of the work of one of the Assembly's organs. On that basis, M. Perassi supported M. Cassin's text. He also proposed the following amendments to the draft resolution: For "before the opening of the session", read "before the first plenary meeting of the Assembly". In order to conform with the wording of the Covenant and the Rules of Procedure, read "representatives" for "delegates", and "Members of the League of Nations" for "Governments". In the same way, he would add to the last phrase of the first paragraph: "under the terms of No. 7 of the Rules of Procedure". In order to bring out the relationship between the Finance Committee convened at an earlier date and the Assembly, of which it was an organ, he would add the following phrase: "The establishment of the Committee shall be reported to the Assembly at the first plenary meeting of the Assembly".

The CHAIRMAN agreed with all the delegates who had spoken, that the proposal put forward by the Secretary-General and the General Committee was not very elegant. He added that the First Committee was called upon to consider the working methods of the Finance Committee without knowing what the attitude of that Committee would be. He wondered whether it would really be of use to make the suggested experiment next year, and whether other means of expediting the work of the Finance Committee had been exhausted. The real evil, as everyone was aware, was that the general discussion in the Fourth Committee was interminable. Perhaps, if that Committee began by examining the budget and the accounts of the previous year, its work would proceed more rapidly.

Moreover, some of the outstanding members of delegations were generally included in the Finance Committee, and they would be unlikely to agree to come to Geneva eight days before the opening of the Assembly. If they could not speak then in the Fourth Committee, they would do so later or in the Assembly itself, whose discussions in their turn might be unduly prolonged. Again, would not the absence of heads of delegations render the solution of an important question difficult for the Finance Committee?

Personally, therefore, he was in favour of first making an attempt to discover whether other means existed of speeding up the Fourth Committee's work. He would propose that the resolution should in any case be made less emphatic by beginning the first paragraph with: "The President of the Council may, if he thinks fit, convene . . ."

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) had had experience of the discussions of the Fourth Committee, on which he had served for four years, and was still opposed to the suggested

reform. As M. Motta had said in different circumstances, delegates tended to hide their dissensions under a cloak of oratory. His fellow-countrymen found it hard to understand how the League's discussions were conducted. The great weakness of the Fourth Committee had been explained; the only remedy would be to adopt, like the New Zealand Parliament, a strict time-limit for speeches.

M. VALDÉS-MENDEVILLE (Chile) supported the Chairman's view and the amendment he suggested. Moreover, Articles 4, 6 and 14 of the Assembly's Rules of Procedure would have to be modified if the draft resolution were adopted. That motion was particularly dangerous for distant countries, and would lead to the problem of a quorum at meetings of committees. Up to the present, it had never been necessary to raise that question. If the Finance Committee had to meet several days before the Assembly, what would its position be? How could it sit validly and reach decisions if only a small number of countries were represented and particularly if the responsible heads of the various delegations were absent? The item which occupied most of the Fourth Committee's time was the general discussion on financial policy and the budget. There were, he thought, two practical ways in which the work of the Assembly might be expedited: working methods might be adopted in the committees enabling discussion to be curtailed, and the Fourth Committee might be constituted at the very opening of the Assembly so as to enable it to meet immediately.

M. ESCALANTE (Venezuela) could not approve the draft resolution because he could not recommend to his Government a procedure which it would find to be bristling with difficulties. The draft took no account of the situation of distant countries which possessed no permanent delegation at Geneva. Moreover, he did not think that a secondary organ set up eight days before the main organ could be regarded as a legal emanation of the latter.

The only way to obtain the result aimed at in the Secretary-General's proposal was to limit the length of speeches in the Fourth Committee.

M. WESTMAN (Sweden) was prepared, though reluctantly, to accept the proposal as an experiment. He would have liked to know to what extent the Finance Committee could do useful work before the Assembly itself met. Even if the results of the experiment were not encouraging, it would not have been useless, as it would show that there was only one way of overcoming the difficulties — namely, to change the Fourth Committee's methods of work.

M. RUNDSTEIN (Poland) would have had to oppose the draft resolution if the reform had not been submitted as a mere experiment. An experiment of that kind was not inadmissible at law. The Assembly was free to amend its own rules, and the fourteenth Assembly was fully entitled to decide that the Finance Committee of the fifteenth should be convened several days before the full Assembly. If the experiment produced conclusive results, the fifteenth Assembly might then decide to alter its rules.

He therefore supported the proposal with the amendments suggested by the French and Italian delegations and by the Chairman.

M. BERNHOFT (Denmark) thought that, if a delicate point arose in the Finance Committee in the absence of heads of delegations, the delegates present could, in conformity with the usual procedure at international meetings, refer to their Governments for instructions. He suggested that, before taking a decision, the Committee should request the Fourth Committee itself and the Secretary-General to give it some indications as to the work which the Finance Committee could do before the Assembly met. The Danish delegation would vote for the proposed experiment, from which it expected good results.

The CHAIRMAN declared the general discussion of the draft resolution closed, and asked the Committee to vote on the various proposals.

The Committee adopted in principle the Preamble and paragraph 1 of the draft resolution.

It adopted the amendment of the French delegation and the various amendments of the Italian delegation.

The CHAIRMAN and M. VALDÉS-MENDEVILLE (Chile) withdrew their amendment.

The Committee adopted by 15 votes to 7, with 4 abstentions, the Preamble and paragraph 1 of the draft resolution. The vote was taken by roll-call. The States voted as follows:

For the proposal: Union of South Africa, Germany, United Kingdom, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Yugoslavia.

Against: Austria, Cuba, Spain, India, Irish Free State, New Zealand, Netherlands.

Abstained from voting: Australia, Chile, Roumania, Venezuela.

M. PEDROSO (Spain) explained that he had opposed the draft resolution, not because he objected to the idea of convening an advance meeting of the Fourth Committee, but because he could not endorse the actual procedure proposed, for it left unsolved all the legal difficulties expounded by M. Politis. He would have preferred that, in accordance with his own suggestion, a sub-committee had been appointed to prepare a preliminary draft that would have harmonised the principle of the suggested reform with the constitutional rules of the Assembly.

M. CASSIN (France) would like a saving clause to be added to the second paragraph of the draft resolution, such as: "Every report shall be distributed to the delegations forty-eight hours before discussion in plenary meeting".

He thought it essential to assert the right of delegations to study a report beforehand, and emphasised the importance of fixing a definite time-limit in the text of the resolution — a period of twenty-four hours would perhaps suffice. Delegations could always forgo their right in that respect.

M. WESTMAN (Sweden) was not opposed to the French delegation's amendment. He pointed out the difficulties which might arise through a decision, taken unanimously by the members of a committee present at a meeting, to suppress the discussion of a report in the plenary Assembly. What would be the value of such a decision taken by a committee comprising, for example, barely half of its members? Would it not amount to a restriction of free speech for the delegations not represented?

M. Westman doubted, moreover, whether a committee ought to give an opinion in advance as to the desirability of a discussion in the Assembly.

M. GORGÉ (Switzerland) observed that, in practice, this decision reached in committee would be relatively valueless, because a public discussion would have to take place if one single delegation demanded it.

M. ESCALANTE (Venezuela) queried whether a committee of the Assembly, in adopting its report, was entitled to decide that that report need not be discussed in public session of the Assembly. He proposed that the second section of paragraph 2 should read as follows: "The procedure specified in paragraph 1 shall apply only if no delegation has previously requested the Chairman to open a discussion on the report".

Mr. OFFICER (Australia) said that, if the Committee accepted the Venezuelan amendment, the Australian delegation, as well as the delegation of the United Kingdom, would be obliged to ask that the text of the resolution as a whole should be put to the vote.

The Committee rejected the Venezuelan delegation's amendment.

The Committee adopted paragraph 2 with the French delegation's amendment.

The Committee adopted the draft resolution as a whole, with the amendments as stated.

The Committee appointed M. MOTTA (Switzerland) to draft and submit to the Assembly its report (see Annex 3) on the simplification of the procedure of the Assembly.

SEVENTH MEETING.

Held on Thursday, October 5th, 1933, at 10 a.m.

Chairman: M. MOTTA (Switzerland).

11. Nationality of Women: Proposal by the Chilean Government: Discussion and Adoption of Draft Resolution: Appointment of Rapporteur to the Assembly.

M. GAJARDO (Chile) read the following letter, dated July 22nd, 1933, to the Secretary-General of the League, asking that the question of the nationality of women might be placed on the supplementary agenda of the fourteenth ordinary session of the Assembly:

[Translation.]

"The question of the nationality of women, which was on the agenda of the last sessions of the Assembly, has been most carefully considered by my Government, and, on its instructions, the Chilean delegation, as you are aware, took an active part in the discussion of the problem in the First Committee and in the thirteenth Assembly, and finally abstained, in company with the delegations of eight other States, from voting the resolution submitted by a majority of the First Committee to the Assembly.

“ My Government has studied with great attention, with the assistance of its best experts, M. Cassin's most interesting report and the actual text of the resolution which the Assembly adopted. It has also taken note of the Council's resolution of January 24th, 1933, providing for information to be asked from the Members of the League and other Governments which were invited to the Hague Conference, with a view to following the evolution of public opinion on this important question and determining the appropriate moment for concerted measures of an international character.

“ Examination of all these matters has brought my Government to the conclusion that it would nevertheless be well for the Assembly to re-examine the question without further delay, and in particular to consider, with due regard to the various aspects of the problem, and apart from consideration of the Hague Convention, the possibility of making at least some partial progress in the establishment of principles which are recognised in numerous legal systems and represent an aspiration justly entertained by women.

“ Accordingly, by direction of my Government, I have the honour, in accordance with paragraph 3 of Article 4 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, to request you to be so good as to place the question ‘ Nationality of Women ’ on the supplementary list of questions to be circulated to the fourteenth Assembly, in order to become part of the agenda of the session.

“ My Government reserves the right to put forward in due course arguments and explanations in support of the final acceptance of its proposal, and hopes to be able ultimately to develop its point of view in a discussion in the competent committee of the Assembly.

(Signed) VALDÉS-MENDEVILLE.

He added that the Chilian Government would not have taken this step at a time when so many serious problems were awaiting solution if it had not been convinced that this was a very important question of the highest interest to a body of world opinion that had often expressed its dissatisfaction with the principles governing the nationality of married women laid down in Articles 8 to 11 of the Hague Convention. The Chilian Government did not suggest that the procedure prescribed by the thirteenth Assembly should be reversed, as a considerable majority of the delegations were opposed to the immediate revision of that Convention. It had thought, however, that progress could be made along other lines — namely, by reaching agreement upon a protocol, or even a mere declaration, drawn up by the present Assembly, embodying the principle of the equality of the sexes as regards nationality, and remaining open at Geneva for signature by States. This protocol should be accompanied by a new recommendation to the Assembly with a view to securing the speedy ratification of the Hague Convention on Nationality. In that way, there would be two international instruments dealing with the subject: a convention accepted by all, defining the present state of the various laws on the subject and marking some slight progress; and a protocol, embodying the much more advanced principles applied by certain groups of countries. Conversations with other delegations had, however, shown the Chilian delegation that even this proposal would meet with opposition.

The Chilian Government had therefore thought it preferable that the present Assembly should simply submit the idea of the conclusion of a protocol to the various Governments, leaving it to the next Assembly to take a decision with a full knowledge of the facts, in the light of the Governments' replies. In submitting its suggestion, the Chilian delegation had every respect for the convictions of those delegations which did not share its view. It earnestly hoped, however, that something might be done to show public opinion that the League was not deaf to the desires of many Governments who wished to see certain principles already embodied in their own laws endorsed in the form of an international instrument, or to those millions of women who were expecting from the League an act which they regarded as one of justice and reparation.

The seventh Pan-American Congress was about to open its session at Montevideo, and its agenda included the question of the nationality of married women. He was fairly certain that the principle of the equality of sexes in the matter of nationality would be proclaimed at that Conference, and, as a sincere partisan of the League of Nations, he felt some anxiety lest the League might appear to be incapable of welcoming new ideas.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that the Chilian proposal was in essence a reference forward of the question to the next Assembly with the special provision that Governments should have an opportunity to state their opinion in the meantime. In these circumstances, it was not necessary to enter into a discussion of substance.

Mme. MALATERRE-SELLIER (France) stated that the French delegation supported the Chilian proposal. When, by the end of 1934, all Governments had stated their opinion, further progress towards concord might perhaps, she hoped, become possible.

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) said that the New Zealand delegation could not support the Chilian proposal. The new Zealand Government had already decided that it could not at present agree to endorse the recommendations of the Hague Conference. It was prepared, however, to agree that a woman, on marriage, should not lose her British nationality unless she acquired the nationality of her husband.

M. PERASSI (Italy) also thought that there was no need at the moment to reopen the discussion on the substance of the question. If he had rightly interpreted the Chilian proposal, it concerned a protocol or declaration which, while not affecting the Hague Convention, would aim at facilitating its ratification by certain States whose legislation was based on the principle of equality of the sexes in the matter of nationality. But for that purpose he saw no need to set the League machinery in motion. In any event, action by the League in that connection could only aim at facilitating the ratification of the Hague Convention, and should not involve the fundamental issue. In that sense M. Perassi had no objection to the Chilian proposal.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the Chilian proposal left intact the League's recommendation to all countries to ratify the Hague Convention. The Chilian Government merely proposed that Governments should be asked to express their opinion concerning the desirability of reopening the discussion on one single point — namely, the preparation of the suggested Protocol. The procedure laid down by the thirteenth Assembly would not, therefore, be affected unless the new Assembly so decided.

M. DE SZENT-ISTVÁNY (Hungary) shared the views of the Italian delegate. The Hungarian Government's attitude remained the same as at the 1930 Hague Conference. The Chilian suggestion amounted, in his opinion, to a reversal of the procedure previously agreed to and endorsed by the Hungarian Government in its reply dated July 12th, 1932.¹

M. GAJARDO (Chile) said that the Chairman had correctly interpreted the intentions of the Chilian delegation. Its proposal in no way aimed at bringing pressure to bear on other States.

Mlle. HESSELGREN (Sweden) thought that the Chilian proposal offered an opportunity of making some progress in connection with the problem of the nationality of women, without affecting the results of the Hague Convention.

Sir William MALKIN (United Kingdom) pointed out that the procedure in the matter under discussion had been laid down by the thirteenth Assembly.²

It had thus been left to the Council to say when the time had come for further action. The Council had already taken all necessary steps in connection with the Assembly resolution. He wished to know specifically whether the Chilian proposal was likely to modify the procedure adopted in the previous year, and, if so, in what sense.

The CHAIRMAN submitted the following text, which he thought might secure unanimous acceptance by the Committee. He pointed out that Governments were merely requested to express their views as to the "desirability" of taking the suggested action.

"The Assembly,

"Having regard to the resolution voted by the thirteenth Assembly on October 12th, 1932, on the question of the nationality of women;

"Having examined the suggestions made by the delegation of Chile in regard to this question, which, at the request of the Chilian Government, had been placed on the agenda of the fourteenth Assembly;

"Having regard to the fact that a certain number of States give in their law a very wide application to the principle of the equality of the sexes:

"Requests the Secretary-General to ask the States which took part in the Hague Codification Conference to be so good as to declare their views as to the desirability of drawing up, during the next session of the Assembly, a protocol giving effect to equality between the sexes in regard to nationality, which would be open for signature by States desiring to become parties to it."

Sir William MALKIN (United Kingdom) was not prepared to support any proposal involving a change in the Council procedure laid down in the previous year. If, as the Chairman had pointed out, the draft resolution left every question open, the United Kingdom delegation would simply abstain from voting.

M. PERASSI (Italy) said the draft resolution did not meet his objections, and differed from his own interpretation of the Chilian proposal, which had been accepted in substance by the Chilian delegation itself. The draft resolution was contrary to the decision of the thirteenth Assembly, and the Italian delegation regretted it was unable to approve it.

The CHAIRMAN explained the sense and scope of the resolution. In the beginning, the Chilian delegation had asked that the question of the nationality of women should be reopened

¹ See document A.5.1932.V, page 7.

² See Records of the Thirteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly. Plenary Meetings, pages 79 and 80.

at the fourteenth Assembly. If the Chilian Government had pressed its request, the First Committee would have been obliged to reopen the whole discussion on the substance of the problem. The Chilian delegation therefore had wisely preferred merely to refer one particular aspect of that question to the fifteenth Assembly. The resolution merely asked Governments to express their opinion, and the fifteenth Assembly would open the discussion in the light of the replies received.

Mr. BRUCE (Australia) expressed the Australian delegation's opinion that the draft resolution was clearly a reversal of what had been agreed upon by the last Assembly, which had simply asked the Council to follow the trend of world opinion in the matter of the complex question of the nationality of women. He was not prepared to agree to such a reversal of policy, but, in order to avoid the impression of formal opposition, he would abstain from voting.

M. RIAZI (Persia), M. WOERMANN (Germany), M. DE SZENT-ISTVÁNY (Hungary), Mr. ANDREWS (Union of South Africa), M. LIMBURG (Netherlands), Mr. DÉSY (Canada) and Count HOLSTEIN (Denmark) announced that their delegations also would abstain from voting.

M. BASDEVANT (France) pointed out that the number of abstentions singularly diminished the force of the vote. Might it not be possible to discover a formula which, while meeting the wishes of the Chilian delegation, would nevertheless overcome the scruples of the other delegations which had abstained? He proposed the following wording for the last paragraph of the resolution :

“ Expresses the hope that, before the next session of the Assembly, the Governments will have put the Secretary-General in a position to communicate to the Council the information as to the effect which they have found it possible to give to recommendation No. VI of the Codification Conference.”

M. VALDÉS-MENDEVILLE (Chile) stated that, in view of the numerous abstentions, the Chilian delegation could not maintain its original proposal. He would remind the Committee that the Chilian delegation had pressed for an arrangement that would allow certain countries which had felt that they were unable to ratify the Hague Convention to do so. In a spirit of compromise, however, it was prepared to accept the text proposed by the French delegation, though differing considerably from its own.

Sir William MALKIN (United Kingdom) said that the effect of the French delegation's proposal was to retain the procedure adopted by the thirteenth Assembly. The United Kingdom delegation could therefore accept it.

The other delegations, except the Italian delegation, which had announced that they would abstain from voting, stated that they would accept the text proposed by the French delegation.

M. PERASSI (Italy) stated that the Italian delegation, while paying a tribute to M. Basdevant's conciliatory efforts, would abide by its decision to abstain from voting. In any event, the Italian Government would probably be unable to reply within the appointed time-limit, as Italian legislation on the matter under discussion was at present the subject of a Bill before Parliament.

The Committee unanimously adopted the draft resolution as amended by the French delegation.

The Committee appointed the CHAIRMAN to draft and submit to the Assembly its report (see Annex 4) on the question of the nationality of women.

The CHAIRMAN declared the proceedings of the First Committee closed.

ANNEXES

ANNEX 1.

Series of Publications : 1933.V.2.

Official No. : A.8.1933.V.
[C.E.C.7 (1).]

SYSTEM OF ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL.

A. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO STUDY THE EXISTING SYSTEM OF ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL.

(ADOPTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON MAY 19TH, 1933.)

The Committee was appointed by the Council (resolution of January 29th, 1932) in execution of the request made to the Council by the Assembly in its resolution of September 25th, 1931, that the Council " would appoint a special Committee to study the existing system of elections to the Council and to report to a future session of the Assembly on any reforms which may appear desirable ".

The Committee was originally composed of representatives of the following Members of the League selected by the Council : Argentine, Belgium, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden. The Government of the Argentine being, however, unable to be represented, the Council, in agreement with that Government, invited the Government of Uruguay to appoint a representative on the Committee at its last session. The following persons took part in the work of the Committee as representatives of their Governments : Belgium : at the first session, Count Carton de Wiart ; second session, M. Mélot ; and, subsequently, M. van Langenhove or M. Bourquin ; United Kingdom : at the first session, Mr. Carr, and, subsequently, Viscount Cecil of Chelwood ; Bulgaria : M. Mikoff ; Canada : Dr. Riddell, or, in his absence, Dr. Renaud ; Colombia : M. Restrepo, and, subsequently, M. Guizado ; Czechoslovakia : at the first session, M. Fierlinger, and, subsequently, M. Beneš, or, in his absence, M. Osuský ; France : M. Massigli or M. Fouques-Duparc ; Germany : at the first session, M. Göppert, and, subsequently, M. von Keller ; Italy : at the first session, M. Pilotti, and, subsequently, M. dei Conti Piola-Caselli ; Japan¹ : M. Sawada ; Poland : Count Raczyński, or, in his absence, M. Balinski ; Portugal : M. de Vasconcellos ; Spain, at the first session, M. Palacios ; at the second session, M. Salvador de Madariaga ; and, at the last session, M. Pedroso ; Sweden : M. Westman ; Uruguay : M. Guani.

The representative of Italy was appointed Chairman. The Chair was taken at the first session by M. Pilotti and at the second and third sessions by M. Piola-Caselli. Lord Cecil and the representative of Belgium acted as Rapporteurs.

At a session held in July 1932, the Committee invited the Members of the League to send it any observations which they might desire to present in regard to the problems which it had to consider. It received observations from the Governments of Colombia, Hungary, India, Norway and Siam.

As a result of two further sessions held from January 30th to February 4th, and from May 16th to 19th, 1933, the Committee has agreed upon the following report.

I. PROPOSED PROVISIONAL CREATION OF ONE NEW NON-PERMANENT SEAT ON THE COUNCIL.

Although the Committee has a general mandate to consider any reforms which might be desirable in the present system of electing the non-permanent Members of the Council, the principal purpose of its creation was to examine the possibility of providing a remedy for the situation to which attention had been called in the memorandum, dated January 5th, 1931, which was circulated by the Government of Portugal to the Members of the League at the beginning of 1931 and was communicated to the Assembly at its session of that year in document A.61.1931.V.

It was pointed out in that memorandum that, apart from the permanent members of the Council and the two States who have an expectation of being declared re-eligible for

¹ This Government was not represented at the third session.

election to the Council on the termination of a period of office on that body, representation on the Council is at present habitually limited to States belonging to certain groups — namely, the Latin-American States (three seats) the so-called 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 the two States mentioned, occupy in practice the existing nine non-permanent seats. The result of this situation, which constitutes not, indeed, a permanent representation on the Council of particular geographical areas, but a permanent representation on the Council of certain tendencies and points of view, is that there remain some ten to fifteen Members of the League which at present have no effective prospect of entering the Council.

The Committee was unanimously of the opinion that such a *de facto* exclusion from the Council of a large number of Members of the League was open to very grave objections.

Two alternative solutions obtained support in the Committee — namely :

(1) A modification of the present practice in regard to representation of groups which would make room for representation of a new group composed of the States not at present belonging to any group ; and

(2) The creation of one or two additional non-permanent seats on the Council.

The first solution, various forms of which were considered by the Committee, would avoid the necessity for an increase in the size of the Council, a course which, in the opinion of several members of the Committee, is open to considerable objection. It would involve that some or all of the existing groups should forgo some part of the representation on the Council which they at present enjoy in order to make room for representation of the non-grouped Members. On behalf of the latter States it was urged that the maximum number of seats which could be made free for them would be one seat, and that, in view of their number, this would mean that each of them would be able to enter the Council only at very long intervals. The discussion in the Committee, moreover, showed that, under present circumstances, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to secure the necessary agreement for a modification of the existing practice in regard to the representation of groups on the Council.

The majority of the Committee, therefore, considered that the solution would have to be found in an increase in the number of the non-permanent seats. In its 1931 memorandum the Portuguese Government proposed an increase of one seat. During the discussion in the Committee, the Portuguese member urged that there should be an increase of two seats. In his opinion, this course was necessary, in view of the number of the States concerned, in order that the intervals at which these States could enter the Council might not be too long, and it would constitute a final solution of the whole problem.

Some members of the Committee were, however, strongly of opinion that the Council is already too large, and that any further increase in its size would almost inevitably result in a decline in its efficiency, or at least in undesirable modifications in its procedure. The view was also held that the increase of the 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.

These arguments were not accepted as conclusive by a large section of the Committee, but it was generally agreed that the present was not an opportune moment for the adoption of a decision making far-reaching constitutional changes in the composition of the Council.

In these circumstances, the Committee reached agreement upon a compromise solution which will have the effect of giving provisional recognition to the claim of the non-grouped States to be able to enter the Council, while postponing any final decision as to further constitutional changes.

The Committee decided to report that it is desirable 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 will be reconsidered and that all the Members of the League will remain entirely free to propose any final solution of this question which they consider desirable.

Before concluding this section of its report, the Committee should mention that, in the communication which it sent to the Committee, the Norwegian Government called its attention to the suggestion which it made in 1926 and 1927 that the elections to the Council should be conducted by proportional representation under the system of the single transferable vote. The Committee had before it the information with regard to this system which the Norwegian Government was good enough to supply and which was considered by the Sixth Committee of the Assembly in 1927 (see the Minutes of the Sixth Committee for that year). The Committee regrets that it did not feel that the adoption of the system in question would suffice to solve the problem with which it had to deal and, as stated in the next section of the report, it felt that, in view of the provisional solution which it was proposing, it would be premature to discuss any drastic change in the method of election to the Council.

II. OTHER QUESTIONS AS TO THE METHOD OF ELECTION OF THE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

In view of the decision of the Committee to make only a provisional recommendation as to the number of the Council, the Committee did not enter upon any discussion as to extensive

changes in the method of election. 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. The following is the form of the suggested alteration, which would be an addition to the rules dealing with the election of non-permanent Members of the Council of September 15th, 1926 :

“ 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, which shall not be held before the seventh day of the Assembly's session.

“ The notice of the candidature shall be given in writing to the Secretary-General, who shall forthwith bring it to the attention of the Assembly. The Secretary-General shall at the time of the election place before the Assembly a list of the Members which have been duly put forward as candidates.”

III. COMMUNICATION OF THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT TO THE COUNCIL AS WELL AS TO THE ASSEMBLY.

The Committee's terms of reference provide that it is to report to the Assembly. Since, however, it is putting forward a proposal for a provisional increase of the non-permanent Members of the Council, the execution of which involves action by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Committee feels that it should communicate its report to the Council as well as to the Assembly.

Appendix.

EXISTING PROVISIONS REGARDING THE ELECTION OF THE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

I. ARTICLE 4 OF THE COVENANT (PARAGRAPHS 1 TO 2 bis).

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.

[Note. — *In virtue of this provision, Germany has become a permanent Member of the Council and the number of non-permanent Members has been increased to nine.*]

2 bis. 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.

II. RULES DEALING WITH THE ELECTION OF THE NINE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

Resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1927.

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 (omitted).

III. RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

Article 22a adopted by the Assembly on September 29th, 1922

1. The Members whose representatives are to sit on the Council as non-permanent Members of that body shall be selected by the Assembly by secret ballot.

2. Where several seats are to be filled, the election shall be made by voting a list of names. Any ballot-paper containing more names than there are seats to be filled shall be null and void.

3. No Member shall be elected at the first or at the second ballot unless it has obtained at least the absolute majority of the votes. If, after two ballots, there still remain seats to be filled, a third ballot shall be held upon a list consisting of the candidates which obtained most votes at the second ballot, up to a number double that of the seats still to be filled, and those Members shall be elected which obtain the greatest number of votes.

4. If two or more Members obtain the same number of votes and there is not a seat available for each, a special ballot shall be held between them; if they again obtain an equal number of votes, the President shall decide between them by drawing lots.

A.31.1933.V.

B. REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: M. PIOLA-CASELLI (Italy).

The First Committee has considered the report of the Special Committee which was appointed by the Council, as a result of the claim made by the Government of Portugal and in accordance with the Assembly's resolution of September 25th, 1931, to study the existing system of election to the Council.

I.

The principal purpose of the creation of the Special Committee was to examine the possibility of providing a remedy for the situation which is described as follows in its report:

“ Apart from the permanent Members of the Council and the two States which have an expectation of being declared re-eligible for election to the Council on the termination of a period of office on that body, representation on the Council is at present habitually limited to States belonging to certain groups — namely, the Latin-American States (three seats), the so-called 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 the two States mentioned, occupy in practice the existing nine non-permanent seats. The result of this situation, which constitutes, not, indeed, a permanent representation on the Council of particular geographical areas, but a permanent representation on the Council of certain tendencies and points of view, is that there remain some ten to fifteen Members of the League which at present have no effective prospect of entering the Council.”

For the reasons explained in its report, the Committee decided to propose a solution which would have “ the effect of giving provisional recognition to the claim of the non-grouped States to be able to enter the Council, while postponing any final decision as to further constitutional changes.” It therefore recommended 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 will be reconsidered and that all the Members of the League will remain entirely free to propose any final solution of this question which they consider desirable.

This recommendation of the Special Committee was approved unanimously and without discussion by the First Committee.

In order that effect should be given to the recommendation, it is necessary, under Article 4, paragraph 2, of the Covenant, that the Council should adopt a resolution to effect the proposed temporary increase of the non-permanent Members and that this resolution should be approved by the Assembly by a majority vote.

If, therefore, the Assembly accepts the proposal adopted by the First Committee, it will be proper for it to communicate its decision to the Council, to which the report of the Special Committee has already been transmitted.

II.

Having decided to confine itself to proposing the above-mentioned provisional measure, the Special Committee did not discuss various other changes in the method of election to the Council which were suggested in the course of its deliberations. It recommended, however, one change in procedure — namely, that candidates for election to the Council should be publicly nominated in writing before the election. It drew up, with this object, the text of an addition to the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council which were adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926.

This recommendation of the Special Committee was also adopted unanimously, without discussion, by the First Committee. It can be brought into force by a decision of the Assembly adopted by a two-thirds majority (Article 4, paragraph 2*bis*, of the Covenant).

Since the Assembly's decision will be subsequent to the elections to the Council in the present year (except the additional election to the new seat, which naturally could not be subject to rules different from those of the main election), the system of previous nomination will come into force at the elections at the next ordinary session.

III.

I have the honour, as Rapporteur of the First Committee, to submit to the Assembly the two following draft resolutions :

DRAFT RESOLUTION No. I.

“ The Assembly,

“ Having considered the report of the Committee appointed to study the existing system of election to the Council,

“ Approves the recommendation of the Committee for the provisional creation of one new non-permanent seat on the Council, and accordingly declares that it is desirable 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 will be reconsidered and that all the Members of the League will remain entirely free to propose any final solution of this question which they consider desirable.

“ The Assembly instructs the Secretary-General to bring this resolution to the attention of the Council.”

DRAFT RESOLUTION No. II.

“ The Assembly,

“ Having considered the report of the Committee mentioned in resolution No. I,

“ Adopts the following provisions as an addition to the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926 :

“ 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, which shall not be held before the seventh day of the Assembly's session ;

“ The notice of the candidature shall be given in writing to the Secretary-General, who shall forthwith bring it to the attention of the Assembly. The Secretary-General shall at the time of the election place before the Assembly a list of the Members which have been duly put forward as candidates.”

ANNEX 2.

Series of Publications : 1933. V. 3, 7 and 8.

Official Nos. : A.7, A.7.(a), A.7.(b). 1933.V.

GRADUAL UNIFICATION OF CRIMINAL LAW
AND CO-OPERATION OF STATES
IN THE PREVENTION AND SUPPRESSION OF CRIME.

A. REPLIES OF THE GOVERNMENTS.

Note by the Secretary-General.

By a resolution adopted on September 23rd, 1931, the Assembly decided, *inter alia*, to instruct the Secretary-General :

(a) To forward the report on Penal and Penitentiary Questions made to it by its Fifth Committee,¹ with the Minutes of the Committee, to certain international organisations, and to ask them in what manner they considered that " the assistance of the League of Nations might be of value with a view to achieving a gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime " ;

(b) To forward the observations of the organisations so consulted to the Members of the League and to ask them if they desired that the League of Nations should lend its assistance for the purposes specified above.

In execution of the decision mentioned at (a), the Secretary-General consulted the following organisations :

The International Penal Law Association ;
The International Bureau for the Unification of Criminal Law ;
The International Criminal Police Commission ;
The International Penal and Penitentiary Commission ;
The Howard League for Penal Reform ;
The International Law Association ;
The International Penal Law Union.

Representatives of these organisations met in Geneva on May 10th, 1932, and drew up a joint reply to the Secretary-General in the form of a resolution, which was subsequently approved by the organisations.

This resolution and the draft for the proposed new Statutes of the Bureau for the Unification of Criminal Law which accompanied it are reproduced as an Appendix to the present document.

At the Assembly's session of 1932, the resolution of the organisations was referred to the Fifth Committee.² It was agreed that no decision should be taken on the substance of the resolution, but that the Secretary-General should proceed to the consultation of the Governments contemplated by the resolution of September 23rd, 1931, sending to them the report of the Fifth Committee in order that they might have before them the opinions expressed in regard to the resolution and calling their special attention to the resolution.

The replies which have been received from the Governments to the enquiry which the Secretary-General has addressed to them in execution of the decisions of the Assembly (Circular Letter No. 174.1932.IV) are reproduced below. Any further replies received will be circulated as supplements to the present document.

¹ Document A.70.1931.V.
² Document A.58.1932.IV.

SERIES No. 1.

Union of South Africa.

LETTER OF FEBRUARY 20TH, 1933.

The Union Government is in sympathy with the proposal that the League of Nations should lend its assistance in attaining a gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime, but is not prepared, at present, to agree to any of the means suggested in the joint reply of May 10th, 1932, if the adoption of such means is to involve the Union in an increased contribution to the finances of the League, nor to any of the means which may involve the Government in increased internal expenditure.

Germany.

LETTER OF MAY 11TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

The German Government has always followed with great attention the efforts made by the League with a view to securing the effective co-operation of its Members in questions of penal law. Germany has taken an active part in the League's work on these questions. It will therefore be a matter of satisfaction to the German Government if this work can be continued and extended.

The German Government considers, however, that work of this kind should only be undertaken when it serves a manifestly practical purpose, as was the case of the Convention against Counterfeiting Currency and other work of the same kind. Whenever such requirements for the unification of penal law make themselves felt, the German Government will gladly co-operate. In such cases the Bureau for the Unification of Penal Law will be able to do valuable preparatory work.

The German Government feels obliged, however, to warn the League of Nations against any attempt to unify penal law on too large a scale. Germany's own experience has been that such endeavours nearly always encounter serious difficulties in practice.

The German Government also wishes to point out that any attempt to bring about the unification of penal law always involves considerable expense. In this connection it is sufficient to recall how long and difficult were the negotiations with regard to even so comparatively simple a subject as the suppression of counterfeiting currency. This also leads to the conclusion that the League of Nations should only undertake genuinely necessary tasks.

The above remarks in connection with the unification of penal law also apply to the co-operation of States in the sphere of the prevention and suppression of crime.

Belgium.

LETTER DATED MARCH 1ST, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

The Royal Government cannot but welcome any assistance, especially that of the League of Nations, which would lead to an international solution of the questions mentioned.

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

LETTER OF APRIL 11TH, 1933.

1. His Majesty's Government has carefully considered the report made to the League by the seven organisations which were consulted.

2. The use of the term "unification of criminal law" gives the impression that the object is to reduce the criminal law of all countries to a uniform system. Such an object seems to His Majesty's Government to be misconceived and impracticable. In the first place, the subject of criminal law must remain a matter for determination by the domestic law of each State and no useful purpose would therefore be served by an attempt to unify the criminal law of States. Secondly, differences in the criminal law of different countries are by no means superficial. Law is a plant of slow growth which is rooted deep in the history and customs of peoples; fundamental conceptions vary from race to race, as will be recognised by those who are familiar with continental as well as English law; and outside Europe there are other examples of divergence.

3. A certain degree of uniformity in criminal law or some special arrangement in regard to the prevention of crime might prove to be practicable for some countries whose law is based on similar juridical principles derived from a common source and who possess the same social outlook and customs. This is recognised in the report referred to (paragraph 1(d)). Any proposals of this character should originate from the countries concerned, and no action by the League seems requisite or desirable unless in special circumstances its assistance were invoked by the countries affected. In that event, the action, if any, to be taken by the League would be a matter which would have to be considered in the light of the character of the proposals made and by reference to all the circumstances.

4. His Majesty's Government recognises that questions affecting police action and criminal procedure may from time to time arise which call for special international action by all States, and that when such questions arise the assistance of the League of Nations is of great value. As examples of such questions, the traffic in women and children, or in dangerous drugs, or the suppression of counterfeit currency may be mentioned. His Majesty's Government is not aware of any other criminal matter at the present time requiring international action in this special way, and deprecates any suggestion that the League should actively co-operate in a general survey of the field of criminal law with a view to selecting subjects for international action. Apart from any other consideration, the League of Nations does not possess the necessary administrative machinery for such a task and to provide it would involve the League in very considerable expenditure. But, even if the League had the necessary expert staff, the problem cannot be approached in this way with any chance of practical success. The only way in which useful results can be attained is by the isolation of some limited and well-defined subject and by considering that subject separately; and, in the view of His Majesty's Government, no action by the League is called for or is likely to be beneficial until occasion arises for an International Convention dealing with a specific subject of practical importance on which there is likely to be a substantial measure of international agreement. This is the method which the League of Nations has pursued hitherto with considerable success, as in the examples quoted above of international conventions relating to traffic in women and children, traffic in dangerous drugs, and the counterfeiting of currency.

5. In this connection it appears to His Majesty's Government that there has been some misconception as to the scope of these international conventions. They do not aim at unification of criminal law; they merely provide that certain offences which are recognised in all countries shall be prosecuted and punished. For example, the Convention for the Suppression of Counterfeiting Currency does not attempt to define in any detail or to unify the offences to which it relates and does not lay down any principles interfering with domestic criminal law. The Convention, in addition to making provision for the exchange of information, merely puts upon the contracting parties the obligation to suppress the counterfeiting of currency and to punish persons engaged in such counterfeiting. Such action is to be taken within the existing framework of domestic law.

6. His Majesty's Government fully recognises the value of international discussions and interchange of views on the subject of criminal law and procedure, but it feels that such activities can best be undertaken by unofficial organisations, and that action by the League should only be undertaken when a *prime facie* case has been made out for the consideration by the League of some specific project which is designed to meet a practical need and is likely to secure substantial support.

7. Finally, the prevention and suppression of crime are primarily the duty of police authorities and, in the view of His Majesty's Government, no special action in regard to these matters is required on the part of the League of Nations. There is already in existence an International Criminal Police Commission which is composed of police experts from different countries; and other questions relating to the prevention or treatment of crime are being dealt with by the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, which has been established for over fifty years and is supported by experts in these matters, both official and unofficial, from a large number of countries, including certain States which are not members of the League. In the opinion of His Majesty's Government, it would be a mistake — apart altogether from financial considerations — for the League of Nations to attempt to undertake duties which lie more properly within the sphere of these specialist international organisations. Both these Commissions have made contacts with the League and its Advisory Committees on opium, traffic in women, etc. The wisest course appears to be for the League of Nations to strengthen these contacts as opportunity offers and to make use of the facilities offered by them, but not itself to take any independent action in the spheres which are covered by these organisations.

Bulgaria.

LETTER DATED DECEMBER 28TH, 1932.

[*Translation.*]

In my Government's opinion it is desirable that the League of Nations should assist in the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime.

China.

LETTER OF MARCH 22ND, 1933.

I have the honour to inform you that my Government would welcome the assistance of the League of Nations in connection with penal and penitentiary matters in China with a view to achieving a gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime.

Colombia.

LETTER DATED FEBRUARY 15TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

The Colombian Government is agreeable that the League of Nations should lend its assistance in the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime to which reference is made. It also desires to state that it will fully support the execution of the reforms proposed either by direct co-operation or by entrusting the study of criminal questions to institutions or bodies set up for that purpose.

The Colombian Government thanks the League Secretariat for having kindly invited it formally to collaborate in questions connected with criminal law.

Denmark.

LETTER DATED MARCH 2ND, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

I am instructed by my Government to inform you that it endorses the recommendations made by the seven organisations mentioned in your note in their resolution of May 10th, 1932, to the effect that the League of Nations should assist in the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime. As regards the manner in which the League should render assistance, the Danish Government can accept the principles contained in the said resolution.

Estonia.

LETTER DATED JANUARY 20TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

The Estonian Government deeply appreciates the efforts already made by the League of Nations for the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime. It trusts that the important work done by the League in these fields will be continued.

As regards the manner in which this assistance might be rendered, the Estonian Government fully associates itself with the joint reply given by the organisations consulted by the League.

Finland.

LETTER DATED MARCH 13TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

The Finnish Government would be very glad if the League of Nations would assist in the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime.

France.

LETTER DATED NOVEMBER 22ND, 1932.

[*Translation.*]

The French Government, considering that this work of gradual unification and international co-operation may be specially valuable and comes within the province of League activities, accepts in principle the proposal submitted to it.

India.

LETTER OF APRIL 8TH, 1933.

The Government of India, having considered the resolution of May 10th, 1932, of the seven organisations consulted by the League, have formed the conclusion that there is no occasion to seek the assistance of the League in regard to the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime.

Latvia.

LETTER DATED FEBRUARY 4TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

Our competent authorities believe that it would be highly desirable that the League of Nations should help in the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime.

Lithuania.

LETTER DATED MARCH 20TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

The Lithuanian Government fully agrees that the League of Nations should assist, if necessary, in the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime.

Nicaragua.

LETTER DATED JANUARY 5TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

The Nicaraguan Government is not only glad to approve of the idea suggested, but considers it highly praiseworthy and believes that the co-operation and assistance of the League of Nations for the purpose mentioned would be of great value and efficacy.

Norway.

LETTER DATED MARCH 17TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

The Norwegian Government does not think it desirable for the League of Nations to set up a special committee of experts to deal with the questions referred to.

It wishes, in general, to support the resolution adopted at Geneva on May 10th, 1932, by the seven organisations concerned.

Netherlands.

LETTER DATED APRIL 18TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

I have the honour to inform you that, in the Netherlands Government's opinion, the joint reply sent to the Secretary-General by the seven organisations consulted on the questions of the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime forms an appropriate basis for the assistance to be rendered by the League of Nations in the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime.

I take this opportunity of recommending that, when the above-mentioned organisations engage in further consultations between themselves, consideration be given to the question of the desirability of amalgamating the International Penal Law Association and the International Penal Law Union. Both these organisations seem to be working in the same field, and, to avoid overlapping, their fusion would be very desirable.

Poland.

LETTER DATED APRIL 4TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

The Polish Government is quite prepared to support any action of the League of Nations for international collaboration in the progressive unification of criminal law. Such collaboration would be specially valuable in facilitating the suppression of crime, and for this reason all States Members of the League should give it their support.

The Polish Government has noted with satisfaction the resolution of seven organisations consulted on the questions of the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime, and their recommendation that the League should frame a draft Convention on these questions. I venture to remind you that my Government has already, during the discussions in the Fifth Committee of the 1932 Assembly, stressed the importance it attaches to collaboration with these organisations in the suppression of crime.

Roumania.

LETTER DATED JANUARY 9TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

The Roumanian Government notes with great interest the joint reply given on this subject by the seven technical organisations consulted by the League of Nations, to which reply the thirteenth Assembly, in its resolution of October 11th, 1932, directed the special attention of Governments. The Roumanian Government considers it very desirable that the principles laid down at that consultation should be adopted by the League.

Indeed, the Roumanian representatives have already pointed out — at the eighth Assembly in 1927 — that the League could render very valuable assistance in the solution of these two problems.

Believing that the gradual unification of criminal law is the only means of eliminating the divergencies between the various national legislations — divergencies which very often cause international criminals to go unpunished — Roumania took part in the international Conferences for the Unification of Criminal Law at Warsaw (1927), Rome (1928), Brussels (1930) and Paris (1931), and the Roumanian Legislative Council inserted in the new draft Criminal Code (1932) a number of provisions directly based on the texts proposed by those Conferences.

The Roumanian Government also considers that the International Bureau for the Unification of Penal Law, of which Roumania is a member, as re-organised in pursuance of the resolutions adopted by the technical organisations consulted by the League, will form an important organ of co-operation to which the League can apply whenever it requires preparatory work to be done for the solution of certain problems relating to the unification of criminal law.

As regards co-operation between States for the prevention and suppression of crime, the Roumanian Government believes that such co-operation cannot be satisfactorily achieved without unification of the rules for extradition, without international police co-operation and without improving the fundamental rules for the execution of penalties and preventive measures involving the loss of liberty.

As most of the questions referred to in the joint opinion of the seven technical organisations have already occupied the League's attention, it would seem that the League's chief function is to co-ordinate the work already being done.

The Roumanian Government would like to conclude these remarks by stating that it is in full agreement with the joint conclusions of the seven technical organisations consulted by the League.

Sweden.

LETTER DATED APRIL 5TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

The Swedish Government has no objection to the League of Nations assisting in the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime.

Czechoslovakia.

LETTER DATED APRIL 19TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

In the opinion of the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic, there is no reason why the League of Nations should not continue to follow, as hitherto, the work of the various international organisations for the gradual unification of criminal law, so far as the different circumstances of various States permit, for the creation of international co-operation in the prevention and suppression of crime and possibly for the international regulation of questions concerning the execution of penalties and assistance to discharged prisoners, provided that such work would really help to achieve the basic aims of the League.

In the present circumstances, it would probably be unnecessary to set up for these purposes a special organ within the framework of the League, and it would seem sufficient for the time being to ensure suitable contact between the respective international organisations and the League Secretariat, which could from time to time inform the States Members of the League of the results achieved.

Turkey.

LETTER OF APRIL 3RD, 1933.

The Government of the Turkish Republic considers it very desirable that the League of Nations should give its assistance in regard to the matters in question; such assistance would be a valuable factor of progress in the field of prevention and repression of crime.

Venezuela.

LETTER DATED DECEMBER 14TH, 1932.

[*Translation.*]

The Venezuelan Government thinks that the League of Nations should afford it assistance in the matter dealt with in the communication in question.

Yugoslavia.

LETTER DATED MAY 5TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

The Yugoslav Government would be glad if the League of Nations could assist in the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime.

SERIES No. 2.

Austria.

LETTER OF MAY 29TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

The Austrian Federal Government has always viewed sympathetically the efforts made to ensure co-operation between States throughout the whole sphere of penal law. It accordingly welcomes with pleasure the suggestion made by the Assembly at its twelfth session in 1931.

It feels obliged, however, to draw attention to the possibility that, in practice, this co-operation may encounter certain difficulties. As regards the unification of penal law, experience shows that each people is particularly attached to the rules of its own national penal laws, which are adapted to its mentality and customs, and which have hence taken root in the minds of the whole population.

Every attempt to change these rules encounters, in principle, a resistance which is the more difficult to overcome, inasmuch as it is based, not on legal considerations, but on sentiments accumulated in the course of centuries. When the Austrian and German Governments endeavoured to reform the penal law of the two countries by common agreement, they had occasion to observe the full force of this factor.

For these reasons, the Austrian Federal Government considers that any work undertaken with a view to the international unification of penal law will only have positive results if it relates to crimes which by their very nature endanger the interests of two or more States, so that the prevention and suppression of these crimes directly concern the international community. As an example, the Austrian Federal Government recalls the conclusion of the International Convention for the Suppression of Counterfeiting Currency.

What has just been said with regard to the progressive unification of penal law also applies to the co-operation of States in the sphere of the prevention and suppression of crime. It is undoubtedly in the general interest of all States to secure the suppression of crime. Direct co-operation between States does not, however, seem essential, except in cases in which States are obliged to have recourse to the good offices of other States in order to secure such prevention and suppression. Among the questions to be considered in this connection are those relating to the search for criminals who have taken refuge abroad and those relating to extradition and also the repatriation of aliens after discharge from prison.

Canada.

LETTER OF AUGUST 11TH, 1933.

With reference to Circular Letter 174 of November 18th, 1932, I am requested to inform you that the Canadian Government, while recognising that, in certain matters where police action and criminal procedure call for special international action, such as, for example, the traffic in dangerous drugs, the assistance of the League has been of great value, are not prepared to concur in the suggested proposal for the unification of criminal law.

Apart from exceptional cases, there does not appear to be any good reason for seeking uniformity in substantive criminal law. It is a matter of primary importance that substantive criminal law should harmonise with the social, economic and other conditions with which it is concerned. It is, on the other hand, unimportant that it should be uniform with the substantive criminal law of foreign countries in which the historical background and present conditions may be essentially different.

In respect of adjective criminal law, there are stronger reasons for seeking uniformity in practice and international co-operation. This is being accomplished by the extension and improvement of extradition arrangements as a result of bilateral negotiations. Such extension and improvement could not be accomplished by multilateral negotiation, as is contemplated in the joint reply of the organisations consulted on this question.

Italy.

LETTER OF JUNE 13TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

1. *Gradual Unification of Criminal Law.*

The Italian Government has invariably given its wholehearted support to international conferences for the progressive unification of criminal law.

The new Criminal Code takes into account the principal conventions which have been concluded at Geneva in recent times, under the auspices of the League of Nations, with a view to co-ordinating and therefore rendering more effective the efforts of individual States against certain forms of crime, such as slave-dealing, traffic in women and children, obscene publications and counterfeiting currency.

The new Code of Criminal Procedure also contains provisions for more effective international co-operation in the detection and punishment of crime, so that the Italian Government cannot do otherwise than approve, in general, the resolution adopted by the League of Nations, since the resolution may advance the unification of criminal law and co-operation between States for the prevention and suppression of crime.

2. *Co-operation of States in the Prevention and Suppression of Crime.*

The Italian Government is of opinion that any intervention by the League of Nations with regard to penitentiary matters should be limited to the making of suggestions and recommendations. The taking of actual steps in this domain belongs to the sphere of action of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission.

In this connection the Royal Government can only endorse the statements made by the Italian delegate, His Excellency M. Giannini, at the meeting on September 18th, 1930, of the Fifth Committee of the Assembly, to the effect that any supervision by the League of Nations would be incompatible with the nature of the right of punishment, particularly at the stage of the enforcement of such punishment, which is essentially a sovereign right of each individual State.

On the other hand, it has no observations to make with regard to the co-operation of the League of Nations with the said International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, within the limits at present observed.

This co-operation takes the form of agreements and exchanges of views for the purpose of establishing a body of rules for the treatment of prisoners, which represent the minimum to be observed by the law of each State in regulating the punishment of criminals.

It should be noted that Italian law already stands high above this minimum; the competent organs of the League might find profit in studying it and the results of the recent International Congress at Palermo, which paid particular attention to Italian penitentiary legislation.

Siam.

LETTER OF JUNE 9TH, 1933.

His Majesty's Government is of the opinion that it is not practical to secure throughout the world unification of criminal law. The laws of any country must depend largely upon its degree of civilisation and the prevailing customs and traditions of both public and private life. In many respects, there are important differences between Far-Eastern and European countries.

With regard to co-operation in the prevention and suppression of crime, His Majesty's Government believes that greater success can be attained by special arrangements with neighbouring countries rather than through international conventions and agreements.

For these reasons, His Majesty's Government is not interested in securing the assistance of the League of Nations on these two questions.

SERIES No. 3.

Hungary.

LETTER OF SEPTEMBER 20TH, 1933.

[*Translation.*]

I. The Royal Hungarian Government has made a thorough examination of the report submitted to the League of Nations by the seven organisations consulted.

II. As regards, first, the gradual standardisation of criminal law, the Hungarian Government considers that that object might be achieved by provision, in the international Conventions defining specific international interests, for penalties to be inflicted for offences against provisions of the said Conventions.

It would, however, be difficult to frame an international criminal code defining all acts in the nature of offences which might be declared of an international character; for such acts are defined in various international Conventions in close connection with other provisions from which they could hardly be dissociated.

Consequently, the League's only task, in regard to the standardisation of the rules of criminal law, would be to watch the criminal law provisions to be embodied in future Conventions, and to ensure that they are in harmony with the existing provisions.

No new organisation would be necessary for this work. The Preparatory Committee whose duty it was to draw up the draft Convention to be submitted to the Conference could deal with it. Where desirable, this Committee could include experts in the matter or be authorised to have recourse to the assistance of the international organisations dealing with criminal law which are mentioned in the letter of the Secretary-General of the League of

Nations. It would be equally possible to contemplate that representatives of those organisations might be invited to take part in an advisory capacity in the discussion of draft Conventions containing criminal law provisions, with the task of calling the Conference's attention to provisions on matters of criminal law contained in Conventions on other subjects and of seeking to ensure uniformity and concordance between such provisions.

The Hungarian Government sees no reason, at the present juncture, why the League of Nations should go further in the matter of the international standardisation of criminal law.

III. The same considerations apply to the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime. Here it may be added that the whole question of judicial co-operation in criminal cases (extradition of offenders, transmission of documents relating to criminal justice) is governed, though not by a multilateral Convention, at all events by a series of bilateral treaties. Thus the need for such a multilateral Convention has not really been felt in practice, though standardisation will certainly become desirable in this sphere.

For practical reasons, the first thing would be to regulate, on a wide international basis, the punishment of crimes and offences committed in a foreign country. But the experience acquired in the course of the efforts towards standardisation made by the League of Nations would seem to show that there is little hope of moulding into any single system the often contradictory systems found in the various States in regard to criminal matters; still less can one expect to reconcile Anglo-American law and the law of the continental European States on the question of the penal qualification of criminal acts committed abroad.

IV. The Royal Hungarian Government ventures further to call attention to the fact that, by the resolutions and recommendations adopted on September 25th, 1931, on the subject of progressive codification of international law, the Assembly has set up a procedure which could be applied to questions of criminal law which are of general international interest, and which permits any State or group of States to propose to the Assembly questions suitable to become the object of a Convention concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations. The Assembly's decision makes provision for all the measures necessary for the examination of such a proposal and for the preparation of draft Conventions by competent experts. It further contemplates the co-operation of scientific international institutions which have specialised in the investigation of the subjects which are to be examined.

SERIES No. 4.

Australia.

LETTER OF SEPTEMBER 8TH, 1933.¹

I have the honour to inform you that, except for the territories of the Commonwealth, the matters covered by the resolution under notice fall within the jurisdiction of the several States of Australia.

Your enquiry was therefore referred to the State Governments, and, according to the replies which have now been received, only one of them — namely, Victoria — is in favour of the proposal.

Appendix.

PENAL AND PENITENTIARY QUESTIONS.

JOINT REPLY SUBMITTED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL BY THE SEVEN ORGANISATIONS CONSULTED ON THE QUESTIONS OF THE GRADUAL UNIFICATION OF CRIMINAL LAW AND THE CO-OPERATION OF STATES IN THE PREVENTION AND SUPPRESSION OF CRIME.

The representatives of the organisations consulted by the League — namely, the International Penal Law Association, the International Bureau for the Unification of Penal Law, the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, the International Criminal Police Commission, the Howard League for Penal Reform, the International Law Association and the International Penal Law Union — in response to the request made by M. Pella, Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee at the twelfth Assembly of the League, and to the recommendation contained in the report adopted by that Assembly (document A.70.1931.IV);

Having met at Geneva at the League Secretariat on May 8th, 9th and 10th, 1932, and Having considered, with a view to replying to the question contained in the Assembly resolution, "in what manner they consider that the assistance of the League of Nations might be of value with a view to achieving a gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime";

Have agreed upon the following conclusions:

¹ This letter was not before the Committee when the question was discussed; it reached the Secretariat on October 19th, 1933.

Resolution of May 10th, 1932.¹

1. The League of Nations could render very valuable assistance with a view to the gradual unification of criminal law by preparing, and inducing States to adopt, conventions dealing in particular with :

(a) The standardisation of the definition of offences, the suppression of which is important from the international point of view ;

(b) The standardisation of the fundamental rules of criminal law, beginning with those intended to ensure the effective suppression of offences of an international character ;

(c) The inclusion in all penal legislations of standardised definitions of offences which States agree to regard as a danger to international relations ;

(d) The more intensive unification of certain branches of criminal law in the case of countries whose civilisation possesses common features.

2. The League's assistance in the co-operation between States for the prevention and suppression of crime should relate primarily to the following points :

(a) The improvement and unification of rules for the extradition of accused and convicted persons ; unification and improvement of the rules for the despatch and execution of letters of request ;

(b) International police co-operation and determination of the methods of this co-operation ;

(c) Improvement of the fundamental rules for the execution of penalties and preventive measures involving the loss of liberty ;

(d) International assistance and agreements for the repatriation of foreigners who have been discharged after being subjected to penalties or preventive measures involving the loss of liberty.

3. Without prejudice to future needs, the development of the League's activities in the matters mentioned under Nos. 1 and 2 does not involve the creation of new organisations which, in certain cases, might overlap the work of existing institutions.

As regards some of the above-mentioned matters, the League might enlist the co-operation of specially qualified organisations. Needless to say, this co-operation would not in any way prevent the League, in certain cases, from entrusting preparatory studies to some particular person, setting up *ad hoc* committees of experts or approaching any institution whose assistance it considered helpful.

(a) With a view to the gradual unification of criminal law, it is recommended that the League should co-operate with the International Bureau for the Unification of Penal Law, which has been re-organised in accordance with the draft statutes attached ;

(b) With a view to international police co-operation, the League might usefully collaborate with the International Criminal Police Commission ;

(c) In questions of applied criminal law, the League might usefully co-operate with the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission ;

(d) The League might also usefully co-operate with the Howard League in the action taken by it in order that the suppression of crime may assume a more and more humanitarian character, might support the efforts of that organisation to assist prisoners and, finally, might encourage the creation of an international federation of the various prisoners' aid associations in each country ;

(e) As regards other questions, it is desirable that the League should develop a policy of co-operation with organisations dealing with the international aspect of penal problems and should submit to those institutions, for their joint study, problems coming within their province, and, in particular, the problem of extradition and cognate questions.

4. In the recommendations contained in points (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e) of No. 3, it is not intended to draw a hard and fast line between the fields of activity of each institution, since the complex nature of the questions connected with the prevention and suppression of crime often makes it necessary for each of those institutions to deal with problems which are to some extent outside the principal domain of their activities.

¹ This resolution, unanimously adopted at the meeting at Geneva, was subsequently ratified individually by each of the organisations represented at the meeting. The International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, in ratifying the resolution, adopted a motion to the effect that "this resolution does not limit in any way the independence of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, which remains free to consider all questions relating to criminal law and penitentiary science", and that "its ratification does not in any way bind the Governments represented on the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission".

THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU FOR THE UNIFICATION OF CRIMINAL LAW.

Draft Statutes.

Article I. — The aims of the International Bureau for the Unification of Criminal Law are :

- (1) To examine proposals made by Governments, by organs of the League of Nations or by international institutions, relating to the unification of criminal law ;
- (2) To undertake preparatory work in order to decide what matters of criminal law might be made the subject of uniform provisions in the legislations of different States or groups of States ;
- (3) To make the necessary arrangements with a view to the summoning of international conferences for the unification of criminal law ;
- (4) To provide for continuity of work in the intervals between such conferences ;
- (5) To get into touch with the competent authorities in those countries which participate in the international conferences for the unification of criminal law with a view to collecting the necessary material for the work of those conferences.

Article II. — Each State which has taken part in the conferences for the unification of criminal law or which has given its support to the work of the Bureau shall be represented in the Bureau by one member.

The members of the Bureau shall be appointed for five years by the Conferences for the Unification of Criminal Law.

They shall be eligible for re-election on the expiry of their term of office.

Two representatives of each of the following organisations shall be *ex officio* members of the Bureau :

- The International Penal Law Association ;
- The International Penal and Penitentiary Commission ;
- The International Criminal Police Commission ;
- The Howard League for Penal Reform ;
- The International Law Association ;
- The International Penal Law Union.

Any organisation working on an international basis and admitted by the Bureau shall be represented on the Bureau by two members.

Article III. — Membership of the Bureau lapses :

- (1) On resignation ;
- (2) On expulsion for serious reasons by the plenary assembly of the members of the Bureau.

Article IV. — In case of vacancies, the plenary assembly of the members of the Bureau shall make provisional arrangements for the replacement of these members. This replacement shall be made definite by the next Conference for the Unification of Criminal Law. Members thus elected must be of the same nationality as the members whom they replace. Their powers expire at the end of the period when the term of office of the members replaced would normally have expired.

Administration and Working.

Article V. — The plenary assembly of the members of the Bureau shall proceed to the election of the President, of four to six Vice-Presidents, of the Secretary-General and the Treasurer, for a period of five years.

The above officers shall be eligible for re-election on the expiry of their term of office.

The Bureau shall have power to co-opt for any definite enquiry persons whose assistance may appear to it to be of value.

Article VI. — The Bureau shall be managed by a committee composed of the President, the Vice-Presidents, the Secretary-General and the Treasurer.

Article VII. — The Committee mentioned in the previous article shall elect three Deputy Secretaries.

Article VIII. — The plenary assembly of the members of the Bureau shall meet on the summons of the Secretary-General in agreement with the President.

This summons shall be sent out at least one month in advance.

The presence of a quarter of the members of the Bureau shall be essential for the validity of its discussions.

Absent members may arrange to be represented by a special deputy of the same nationality or by another member of the Bureau.

Minutes of the meetings shall be kept. The Minutes shall be signed by the President and the Secretary-General. The records shall be in the charge of the Secretary-General.

The powers of the President shall, in his absence, be exercised by one of the Vice-Presidents, and those of the Secretary-General by one of the senior members of the Bureau.

Article IX. — The funds of the Bureau shall consist of the subsidies which may be granted by the States and of the gifts which may be made by associations, foundations and private persons.

For the purpose of settling and regulating official subsidies, the Bureau shall get into touch with the Governments of States which attend the Conferences for the Unification of Criminal Law.

The Bureau shall manage its own funds and property.

The Treasurer of the Bureau shall not pay out any sums, the expenditure of which has not been previously authorised by the Secretary-General.

Relations of the Bureau with the Unification Conferences, with their Organisation Committee and with Other International Institutions.

Article X. — The members of the Bureau shall be *ex officio* members of the Conferences for the Unification of Criminal Law.

Article XI. — The Bureau of the Organisation Committee of the Conference shall also have power to invite any other persons to take part as experts in the work of the Conference.

Article XII. — The plenary assembly of the Conference shall be composed of the delegates of States attending the Conference and of the persons mentioned in Article X.

Each State shall be entitled to three votes, but its vote shall be indivisible.

Each of the institutions mentioned in Article II shall be entitled to one vote.

Article XIII. — Pending the election of the President of the Conference, the duties of President shall be entrusted to the President of the Bureau.

The President of the Conference shall be assisted in the general execution of his duties by the Secretary-General of the Bureau.

At the opening of each Conference, the Secretary-General of the Bureau shall describe the results achieved in the field of the unification of criminal law and shall propose measures with a view to bringing about such unification.

Article XIV. — At each Conference, the Bureau shall constitute the sections of the Conference and shall distribute between them the various questions on the agenda.

The Bureau shall be represented in each section.

The sections shall work simultaneously, and the results of their discussions shall be summarised in the form of draft texts and recommendations for submission to the Plenary Conference.

All States taking part in the Conference may be represented by one or several delegates in each section. The method of voting laid down in Article XII shall also apply to voting in the sections.

Article XV. — In fixing the agenda of each Conference, the plenary assembly of the members of the Bureau shall appoint the chairmen of sections and the rapporteurs or joint rapporteurs on each question on the agenda. Some of these appointments may be entrusted to the Organisation Committee of the Conference.

Article XVI. — The technical preparations for each Conference shall be entrusted to the Bureau and the Organisation Committee of the Conference.

Members of the Bureau who are nationals of the country in which the Conference takes place shall be *ex officio* members of the Organisation Committee.

Article XVII. — The Organisation Committee shall be appointed or recognised by the competent authority of the country in whose territory the Conference takes place.

The Committee's duties shall be as follows :

(1) To send invitations to the Conference to the official organs of the different countries ;

(2) To ask the countries which are attending the Conference to send, where possible in a French translation, the texts of their proposals, or of such parts of their current legislation as relate to the questions before the Conference ;

(3) To circulate to the countries attending the Conference, in good time and in the form of preliminary documents, the texts referred to in the previous article, together with the preparatory reports.

Article XVIII. — The publication of the preliminary documents and records of each Conference shall be entrusted to the Organisation Committee.

The publication of the records of the Conference shall be effected by the Secretary of the Organisation Committee, under the direction of the President of the Conference and of the Secretary-General of the Bureau.

Article XIX. — The resolutions of the Conference shall be submitted to the official organs of the States participating, in order to enable them to form an opinion as to how far the said resolutions can be embodied in new laws or in amendments to existing criminal laws.

The Conference shall decide the procedure to be followed in regard to the transmission of the said resolutions.

Article XX. — All resolutions relating to any branch of the activities of the League of Nations shall be communicated to the Secretary-General of the League.

Article XXI. — The Bureau or the Organisation Committee shall approach the Secretary-General of the League of Nations with a view to the representation of the latter at the proceedings of the Bureau or of the Conference for the Unification of Criminal Law. The representatives of the Secretariat of the League shall belong to the Bureau *ex officio* as observers.

Article XXII. — The resolutions of the Conference shall also be communicated to the international institutions which are concerned with the problems of the unification of criminal law or are in a position to contribute to the realisation of the recommendations of the Conference.

On the proposal of the Bureau, these institutions may be represented at the proceedings of the Conference as observers.

Changes in the Statutes and Dissolution.

Article XXIII. — The present Statutes may not be changed except by the plenary assembly of the members of the Bureau on the written request of one-third of its members. Such requests must be addressed to the Secretary-General of the Bureau at least three months beforehand.

Article XXIV. — The same procedure shall be followed, subject to the same conditions, in the event of a request for dissolution.

Article XXV. — All questions relating to the work of Conferences for the Unification of Criminal Law for which the present Statutes do not provide shall be settled by the said Conferences.

A.37.1933.V.

B. REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: M. PELLA (Roumania).

The questions of the progressive unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime were the subject of an important discussion in the First Committee.

Some delegations urged the need for securing common action by all countries in the campaign against crime by standardising the means of social defence unanimously approved by criminal science. These delegations, however, explained that the international unification of criminal law was by no means intended to undermine or abolish institutions which were deeply rooted in the traditions of nations and had in every country contributed to the advance of criminal law. The idea was rather to remove certain divergencies between national legislations which hamper the operation of the systematic and co-ordinated suppression of crime and frequently contribute to the impunity of international criminals. The advocates of this view urge that the forms of criminal law institutions are themselves changing. Criminal law is evolving with extraordinary rapidity and, as an instrument of social defence, cannot escape the universal urge for renewal. Criminal law should, by itself becoming international, adapt itself to the growth in crime incident to the unceasing transformation and internationalisation of contemporary social life. Lastly, it was said that account should also be taken of the sense of unity which was one of the fundamental characteristics of the historical mission of most nations in the world. The work of unifying criminal legislation should, moreover, for the moment only apply to such offences as affect the interest of the various nations either because of the nature of the interests involved, or of the way in which the offences were committed. There was the further question of standardising the general principles of criminal law in so far as such standardisation can contribute to ensuring effective suppression of such offences.

Other delegations took the contrary view. They thought that, in connection with any proposals for international measures dealing with crime, the field of action should be carefully circumscribed. Unification could only be conceived in the case of countries whose legislations were based on identical legal principles derived from a common source and which possess the same social conceptions and traditions.

As regards the work to be undertaken under the auspices of the League, the only method by which useful results could be secured would be to isolate one specific and well-defined question and to study it separately. It is only when international interests call for the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of certain offences that any action by the League is called for or likely to be beneficial. In such cases, States could usefully agree to adopt rules which might ensure effective suppression of those offences.

In connection with the establishment of a programme of work for the League of Nations in such matters, stress was also laid on the difficulty of finding a definition for "international offence".

In presence of the differences in the views advanced, the First Committee considered that the surest way of obtaining concrete results in this field would be to follow the middle path indicated in the draft resolution hereunder, which it submits for the Assembly's approval :

Draft Resolution.

" The Assembly,

" Having examined with the greatest interest the joint reply given by the seven technical organisations which the Secretary-General consulted on the subject of the form in which the League of Nations might lend its assistance in the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime (document A.7.1933.V — Annex) ;

" Noting the re-organisation of the International Bureau for the Unification of Criminal Law by the entry of representatives of the six other organisations into that body ;

" Considering that the Members of the League have been consulted on the question of the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the campaign against crime and that the majority of the replies received are favourable in principle to collaboration by the League in these matters ;

" Considering that certain other Governments have expressed the opinion that the only method by which useful results in this sphere may be obtained consists in studying each particular question separately, if it is of international interest, as and when need arises :

" Recognises the value of the international exchange of views on criminal matters which occurs within the technical organisations ;

" Is of the opinion that, when the work of these organisations leads to definite proposals, the League of Nations may intervene with the object of securing the possible conclusion of international conventions if the proposals referred to answer to real needs recognised as such by the organs of the League — in which case, the procedure would be that normally followed in the conclusion of conventions under the auspices of the League of Nations ;

" Thanks the seven technical organisations for their offer to place the results of their work at the disposal of the League of Nations, the possibility of having recourse to this collaboration obviating the necessity for the creation of a special organ of the League to deal with criminal and penitentiary questions ;

" And considers it desirable that, in cases where the organs of the League feel it appropriate to do so, those organs should consult the said organisations. In such cases, the International Bureau for the Unification of Penal Law might be asked to give its assistance in the preparatory investigations undertaken in connection with the drawing-up of any convention which may be contemplated. So far as concerns law and practice in regard to penitentiary questions, the assistance of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission might be obtained."

ANNEX 3.

SIMPLIFICATION OF THE PROCEDURE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

A. EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE'S MEETING OF SEPTEMBER 27TH, 1933.

(Note: Only the passages of the Minutes in which the substance of the Secretary-General's suggestions is discussed are reproduced.)

.....

The SECRETARY-GENERAL apologised for the daring character of his suggestion for the simplification of the Assembly's procedure, and explained that the note which he had circulated took account of complaints or wishes which had been expressed by various delegations during previous Assemblies. The Assembly's procedure did, in fact, involve various formalities which were quite distinct from its real work and contributed to prolong its sessions. Hitherto the ordinary sessions of the Assembly had lasted three to four weeks, which was a long period for the statesmen desiring to follow its work. The Secretary-General had therefore considered whether it would not be possible to reduce the period without loss to the dignity and authority of the Assembly.

He thought he might suggest two methods of making a reduction of the duration of the Assembly possible :

In the first place, the work of some committees was so heavy that it lasted longer than the normal duration of the Assembly's session. This was the case in particular for the Fourth Committee.

In order to give this Committee the period normally necessary for its work, one might perhaps contemplate the possibility of convening it one week before the formal opening of the Assembly, so that its labours might be already well advanced when the session opened.

In the second place, the Secretary-General pointed out that a certain number of the Assembly's meetings were nothing more than meetings for the formal adoption of reports presented by the various committees. The Secretary-General of course excluded cases where the questions dealt with in the reports were of sufficient importance to call for a real public discussion, and the cases where the reports were not adopted unanimously by the committee concerned, and it was contemplated that such unanimity could be reached by public discussion in a plenary meeting. In the majority of cases, however, the reports were unanimously adopted in the committees, with the result that there was practically no actual discussion in the Assembly. The existing procedure made it necessary for such reports to be adopted in a succession of plenary meetings, which were purely formal, and did not present any great interest either for delegates or for the Press or for the public. The Secretary-General thought that it might be possible to simplify the procedure in this respect by providing that the President should read out a list of the reports adopted by the different committees. If then no delegate asked for a discussion, the reports would be considered as adopted by the Assembly.

The Secretary-General had been emboldened to make this suggestion by the experience acquired at the London Economic Conference, where the President, without in any way restricting the free expression of the views of the delegations, had in such a manner been able to shorten the procedure and expedite the accomplishment of these final formalities.

.....

Count CARTON DE WIART also thought that the Secretary-General's proposals met the wishes of most delegations. The Assembly would gain in efficiency what it would lose in duration. He therefore supported the proposals. He desired, however, to make one observation of a practical nature. If the Fourth Committee was to meet before the Assembly opened, its members would have to be appointed in advance and this was a delicate point. Delegations to the Assembly were in fact often only appointed a few weeks or even a few days before the date of the session, and this might cause difficulties. He would in any case like the attention of the First Committee to be called to the point.

M. VON KELLER supported Count Carton de Wiart's observations. The proposed innovation was of considerable importance and tended to make radical changes in the League's practice.

.....

M. MASSIGLI pointed out that, even in some cases where reports were unanimously adopted in the committee concerned, the importance of the subject-matter caused some delegations to desire to make declarations or comments at the plenary meeting of the Assembly. Where this was so, it seemed to him evident that there must be a discussion in plenary session. He did not think there was a difference of opinion on this point between him and the Secretary-General. The point was simply one which should be made clear.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL recognised that the point raised by M. Massigli was an important point, and remarked that, in the note which he had drawn up, he had specifically stated that "proper safeguards" would have to be established.

A.49.1933.V.

B. REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: M. MOTTA (Switzerland).

On September 29th, the Assembly, on the proposal of the General Committee, decided to refer to the First Committee certain suggestions of the Secretary-General for improving the methods of work of the Assembly.

The First Committee was in favour of proposing that the Assembly should apply the Secretary-General's suggestions, as an experiment, at its session of 1934. For this purpose, it drew up a draft resolution which it asked me to place before the Assembly.

Since, however, the first part of the draft resolution contemplates that the President of the Council may convene the Fourth Committee a short time before the first meeting of the Assembly's session of 1934, and objections to the adoption of such a system were made by several delegations, I felt it would be desirable to communicate the draft to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee with a view to obtaining any observations which that Committee might desire to make.

The President of the Fourth Committee has informed me that his Committee accepts the proposal of the First Committee on condition that the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission be consulted by the President of the Council before the latter exercises the power contemplated in the draft resolution.

This reservation of the Fourth Committee appeared to me not to be in conflict with the First Committee's proposal; I felt I could accept it.

Accordingly, I submit to the Assembly the following draft resolution :

Draft Resolution.

"The Assembly decides that the following procedure shall be applied, as an experiment, at the ordinary session of 1934 :

"1. The President of the Council, after consulting the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, may convene the Finance Committee for a date preceding by not more than one week the first meeting of the ordinary session of the Assembly. The Committee shall be composed of the representatives accredited for the purpose by the Members of the League. It shall appoint its Chairman, who shall thereby become a member of the General Committee of the Assembly under the terms of Article 7 of the Rules of Procedure. The establishment of the Committee shall be reported to the Assembly at the first plenary meeting of the Assembly.

"2. (i) When the reports and resolutions submitted by the various Committees of the Assembly are brought up for adoption in plenary session, the President, in the cases indicated below, shall read the titles of the reports and put forthwith to the vote the resolutions which are proposed.

"(ii) The procedure provided for in paragraph (i) shall only apply in cases where the Committee has unanimously declared that it does not consider a discussion of the report in plenary session to be necessary and where no delegation has subsequently asked the President to open a discussion on the report. The report must be circulated to the delegations twenty-four hours before it is brought up in plenary session."

ANNEX 4.

NATIONALITY OF WOMEN.

A. COMMUNICATION FROM THE REPRESENTATIVES OF CERTAIN WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS.

Note by the Secretary-General.

Since the last session of the Assembly, a disagreement has arisen between the constituent organisations as to the maintenance of the Committee of Representatives of Women's International Organisations (Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality) which was formed in 1931 by the eight organisations which accepted the Secretary-General's invitation to set up a committee to present joint proposals to the Assembly in that year. The International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship and the International Federation of University Women have withdrawn from the Committee, stating that they assume their withdrawal will automatically put an end to a body which was formed to present the agreed views of the eight organisations. In view of the decisions adopted last year by the Assembly regarding the collaboration of women with the League, these two organisations feel that the views of women's organisations about nationality can best be communicated to the League through the recognised official channels, the organisations being free to consult each other or to arrange for any joint discussion, report or memorandum which they may consider advisable. The majority of the organisations, on the other hand, consider that the Committee should not be treated as dissolved, but that the two organisations should be regarded as having resigned from it and that the Committee should continue its work notwithstanding their withdrawal.

In these circumstances, the Secretary-General felt obliged to inform the organisations that he could only note that agreement did not exist among them as to the maintenance of the original Committee, and he has accepted the communication reproduced below with the reservation that he does not feel at liberty to consider it as a communication from the original Committee.

"Communication to the Fourteenth Assembly of the League of Nations from the Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality created by the Council of the League of Nations and representing to-day 45 millions of women in 42 countries.

September 25th, 1933.

"The present political and economic conditions in the world are accentuating the anomalies attendant upon the legal status of women in the matter of nationality.

Therefore this Committee addresses itself to the fourteenth Assembly of the League of Nations, as it has done previously to the twelfth and thirteenth Assemblies, reaffirming for the third time, even more urgently than before, its opposition to the situation created by the Hague Nationality Convention.

“ The Committee urges the Assembly to take the only effective step for the solution of this problem — namely, to put into effect the principle underlying the resolution proposed by the representative of Chile at The Hague in 1930 :

“ ‘ The contracting States agree that, from the going into effect of this Convention, there shall be no distinction based on sex in their law and practice relating to nationality ’.

“ We would point out that this Chilean resolution was endorsed in 1931 by the Consultative Committee which at that time included the two women’s organisations which have since seceded.”

B. REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: M. MOTTA (Switzerland).

The question of the Nationality of Women was placed on the agenda of the Assembly at the request of the Chilean Government and was referred by the Assembly to the First Committee.

The First Committee proposes to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolution on the question :

Draft Resolution.

“ The Assembly,

“ Having regard to the resolution voted by the Assembly on October 12th, 1932, on the question of the nationality of women ;

“ Having examined the suggestions made by the delegation of Chile in regard to this question, which, at the request of the Chilean Government, had been placed on the agenda of the Assembly ;

“ Having regard to the fact that a certain number of States give in their law a very wide application to the principle of the equality of the sexes :

“ Expresses the hope that, before the next session of the Assembly, the Governments will have put the Secretary-General in a position to communicate to the Council the information as to the effect which they have found it possible to give to recommendation No. VI of the Codification Conference.”

INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS.

Cttee = Committee	Memo = Memorandum
Govt = Government	Parag = Paragraph
Int = International	Resol = Resolution
Kgd = Kingdom	Suppl = Supplementary

Agenda of Committee	
Adoption and items	6
Assembly Committees	
See Assembly, Simplification, etc., Finance Cttee and Committees of Assembly	
Assembly, Ordinary Session of 1934	
Procedure to be applied at, <i>see</i> Assembly, Simplification	
Assembly, Simplification of Procedure	
Discussion	16, 17, 18-21
Finance Committee, convening in advance of Assembly: procedure to be applied at ordinary session of 1934	
Composition and appointment of Chairman	17, 18, 19, 20, 45
Consultation of 4th Cttee and Supervisory Commission	19, 45-6
Discussion	17, 18-20
Establishment of Cttee	19, 20, 45
Extract from minutes of General Cttee, Sept. 27, 1933	43-4
Legal aspect of question	18, 18-19, 19, 20, 21
Note by Secretary-General	16-17
Report of 1st Cttee, <i>see below</i> Report, etc.	
Resolution of 1st Cttee	45
Adoption	20
Resolution as proposed by General Cttee	
Amendments	19
Text	17
Vote and abstentions from	20
Rapporteur to Assembly, appointment	21
Report of 1st Cttee to Assembly	44-5
Reports to Assembly: formal adoption on proposal of President	
Discussion	17, 21
London Economic Conference 1933: allusion to procedure adopted, in relation to	44
Plenary meetings, question of discussion at	18, 21, 44, 45
Resolutions of 1st Committee	45
as proposed by General Cttee	17-18
Amendment and adoption	21
Secretary-General's suggestion	
Extract from minutes of General Cttee, Sept. 27, 1933	44
Note by Secretary-General	16-17
Time-limit for circulation of reports	21, 45
Resolutions of 1st Committee	45
Adoption	20, 21
Draft of General Committee of Assembly	
Communication to 4th Cttee and reply	44-5
Discussion and adoption	17, 18-21
Text	17-18
Rules of procedure	
Rule 7	17, 19, 45
Rules 4, 6, 14: proposed modification in event of adoption of suggestions submitted by Secretary-General	16, 18, 20, 21
Secretary-General's suggestions	
Extracts from minutes of General Committee, Sept. 27, 1933	43-4
Note submitted to General Cttee	16-17
Sub-Cttee, proposed	17, 21
Time-limit for speeches as a means of expediting work	19, 19-20, 20
Close of Proceedings of 1st Committee	24
Committees of Assembly	
4th Committee, convening in advance of Assembly suggested by Secretary-General, <i>see</i> Assembly Simplification, Finance Cttee	
Chairmen of Committees convened previously to Assembly: election	17
See also Assembly, Simplification, etc., Finance Cttee, Composition, etc.	
Composition of Committees convened previously to Assembly	17
See also Assembly, Simplification, etc., Finance Cttee, Composition, etc.	
Credentials of members of Committees convened previously to Assembly	17
Reports: formal adoption by Assembly on proposal of President, <i>see under</i> Assembly, Simplification	
Work to be started before first plenary meeting of Assembly, question of	16, 17, 18, 19
See also Assembly, Simplification, Finance Cttee, Convening, etc.	
Council of League	
Covenant: Article 4, parags 1 to 2bis, relating to	27, 29
Elections to, <i>see below under</i> Non-permanent Members	
Non-permanent Members	
Creation of one or two new seats, <i>see below under</i> Elections, etc., Proposals	
Elections, method and study of existing system	
Article 22	28
Candidates: procedure <i>re</i> nomination suggested	7, 27, 29
Composition of Special Cttee to study existing system and procedure <i>re</i> work	25
Covenant: Article 4, parags 1 to 2bis	27, 28, 29
Enquiry among Members of League as to views <i>re</i>	7, 25
Existing provisions <i>re</i> election	27-8
Full examination of system in 1936	7, 26, 29
Memo. from Portuguese Govt, June 5, 1931, references to	7, 25, 26
Proportional representation under system of single transferable vote: Norwegian proposal	7, 26
Proposals of Special Cttee <i>re</i> Creation of one or two new seats	7, 26
Provisional increase from nine to ten	7, 26, 28-9
Approved by 1st Cttee	29
Representation of groups of States not at present belonging to any groups 7, 25-6, 26, 28	
Rapporteur to Assembly, appointment	7
Report of 1st Committee embodying report of Special Cttee <i>re</i> study of existing system	
Communication to Council	27, 29
Discussion and adoption	6-7, 25
Text	25-7, 28-9
Resols. of Special Cttee approved by 1st Cttee	
Finality subject to unanimous vote of Council	7
Texts	7, 27, 29
Rules for election adopted by Assembly on Sept. 15, 1926	
Addition proposed	7, 27, 29
Text	27-8

Council of League (cont.).
Non-permanent Members (contd.).
 Increase from six to nine in 1926, reference to 26, 27
 Proportional representation under system of single transferable vote : Norwegian proposal *see above under Elections, etc.*
 Provisional increases from nine to ten 7, 26, 28-9, 29
 Representation of groups of States not at present belonging to any group, *see above under Elections, etc., Proposals*

Criminal Law, Gradual Unification of and Co-operation of States in the Prevention and Suppression of Crime
 Bureau, International, for Unification of Criminal Law : activities, draft Statutes and re-organisation
 8, 9, 10-11, 11, 13, 34, 39, 40-2, 43
 Conference of American States, collaboration in work of unification. 13, 14
 Conference on Criminal Law, future Int., Madrid 14
 Conventions and treaties, question of 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 32, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43
 Co-operation of League with organisations, *see below under Organisations*
 Discussion, General 7-10, 10-15
 Forms of int. crime dealt with by League 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 15-16, 31, 32, 33, 36
 Governments, observations of
 Note by Secretary-General. 30
 Rapporteur's statement 8, 9, 42
 Text : Australia 38 ; Austria 36 ; Belgium 31 ; Bulgaria 32 ; Canada 36 ; China 32 ; Colombia 33 ; Czechoslovakia 35 ; Denmark 33 ; Estonia 33 ; Finland 33 ; France 33 ; Germany 31 ; Hungary 37-8 ; India 33 ; Italy 36-7 ; Latvia 33 ; Lithuania 33 ; Netherlands 34 ; Nicaragua 34 ; Norway 34 ; Poland 34 ; Roumania 34-5 ; Siam 37 ; South Africa 31 ; Sweden 35 ; Turkey 35 ; United Kgd. 31-2 ; Venezuela 35 ; Yugoslavia 35
 Indictments and penalties in relation to domestic and international law 8-9, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 31, 32, 36, 37, 39
 League's competence to deal with matter, and question of avoiding extension of its activities 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 39
 Observations of Govts, *see above Govts, observations, etc.*
 Organisations specialised in study of questions
 Bureau, International for Unification, etc., *see that title above*
 Consultation and reply of 8, 10, 15, 30 38-9 (*text of reply*), 43
 Co-operation with League 9, 11, 11-12, 13, 31, 33, 34, 37-8, 38, 39, 43
 Penal questions
 in Relation to domestic and int. law *see above Indictments and penalties*
See also Penal and Penitentiary Questions
 Police : co-operation of 9, 13, 16, 35, 39
 Rapporteur to Assembly, appointment 6
 Report of 1st Committee
 Discussion and adoption 15-16
 Text 42-3
 Resolution of 1st Committee 10-11 (*draft*), 13
 Amendment proposed. 12-13
 Special organ of League to deal with criminal and penitentiary questions 7, 8, 9, 11, 16, 35, 37, 39, 43
 Statements of rapporteur. 7-9, 15, 42
 Study of each particular question separately, as and when need arises, proposed 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 31, 32, 38, 42, 43
Crime, Prevention and Suppression of, Co-operation of States in
See Criminal Law, etc.

Delegations to Assembly
 in Relation to question of convening committees in advance of Assembly, *see Committees of Assembly, Composition and Credentials*

Extradition 9, 12, 14, 15, 35, 36, 38, 39

Law, Criminal
See Criminal law

Members of Committee, List of 4-5

Nationality of Women
 Consultation of Govts and Members of League *re* question concerned and Council resol. of Jan. 24, 1933
 21, 22, 23, 24, 46
 Equality of sex as regards nationality
 Draft resol. submitted by Chile to Hague Conference, 1930, allusion to 46
 Protocol embodying principle : proposed drawing up by Chile in 1933, *see below Proposal by Chilean Govt*
 Hague Convention : ratification and revision, question of 22, 23, 24
 Italian legislation *re*. 24
 Pan-American Congress of Montevideo, Seventh : inclusion of question on agenda 22
 Proposal by Chilean Govt concerning re-examination of question
 Discussion. 22-4
 Letter, July 22, 1933, to Secretary-General 21-2
 Resolution, *see below Resolution, etc.*
 Question placed on agenda of the Assembly at the request of Chilean delegation 21, 23, 46
 Rapporteur to Assembly, appointment. 24
 Report of 1st Cttee 46
 Resolution of 1st Cttee 23, 24, 46 (*draft*)
 Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality created by Council of League
 Communication to Assembly, Sept. 25, 1933. 45-6
 Draft resol. 46
 Note by Secretary-General *re* relations between Women's Int. Orgs. and. 45
 Women's Int. Orgs., communication from representatives of certain, *see above Women's Consultative Committee*

Penal and Penitentiary Questions
 7, 8, 9, 11, 30, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43

Private Law, International : Codification
 Results 10, 13, 14

Publicity of Meetings of Committee. 6

Rapporteurs, Appointment of. 6, 7, 21, 24

Repatriation and Treatment of Prisoners
 9, 35, 36, 37, 39

Rules of Procedure
 Rule 4, parag 3, *re* new questions on agenda, *see Nationality of women, Question placed on agenda, etc.*
 Rule 7 (membership of the General Committee of the Assembly of Chairman of the Finance Committee) 17, 19, 45
 Rule 22a : election of non-permanent Members of Council 28
 Rules 4, 6, 14 : proposed modification in event of adoption of suggestions *re* simplification of procedure of Assembly, submitted by Secretary-General 16, 18, 20, 21

Vice-Chairman, Election. 6

Women, Nationality of
See Nationality of Women

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Official Journal

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT No. 117

RECORDS

OF THE

FOURTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION

OF THE

ASSEMBLY

MEETINGS OF THE COMMITTEES

MINUTES

OF THE

SECOND COMMITTEE

(TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS)

CONTENTS.

	Page
LIST OF MEMBERS	4
AGENDA	7
FIRST MEETING, September 26th, 1933, at 10 a.m. :	
1. Election of the Vice-Chairman	7
2. Adoption of Agenda	7
3. Appointment of Rapporteurs	7
4. Publicity of Meetings	7
SECOND MEETING, September 28th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m. :	
5. Health Organisation : Tribute to the Memory of M. Velghe : Preliminary Statement by the Rapporteur on the Work of the Organisation : General Discussion	7
THIRD MEETING, September 29th, 1933, at 4 p.m. :	
6. Communications and Transit Organisation : Preliminary Statement by the Rapporteur on the Work of the Organisation between the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Sessions of the Assembly : General Discussion	13
FOURTH MEETING, October 2nd, 1933, at 10 a.m. :	
7. Health Organisation : Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly on the Work of the Organisation, and Resolution : Discussion and Adoption	14
8. Economic and Financial Questions : Statement by the Rapporteur : General Discussion	14
9. Budgetary Appropriation for the Future Work of the Monetary and Economic Conference : Letter from the Chairman of the Second Committee to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee	17
FIFTH MEETING, October 3rd, 1933, at 10.30 a.m. :	
10. Assistance to Refugees coming from Germany : Placing of the Question on the Agenda of the Second Committee	17
11. Economic and Financial Questions : Statement by the Rapporteur : General Discussion (<i>continued</i>)	18
SIXTH MEETING, October 4th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m. :	
12. Communications and Transit Organisation : Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly on the Work of the Organisation between the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Sessions of the Assembly, and Resolution : Discussion and Adoption	21
13. Assistance to Refugees coming from Germany (Proposal by the Netherlands Delegation) : Discussion : Appointment of Sub-Committee	22
SEVENTH MEETING, October 5th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m. :	
14. Budgetary Appropriation for the Future Work of the Monetary and Economic Conference : Letter from the Chairman of the Fourth Committee to the Chairman of the Second Committee	25
15. Ratification of the Convention for the Regulation of Whaling	25
16. Economic and Financial Questions : Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly and Resolution : Discussion and Adoption	26
EIGHTH MEETING, October 6th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m. :	
17. Assistance for Refugees coming from Germany : Draft Report and Draft Resolution of the Special Sub-Committee : Discussion	26
NINTH MEETING, October 7th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m. :	
18. Assistance for Refugees coming from Germany : Draft Report and Revised Draft Resolution of the Special Sub-Committee : Discussion	27
TENTH MEETING, October 10th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m. :	
19. Assistance for Refugees coming from Germany : Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly and Resolution : Discussion and Adoption	29

ANNEXES.

1. Report on the Work of the Health Organisation between the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Sessions of the Assembly	30
2. Report on the Work of the Communications and Transit Organisation between the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Sessions of the Assembly	34
3. Report on Economic and Financial Questions	37
4. Report on the Proposal for the Organisation on an International Basis of Assistance for Refugees (Jewish and Other) coming from Germany	47

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Chairman: Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium).

Vice-Chairman: His Excellency Dr. C. PARRA-PÉREZ (Venezuela).

Abyssinia:

Union of South Africa: Mr. H. T. ANDREWS,
Mr. W. C. NAUDÉ.

Albania:

Australia: The Right Honourable S. M. BRUCE, C.H., M.C., M.P.,
Professor D. B. COPLAND, C.M.G. (Substitute).

Austria:

His Excellency Dr. Richard SCHÜLLER.

Belgium:

Count CARTON DE WIART,
M. F. VAN LANGENHOVE.

Bolivia:

His Excellency M. Adolfe COSTA DU RELS.

*United Kingdom
of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland:*

The Right Honourable Douglas H. HACKING, M.P.

Bulgaria:

M. S. STEPHANOFF,
M. N. STOYANOFF (Substitute).

Canada:

Mr. Walter A. RIDDELL, M.A., Ph.D.,
The Honourable Philippe ROY, M.D. (Substitute).

Chile:

His Excellency M. E. VILLEGAS,
His Excellency M. Jorge VALDÉS-MENDEVILLE.

China:

His Excellency Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo,
His Excellency M. Wunsz KING (Substitute),
M. SZE Chao-kuei (Substitute).

Colombia:

Dr. José Luis ARANGO (Substitute).

Cuba:

His Excellency M. Carlos DE ARMENTEROS Y DE CARDENAS
M. Emiliano DUSSAQ Y FISCHER (Substitute).

Czechoslovakia:

His Excellency M. Rudolf KÜNzl-JIZERSKÝ.

Denmark:

M. F. J. BORGBJERG,
M. Ole Bjoern KRAFT (Substitute),
M. William BORBERG (Substitute).

Dominican Republic:

Estonia:

M. A. PIIP,
His Excellency, M. Auguste SCHMIDT,
M. C. R. PUSTA,
M. J. KÓDAR (Substitute).

Finland:

His Excellency Dr. Rolf THESLEFF,
His Excellency Dr. Rudolf HOLSTI.

France:

M. Henry BÉRENGER,
M. GERMAIN-MARTIN,
M. Paul BASTID,
M. André MARIE,
M. Léon JOUHAUX,
M. Jules GAUTIER,
M. Jules BASDEVANT,
M. CAHEN-SALVADOR,
Mme. MALATERRE-SELLIER.

Germany:

Dr. Karl RITTER,
Dr. ROEDIGER.

- Greece :* His Excellency M. R. RAPHAËL,
M. B. P. PAPADAKIS (Substitute),
M. P. PIPINELIS (Substitute).
- Guatemala :*
- Haiti :* His Excellency M. A. F. FRANGULIS.
- Honduras :*
- Hungary :* M. Alfred DE NICKL,
M. Paul DE HEVESY (Substitute),
M. Zoltán BARANYAI (Substitute),
M. Etienne GOMBÓ (substitute)
- India :* Sir Hormusji MEHTA.
- Kingdom of Iraq :*
- Irish Free State :* Mr. F. T. CREMINS,
Mr. John A. BELTON (Substitute).
- Italy :* The Honourable ENZO CASALINI,
The Honourable Giuseppe BIANCHINI,
M. Giuseppe GALLAVRESI.
- Japan :*
- Latvia :* M. Wilhelms MUNTERS,
M. Jules FELDMANS (Substitute).
- Liberia :* His Excellency Dr. Antoine SOTTILE,
His Excellency Baron Othon DE BOGAERDE (Substitute).
- Lithuania :* His Excellency M. Petras KLIMAS,
His Excellency M. Voldemaras ČARNECKIS (Substitute).
- Luxemburg :* His Excellency M. Emile REUTER,
M. Gaston DIDERICH (Substitute).
- United States of Mexico :* M. Léon SALINAS,
M. Arturo PANI (Substitute).
- Netherlands :* M. J. A. N. PATIJN,
M. J. P. A. FRANÇOIS (Substitute).
- New Zealand :* Sir Thomas Mason WILFORD, K.C.M.G. K.C.,
Mr. C. KNOWLES (Substitute).
- Nicaragua :* M. Tomás Francisco MEDINA.
- Norway :* M. Joh. Ludw. MOWINCKEL,
M. Rolf ANDVORD (Substitute).
- Panama :* Dr. Ernesto HOFFMAN.
- Paraguay :* His Excellency Dr. R. V. CABALLERO DE BEDOYA.
- Persia :* His Excellency Mirza Abol-Hassan Khan FOROUGHI,
M. Nasrollah ENTEZAM-WAZIRI (substitute).
M. PILOSSIAN.
- Peru :*
- Poland :* M. Antoine ROMAN,
Mme. Hanna HUBICKA,
M. Henri STEBELSKI (Substitute),
M. Antoine BALINSKI (Substitute).
- Portugal :* His Excellency Dr. Augusto DE VASCONCELLOS, or
His Excellency Dr. José Capelo Franco FRAZÃO, Count
DE PENHA GARCIA,
M. Henrique Rezende DIAS DE OLIVEIRA (Substitute).
- Roumania :* His Excellency M. Eugène NECULCEA,
M. Edmond CIUNTU (Substitute).
- Salvador :* Dr. Joaquin PAREDES.

- Siam:* His Excellency Phya Subarn SOMPATI,
Luang BHADRAVADI (Substitute).
- Spain:* M. Hipolito FINAT Y ROJAS,
M. Leopoldo PALACIOS,
M. Manuel Martinez PEDROSO (Substitute),
M. José Maria DOUSSINAGUE (Substitute),
Mme. Isabel OYARZABAL DE PALENCIA (Substitute).
- Sweden:* M. N. R. WOHLIN,
M. A. G. F. VOUGT (Substitute).
- Switzerland:* M. Walter STUCKI,
M. Robert SCHÖPFER (Substitute).
- Turkey:* His Excellency Cemal HÜSNÜ Bey.
- Uruguay:* His Excellency Dr. Alberto GUANI,
His Excellency Dr. Alfredo DE CASTRO (Substitute).
- Venezuela:* His Excellency, Dr. C. PARRA-PÉREZ,
Dr. L. G. CHACÍN ITRIAGO (Substitute).
- Yugoslavia:* Dr. Milan TODOROVITCH,
Dr. Ivan PERNE (Substitute).
-

SECOND COMMITTEE
(TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS)

AGENDA.

1. WORK OF THE MONETARY AND ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.
2. ECONOMIC WORK.
3. FINANCIAL WORK.
4. WORK OF THE COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT ORGANISATION.
5. WORK OF THE HEALTH ORGANISATION.

FIRST MEETING

Held on Tuesday, September 26th, 1933, at 10 a.m.

Chairman: Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium).

1. Election of the Vice-Chairman.

The Committee appointed M. PARRA-PÉREZ (Venezuela) Vice-Chairman.

2. Adoption of Agenda.

The Committee adopted its agenda — namely:

1. Work of the Monetary and Economic Conference.
2. Economic Work.
3. Financial Work.
4. Work of the Communications and Transit Organisation.
5. Work of the Health Organisation.

3. Appointment of Rapporteurs.

The Committee appointed M. BARANYAI (Hungary) Rapporteur for the work of the Health Organisation; M. WOHLIN (Sweden) Rapporteur for the work of the Communications and Transit Organisation; and M. SCHMIDT (Estonia) Rapporteur for economic and financial questions.

4. Publicity of Meetings.

The Committee decided to hold its meetings in public.

SECOND MEETING

Held on Thursday, September 28th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium).

5. Health Organisation : Tribute to the Memory of M. Velghe : Preliminary Statement¹ by the Rapporteur on the Work of the Organisation : General Discussion.

M. BARANYAI (Hungary), Rapporteur, paid a tribute to the memory of M. Velghe, Vice-Chairman of the Health Committee, Honorary Secretary-General of the Belgian Ministry of the Interior and Health and President of the Permanent Committee of the Office international d'Hygiène publique, who had died suddenly during the session of the Health Committee.

The CHAIRMAN, speaking as Belgian delegate, thanked the Rapporteur for his tribute to the memory of M. Velghe.

¹ See report of the Second Committee to the Assembly (Annex 1).

M. BARANYAI (Hungary), Rapporteur, gave a preliminary account of the work of the Health Organisation.¹

He further reminded the Committee of the Hungarian Government's proposal to the 1930 Assembly to place on its programme the study of mutual international assistance to sick persons. His Government's aim was to bring about a multilateral convention under which sick persons of foreign nationality would be treated by contracting States on the same footing as their own nationals. If a multilateral convention were impossible, recourse might be had to bilateral agreements.

The Health Committee, to whom this question had been referred, had instituted an enquiry together with the competent Hungarian Departments and had in the previous year submitted conclusions to the Assembly to the effect that it would be inadvisable for the moment to contemplate a multilateral convention, but that the question might usefully be referred to the Committee appointed by the Council on May 20th, 1931, to study the entire question of relief to indigent foreigners.

He thought the Committee in question would meet towards the end of the present year and that it would place the question raised by the Hungarian Government on its agenda. The Health Committee had decided to place itself at the disposal of that Committee.

Mr. HACKING (United Kingdom) pointed out how clearly the diversity of the technical questions dealt with by the Health Organisation was shown in the Rapporteur's statement. Thanks were also due, not only to the Medical Director and his staff at Geneva, but also to the hygienists, administrators and medical authorities who, in their own countries, voluntarily and almost without expense to the League, had co-operated in international health work. He was glad that, both in the United Kingdom and in the British colonies, public health experts were taking, and had taken, a large share in this work.

With regard to the achievements of the Health Organisation, he would mention first the results of the Malaria Conference held in Geneva that year. That Conference, dealing with the disease which probably caused more invalidity and incapacity than any other, led to a masterly and practical review by which every malarious country could immediately benefit. In the second place, he referred to the Conference of Public Health Services of African countries which met at Cape Town in November 1932, and had already led to international action to prevent the spread of yellow fever and plague. Lastly, he would refer to the work of the Biological Standard Commission, which, by its definition and standardisation of various vitamins, had given to vitamin workers an international language and international units which were being everywhere accepted.

Other examples of the Health Organisation's work could be given, but many of these would seem to fall into a category of work less essential for the fulfilment of the purpose for which the Health Organisation existed — namely, to give effect to Article 23 (f) of the Covenant.

It was only reasonable to anticipate that, in the coming year, the Health Organisation might have to contract its work in some directions on account, first, of the general financial position of the League, and, secondly, of the diminution in value of the contribution which the Rockefeller Foundation made to it in dollars. Consequently, when the present Health Committee terminated its three years' mandate at the end of the present year, the new Health Committee would be obliged to consider whether there were activities of primary importance which could be separated from others which were less essential. In times of adversity, new and expensive commitments should not be undertaken until essential work already in hand had been completed.

It might be claimed that all public health work was of international concern, but the task of the Health Organisation was to make a careful selection of essential matters. The reports before the Committee referred to activities which seemed to fall into the category of work less essential for the fulfilment of the Health Organisation's task. The examples of the less essential categories which suggested themselves, and which appeared in the reports of previous years as well as in that for the present year, were those in which the Health Organisation volunteered advice or assistance to individual countries, thus acting as a kind of fairy godmother to various countries concerning their respective public health services. It was difficult to escape the reflection that, unless the Health Organisation in Geneva was frankly recognised by the public health administrations of the world as a sort of high court of appeal, there was some risk that this kind of activity might produce nothing more than failures or embarrassments. There were certainly occasions when appeals to the League by particular nations for help in their own administrations should be responded to in the interests of international co-operation, but such occasions ought to be strictly limited. Unless international interests were definitely concerned, suggestions that different Governments with different problems and different traditions of public health organisation should adopt the same measures of administration seemed unnecessary and superfluous.

If the Health Organisation had to curtail some of its activities which involved considerable expenditure, it might, in the opinion of the United Kingdom delegation, reconsider the policy, pursued since the last Assembly, of investigating the effect of the economic crisis

¹ See report of the Second Committee to the Assembly (Annex 1).

on public health. In the United Kingdom, the authorities had not found it easy to enter into the spirit underlying these enquiries, which appeared to be based largely on the assumption that every country suffering from unemployment was also suffering in the health of its population because financial considerations had led to the curtailment of its health and social services. In the United Kingdom, after drawing on all available material, no proof of health deterioration had been established as the result of the economic crisis. He was glad to take this opportunity of stating emphatically that, in his country, the economic crisis had not been used to reduce or curtail in any way the efficiency of the public health or social services. He thought there must be many countries to which the same considerations applied.

Consequently, certain of the general conclusions drawn by the several conferences which the Health Section had convened on these questions contained opinions and doctrines which professed to be international but which had no application to the case of the United Kingdom and to which, in some cases, the British authorities could not subscribe.

In his statement, the Rapporteur had referred to the experts who had drawn up the main lines of a scheme for the rationalisation of public health services and medical assistance as "experts in health administration". Mr. Hacking feared that that term might be misconstrued into meaning "Government" experts. He asked that the report should make it clear that they were not official experts. His Government had not been represented at the Conference.

He also referred to the Report of the Health Organisation for the Period October 1932 to September 1933¹, which claimed that the protection of the working-classes against sickness could most rationally be obtained by compulsory sickness insurance. In the United Kingdom, there was an effective system of National Health Insurance for a certain class of the population; but the working-classes, and, indeed, the whole population, were protected in case of sickness mainly by an entirely different method based on local government. He mentioned this merely as an instance where it appeared to the United Kingdom delegation that the zeal of the Health Organisation might sometime outrun its mandate under the Covenant and produce controversy rather than progress in — to quote Article 23 of the Covenant — "matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease". Possibly in this matter he had only anticipated the advice which the Health Committee itself would give at its next session in October. This report, submitted to the Assembly as the "Report of the Health Organisation", had not, in fact, yet been discussed or approved by the Health Committee, which, of course, was an essential part of the Health Organisation. He therefore suggested that the Committee should not be asked to discuss the report at the present stage.

His remarks might be considered by some to be unduly critical, but he hoped they would at any rate be regarded as criticism of a constructive character intended to assist the Health Organisation in contriving the best means of continuing the good record which it had maintained since its foundation, and he would express the sincere hope of the United Kingdom delegation that that record would be maintained.

M. GALLAVRESI (Italy) said that the Italian Government highly appreciated the important work being done by the Health Organisation, as evinced by the Rapporteur's statement.

With regard to the financial difficulties encountered, he agreed with the United Kingdom delegate that it was necessary to make a careful selection of the Health Organisation's activities. The picture drawn by the Rapporteur and the various documents submitted showed the universal character of the work. It was obvious that the struggle against disease must have such a character. But, in present circumstances, a choice must be made. The Italian delegation considered that the Organisation should follow up and finish work which had been begun and which was giving good results, before beginning any new tasks. He referred, in particular, to the work of the Malaria Commission, in which the Italian Government was particularly interested. Much work had been done in this sphere in Italy, and the Government was grateful for the collaboration of the Health Organisation. Efforts were also being made to co-ordinate the schools of malariology, and those schools would shortly be incorporated in an institute at Rome. A further activity in which the Italian Government was particularly interested was that of the State manufacture of quinine.

While the above-mentioned activities were of peculiar interest to the Italian Government, it did not lose sight of the necessity for more general activities, such as the standardisation of vitamins, from which good results were likely to be obtained.

Like the United Kingdom delegate, he could not say that the result of the economic crisis had been to reduce public health work. There had been no diminution of the assistance granted during the economic crisis; in fact, more assistance was necessary.

In countries outside Europe, there were also various domains in which the activity of the Health Organisation must be continued. He referred, in particular, to the Singapore

¹ See document A.13.1933.III, page 42.

Bureau and the work carried on in Far-Eastern ports, and particularly in China. The report showed that great progress had been achieved as a result of rapid communications and the use of wireless telegraphy.

Lastly, he considered the work of the Physical Education Committee to be of special importance.

M. NECULCEA (Roumania) wished to state that the Roumanian Government highly appreciated the work of the Health Organisation of the League and to give an assurance that Roumania, with her health institutions, was at the League's disposal for any questions in which her co-operation might be useful. Roumania had had the opportunity of profiting to a considerable extent from the experience of that admirable scientific organisation whenever she had had recourse to it, especially in respect of problems in which the Roumanian Government was most keenly interested — namely, the enquiry into the causes of infantile mortality, the problem of malaria and that of pellagra.

Infantile mortality was still very high in Roumania, and, although its effects were compensated by a very high birth-rate, the question was nevertheless sufficiently serious to have called for the intervention of the Roumanian Ministry of Public Health, which had requested the technical co-operation of the Health Organisation in order to ascertain the causes of this mortality. The studies undertaken by the specialists of the Health Organisation in co-operation with their Roumanian colleagues in three rural centres and one urban centre, in accordance with international methods, had given results which had caused the Roumanian Government to contemplate the possibility of extending this enquiry to the rest of the country and to take any measures proved necessary as and when the financial resources of the country permitted.

As regarded malaria, the co-operation of Roumania with the Malaria Commission dated back to 1924. In recent years, it had been considerably extended in the malariology centre of Socola, near Jassy, and in various stations for the study and treatment of malaria. A study tour instituted for this purpose by the Health Organisation and placed under the direction of Colonel James, of the British Ministry of Health, one of the most eminent malariologists of the United Kingdom, and another mission composed of Professor Martini, of Hamburg, and Professor Zotta, of Rome, had already benefited by this international co-operation. In this connection, M. Neculcea wished to express the gratitude of the Roumanian Government for the scholarships granted by the Health Organisation to young Roumanian malariologists in order to enable them to follow international courses in malariology.

The Roumanian delegate then reminded the Committee that, during the Health Committee's session in October 1932, it had been decided to include pellagra among the subjects to be studied in connection with the enquiry into the effects of the economic crisis on public health. In this important medico-social question, to which Roumania attached considerable importance, she would also derive help from the studies undertaken by the Health Organisation regarding nutrition. The results of the mission entrusted to Dr. Aykroyd in June 1933 would be of great interest to the Roumanian Government, and the suggestions relating to an experiment in the prophylaxis of pellagra might furnish the starting-point for a properly organised health campaign.

Mr. ANDREWS (Union of South Africa) congratulated the Health Organisation upon the work which it had accomplished. He mentioned, in particular, the co-operation of the Organisation enjoyed by the Government of the Union of South Africa in connection with the Regional Health Conference held at Cape Town in 1932 to study certain problems relating, in particular, to Central and Southern Africa and British India. The Government of the Union of South Africa had had an opportunity of highly appreciating this co-operation, which had greatly contributed to the success of the Conference. The Conference had been doubly useful on account of the results obtained from the discussions and of the opportunity it had furnished to the representatives of the Health Organisation to become better acquainted with problems specially concerning Africa. Mr. Andrews was convinced that it would be useful to convene further conferences to study similar problems as soon as circumstances permitted. He hoped the Health Organisation would always be prepared to give its co-operation.

Mr. O'KELLY (Irish Free State) paid a tribute to the Health Organisation's work. The health services of the Irish Free State had had many occasions of appreciating the great value of the co-operation of the Health Organisation, especially in respect of the campaign against tuberculosis and diphtheria. In the last fifteen years, the incidence of tuberculosis had diminished by 50 per cent, and this result might, to some extent, be regarded as due to the help given to the national health services by the representatives of the League's Health Organisation.

In the Irish Free State, also, the financial crisis had not resulted in a diminution of the expenditure devoted to public health. On the contrary, it could even be stated that this expenditure had had to be increased on account of the crisis.

He wished, however, to take exception to a passage in the report of the Health Organisation stating that the Health Committee, having been requested by the thirteenth Assembly to reconsider certain points in the Health Committee's report dealing with maternal welfare and the hygiene of infants and children of pre-school age,¹ which appeared to lend themselves to interpretations contrary to the religious beliefs and moral and legal principles of various

¹ Document C.H.1060.

nations, " had re-examined the text in question, and modified it in such a way as to remove any ambiguity and dispel the misgivings which had been manifested in various quarters ".¹ The modified text of the Health Committee's recommendations was contained in the Report to the Council on the Work of the Nineteenth Session of the Health Committee.² Mr. O'Kelly considered that the text, even in its new wording, was still susceptible of an interpretation which was entirely contrary to the doctrine of the Catholic Church. The practice of contraception for any purpose was abhorrent to the people of many countries, including the Irish Free State. The association of such recommendations with the measures taken for maternal welfare would be calculated to bring health centres into disrepute in the minds of the faithful and to nullify the efforts made by the Governments in the sphere of public health. Moreover, the advocacy of this practice was inconsistent with the legislation of several countries. The Government of the Irish Free State had constantly received very strong protests from medical and other organisations against the inclusion of the passage in question in a League of Nations document. Anything which might be interpreted as advocacy of such practices by a League organ in any circumstances whatever would give offence to members, not only of the Catholic Church, but of many other religious denominations, besides being inconsistent with the legislation of certain Members of the League. It was, moreover, indefensible that contributions made to the funds of the League by Governments which shared the point of view of the Irish Free State should be devoted to an investigation into the use of contraceptives or the publication of documents dealing with matters having moral and medical aspects which might give rise to the most acute controversy and cause offence to certain States Members of the League. The Government of the Irish Free State was convinced that the publication under the League's auspices of a document advocating such controversial views might injure the League's interests. It would be generally agreed that, at the present time, when the League had to face criticism to a greater extent than ever before, such an attitude should not be adopted. For these reasons, the delegation of the Irish Free State submitted the following draft resolution :

" The Assembly,

" Noting that the Health Committee has reconsidered certain passages in their Reporting Committee's report on the subject of maternal welfare and the hygiene of infants and children of pre-school age, as requested by the Assembly at its thirteenth session, and has proposed certain amendments of the passages referred to, which amendments have now been included in the Report of the Reporting Committee on Maternal Welfare and the Hygiene of Infants and Children of Pre-school Age (document C.H.1060) ;

" Considering that the proposed amendments, contrary to the suggestion in the Report of the Health Organisation (document A.13.1933.III, page 6), have not succeeded in dispelling the misgivings which arose from the Committee's recommendations regarding a practice which is abhorrent to a large section of religious belief and contrary to the national laws of a number of States Members of the League ;

" Recognising that such misgivings, if not completely dispelled, can only result in endangering the spirit of harmony and co-operation which is essential to the promotion of the valuable work of the Health Organisation :

" Requests the Secretary-General to invite the Health Committee to reconsider further the paragraphs in question in the light of these observations, and to submit its conclusions to the Council at its next session, the distribution of document C.H.1060 being suspended."

M. KÜNZL-JIZERSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) wished to take the opportunity to express the Czechoslovak Government's thanks to the Health Organisation and the Health Section of the Secretariat, Czechoslovakia being one of the countries which had on several occasions had the benefit of the valuable collaboration of the Health Organisation.

M. Hoo Chi-tsai (China) emphasised the immense scope and diversity of the work undertaken by the Health Organisation, and wished to express his Government's appreciation of the services it had already rendered to China. For some years past, the Chinese Government had decided to have recourse, in its work of national reconstruction, to the technical collaboration of the League's organs. That collaboration was constantly becoming closer, and in health matters had been particularly fruitful. The fact that the Director of the Health Section of the Secretariat himself had been appointed the League's liaison agent in China was a pledge that, in the field of public health, that collaboration would certainly not be neglected.

Dr. BOUDREAU (Medical Director of the Health Organisation) said that, before giving the explanations for which he had been asked, he would like to express the Health Committee's

¹ Document A.13.1933.III, page 6.

² Document C.725.M.344.1932.III, page 5.

appreciation of the sense of reality shown by the members of the Second Committee during the discussion. The Health Committee gained valuable guidance from the discussions that took place in the Second Committee year by year.

In reply to the United Kingdom delegate's observations, Dr. Boudreau stated, in the first place, that the Health Section had not outrun its mandate. The Health Organisation's report for the period October 1932 to September 1933¹ was submitted to the Second Committee for information and not for approval; it had first to be approved by the Health Committee. The report on the work of the League² was presented on the responsibility of the Secretary-General.

He did not think, further, that there were any grounds for fearing that the number of countries applying for the assistance of the Health Organisation would constantly increase. The League exercised very strict supervision in that respect, and no request for collaboration on the part of the Members of the League was taken into consideration until the collaboration had been approved by the Council and by the Health Committee.

It was a mistake to suppose that the enquiry undertaken by the Health Committee into the effects of the economic crisis was based on the conviction that the economic crisis had caused a curtailment in expenditure allotted to public health and that the health of the unemployed had thereby suffered. Before the enquiry was instituted, the Health Section had already reached the conclusion that there was nothing to show that the economic crisis had reacted unfavourably on the health of the unemployed. The enquiry on the effects of the economic crisis had been undertaken on the basis of the programme discussed by the Health Committee and approved by the Council, and the Health Section had only carried out the mandate entrusted to it. As a result of the enquiry, it was established that, not only in the United Kingdom, but also in many other countries, the funds allotted to public health had not been reduced on account of the economic crisis. Unfortunately, that was not true of all countries.

With regard to the Committee of Experts appointed to consider the most suitable methods for safeguarding public health during a time of depression, Dr. Boudreau wished to state that neither the United Kingdom Government nor any other Government was represented on that body by an expert officially appointed for the purpose. The experts in question had attended the meeting in the capacity of private experts, and the report which they had drawn up was not submitted to the Second Committee and would not be submitted before being approved by the Health Committee. The British expert who had taken part in the work of that Committee was Dr. Jameson, Dean of the London School of Tropical Medicine.

Dr. Boudreau desired to assure the members of the Committee that the Health Committee would bear in mind the remarks made on the need for limiting the Health Organisation's work as far as possible and concentrating all its activity on the most important matters. The Health Committee would in any case have to bow to this necessity owing to the fall in the funds at the Health Organisation's disposal following the depreciation of the dollar. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that it was not easy, at a day's notice, to change a programme which had been drawn up in accordance with a complicated procedure, including the approval of the Health Committee, the Council of the League of Nations and even, in certain cases, the Assembly itself.

The delegate of the United Kingdom had twice mentioned Article 23 (f) of the Covenant, which to a certain extent defined the duties of the Health Organisation. Dr. Boudreau wished to point out that, at its thirteenth session, the Assembly had adopted a resolution stating, *inter alia*, that it "considers that the Health Organisation, by means of its expert enquiries . . . fulfils the requirements of Article 23 of the Covenant, by virtue of which the League of Nations will endeavour to take international measures to prevent and combat disease".³ Since then, the Health Organisation had simply continued its work in the manner indicated in the resolution and had remained entirely free from the influence of public health departments.

Mr. HACKING (United Kingdom) thought that, after the explanation given by the Medical Director, it would be better, in order to remove any ambiguity, to alter the title of document A.13 and call it the report by the Medical Director of the Health Organisation on the work of that Organisation.

The CHAIRMAN was glad to note that, as almost all the speakers had shown, the health services had not, through the decrease in the financial resources of States, suffered any reduction of the means for carrying out their main task — safeguarding the health of the masses. That was a reassuring sign.

The Chairman further wished to point out the value of calling attention to the way in which the labour at present unemployed might be utilised in every country to improve the health conditions of the masses. If that labour were used to carry out work such as water supply and drainage, some good would come out of that social evil, unemployment. This point deserved special mention in the report.

¹ Document A.13.1933.III.

² Document A.6.1933.

³ Records of the Thirteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly : Plenary Meetings, page 64.

THIRD MEETING

Held on Friday, September 29th, 1933, at 4 p.m.

Chairman: Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium).

6. Communications and Transit Organisation : Preliminary Statement by the Rapporteur on the Work of the Organisation between the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Sessions of the Assembly :¹ General Discussion.

M. WOHLIN (Sweden) Rapporteur, read his statement.

The Committee decided to postpone the discussion of the part of the Statement referring to public works until economic and financial questions came up for discussion.

M. SALINAS (Mexico), on behalf of his Government, approved the proposal made at the end of the previous meeting by the Chairman regarding the desirability of employing the largest possible number of unemployed on public health works. In this connection, he drew attention to the valuable recommendations made by the European Conference on Rural Hygiene² which had met in 1931, and to the resolution³ adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1932. That resolution, which he would like mentioned in the report to the Assembly, pointed out that among the public works calculated to remedy the present crisis those connected with public health had the advantage of increasing the welfare of populations, and it instructed the International Labour Office to request the Governments concerned to place upon their programme of public works hydraulic works, water supply, the construction of workers' dwellings and electrification in their programme of public works.

The Mexican Government had already taken steps to put the resolution into effect. Congress had just approved the expenditure of a sum equivalent to 25 million Swiss francs for increasing and improving sanitation work and for the water supply and the construction of roads in Mexico City, apart from other similar work carried out by local bodies with the object of improving sanitary conditions and, in particular, of preventing the spread of typhoid fever, while decreasing the number of unemployed.

M. MUNTERS (Latvia) said that the Communications and Transit Organisation had on numerous occasions accorded assistance to the Latvian Government for the execution of practical work which was such as could be readily appreciated by the population and therefore contributed towards the strengthening of the League's prestige.

Among the subjects included in the important work of the Communications and Transit Organisation, he would merely mention one which was of particular interest to his country—namely, public works. That subject had been laid before the Monetary and Economic Conference in a carefully balanced report of June 13th. Unfortunately, the London Conference had not taken any decision on the financial side of the question. He would therefore suggest that the present Committee should, in its report to the Assembly, manifest its interest in the continuance of the study of this problem.

The Chairman's remarks at the previous meeting regarding the work carried out in execution of the Health Organisation's recommendations applied with still greater force to the subject of public works, and in that field also something could be done to promote the solution of economic or social problems such as unemployment and economic recovery in general. His own country's experience during the last two years of acute economic depression, during which considerable funds had been devoted to the construction of railways and roads with a view to reducing unemployment, pointed to the conclusion that such work provided the possibility of reviving economic activity and reducing the social dangers arising from unemployment. That policy, if carried out on a larger scale, would not fail to exercise a beneficial influence on the general economic situation and would be of general interest to public opinion and Governments in most countries.

M. Wunsz KING (China) took the opportunity of expressing his Government's appreciation and gratitude for the League's technical assistance, especially in the construction of roads and dykes. Thanks to the co-operation between the League's experts and the Chinese authorities in the construction of dykes along the Yangtse river, a danger which had threatened in the course of the present year had been averted. The problem of improving other rivers, in particular the Yellow River, still remained to be settled. He was convinced that, once the

¹ See Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly (Annex 2).

² See document C.473.M.202.1931.III.

³ International Labour Office, *Official Bulletin*, Supplement to Vol. XVII, No. 2, page 88.

programme of centralisation of these activities, to which allusion was made in the Report on the Work of the League since the Thirteenth Assembly¹ had been drawn up, the attention of the experts would first be directed to that river. Improvements on the Yellow River and its tributaries would facilitate the solution of many other problems of reconstruction in China.

FOURTH MEETING

Held on Monday, October 2nd, 1933, at 10 a.m.

Chairman: Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium).

7. Health Organisation : Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly on the Work of the Organisation, and Draft Resolution (Annex 1) : Discussion and Adoption.

M. BARANYAI (Hungary), Rapporteur, commented on the draft report of the Second Committee to the Assembly, reproducing the statement he had made at the second meeting, with due reference to the delegates' observations and proposals, and read the draft resolution with which it concluded.

M. André MARIE (France) stated that the French delegation would vote for the conclusions of the report. He wished in that connection to draw attention to the decision taken by the Council on September 24th, 1930, regarding the creation of an International School of Advanced Health Studies. That decision was taken on the initiative of the French Government, and he was glad to give the Committee the assurance that the French Government remained faithful to its undertaking. The necessary credits for the creation of the school had already been voted by the Chamber of Deputies, and there was no doubt that the Senate's approval would shortly be forthcoming. In the circumstances, it would be well to include in the report a reference to the desirability of setting up in the near future the School of Advanced Studies which it was decided in principle to do as far back as 1930.

M. GALLAVRESI (Italy) said the texts proposed by the Rapporteur fully satisfied the Italian delegation. Emphasis should, however, be given in the report to the value of the Health Organisation's co-operation in other spheres of the League's activity, and, in particular, in the campaign against narcotics. The Sub-Committee of experts, for example, appointed by the Health Committee, which had recently met at Zurich, would certainly render the League's activity still more effective in the campaign against narcotics.

Mr. HACKING (United Kingdom) was entirely satisfied with the text proposed by the Rapporteur, and approved M. Gallavresi's proposal that attention should be drawn to the co-operation of the Health Organisation in the campaign against narcotics.

M. André MARIE (France), at the request of Mr. Hacking, explained that, under the terms of the agreement reached on September 24th, 1930, between the Council of the League and the French Government, it was understood that the latter would provide a credit in its own budget to meet the expenditure of creating, installing and maintaining the International School of Advanced Health Studies.

M. BARANYAI (Hungary), Rapporteur, was convinced that the members of the Committee would be unanimous in congratulating the French Government on its initiative, which should be mentioned in connection with the work of the Second Committee.

The Committee adopted, with the amendments referred to above, its report to the Assembly on the work of the Health Organisation, and the accompanying resolution.

It appointed M. BARANYAI (Hungary) its Rapporteur to the Assembly.

8. Economic and Financial Questions : Statement by the Rapporteur :² General Discussion.

M. SCHMIDT (Estonia), Rapporteur, commenting on his statement, explained that he had thought it advisable to give a very summary account of the circumstances in which the League's economic and financial work had been carried out, in order to enable its successes and failures to be gauged more exactly. It was difficult, moreover, to draw a true picture of a position which was still very confused (in spite of certain tendencies which were becoming more and more marked), and the Rapporteur emphasised the entirely provisional character of his statement. He reminded the Committee that the question of public works was associated with the subject of the present discussion.

¹ Document A.6.1933, pages 88-90.

² See the Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly.

Mr. HACKING (United Kingdom) said his delegation could give general approval to the Rapporteur's statement. He wished to say that the extracts quoted from the resolution adopted by the Monetary and Economic Conference should be read with reference to their context.

M. SCHÜLLER (Austria) had no objection to the Rapporteur's statement. In his opinion, however, it would be better not to condense in a few pages a survey of the economic depression; a general picture of the crisis would need whole volumes. Moreover, the question had been the subject of prolonged discussions for many years. It would therefore be sufficient merely to mention the depression, the extent of which was known to all. On the other hand, M. Schüller thought that the passage in the draft following upon the survey of the situation and dealing with signs of improvement should be expanded by making use of certain work done by the Secretariat. That was an extremely important point, which had hitherto not formed the subject of any report by organs of the League of Nations.

M. GERMAIN-MARTIN (France) thought that the subject before the Committee was a particularly delicate one, and the Rapporteur was to be congratulated on the prudence, tact and wisdom with which he had dealt with those questions, particularly the decisions taken by the London Conference to which he had referred. A certain *de facto* situation existed; moreover, everyone must be prepared to co-operate loyally with the Sub-Committees appointed by the London Conference; but the wise course was to place upon that Conference responsibility in regard to the questions to be dealt with, the manner of dealing with them and the solution to be adopted.

Like M. Schüller, M. Germain-Martin thought it would be desirable to make clear, at all events in an annex to the report, the conditions under which the improvement in world economy seemed to be proceeding. On the other hand, the French delegate would have some misgivings if the passages referring to recent important events in the United States were extended. Those events were in full course of evolution, and it would be difficult to understand their significance or to forecast their development.

The CHAIRMAN was also of opinion that the passage referring to signs of improvement in the world situation should be expanded if the Secretariat had definite information on the subject; to determine, if it were possible, the significance of those symptoms would be to allow a few rays of hope to enter the public mind. It was undoubtedly the duty of an Assembly of the League of Nations to give prominence to everything which was calculated in the present position to restore confidence and to give encouragement.

M. CASALINI (Italy) supported the proposal to give the information regarding signs of improvement in the economic position as an annex to the report.

He wondered whether the quotations from the resolutions of the Monetary and Economic Conference were likely to add to the weight of the report.

Mr. BRUCE (Australia) proposed that the Director of the Financial Section and Economic Intelligence Service of the Secretariat should give the Committee a review of the situation as seen by the Secretariat services in the light of the facts at their disposal.

Mr. LOVEDAY (Director of the Financial Section and Economic Intelligence Service) assumed that he was called upon, not to venture on economic prognosis, from which he had always abstained, but to give some simple facts about the present economic situation. He would deliberately select these facts from different parts of the world, for they were concerned to ascertain whether there were signs of world, not local, recovery. Moreover, in recent conversations with business men and experts from different parts of the world, he had been struck by the frequency with which, while asserting that in their own countries conditions were better to-day than they had been, they had shown surprise on learning that there seemed to-day to be worldwide indications of improvement.

He would now turn to the evidence and, taking industry first, compare the situation in July 1933 with that in July 1932. They were all familiar with the remarkable progress that had been achieved in the United States, where the volume of industrial production was some 70 per cent greater in July 1933 than twelve months earlier. But the recovery was not confined to the United States, although there it had been most rapid. Thus, industrial production had risen during the same period by some 22 per cent in France, 18 per cent in Germany and Japan, and 11 per cent in Canada. A scientific institute in Germany had calculated that, between June 1932 and June 1933, the growth of industrial production in the world as a whole, excluding the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, had risen by over 30 per cent.

Naturally, there were some countries which had shared little in this progress, and different industries were not affected in the same degree; but ample information was available to show that the recovery was spreading over industries which met the demand for articles of consumption, such as the textile industry, as well as over important industries which supply investment goods — in particular, the iron and steel industry. Thus, the index of textile production had increased in the same period by 33 per cent in France and Belgium, 26 per cent in Germany and 17 per cent in Poland. This seemed to indicate that there had been a real increase in consumption.

At the same time as industrial output had grown, the rapid contraction of international trade appeared to have been checked, at any rate for the moment. Monthly trade returns

for July 1933 of forty-nine countries, representing some nine-tenths of world trade, showed that the value of that trade, calculated in gold, was greater than during the corresponding month of the preceding year — a statement which could not be made of any earlier month since the beginning of the depression some four years previously. The value of world exports had risen by as much as 10 per cent between April and July 1933 — that is, by over 78,000,000 gold dollars. The greatest increase per cent had been in the exports of countries producing raw materials and crude foodstuffs.

This increase in trade and productive activity was, moreover, reflected in a reduction in unemployment. In the United States, he understood, over 2,000,000 people had been reabsorbed into industry since the recovery programme was initiated. In the United Kingdom, the number of insured persons registered as employed had increased since the summer of 1932 by some 640,000. The tendencies in these countries were not exceptional. In France, Germany, Italy and Belgium, to take the most important industrial countries for which information was available, the numbers of unemployed had steadily decreased in recent months.

But he would like to add one word of warning. It was probable, and, indeed — as regards certain important branches of industry, as, for instance, building — inevitable that in many countries there would be some seasonal falling of in activity during the winter months. It was important to recognise that any such slackening in activity would be perfectly normal.

He would emphasise that he had given the Committee the facts as he had found them, and not a prognosis as to the future.

The CHAIRMAN said that the information given by Mr. Loveday was of such importance that it should be included in the report of the Committee to the Assembly, or at all events in the form of an appendix to the report.

M. SCHMIDT (Estonia), Rapporteur, admitted that it was extremely difficult to sum up the depression in a few pages. He had felt bound, however, to attempt this because the links that existed between the League's economic and financial work and everyday life were such that everyone interested in the League's work would want to know the circumstances in which it had undertaken that work. It was not possible, without destroying the balance of the report, to say nothing whatever of the economic depression.

M. Schüller's second suggestion, the importance of which he recognised, gave rise to one objection of a similar kind. It was extremely difficult to embody final conclusions on the subject in the report, and he thought it preferable to keep to the general data, supported by a few figures.

He hesitated also to support the Italian delegate's proposal to strike the quotations out of the report. It would be dangerous to draft a League document which only specialists would be able to understand.

Mr. COPLAND (Australia) was glad to hear that the facts quoted by the Director of the Financial Section would be mentioned in the report; but he felt some hesitation as to the choice of the month of July 1933 for purposes of comparison, as that period had been exceptionally favourable. It would be better to avoid excessive optimism. On the other hand, it would perhaps be of value to add to Mr. Loveday's information a few facts concerning visible stocks, so enabling an idea to be obtained as to whether and how far those stocks had ceased to accumulate or had begun to decrease, and to emphasise the relation which existed between the prices of raw materials and foodstuffs on the one hand and those of industrial products on the other. That relation, as was known, gave an indication of the real prosperity of the oversea producing countries.

Mr. RIDDELL (Canada) recognised the need for retaining in the report a part dealing with the economic depression, and thought it possible and desirable to expand the passage alluding to the signs of economic recovery, particularly after the review just given by Mr. Loveday, emphasis being given to the facts from which some degree of improvement might be deduced, in the production of industrial investment goods, the production of articles of consumption, world trade and the labour market. It would further be interesting to mention the work done in regard to the co-ordination of production and marketing. The delegate of Canada was glad to be able to state that his Government was a party to the silver and wheat agreements. He reminded the Committee of the fact that the negotiations begun in 1931 had, after two years of effort, led to a wheat agreement which represented a remarkable step forward. Meetings had recently been held with a view to studying the possibility of similar agreements in other branches of production; activity in this direction should be encouraged.

Lastly, Mr. Riddell emphasised the importance of the work done by the Financial Committee in helping in the financial recovery of certain countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The Canadian delegation had a very high opinion of this work and was glad to find that the situation now seemed sufficiently improved to allow the Financial Committee to take up the study of problems directly or indirectly concerning oversea as well as European

countries. He hoped that the Council, both in the questions it referred to the Committee and in its determination of the Committee's composition, would not overlook the fact that the League was a world organisation.

9. **Budgetary Appropriation for the Future Work of the Monetary and Economic Conference : Letter from the Chairman of the Second Committee to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee.**

The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee that a token appropriation of 100 francs was entered in the 1934 budget for the continuation of the work of the Monetary and Economic Conference. A suitable appropriation should be made for that purpose. He proposed to send to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee the following letter regarding the appropriation :

"The Second Committee has noted the circumstances in which the Monetary and Economic Conference adjourned its proceedings. It is difficult to foresee now what its future work may be and in these circumstances the Committee considers that there should be entered in the budget for 1934 sufficient credits to enable the Conference to sit for a period of six to eight weeks.

"The Committee is informed that, as yet, the data available are not sufficient to show how far the credit of 336,000 entered for the Conference in this year's budget (on the assumption of a duration of six weeks) represents an exact estimate of the expenditure which will devolve upon the League of Nations. It suggests, however, that a similar credit should be entered in the budget for 1934."

He would emphasise that this letter in no way prejudiced future action and that his intention was simply to provide for the possibility of a resumption of the Conference's work.

Sir Hormusji MEHTA (India) supported the proposal to send the letter, the London Conference having been of value, although it had not achieved all that was expected of it.

M. CASALINI (Italy) was not opposed to the sending of the letter, if it were understood that the question was only one of entering a credit in the budget without expressing an opinion on the advisability of the resumption of the Conference's work.

The Committee approved the Chairman's proposal.

FIFTH MEETING

Held on Tuesday, October 3rd, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium).

10. **Assistance to Refugees coming from Germany : Placing of the Question on the Agenda of the Second Committee.**

The CHAIRMAN read the following letter from the President of the Assembly :

"The Assembly, at its meeting to-day, decided, in accordance with the proposals of its Agenda Committee, to refer to the Second Committee for examination a draft resolution¹ submitted by the Netherlands delegation regarding assistance to refugees.

"For your information, I have the honour to enclose the text of this draft resolution.

"When adopting the report of its Agenda Committee, the Assembly noted my statement that the Second Committee would see that any financial question raised by the adoption of the resolution of the Netherlands delegation would be submitted to the Fourth Committee for examination, in accordance with the Financial Regulations of the League of Nations, Article 16 (a), paragraph 1."

The Committee noted the letter and decided to place the question on its agenda.

¹ The draft resolution submitted by the Netherlands delegation (document A.33.1933) was worded as follows :

"The Assembly,
"Having regard to the situation created by the fact that a large number of German nationals have in recent months taken refuge in several countries;
"Considering that their presence in those countries constitutes, in proportion as means of assistance from private sources are exhausted, an economic, financial and social problem, which can be solved only by international collaboration :
"Requests the Council to consider, as soon as possible, the methods of bringing about a practical arrangement for this purpose, and to take the necessary measures for the execution of any plans to which such consideration may give rise;
"Decides, in accordance with Article 16(a), paragraph 1, of its Financial Regulations, to include a special item for this purpose in the budget for 1934."

11. **Economic and Financial Questions : Statement by the Rapporteur :¹ General Discussion**
(continued).

M. BIANCHINI (Italy) referred to the tribute paid by the Canadian delegate on the previous day to the work done by the Financial Committee. Without making any definite proposal, he would like to raise the question whether the Assembly's attention should not be drawn to the status of the Financial Committee. It had originally been set up by the Council as a temporary advisory body, but its work had steadily grown, and the Committee had eventually become a permanent institution of the League. Instead of dealing merely with special subjects, such as the financial reconstruction of certain countries, it had come to deal with general questions relating to monetary policy, national indebtedness, etc. The question had arisen whether its constitution was suitable for the duties it had to perform. Unlike the Economic Committee, it had no rules, and there were no regulations regarding the appointment of its members and its composition.

M. CAHEN-SALVADOR (France) gave a brief account of the situation as regards the question of public works of international concern. At the beginning of 1931, the International Labour Office, disturbed by the gravity of the unemployment position, had considered how it might be dealt with, and had placed the question of public works on its agenda as a means of reducing unemployment. A questionnaire had been sent to the various Governments, asking for information as to the steps taken and views regarding future work. In September 1931, the Assembly had appointed a Committee, which drew up a fresh questionnaire. This Committee held two sessions in 1931-32, and reported to the Assembly in October 1932. In the meantime, the Stresa Conference was held in September 1932, and stressed the importance of this question, which it regarded as urgent. Then came the Preparatory Commission for the Monetary and Economic Conference, which, at its first session, in December 1932, appointed a fresh Committee, consisting of representatives of the League, the International Labour Office, and the International Institute of Agriculture. This Committee drew up a statement explaining the importance and difficulty of the question, and suggested that it should be dealt with by the Monetary and Economic Conference. At the Conference itself it was examined by the Economic Commission. At a plenary meeting of the Conference, the French delegation submitted a draft resolution to the effect that the information collected should be co-ordinated. At the subsequent discussion, this resolution was adopted, and it was decided to appoint a Committee to discuss the question from its economic, social and financial aspects. On July 25th, at the suggestion of the Economic Commission, the Bureau of the Conference referred the application of the resolutions to the Executive Committee, which had been appointed to follow up the work of the Conference.

The question was therefore one which had been brought before the Monetary and Economic Conference, and was at present in the hands of the Executive Committee of that Conference. At the same time, the problem was on the agenda of the Second Committee. The question was, therefore, what useful action the Second Committee could take. Obviously, it could not go into the substance of the problem; for it was undesirable that the matter should be discussed in two different places. On the other hand, the Second Committee could not ignore it, for that would suggest that it was indifferent. It was essential, however, to reach some practical and tangible result, for it must not be forgotten that there were still thirty million unemployed in the world, of whom twenty million were in Europe, and it was desirable to help them by giving them work instead of charity.

He felt that the Second Committee could include in its report a recommendation to the effect that the Committee to be set up by the Monetary and Economic Conference should be appointed and convened as early as possible.

During the past three years, the question had been exhaustively studied, and it was now time to co-ordinate the work and to draw the necessary conclusions. A recommendation of the kind he had in mind would therefore show no disrespect to the London Conference, while at the same time it would show that the Second Committee did not regard the question with indifference. He therefore proposed that the recommendation should be worded as follows :

“The Second Committee recommends that the Committee which the Bureau of the London Economic Conference, on the proposal of the Economic Commission of that Conference, decided to set up to study the problem of public works and other means for reducing unemployment, should be appointed and convened as soon as possible with the agenda indicated by the London Economic Conference itself.”

M. WOHLIN (Sweden), speaking as Rapporteur on questions relating to communications and transit, emphasised the importance of the problem of national public works as a means of counteracting unemployment, and, in support of his preliminary statement on the subject, pointed out that, though some of the problems that arose were rather controversial at the present time, others could be discussed without raising any difficulties.

¹ See the report of the Second Committee to the Assembly.

At the outset, the main subject considered was that of international public works, and an interesting study had been made by the special Committee set up by the Communications and Transit Organisation entitled the Committee of Enquiry on Questions relating to Public Works and National Technical Equipment. He did not think, however, that much could be gained at the present time by discussing large-scale international public works, as the present state of the capital market did not favour any immediate action along those lines.

There was also the question of national public works the financing of which required the help of foreign capital. The Committee of Enquiry had thought fit to concentrate its efforts chiefly on concrete schemes along these lines, and had examined the proposals put forward by certain Governments. For this category of public works, the Committee had drawn up a preliminary programme of execution in the various countries concerned. In spite of the importance of that work, he considered it inadvisable to discuss it in detail at the present time, as that would involve the question of finance, and consequently the possibility of fresh demands on international credit.

There was, however, a third aspect of the problem, to which he personally attributed great importance. He referred to the possibility of a continuous study of questions relating to public works financed by the States themselves without recourse to foreign capital. It would be of great value to obtain information regarding the experience gained in different countries as to the influence of public works on the resumption of economic activity and on unemployment. A policy of carrying out public works on parallel lines in different countries might offer an opportunity of co-ordinating the action taken by the different Governments, and eventually increasing its efficiency.

The present Assembly could not very well help discussing unemployment, in view of the prevailing distress. But the discussion must in no way prejudice the position of countries that were not interested in carrying out a programme of national public works, but preferred other ways of counteracting unemployment and helping to restore economic activity. He therefore suggested that the Committee should approach the subject in an unbiased manner, and avoid raising points that might involve controversial financial problems.

In the current year, the Swedish Government had proposed to Parliament a general comprehensive scheme of national public works for the budget year July 1933 to June 1934, which had been accepted, with some amendments, by Parliament in June. Such public works fell into two categories: (1) works directly organised by the State, or by some industry with State subsidies; (2) works financed by the State or by local communities with loans from the State — *e.g.*, roads, bridges, etc. A total of 155 million Swedish crowns had been granted for public works of this kind, of which amount about 55 million crowns were devoted to roads, bridges, etc.

As the State did not defray the whole cost in all cases, but left it to the local authorities or private enterprises to participate, the total amount involved in the Government scheme was about 288 million crowns. It had been calculated that the scheme would give employment to 74,000 workers, at 48 hours a week, for ten months in the year. That figure did not include employment resulting from activities in industries receiving assistance in the form of loans or subsidies under the unemployment scheme. The total number of unemployed in Sweden was about 190,000 at the beginning of 1933, and had fallen to about 140,000 in July.

The unemployment scheme involved the erection of public buildings (12.7 million crowns), afforestation works and drainage (19.2 millions), erection of private buildings (65 millions), loans in aid of private enterprise (45 millions), works undertaken by local communities (11.3 millions), bridges and harbours (8.2 millions). The financing of that programme of public works would be exclusively arranged in Sweden, and no demand would be made on the international capital market. In this connection, he would mention that private banks in Sweden had at present accounts with the Riksbank amounting to well over 300 million crowns.

The Swedish authorities were confident that their action would not be unsuccessful, and they hoped that the experiment might be facilitated and rendered more effective by parallel action in other countries.

In conclusion, he supported the French delegate's proposal that the Second Committee should recommend the early appointment of the sub-committee which the Monetary and Economic Conference had proposed to set up.

Mr. HACKING (United Kingdom) reminded the Committee that the Bureau of that Conference had provided for a special Sub-Committee to deal with the subject, and he therefore contended that the matter had passed out of the hands of the Second Committee of the Assembly. He could not agree to a recommendation to the Monetary and Economic Conference regarding the continuation of the study of the question. He would not oppose the recommendation submitted by the French delegate, but would merely abstain from voting.

COUNT DE PENHA GARCIA (Portugal) said that the question of undertaking public works as a remedy for unemployment was a universal one, and the League should take it up. At the same time it had a national aspect, and it was therefore necessary to proceed with caution.

It would be interesting to ascertain what effect that method, which had been adopted almost everywhere, had had on unemployment. Unemployment in Portugal was less severe than in many other countries, but the Government had nevertheless found it necessary to introduce a programme of public works. Two methods had been adopted. The Government had itself started public works of general importance — ports, roads, etc. — mainly in the large towns, and had also given municipalities and parishes subsidies, amounting sometimes to as much as 50 per cent of the cost, for work of local importance. That method enabled work to be spread over various parts of the country and obviated the movement of labour from place to place.

There was another aspect of the matter — that of the normal reabsorption of labour after public works were completed. Here, again, caution was necessary, and the authorities must maintain an even rate of execution and avoid excessive expenditure. With that end in view the Portuguese authorities had fixed, for the labour employed on public works, wages lower than the ordinary, in order to induce workers to look for a more regular occupation whenever possible, and restore the normal situation on the labour market. The establishment of large-scale plant for purposes of public works to remedy unemployment was in some respects dangerous, if the effect of such works on the financial situation were not watched.

M. CASALINI (Italy) said that, as Italy had undertaken public works on a vast scale and according to a co-ordinated plan, she possessed special experience in the matter.

The Fascist Government's chief aim in adopting a scheme of works ten years ago had been to foster the economic development of the country while helping the unemployed; as the effects of the world crisis had made themselves felt in Italy, this latter object had assumed increasing importance.

The Government had adopted three methods of financing the works. In the first place, it had appropriated a large part — about one-eighth of the annual budgetary revenue — for works of general utility, such as ports, main railway lines, river conservancy, public buildings, etc. Some 24 milliard lire had been spent on these works in ten years.

Secondly, the State had subsidised either entirely or in part, by means of annual payments usually spread over a period of thirty years, the works undertaken either by the provincial and communal administrations or by State institutions possessing a certain measure of autonomy or, lastly, by companies or private individuals. These annual payments had, for the most part, been discounted by the banks administering social insurance funds. Others had been discounted by banks making loans on the security of real estate or special institutes authorised to issue bonds in the national market. It had thus been possible to reconstruct some 10,000 kilometres of the Italian main roads, which formed part of the 20,000 kilometres of roads taken over by the State, to reclaim and irrigate several hundred thousand hectares, the greater part of which were formerly foci of malaria, to construct a number of water-supply systems and to build numerous blocks of workmen's dwellings in nearly all Italian towns.

The works carried out during the last five years had cost in all some 8 milliard lire. Lastly, the State railways had recently been authorised to issue two loans for the development of electrification works, which had been rapidly taken up.

It should be noted that, after having authorised the issue of certain foreign loans for the financing of public utility works, the Government had, since 1927, prohibited all foreign loans, thus improving the position as regards the balance of payments.

Following the Government's lead, the provinces and communes allocated a portion of their budgetary revenue to the works coming within their sphere and several hundred million lire were devoted to such works each year.

For the current year, the direct employment of labour for public works as a whole could be estimated at some 50 million days' work. There was naturally an increase also in the employment of labour by those industries which supplied the material for such works.

The method adopted to ensure the uniform organisation of the scheme was also noteworthy. Several months before the beginning of each winter, when the scheme of public works was pushed forward most intensively, on account of unemployment among the agricultural population at that season, the Head of the Government personally examined the schemes of work which the various Ministries had prepared. At the same time the provinces and communes submitted similar plans to the Prefects, who referred them to the higher authority, the Head of the Government, who was thus able to co-ordinate the whole scheme taking into account both the financial resources available and labour requirements. A Commissariat for internal migration had also been set up, its duty being either to transfer seasonal workers required for works in uninhabited areas, such as the Pontine Marshes, or to recruit families for the colonisation of the reclaimed territory who, in order to avoid failure, should possess special aptitude for the work.

What had been done was all the more remarkable inasmuch as Italy did not possess extensive financial resources and was very densely populated. The Fascist Government had succeeded in obtaining the maximum return for the funds it was able to allocate to public works and to confine unemployment within much narrower limits than many financially stronger countries had been able to do. For that reason, Italy might be said to be specially

competent to speak on the matter of public works, from the point of view of their social and financial effects.

The fundamental principle by which the Italian Government had been guided in this matter had been that, while, from the social standpoint, public works represented the most effective and the most moral solution for unemployment, it was essential that they should be financed out of the country's own resources; otherwise, they merely served to increase the economic depression which it was sought to combat by their aid.

The Committee of Enquiry on Questions relating to Public Works and National Technical Equipment had attached great importance to the question of the remunerativeness of the various works proposed, and had very carefully examined this question. However, he doubted whether very helpful conclusions had been reached, especially in view of the fact that, during a crisis, it was even more difficult to foresee whether a scheme would be remunerative and, if so, within what space of time. If funds derived from the national savings were used for public works, this question was not of very great moment; but if recourse were had to foreign loans it became of capital importance. For that reason — which had, moreover, been brought out very clearly at the London Conference — he considered that a scheme for the international financing of public works was, to say the least, premature. The Committee which the London Conference had proposed might, however, do useful work if it helped to promote the parallel development of national schemes for works to be carried out with national funds. That Committee should, in that case, place at the disposal of the various States all the relevant information possessed by Governments that had the widest experience in the matter.

The Italian Government would be glad to place at the Committee's disposal the ample data it possessed concerning the cost, remunerativeness and social effects of public works.

M. FINAT Y ROJAS (Spain) supported the French delegate's proposal. A far-reaching programme of public works had been instituted in Spain and had improved the general position and reduced unemployment. His Government thought it necessary, however, to consider public works, not only from the national, but also from the international point of view, and should extend it to the financing of international works, which would bring about better co-operation between the various countries.

Mr. RIDDELL (Canada) said that the Canadian delegation supported the French delegate's proposal.

The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee that the Director of the Financial Section and Economic Intelligence Service, in accordance with a desire expressed by the Committee, had had circulated to the Committee a statement on visible stocks of certain staple commodities. The statement would be included in the report to the Assembly.

SIXTH MEETING

Held on Wednesday, October 4th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium).

12. Communications and Transit Organisation : Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly on the Work of the Organisation between the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Sessions of the Assembly, and Resolution (Annex 2) : Discussion and Adoption.

M. WOHLIN (Sweden), Rapporteur, submitted to the Committee the draft report to the Assembly.

M. CASALINI (Italy) asked that it should be made clearer in the draft resolution following the report that most of the speakers who had taken part in the discussion had considered public works in particular from the national point of view, and contemplated the co-ordination of those works. He therefore proposed that the end of the fourth paragraph of the resolution should be worded so as to show that, in the Second Committee's view, the Committee which the Monetary and Economic Conference had decided to appoint should study the problem of public works — in particular, national public works — and other means for reducing unemployment.

M. CAHEN-SALVADOR (France) said the French delegation was particularly grateful to the Rapporteur for having supported its thesis before the Committee. He ventured, moreover, to point out that the various speakers in the discussion had, by common consent, avoided going into the substance of the question. Out of regard for the decisions of the London Conference, they had confined themselves to expressing a recommendation without wishing to state what category of work should be given more particular attention. M. Cahen-Salvador understood that the Italian delegation felt the necessity of considering, in particular, the possibility of carrying out national public works; but there were delegations which held a

different view, and the Italian delegate's proposal might bring about a fresh discussion on a question which the Second Committee had desired to reserve for the committee which the Monetary and Economic Conference had decided to appoint.

M. CASALINI (Italy) felt bound to press his proposed amendment, as the Assembly would not obtain an accurate idea of the Committee's discussions if it were not shown that a large number of the delegations considered that the possibilities of national public works should be examined first of all.

M. MUNTERS (Latvia) said that his Government, which was specially interested in the question of public works, was entirely satisfied with the draft proposed by the Rapporteur.

M. Munters was afraid that the Italian proposal might give rise to a fresh discussion and so create certain difficulties. He supported M. Cahen-Salvador's view. If it accepted the Italian delegate's proposal, the Second Committee would be giving a definite mandate to a Committee which did not emanate from the present Assembly but had been set up by the London Conference.

M. STEBELSKI (Poland) supported the French delegation's proposal.

M. CASALINI (Italy) accepted the insertion, proposed by the Rapporteur, of the words : "including national public works".

M. CAHEN-SALVADOR (France) and M. MUNTERS (Latvia) accepted this wording, provided it was understood that the question of substance had not been touched upon in the Second Committee, that all opinions were reserved and that it was for the committee which was to be appointed to pronounce on the question.

The Committee adopted, with the amendments referred to above, its report to the Assembly on the work of the Transit Organisation and the accompanying resolution.

It appointed M. WOHLIN (Sweden) its Rapporteur to the Assembly.

**13. Assistance to Refugees coming from Germany (Proposal by the Netherlands Delegation)¹:
Discussion : Appointment of Sub-Committee.**

M. DE GRAEFF (Netherlands) asked to give a few further explanations regarding the resolution submitted to the Assembly by the Netherlands delegation and referred by an almost unanimous vote of that body to the Second Committee.

As he had already said in his speech in the Assembly, nothing was further from the desire of the Netherlands delegation than to interfere in the internal politics of Germany. It did not wish to criticise either the regime under which the internal affairs of that great country were being directed or the steps taken in Germany against large groups of German nationals whose race or political convictions did not find favour with the Government and with the public opinion of the country. The Netherlands delegation merely noted the fact that thousands of these nationals, out of fear for the fate which awaited them if they remained in their country, had taken refuge in neighbouring countries. He would not discuss whether that fear was well founded or not. The fact remained that it existed among the groups in question, that it had caused a mass exodus and that the refugees refused to return to their country.

There were no exact figures as to the number of these refugees. It was estimated, up to the present, at about 50,000 or 60,000. The Netherlands alone had received 6,000 to 7,000 refugees, part of whom had probably in the meantime proceeded to other countries — in particular, to Palestine or France.

In this period of unemployment, it was out of the question that all these refugees could find means of existence in the countries bordering on Germany. As a result of the German Government's provisions for preventing the flight of capital, only very few of them had financial resources of their own. As regards the Jews, Jewish organisations had come to their assistance and had contributed largely to the cost of their maintenance. It was, however, to be expected that, as the funds from private sources became exhausted, a constantly increasing number of refugees would become a burden on public funds.

In order to avoid these unfortunate consequences, an effort should be made, as had been already proposed by the seventeenth General Labour Conference in its resolution of June 29th, 1933,² to place the refugees in various countries without detriment to the economic welfare of those countries. This would no doubt not be easy, in view of the attitude adopted by most countries towards immigration. It should, however, be pointed out that the refugees included a large number of persons exercising professions of which there was a lack in certain parts of the world, particular persons of the medical profession. The possibility might also be considered, as had been pointed out in the Sixth Committee during the discussion on mandates, of widening and promoting immigration into Palestine, due account being taken of the weighty reasons which compelled the mandatory Power to proceed in this matter with great circumspection.

For such migration, the refugees needed passports. But many of them had left Germany without valid passports ; persons without nationality who had been residing in Germany were

¹ See footnote in the fifth meeting, page 17.

² See *Official Bulletin of the International Labour Office, Supplement to Vol. XVIII, No. 4, page 378.*

unable to obtain passports; German nationals, on the other hand, could apparently only obtain from the German Consulates abroad papers for returning to Germany within a short time-limit.

In order to remove all these obstacles to the finding of employment for refugees, the Netherlands delegation considered that an international organisation should be created. It could not be contended that this was a question which the countries bordering on Germany should settle among themselves, since the solution of the problem demanded the co-operation of other countries. Any attempt to bring about a settlement of this question exclusively by the States into which the stream of refugees had hitherto flowed was doomed to failure. All the cases where the League had intervened on behalf of refugees proved that the universal character of such problems was recognised from the outset and that the League's competence to deal with them was an accepted fact.

The Netherlands delegation did not flatter itself that the methods indicated would be sufficient to find employment for all the German refugees at an early date. A considerable financial outlay would be required to provide for the needs of those for whom no employment could immediately be found. Did this mean that the League of Nations should vote large credits for the purpose? The Netherlands resolution did not contemplate this object. It was merely a question of voting a very limited amount in order to enable suitable measures to be taken to institute the organisation which would deal with this work. The necessary funds for actual relief and the cost of administration of the central organisation must come from other sources. There was a great difference between this case and other cases in which the League had dealt with refugees. In this case, there were, in all parts of the world, organisations and private persons belonging to the same race as most of the refugees, who were able and willing to grant financial help to those who had been compelled to leave their homes in Germany under present circumstances. The Netherlands delegation, for instance, had good reason to believe that the Jewish organisations in various countries would be prepared to place large sums at the disposal of the organisation which was to be created, provided the work was centralised and carried out under the auspices of the League.

The final form to be taken by this organisation must be fixed by the League Council. The Nansen Office might be entrusted with this task. If it was felt, however, that it was inadvisable to impose any further duties on that institution, which was already in course of liquidation, a small special autonomous organisation could be created, under the direction of a League commissioner, which would report regularly to the Council and the financial administration of which would be supervised by the League accountants.

Whatever form was chosen, the Netherlands delegation considered that it was of capital importance to establish a very close link between the organisation to be created and the League. Only if it was connected with the League could the organisation possess the necessary authority and prestige to ensure success in its work. The institution of an international organisation outside the League would be taken by the world as signifying lack of faith in League methods and would, he thought, be harmful to its future development. By using the available administrative organs both of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office there would be no overlapping and the expenditure to be incurred by the League could be reduced to a minimum.

If it was found necessary to give the Council instructions as to the manner in which the Assembly wished the assistance to be organised, it might be advisable to appoint a small sub-committee to study the system of co-operation between the autonomous organ to be created for the refugees and the League.

Dr. RITTER (Germany) read the following statement on behalf of the German delegation :

" The honourable representative of the Netherlands stated at the plenary meeting of the Assembly — and has repeated to-day — that the present proposal in no way involves any criticism of internal measures taken in Germany and that it merely aims at a technical procedure for the settlement of difficulties which have arisen in a number of countries during the last few months as a result of the influx of German nationals into their territories. The German delegation has taken note of this statement. It would, indeed, strongly oppose any discussion exceeding the limits so clearly traced by the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs himself.

" But even within the limits established by the honourable representative of the Netherlands, the German delegation is not in a position, in the circumstances, to take part in a discussion on the substance of the questions raised by the Netherlands proposal.

" The persons to whom this proposal refers proceeded to foreign countries for the most various reasons. Some of them did so because the new position created in Germany by the national revolution no longer assured them the privileged position in the social and commercial sphere which they had formerly occupied in Germany; others left Germany because the conditions of internal politics were no longer in agreement with their selfish desires; lastly, others felt obliged to go abroad because their conscience was not clear. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that, for a considerable time and in particular since the war, Germany has been subject to very great immigration from Eastern regions, and that, in spite of her own distress,

she has admitted a great number of foreigners to her territory. Only a very small number of these persons have now left Germany for neighbouring countries. In this connection, it is worthy of note that the persons in question have not returned to the territories from which they came to Germany, but have proceeded to other neighbouring countries which are not even in a position to give them a permanent domicile in their territory.

“ If these neighbouring countries now consider that international steps must be taken to regulate the treatment of the persons concerned, the German delegation must leave it to the delegations of the countries concerned to consider the necessity for such steps. The German delegation does not, however, consider that the achievement of the object aimed at by the Netherlands proposal should be included in the tasks which the League of Nations is called upon to fulfil.

“ Whatever decision is taken by the Second Committee in this matter, it should be borne in mind that the measures contemplated should not be such as to give any encouragement to the elements engaged abroad either openly or secretly in a campaign against the German Government. What would be the result if institutions created under the auspices of the League were misused in this manner for political purposes? The German delegation is convinced that this brief observation will be sufficient to draw the attention of members of the Committee to the fact that all Governments are equally interested in preventing such inadmissible consequences from the outset.”

M. KÜNZL-JIZERSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) said that his delegation, moved mainly by humanitarian considerations, warmly supported the draft resolution submitted by the Netherlands delegation and shared the views just expressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of that country. He agreed with him that it was for the League of Nations in particular to deal with this question and to undertake the organisation of any steps which might be necessary to meet the consequences resulting from the emigration of a large number of Jews of German nationality. The Czechoslovak delegate also thought it necessary to consider how far it would be possible to permit the admittance of a part of these refugees to Palestine.

M. YVON DELBOS (France) said France was especially concerned in the solution of the problem both from humanitarian considerations and on account of the very large number of exiles which had knocked at her door. There was even a danger that this number would considerably increase. The French delegate thought it unnecessary to urge the international character of the problem, which concerned all human communities and the solution of which must not be imposed on only some of them. The French delegation congratulated the Netherlands delegation on the generous initiative it had taken and on its proposal, with which the French delegation was glad to associate itself.

M. GWIAZDOWSKI (Poland) emphasised the very special interest which his Government took in the question raised by the Netherlands delegation. The Polish delegation supported the proposal which had just been submitted to the Assembly. This question must be the subject of consideration by the League and must be studied with the greatest care by the Council. The possibility of settling a part of the German Jews in Palestine should also be considered. It was true that Mr. Ormsby-Gore, as representative of the mandatory Power, had rightly pointed out in the Sixth Committee that there could be no possibility of making Palestine the sole refuge of Jewish emigrants from Germany and that Palestine must also remain open, as far as economic and social conditions permitted, for Jews coming from other countries. While recognising the justice of the remarks by the representative of the mandatory Power, it might be advisable for the Council to take the economic and financial position of Palestine into consideration at a time when it would have to consider what measures should be taken to solve the problem of Jewish refugees from Germany.

M. FINAT Y ROJAS (Spain) submitted the following draft recommendation to the Committee :

“ As regards Jewish refugees, the Second Committee recommends that serious consideration be given to the possibilities at present offered by Palestine for the purpose of their settlement, while bearing in mind the rights which the Covenant of the League of Nations reserves to nations of other races and religions.”

He wished to point out that, in submitting this proposal, the Spanish delegation had no intention of making any demonstration with regard to any country whatever and had no ulterior motive, although the Spaniards could not forget that the Jewish race had left with them an intellectual legacy of great beauty and moral force of which they were proud. The Spanish delegation took its stand strictly within the framework of the League Covenant, and was convinced that the League could not evade its bounden duty to peoples in tribulation and that it must assist them materially and vouchsafe them the consolation moral of which they stood in need. In drawing attention to Palestine, a country of extensive economic possibilities, the Spanish delegation did not overlook the interests of other nations which inhabited it and which were widely protected by the Covenant.

In conclusion, he entirely supported the generous initiative of the Netherlands delegate.

M. KRAFT (Denmark) associated himself, on behalf of his delegation, with the proposal submitted by the Netherlands delegation as regards international co-operation through the League of Nations in the solution of the problems raised by the fact that a great number of German nationals had recently taken refuge in countries bordering on Germany. Although the refugees who had entered Denmark were comparatively few in number — not more than 1,000 — the economic and social consequence of this immigration had caused the Danish authorities some misgivings. The Danish delegation therefore welcomed the initiative taken by the Netherlands delegation.

It also entirely approved the Netherlands delegation for having raised this question, not as a political question, but as a purely technical problem. This view had evidently been shared by the Agenda Committee when it decided to refer the question to the Second Committee.

It was to be hoped that the Council would find means of taking effective steps in this somewhat complicated question. Possibly the existing organisations of the League could give valuable assistance in this matter.

M. DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal) associated himself with the congratulations addressed to the Netherlands delegation and supported the proposal submitted to the Committee, although he thought the question might have been usefully referred to the Fifth Committee, since it concerned a humanitarian problem. He was also of opinion that the organisation for assisting German refugees might be entrusted to the Nansen Institute.

Mr. HACKING (United Kingdom) thought that the sub-committee which it was proposed to appoint would be hindered in its work if it were given any very definite terms of reference as early as the present stage. He therefore considered that the Committee should not accept the Spanish delegation's proposal.

The Committee decided to appoint a sub-committee, consisting of representatives of Belgium, the United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Uruguay, to which the Netherlands delegation's proposal would be referred, together with the draft recommendation submitted by the Spanish delegation and any other proposals that might be made on the same subject.

The CHAIRMAN stated that he had intended to propose that Germany be a member of the sub-committee, but the German representative had stated that the German delegation had no intention of taking part in the sub-committee's work.

SEVENTH MEETING

Held on Thursday, October 5th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium).

**14. Budgetary Appropriation for the Future Work of the Monetary and Economic Conference :
Letter from the Chairman of the Fourth Committee to the Chairman of the Second Committee.**

The CHAIRMAN read the following letter from the Chairman of the Fourth Committee :

" I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your communication of October 2nd, in which you informed me of the opinion of the Second Committee in respect of appropriations to be provided for the Monetary and Economic Conference in the 1934 budget.

" I have duly transmitted your communication to the Supervisory Commission, which will consider the question at its next meeting."

15. Ratification of the Convention for the Regulation of Whaling.

M. ANDVORD (Norway) stated that, under Article 17, the Convention for the Regulation of Whaling could not come into force until after " the receipt of ratifications or accessions on behalf of not less than eight Members of the League or non-member States, including the Kingdom of Norway and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland ".

The Convention, which had been opened for signature by the Assembly on September 24th, 1931, had, up to the present, obtained the ratification or definitive accession of the following countries : Union of South Africa, Brazil, Egypt, Italy, Mexico, Monaco, Netherlands (including Netherlands Indies, Surinam and Curaçao), Nicaragua, Norway, Poland, Spain, Sudan, Switzerland, United States of America.

Although the number of eight contracting parties had been considerably exceeded, the condition referred to had not been fulfilled. Norway, for whom the whaling industry was of very special importance, had long ago taken the necessary steps to comply with the obligations which it assumed when it became a party to the Convention. Norway would, like the other

countries directly interested in this industry, put into force the measures adopted in common for the general good, and hoped that the United Kingdom, which had signed the Convention, would ratify it and so enable it to be put into force.

Mr. HACKING (United Kingdom) explained that the Convention had not yet been ratified solely on account of the pressure of essential legislation in Parliament. The regulation of whaling was a subject which required most careful consideration in view of the considerable British interest in that industry. It was the intention of the United Kingdom Government to ratify the Convention as soon as possible.

M. ANDVORD (Norway) declared himself satisfied with the United Kingdom delegate's explanation.

16. Economic and Financial Questions : Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly and Resolution (Annex 3) : Discussion and Adoption.

M. SCHMIDT (Estonia), Rapporteur, referred to the changes he had made in the draft report in order to take into account the desires expressed by the various delegations.

The Committee adopted its report to the Assembly on economic and financial questions, and the accompanying resolution.

It appointed M. SCHMIDT (Estonia) its Rapporteur to the Assembly.

EIGHTH MEETING

Held on Friday, October 6th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium).

17. Assistance for Refugees coming from Germany : Draft Report and Draft Resolution of the Special Sub-Committee¹ : Discussion.

M. GUANI (Uruguay), Rapporteur, commented on his report.

M. CASALINI (Italy) said that the Italian delegation could not accept the following paragraphs of the draft resolution :

“ The Assembly . . .

“ Trusts that those States Members of the League that have as yet received few or no German refugees will give all possible facilities to provide such refugees with employment ;

“ Directs the Secretary-General to convey this resolution to the States non-members of the League, and to request them, on the League's behalf, to give every assistance in their power towards providing the refugees with employment, and to assist the High Commissioner generally to the best of their abilities.”

Italy had taken no restrictive steps in regard to refugees, but the Italian delegation felt it was not advisable to ask States to give a definite undertaking in the matter, in particular an undertaking to find employment for refugees. It wished to make a reservation on that point. The Italian Government approved the appointment of a High Commissioner and would afford him its assistance as far as possible.

M. GUANI (Uruguay), Rapporteur, said that the wording adopted for those particular paragraphs of the draft resolution was the outcome of a prolonged discussion. They merely expressed hopes and recommendations, and did not imply any obligation.

The CHAIRMAN added that the paragraph which directed the Secretary-General to convey the resolution to the States non-members of the League appeared to be justified by the necessity for associating those States — some of which were of great importance in this connection — with the proposed action.

Mr. RIDDELL (Canada) observed that the Canadian delegation had had no opportunity of consulting its Government on the draft resolution. Canada was suffering from unemployment and had been compelled to restrict immigration. The Canadian delegation noted the Rapporteur's statement that the resolution involved no obligation to find employment for refugees.

The Committee decided to adjourn the discussion in order to enable members of the Committee to consult their Governments on the question.

¹ See texts quoted in the course of the discussion and Annex 4.

NINTH MEETING

Held on Saturday, October 7th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium).

18. Assistance for Refugees coming from Germany : Draft Report and Revised Draft Resolution of the Special Sub-Committee¹ : Discussion.

M. GUANI (Uruguay), Rapporteur, stated that, after a fresh consultation between the delegates of France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Norway and the Netherlands, he had made the following changes in the text of the draft resolution :

The third paragraph to read as follows :

“Suggests that the Council should nominate a High Commissioner to negotiate and direct such collaboration, and particularly to provide, as far as possible, work for the refugees in all countries which are able to offer it.”

The two paragraphs to which the Italian delegation had taken exception and the final paragraph to be replaced by the following :

“Is convinced that all Governments will assist the High Commissioner to the best of their abilities in the tasks defined above, and directs the Secretary-General to communicate this resolution to States non-members of the League ;

“Finally, the Assembly expresses the firm hope that private organisations will collaborate in every way with the High Commissioner for the success of this relief action.”

The object of these changes was to instruct the High Commissioner, who would be appointed by the Council, to provide as far as possible work for the refugees in all countries which were able to offer it, without making special requests of the States which had not yet received any German refugees. The five delegations in question had accepted the new text without reservation.

M. DE GRAEFF (Netherlands) stated that the Netherlands delegation adopted unreservedly the draft resolution in its new wording.

M. Lucien HUBERT (France) supported the new draft resolution on behalf of the French delegation. France had from the outset given her support to the Netherlands delegation's proposal, because she realised the nobility and generosity of this step. At present, when the League of Nations was about to undertake this work, the French delegation was glad to welcome this further example of the spirit which animated that great international institute.

The French delegation did not overlook the difficulties which, in these times of economic depression, when the financial outlay of the League of Nations must be kept in line with its possibilities, had still to be surmounted. It would have to find the necessary funds for the assistance to be granted to the refugees. He knew by experience what resources had been collected throughout the world during the great war in order to help French and Belgian refugees. He had faith in the incomparable prestige of the League of Nations, which would be the more effective since public solidarity would recognise the goodwill of all countries in the decisions to be taken.

Mr. HACKING (United Kingdom), on behalf of the United Kingdom delegation, accepted the revised text of the draft resolution.

M. ANDVORD (Norway) said that the Norwegian delegation, after having had an opportunity of examining all the aspects of this question and, in particular, its legal aspect with regard to the advance to be made to the High Commissioner, gave its support to the draft resolution.

M. RITTER (Germany) said that, as he had already stated at the beginning of the discussion, the German delegation had no intention of taking part in the debate. He regretted that he was obliged to speak again on account of the procedure followed in the matter. The German delegation in its first statement had made some remarks regarding that procedure ; in particular, it had emphasised the fact that it was inadvisable to entrust the League of Nations with such a task. The text of the resolution submitted for the approval of the Committee showed very clearly that the organs of the League would have to undertake very far-reaching action in this matter and take the responsibility for the measures adopted. The German delegation could not agree to this solution. It should frankly state immediately that it would be unable either to accept or to carry out such a resolution.

¹ See texts quoted in the course of the discussion and Annex 4.

The German delegation considered that the problem at present before the Committee might be settled in other ways than that which had been followed. It would not make any suggestions on this subject, but wished to draw the attention of the Committee to this possibility.

M. MOTTA (Switzerland) said the Swiss delegation was in favour of the draft resolution. As regards procedure, he felt bound to say that if the rules which applied to the plenary Assembly were also applied strictly to the Committees, the negative vote of one State would be sufficient to annul a resolution voted by a Committee. In practice, however, it was usually considered possible to bring before the Assembly even resolutions which had not been unanimously voted in the Committees; it was therefore sufficient in the present case for the German delegation to vote in the plenary Assembly against the draft resolution in order to annul that resolution.

M. Motta, however, had understood that the German delegation was not opposed to the question with which the Committee was dealing being the subject of discussion between States which were not directly concerned in it. It would appear that the German delegation did not deny the existence of the fact and admitted that this fact called for a solution. In accordance with the instructions which it had received, it merely objected to the League or its organs dealing with a problem which undoubtedly existed and which called for settlement.

In these circumstances, M. Motta wondered whether it was advisable to bring the draft resolution before the Assembly and run the risk of Germany maintaining her opposition and annulling the resolution which might be adopted, or whether it would not be preferable to consider the possibility of an agreement which would enable a resolution to be voted.

The Swiss delegate considered that the German delegation, which could rest assured of the sentiments of deep friendship on the part of all the Members of the League, should be requested to explain to its Government that there was a very strong current of opinion both in the Committee and in the Assembly in favour of solving the problem by the friendly intervention of the League. It might be possible, by the date when the Assembly would have to pronounce on the subject, to reach an agreement or *modus vivendi* between Germany and all the other States. The problem before the Committee could not be solved without the goodwill of Germany.

M. CASALINI (Italy) supported M. Motta's suggestion.

M. FINAT Y ROJAS (Spain) said the Spanish delegation unreservedly accepted the new text submitted by the Rapporteur. He added that the Spanish delegation, which felt the greatest sympathy towards the German delegation, associated itself entirely with the remarks of the Swiss delegate.

M. RITTER (Germany) thanked the Swiss delegate for his efforts to find a solution to such a difficult problem. He would, however, assure the Committee that the statement which he had made at the beginning of the discussion was the outcome of a decision taken by the German Government after a careful and thorough examination of the problem. The German Government was well aware of the position at Geneva when it decided to vote against the resolution. The German delegation would transmit to its Government the appeal addressed to it by the Swiss delegate and would ask that the situation be reconsidered.

M. Lucien HUBERT (France) stated that the French delegation associated itself with the conciliatory words just uttered by the Swiss delegate.

M. MOTTA (Switzerland) suggested that the Sub-Committee which had already examined the problem might be asked to keep in close touch with the situation, and try to find a solution which could be unanimously accepted by the Committee. If it were found impossible to reach such a solution, the discussion might be brought before the Assembly. It was, however, essential that every effort should be made to avoid a discussion which would have no practical result if the country concerned was determined to vote against the resolution to be submitted to the Assembly.

M. DE GRAEFF (Netherlands) considered it desirable to arrange for the participation of Germany in the Sub-Committee's discussions.

M. RITTER (Germany) said that the German delegation had previously refused to be represented in the Sub-Committee because the German delegation had no intention of taking part in a discussion on the substance of the question. Now that it was a question of solving a technical difficulty, the German delegation was prepared to give its assistance.

The Committee decided to adjourn the discussion.

It further decided that the Sub-Committee should, if necessary, be convened by the Rapporteur and could, if it thought fit, invite the German delegation to give its assistance.

TENTH MEETING

Held on Tuesday, October 10th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: M. PARRA-PÉREZ (Venezuela).

19. **Assistance for Refugees coming from Germany : Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly and Resolution (Annex 4) : Discussion and Adoption.**

M. GUANI (Uruguay), Rapporteur, stated that, as the outcome of the discussions at the previous meeting, the following changes had been made in the draft report and resolution :

The last sentence of the fourth paragraph of the draft report to read as follows :

“ It is likewise essential that the High Commissioner should be able to keep in touch both with the Governments directly concerned with the problem and with those of any other countries, Members and non-members of the League of Nations, which might be able to contribute in any way to its solution.

The following to be inserted after the fifth paragraph of the draft report :

“ The High Commissioner should be assisted by a Governing Body to which he would be responsible.

“ The High Commissioner and the Governing Body would constitute an autonomous organisation.

“ The High Commissioner would submit periodical reports on the fulfilment of his task, including financial administration, to the Governing Body alone, which would forward them to States likely to be able to assist in the action contemplated.”

The following to be inserted after the third paragraph of the revised draft resolution :

“ Requests the Council of the League of Nations to entrust to the Governing Body, on which the States best able to assist these refugees will be represented, the duty of aiding the High Commissioner in his work, the High Commissioner having to submit periodical reports on the development and fulfilment of his task to the said Governing Body, which would forward them to the States likely to be able to assist in the action contemplated.”

State in the fourth paragraph of the revised draft resolution that the funds are contributed voluntarily.

The penultimate paragraph to be worded as follows :

“ Is convinced that all Governments will assist the High Commissioner to the best of their abilities in the tasks defined above ; with this object the present resolution will be communicated to States Members and to non-members of the League.”

Mr. HACKING (United Kingdom) suggested that, in order to make it clear that, like the High Commissioner, the Governing Body provided for in the draft resolution would be appointed by the Council of the League, the beginning of the fourth paragraph of the resolution should read as follows :

“ Requests the Council of the League of Nations to invite States and private organisations best able to assist these refugees to be represented on a Governing Body, of which the duty will be to aid the High Commissioner in his work ”

M. GUANI (Uruguay), Rapporteur, accepted the United Kingdom delegate's amendment.

M. PATIJN (Netherlands) noted that the proposed text introduced a new idea — namely, that the Governing Body should consist, not only of States, but also of private organisations. He thought it would be more prudent to leave it to the Council to decide that point. He therefore suggested the following wording :

“ Requests the Council to invite States and, if it thinks it advisable, private organisations ”

Mr. HACKING (United Kingdom) and M. GUANI (Uruguay), Rapporteur, approved the addition proposed by the Netherlands delegate.

The Committee adopted the new text proposed for the fourth paragraph of the draft resolution by the United Kingdom and Netherlands delegates.

The Committee adopted unanimously, the German delegate abstaining from voting, its report to the Assembly and the accompanying resolution, with the amendments referred to above.

It appointed M. GUANI (Uruguay) its Rapporteur to the Assembly.

The CHAIRMAN declared the proceedings of the Second Committee closed.

ANNEXES.

ANNEX 1.

Official No.: A. 38. 1933. III.

WORK OF THE HEALTH ORGANISATION.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: M. Z. BARANYAI (Hungary).

Of all the tasks which the Covenant has imposed upon the League of Nations, there is, perhaps, none which brings out so clearly the universal character of this institution and the solidarity of men of every race in the face of danger as the work accomplished by the Health Organisation.

Indeed, in the presence of disease, solidarity is no longer simply a virtue, but an imperative and pressing necessity. The time has passed when the fortunate inhabitant of Western countries could disregard the fate of his brothers on other continents. With the development and improvement of means of communications, a ship infected in the China seas may be a danger to the Mediterranean ports and to those of the Gulf of Mexico, for distance is no longer a barrier against epidemics.

And it is no doubt because this idea of solidarity is constantly gaining ground in the minds of those whose task is to protect their countries against disease that we see to-day the Governments of the States Members of the League turning more and more frequently to the Health Organisation for assistance in the solution of problems which, transcending the national sphere, can only be solved on the international plane.

During the past year, the four principal continents were represented among the countries which thus called upon the Health Organisation for assistance.

In *Africa*, the Government of the Union of South Africa, realising the danger of the spread of yellow fever that might arise from the opening of the new air routes which are now traversing Africa from one end to the other, and being anxious to reach an agreement with the representatives of neighbouring countries with regard to the practical application of the chapter of the new "Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation" which relates to yellow fever, requested the Health Organisation to convene a regional Health Conference in order to discuss this problem. It was also desired to consider the best measures for putting a stop to the spread of rodent plague in Southern Africa and the importation of smallpox by ships coming from eastern ports, all these being subjects of equal interest to Central Africa, Southern Africa and British India. This is not the place to describe the technical results of this Conference, which was held at Cape Town from November 15th to 25th, 1932, but it should be noted that, impressed by the advantages derived from this exchange of views between officials of neighbouring territories, the delegates expressed the view that the Health Organisation should be invited to convene a similar Conference within a period to be determined later.

In *America*, the Chilian Government applied to the League of Nations to ask for the collaboration of its technical organs with a view to the study of public nutrition. The Council requested the Health Committee and the Economic Committee to examine this request and report to it on the most suitable means of carrying it into effect. At the same time, it requested the Chilian Government to supply these two Committees with all information which might be useful in the preliminary study of the problem. The Health Committee proposes to undertake an enquiry on the spot as soon as it is in possession of this information.

In *Asia*, co-operation between the National Health Administration of the Republic of China and the Health Organisation was carried on very closely on the lines agreed upon in 1930. As regards one of the points in the plan drawn up, the objective has been fully attained, since the Republic of China now possesses an effective national quarantine service which already covers all the principal river and maritime ports of the country, with the exception of Canton.

The Central Field Health Station at Nanking, which is to become the nucleus of the health institutions of China, is already playing a prominent part in the life of the nation. Hardly had it been installed in its permanent building when its staff was overwhelmed with requests for

assistance from the provincial and municipal authorities. Its Malaria Section has sent mobile units to the camps for road-builders which are being opened in the Yangtse valley, where the labour forces ran the risk of being paralysed by the disease.

The Central Hospital has just inaugurated its new building at Nanking; here will be trained the auxiliary medical staff of which the country has urgent need, and post-graduate courses will be given for doctors.

At Shanghai, the campaign directed against cholera has been intensified to the point that one inhabitant in three was vaccinated during the last year; this year, no case of cholera has yet been registered and vaccinations are going on at a still more rapid rate.

Lastly, in *Europe*, the desire to provide the entire Czechoslovak Republic with an adequate health organisation led the Minister of Public Health and Physical Education to ask for the assistance of the Health Organisation in making a sanitary survey of Slovakia, in order to introduce the reforms which this survey might show to be necessary. This first stage having been completed, the Czechoslovak Government requested the Health Organisation to continue to lend it the assistance of its technical commissions in applying the conclusions reached in the course of the survey.

This solidarity in face of danger is also the aim of the Eastern Bureau, that sentry placed at Singapore by the Health Organisation to announce the appearance and watch the development of the epidemics of pestilential diseases of which Asia is the cradle. The system for collecting information at the disposal of the Eastern Bureau is now complete and extends from the Cape to Vladivostok and from Melbourne to Panama. It may therefore be confidently stated that no focus of plague, cholera or smallpox can occur in any of the 163 ports in touch with the Singapore Bureau without the latter being immediately informed by telegraph. Its task is then to announce the existence of this focus to the health administrations of the countries which run the risk of being infected either by land or by maritime traffic.

This is where wireless proves useful, and I cannot omit to mention the generous help given in this connection by the Governments of Indo-China, the Netherlands East Indies, Hong-Kong, North Borneo, Shanghai, Japan, British India and Madagascar by broadcasting free of charge from their wireless stations, the Eastern Bureau's messages, both in special code and in clear. The broadcast in clear is intended to inform ships at sea of the health situation of the ports at which they call; it is transmitted daily at a fixed hour by the powerful Malabar station at Java, and can be picked up on all the maritime routes of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. It is gratifying to find that ships of every flag utilise and appreciate this information service to an ever growing extent.

The Health administrations of the Eastern countries being rapidly and regularly informed by the Singapore Bureau of the risks to which their ports will be exposed, have thus been able to take quarantine measures with a full knowledge of the facts and reduce them to what was strictly necessary, which has of course been of great benefit to shipping.

* * *

Among the outstanding facts which have characterised the work of the Health Organisation during the past year mention should be made of the results obtained by certain of its technical commissions.

The *Malaria Commission*, which for some years past has been studying the therapeutic value of synthetic preparations and mixtures of cinchona alkaloids, has published its third general report, which brings our knowledge regarding the treatment of malaria up to date and may be regarded as an international consensus of opinion on the therapeutic principles brought out by clinical observation and experimental research work.

A number of public health authorities requested the Health Organisation to investigate the causes of the decline in tuberculosis mortality, and to draw up a scheme of the minimum anti-tuberculosis equipment required, at the same time describing the methods of control in countries where tuberculosis mortality is decreasing; the results of the investigations carried out under the Health Committee's auspices have been recorded in a report entitled *General Principles governing the Prevention of Tuberculosis*, the conclusions of which are an expression of the Health Committee's views and may be used as a guide by health authorities proposing to strengthen their system of medico-social defence against the disease.

The Health Committee had entrusted to the *Reporting Committee on Venereal Diseases* the task of ascertaining the principles which at present govern the campaign against syphilis as far as diagnosis, treatment and administrative measures are concerned. During the past year, the text of the first chapter of this study took final form and was published in the Health Organisation's *Quarterly Bulletin*. It deals with the sero-diagnosis of syphilis and is based on the results of the Laboratory Conferences convened by the Health Organisation in Copenhagen in 1923 and 1928, and in Montevideo in 1930. In this chapter, the serologist will find a description of the tests at present regarded as the most sensitive and specific, together with rules which can be unreservedly recommended for carrying out the sero-diagnosis of syphilis.

Last year, the Second Committee took note of a preliminary study prepared by the Health Section on *the possible influence of the privations entailed by unemployment on morbidity and mortality*. This report went to the root of this problem, to which the Health Organisation has devoted special attention since the last Assembly. The Health Committee outlined the principles which should guide its work in this field, and the studies in which the greatest progress has since been made are those dealing with the methods of detecting malnutrition and the best means of safeguarding public health in times of depression. On the first point, a Conference of Experts, held in Berlin in December 1932, drew up a plan of action which is already being carried out in Austria

Belgium, Hungary, the Netherlands, Poland, the United States and Yugoslavia. At the Council's invitation, the Health Organisation and the International Labour Office co-operated in studying the second point, and a Conference of unofficial experts in Health Administration and Social Insurance drew up the main lines of a scheme for the rationalisation of public health services and medical assistance, with a view to obviating the risks to the sanitary equipment of countries caused by the inevitable reductions in health budgets. The reports of these two Conferences have been published in the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Health Organisation, in which memoranda on the subjects which the Health Committee also recommended should be studied, such as the nutrition of the unemployed, their settlement on the outskirts of towns and mental hygiene in times of depression, have already appeared or will shortly appear.

The Hungarian Health Administration has followed the Health Committee's efforts in this field with the greatest interest. The Minister of the Interior, and more especially the Secretary of State for Public Health, have appointed a Committee to study the nutrition of the unemployed on the lines recommended by the Berlin Conference. In carrying out this enquiry, the Hungarian Health Administration proposes to keep in close touch with the Health Organisation, which has already placed at its disposal information concerning the organisation of similar enquiries in other countries.

The Health Organisation has two means of enabling medical officers in the health services of the different countries to benefit by international experience; *collective study tours* and *individual fellowships*. In 1933, a collective tour was arranged in Poland from May 28th to June 29th. Fifteen medical officers took part; at the same time, twenty-eight fellowships for periods up to six months were awarded to medical officers belonging to the health administrations of ten different countries.

As delegate of Hungary, I should like to mention the close contact which has been established between the Health Organisation and the medical and health services of my country. The Institute and School of Hygiene at Budapest, which is the centre of health teaching and research in Hungary, is an essential part of the machinery for the protection of public health. It is at present carrying out certain of the *studies recommended by the European Conference on Rural Hygiene*. I shall mention only two: the enquiry into the causes of typhoid fever in rural districts and the enquiry into the cost of rural health services. Both of these are very important at the present time—the first because typhoid fever is still a major cause of morbidity and mortality in rural districts and the second because rural districts are too poor to afford an expensive health and medical organisation, and it is necessary to provide them with a service which is both cheap and efficient. These studies are also being carried out in a number of similar Institutes in Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Poland, Spain and Yugoslavia, and they are being co-ordinated by the Health Organisation. The fact that they are pursuing a similar object has led to a very close co-operation between these institutions.

Lastly, I should like to point out that the Government of my country proposed to the Assembly in 1930 to include in its programme of work the *study of international reciprocity in the care of the sick*. The object was to arrive at a multilateral convention, whereby sick persons of foreign nationality would be treated by the contracting States on an equal footing with their own nationals. If a multilateral convention was not practicable, recourse might be had to bilateral agreements.

The Health Committee, to which this matter was referred, studied the question in conjunction with the competent services of my country and submitted to last year's Assembly conclusions to the effect that a multilateral convention was inexpedient for the moment, but that the question might with advantage be referred to the Committee set up by the Council on May 20th, 1931, to study the general problem of assistance to indigent foreigners. The Health Committee will be pleased to assist that Committee if necessary.

I understand that the Committee in question will meet towards the end of this year and will add the question raised by the Government of my country to its agenda.

* * *

Before discussing the work of the Health Organisation, the Second Committee desired to pay a tribute to the memory of the Vice-President of the Health Committee, *M. O. Velghe*, Honorary Secretary-General of the Belgian Ministry of the Interior, and Chairman of the Permanent Committee of the Office international d'hygiène publique, who died during the last session of the Health Committee. *M. Velghe*, who had assisted the Health Organisation from its inception had acquired undisputed authority in the Committee by his uprightness, idealism, vast knowledge and devotion to the League's work. The Second Committee appreciated the extent of the loss which the Health Committee has suffered by *M. Velghe's* death, and expressed its sympathy with his family and the Belgian Government.

* * *

In the course of the discussion, the representatives of those countries, which the Health Organisation has endeavoured to assist, expressed to it their unanimous thanks.

The United Kingdom delegate drew attention to the disinterested services rendered to the Organisation by the large number of experts whose collaboration is essential to the progress of its work. After emphasising the importance which his Government attaches to certain aspects of the Health Organisation's work, such as the campaign against malaria and the steps taken to

secure biological standardisation, he pointed out that the curtailment of the Health Organisation's funds, due to the depreciation of certain currencies, will doubtless induce the Health Committee to go very carefully into its programme and to retain only its most important activities. As to the economic depression, he wished to state that in many countries—including his own in particular—budgetary restrictions had not affected health equipment or social welfare; up to the present, unemployment had not been found to have had any prejudicial effect on the people's health.

The Italian representative associated himself with these remarks. He insisted on the value of the collaboration established between the Health Committee and the Permanent Central Opium Board in the campaign against narcotics. The latter will make the greatest use of the results obtained by the Commission on the unification of methods for ascertaining the morphine content of samples of raw opium, which met recently at Zurich. The delegate of the United Kingdom supported this view.

The delegate of the Irish Free State drew attention to the report on maternal welfare and the hygiene of infants and children of pre-school age (document C.H.1060), certain passages of which had been amended by the Health Committee as requested by the Assembly at its thirteenth session. Several delegates being of the opinion that the amendments in question have not dispelled the misgivings which had arisen over one of the recommendations contained in the report, the Assembly invites the Health Committee to reconsider further the paragraphs in question in the light of the observations put forward by delegates to the Second Committee, the circulation of the document in question (document C.H.1060) being suspended.

In reply to a question put by the United Kingdom representative, the Director of the Health Section said that the Assembly was not called upon to approve the Health Organisation's report for the period October 1932-September 1933 (document A.13.1933.III), on which the Health Committee had not yet expressed its opinion.

The French delegate recalled the initiative taken by his Government when, in 1930, it proposed the establishment of an International School of Advanced Health Studies to be placed under the auspices of the League of Nations. The Council having approved this proposal, the French Government had taken the steps necessary to carry it out; the Chamber of Deputies had already voted the requisite credits and the bill was now coming up before the Senate. The Second Committee took note of these facts with satisfaction and emphasised the desirability of such a school.

The Chairman was glad to note that, in the opinion of the delegates who had referred to the subject, the curtailment of the financial resources at the disposal of States had had scarcely any detrimental effect on the essential task of protecting the public health. Speaking as the representative of Belgium he stated that his Government took particular care to encourage the employment of those without work on sanitary projects such as the installation of water-supply systems, the construction of sewers, etc. This utilisation of available labour had moreover been expressly recommended in 1932 by the International Labour Conference. He thought that the Assembly might with advantage draw the attention of national and regional authorities to this suggestion, which would enable the community to derive some benefit from the social evil of unemployment.

* * *

In concluding my report, I am sure that I am voicing the views of my colleagues, in stating that the Assembly has before it a series of results which once again prove the efficacy of the methods adopted by the Health Organisation and the conscientious manner in which it carries out its work. Being convinced that the Assembly will share these views, I have the honour, on behalf of the Second Committee, to propose the following resolution:

" The Assembly:

" Values highly the results obtained in the Health Organisation's various fields of work;

" Attaches special importance to the work accomplished by that Organisation, particularly as regards the campaigns against malaria, tuberculosis, diphtheria and infant mortality, as well as in connection with biological standardisation;

" Is gratified at the increasing importance of the part played by the Eastern Bureau in the prevention of pestilential diseases;

" Notes with satisfaction that the countries which have requested the Health Organisation's technical collaboration have received all the assistance which they desired;

" Takes note of the report (pages 92 to 97 of document A.6 and pages 43 to 45 of document A.6(a).1933.III) which has been submitted on the work of the Health Organisation, and approves the general work carried out by that Organisation since the last session of the Assembly."

ANNEX 2.

Official No.: A.41.1933.VIII.

WORK OF THE COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT ORGANISATION
BETWEEN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ORDINARY
SESSIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : His Excellency M. N. R. WOHLIN (Sweden).

The report by the Secretary-General and the supplementary report on the work of the League since the thirteenth session of the Assembly give a summary account of the work done by the Communications and Transit Organisation during this period. These documents show that the Organisation has continued to work under the same conditions, and with the same methods, that have frequently received the approval of the Assembly. A comparison between the accounts of the work of the Organisation during this last period and the accounts of previous periods as submitted at preceding sessions of the Assembly further show that the Organisation has tended, under present circumstances, to restrict rather than to expand its activities, and to concentrate on a limited number of problems.

It will be noted that the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit has held no plenary session since the last session of the Assembly, the 1933 meeting of the Committee having been postponed till the end of the year.

In connection with railways, the Permanent Committee for Transport by Rail did not meet. The only railway questions dealt with by the Organisation relate to the application of Article 320 of the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye and Article 304 of the Treaty of Trianon (disputes between railway companies and the Succession States of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy).

As regards inland navigation, the work done was in connection with documentation, which will enable the Permanent Committee for Inland Navigation, at its next session, to consider the question of the application to inland waterways of the principle of freedom of navigation. The Permanent Committee for Inland Navigation is also proposing to make an initial study of the question of the unification of navigation regulations in Europe, or, at any rate, the principal river systems of Europe.

In connection with air navigation, special studies which have been made in regard to the establishment of a system of essential air communications on the European Continent and in the Mediterranean basin will doubtless shortly make possible a resumption of the work of the Air Transport Co-operation Committee, to which the Assembly has always attached special importance.

As regards maritime navigation, on the other hand, progress which may, perhaps, be of a decisive character has been made during the last period in connection with the unification of buoyage. The discussions on this subject which took place at the Conference held at Lisbon from October 6th to 23rd, 1930, were not concluded on that occasion. A new Preparatory Committee set up by the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit met in London from July 17th to 22nd last, and succeeded in drawing up and adopting a draft Agreement and Regulations for a uniform system of buoyage taking into account primarily the interests of navigators. The report and the draft Agreement and Regulations adopted will be submitted for approval to the Governments invited to the Lisbon Conference. In the light of the discussions in the Preparatory Committee, it would seem probable that appreciable progress towards unification may be made on the basis of the draft Agreement, if not by means of universal unification, at least by agreement between several Governments. Should this prove to be the case, the necessary steps will be taken with a view to the conclusion of such an understanding between Governments, whether by calling a Conference for the purpose or merely by opening a Protocol for signatures. The object of the Lisbon Conference will thus be more fully attained.

As regards road traffic, the Permanent Committee on road traffic met from May 29th to June 1st. It considered, among other things, three points referred to it by the Road Traffic Conference — namely, the question of light signalling, the codification of signalling by officials directing traffic and drivers of motor vehicles, and the problem of commercial motor traffic. It began studies, which are to be continued, in conjunction with the Permanent Committee for Transport by Rail, of a new question which is of much interest to the public — that of supplementary signalling at level-crossings. In the case of commercial motor traffic, the Committee took the view that the problem was in process of development and that — since at its present stage it was governed partly by the divergent legal opinions prevailing in different countries on the subject and partly by the impossibility of making

any exact forecast of the future economic development of this form of transport or the effects of such development on transport in general — it would be undesirable to draw up international rules on the subject which might hinder rather than help to promote the rational development of this form of transport.

No account of the activities of the Communications and Transit Organisation since the last session of the Assembly would be complete without mention of the present position of the Organisation's efforts to provide the League with the best possible system of communications, especially at times of emergency. The League Wireless Station was opened for service at the beginning of February 1932. A more accurate estimate than was possible at the time of the last Assembly can now be formed of the working of this station, of the value of the services already rendered and of its future possibilities. The Wireless Station has fulfilled all expectations, both with regard to the rapid communication of important documents and in providing facilities for direct contact between the delegations of non-European countries and their Governments or the public opinion of their countries. From the technical point of view, the Station has given entire satisfaction, while, from the economic and commercial point of view, the results of its working have been the best that could be expected in present circumstances.

In connection with the question of the means of communication available to the League at times of emergency, it may be mentioned that, in accordance with the proposals made by a Special Committee of the Transit Organisation, the International Telegraphic Conference, held at Madrid in September 1932, decided to include in the new International Convention on Long-Distance Communications provisions under which telegrams regarding the application of Articles 15 and 16 of the Covenant, exchanged, in the case of a threat of war, between the President of the Council of the League or the Secretary-General, on the one hand, and a Minister member of a Government, a member of the Council of the League or a member of a mission despatched by the Council, on the other hand, would be granted priority over Government priority telegrams. In view of the consistently expressed desire of the Members of the League that communications with Geneva at times of emergency should be facilitated, it is clear that this new provision is to be taken as applying generally to any telegraphic communication at times of emergency, whatever article of the Covenant may be invoked. The League of Nations will be glad to learn of this further proof of the desire of its Members to make effective contributions towards the provision of satisfactory facilities for communications which are of importance to the League at times of emergency. Moreover, according to information received, a comprehensive document, setting out the facilities granted in this respect by the various Members of the League in connection both with telegraphic communications and with motor and aircraft transport, will shortly be prepared and communicated to the Members of the League.

Apart from questions relating to the international regulation of communications, the Communications and Transit Organisation has also dealt with certain problems relating to public works. For some years past, experts of the Organisation have been called upon, at the request of certain Governments, to give technical opinions on problems of this kind. This side of the work of the Organisation, which enables it to be of practical service to various States, is tending to increase. The report submitted to the Assembly refers to the co-operation between the Organisation and the Siamese Government with a view to improving the approaches to the port of Bangkok and the installations of the port. It further gives an account of the progress achieved through the co-operation of the Organisation with the Chinese National Economic Council, both with regard to the establishment of a road system in a certain number of Chinese provinces and in the study of the question of hydraulic works and the organisation of the Chinese technical services responsible for this latter work. The Communications and Transit Organisation has rendered services in this sphere which have been greatly appreciated by the Governments with which it is collaborating.

The circumstances which led the Communications and Transit Organisation to set up a Committee of Enquiry into questions relating to public works and national technical equipment are well known, and the Assembly has already shown the importance which it attaches to the work of this Committee. Originally the main questions which were to be considered by the Committee were those relating to international large-scale public works. As was explained in the general report drawn up by the Committee at its last session and submitted to the Monetary and Economic Conference, the Committee of Enquiry found it necessary, however, to concentrate its efforts chiefly on considering the concrete schemes for national public works the financing of which requires an appeal for foreign capital and which were submitted to it by a certain number of Governments. It examined these schemes both from the technical point of view and with regard to their economic value, and retained those the execution of which seemed likely to have a favourable influence on the general economic situation. Apart from the object of relieving unemployment, which from the outset was one of its principal concerns, the Committee made it an essential condition that the schemes presented should be productive, defining at the same time the meaning which it attached to this term under the present economic circumstances. For this category of public works, the Committee has mapped out a programme for the parallel execution, in the various countries concerned, of such works as may contribute to the resumption of business and the reduction of unemployment. New plans have been submitted to the Committee or are at present being considered by it.

The Monetary and Economic Conference has not so far undertaken any full discussion of the general economic and financial questions relating to public works schemes. The Conference

has provided for the setting-up of a special sub-committee to deal with this matter, but this has not yet been convened. The Public Works Committee of the Communications and Transit Organisation, for its part, has made no enquiry into the possibility of financing these works or of the methods to be employed for that purpose. Whatever view may be held regarding the value of executing parallel schemes of public works in a large number of countries during the period of the present depression, and whatever may be the outcome of any discussions concerning the financing of measures which depend for their execution on the co-operation of foreign capital, there seems to be no doubt that the impartial technical judgment of the respective merits of these works which is thus obtained, from the point of view of their international importance, is likely, when the time comes, to facilitate their financing and to direct capital into the channels where it would be most useful to the general economy.

Quite apart from the question whether the execution of such works involves an appeal for foreign capital, a continuous study of general questions relating to public works financed by States themselves without recourse to foreign capital would make it possible to collect the information which the various Governments consider they could furnish as to the experience acquired in the different countries, particularly as regards the effects of the execution of public works or of a particular category of public works on the resumption of economic activity and on unemployment. Such information would be particularly useful in order to enable Governments to judge of the possibility and desirability of pursuing, in present circumstances, a policy of carrying out programmes of public works on parallel lines. In the present period of distress, this question cannot fail to be of particular interest to public opinion and Governments in most countries.

The Second Committee studied the present position of the question of public works. At the conclusion of the discussion on the subject, in the course of which a large number of delegations evinced their interest that the enquiries undertaken would lead to practical results, especially as regards the parallel execution of programmes of national public works, the Second Committee adopted the following resolution :

“ The Second Committee recommends that the Committee which the Bureau of the London Economic Conference, on the proposal of the Economic Commission of that Conference, decided to set up to study the problem of public works and other means for reducing unemployment should be appointed and convened as soon as possible with the agenda fixed by the London Economic Conference itself.”

The United Kingdom delegation, while not prepared to vote, for special reasons stated, announced that it was not opposed to the adoption of this resolution.

The discussions which led to the adoption of the resolution afforded an opportunity to certain delegations of making immediate communications of special value regarding the policy of national public works pursued in their respective countries.

The Second Committee has the honour to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolution :

“ The Assembly :

“ Takes note of the work done by the Communications and Transit Organisation between the thirteenth and fourteenth ordinary sessions of the Assembly ;

“ Expresses its lively satisfaction at the fact that the Communications and Transit Organisation, while carrying on its work under the conditions and in accordance with the methods already approved by the Assembly, is continuing, within the limits of the resources at its disposal, to render to the Members of the League the important services which the latter expect of it ;

“ Recalls its statement at its thirteenth session that it attaches special importance to the work done by the Committee of Enquiry on Questions relating to Public Works and National Technical Equipment ;

“ Refers to the discussions in the Second Committee on the question of public works, including national public works, and to the resolution adopted by the Second Committee with regard to the appointing and convening as soon as possible of the Committee which the Monetary and Economic Conference decided to set up to study the problem of public works and other means for reducing unemployment ;

“ Adopts the report on the work of the Communications and Transit Organisation between the thirteenth and fourteenth ordinary sessions of the Assembly, submitted to it by the Second Committee.”

ANNEX 3.

Official No. : A.42.1933.II.

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL QUESTIONS.

REPORT AND DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE SECOND COMMITTEE
TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : M. A. SCHMIDT (Estonia).

I. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Following the procedure of last year, the Second Committee has preferred not to deal with financial and economic questions separately, but to submit a single report to the Assembly; for the reasons that induced the Committee to follow this method last year have even greater force to-day.

Before touching upon individual problems, the Committee has thought it well to refer, if only in a few words, to certain aspects of the general economic situation, on which an interesting discussion took place.

The whole world has been suffering from a depression which has often been regarded as unprecedented in its extent, its duration, and its intensity. The draft annotated agenda of the Monetary and Economic Conference, prepared by the Preparatory Commission of Experts,¹ defined the situation last year as follows :

“ Unemployment has recently been estimated by the International Labour Office as involving at least thirty million workers. Even this huge total, which does not include the workers' families or other dependents, is probably an underestimate. The burden of suffering and demoralisation resulting from unemployment of such proportions is appalling. Wholesale commodity prices — expressed in gold — have declined since October 1929 by roughly a third; raw-material prices on the average by 50 to 60 per cent. In the middle of December, at Winnipeg, the price of wheat fell to the lowest level recorded in any primary market for wheat during the past four centuries. Such price-declines have produced profound disturbances in the economic system. They have drawn completely out of adjustment prevailing costs of the various factors of production, have made business enterprise generally unremunerative, and have seriously disorganised practically all the world markets.”

This striking document further recalls the extent to which industrial activity has been affected and production curtailed. In the United States, for instance, the steel industry was operating at only 10 per cent of capacity at the close of 1932.

Clearly, in such circumstances, serious effects could not but be felt throughout the world. In a large number of countries, the national income has been substantially reduced — the more so because the international movement of goods has also been made increasingly difficult by currency instability, the raising of Customs tariffs, and the policy of quotas, licences, foreign exchange control, and other measures of direct and indirect protection.

The decline in production and the general contraction in the volume of business have not been without their influence on State budgets, more particularly revenue, which has everywhere shrunk in varying degrees. At the same time, unemployment, the natural consequence of economic stagnation, has forced many countries to incur fresh expenditure. It has become increasingly difficult to balance budgets. Governments have endeavoured to meet their deficits out of reserves, thus reducing their wealth, or by internal loans or, still more frequently, by enlarging their floating debt, both of which last expedients have meant an increase in the general indebtedness of Governments.

It is also well known that the international movement of capital has practically stopped. Consequently, the settlement of international debts has become more and more difficult.

“ Currency disorganisation, price-declines, curtailment of trade, have thrown into sharp relief ”, says the document already quoted, “ the vast and difficult problems of indebtedness, with which many, if not most, countries are confronted. As matters now stand, there are countries the total value of whose export trade has fallen below the sums required for external debt service alone. Facts such as these indicate the extremities to which the forces of disintegration have already carried the economic and financial world.”

That was, briefly, the situation towards the end of 1932.

¹ Document C.48.M.18.1933.II.

There seem to be real signs that the situation to-day is in many respects better than it was a year ago. In industrial countries, production has increased and unemployment diminished. In the aggregate, the exports of countries whose economy is mainly devoted to agriculture and mining have improved; at the same time, the visible stocks of the great majority of raw materials and foodstuffs about which information is available would appear to be declining. Certain indices of recent world economic developments are given in an annex to this report.

In the monetary field, the important event of the year was, undoubtedly, the abandonment of the gold standard by the United States of America, an event which was bound to affect international economic relations in view of the position of the United States in the economic system of the world and of the dollar in international finance.

The point has again and again been made within the League of Nations that there can be no lasting improvement of the economic situation of the world unless the different countries are prepared to abandon the system of closed national economies which is tending to-day to become general and threatens to stifle international trade. Last year, this contention was once more put forward with emphasis by this Committee. An effort to improve commercial relations was made by the agricultural countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the Conference which met last summer in Bucharest. The most important attempt, however, to promote better international collaboration in the economic and financial sphere was undoubtedly the Monetary and Economic Conference, which met in London on June 12th, 1933. A special chapter is devoted to the Conference in this report; but it should be emphasised at once that, although the immediate practical results of the Conference are not in proportion to the expectations which had been entertained, it accomplished important work, the value of which will appear in the future.

You will recall that the Assembly last year expressed the opinion that the most urgent task of the coming Economic and Monetary Conference must be to seek "all practical means of eliminating as speedily as possible the impediments of every kind that are paralysing international trade, and to facilitate the adjustments necessary for monetary stability and the restoration of credit".¹ These results have not been attained, as it was impossible to reach an agreement with reference to one of the major factors in the situation. As the report of the Conference states: "A temporary understanding during the present period of uncertainty regarding exchange ratios was found to be an essential condition for the continuance of the discussion of the full programme of the Conference by all the delegations."² In the absence of such an understanding, it was found necessary to defer discussion both of the problems of commercial policy and of quantitative restrictions to trade, as well as of many of the financial questions on the agenda of the Conference. The postponement of the discussion on these vital questions, however, must not be interpreted as indicating a change in attitude by the Governments concerned. On the contrary, the report of the Economic Commission of the Conference clearly states that the debates on tariff policy "have also shown that the various countries unanimously consider a lowering of the excessive tariffs as absolutely indispensable". But, owing to the interdependence of the factors governing trade and the failure to reach an understanding regarding one of them, practical negotiations regarding the other factors did not, and, it was felt, could not, take place.

It would, therefore, not be fair to say that the London Conference abandoned the attempt to abolish, in accordance with the wish expressed by the last Assembly, the restrictions which are stifling international trade. It should rather be said that its efforts to attack and investigate thoroughly these problems had to be suspended. It is eminently desirable that circumstances should permit of a solution in the near future of the problems of the stabilisation of currencies, so that the Conference can resume its work with a prospect of success.

Although the economic and financial problems which were considered by the Conference are essentially interdependent, it seems preferable, for practical reasons, to examine separately the work of the Economic Commission and the Financial Commission.

Further, the economic work of the competent organs of the League has, during the past year, been merged in the preparation and discussions of the Monetary and Economic Conference. This report will therefore, in the section devoted to the work of the Conference, deal at the same time with the activities of the League in the economic field.

II. THE LONDON MONETARY AND ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

1. *Economic Questions.*

If it were asked what probability there would have been of arriving at helpful solutions in the field of commercial policy, had not the difficulty of monetary instability arisen, an encouraging sign would be found in the rapid conclusion immediately before and at the outset of the Conference of a tariff truce to which sixty-one States, representing

¹ Document A.56.1932.II.

² Document C.435.M.220.1933.II.

approximately 90 per cent of the trade of the world, soon acceded. It would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of this symptom, which shows that all countries realise the necessity of putting a stop at the earliest possible moment to this daily warfare which is carried on with an intensity varying according to the particular circumstances of each country, its object being to reduce imports at all costs and by measures of every kind. The multiplication of barriers, which is comprehensible and perhaps even inevitable from the standpoint of each individual country which is obliged to defend itself as best it can against the dangers which threaten it, nevertheless leads from the general standpoint to a more and more marked depression in trade. The truce is still in force in spite of a few denunciations, since it was concluded for the period of the Conference, which has not yet ended. Whatever view may be held as to the efficacy of its application, the truce nevertheless affords a happy augury of the outcome of future discussions on commercial policy when these are resumed.

* * *

The discussions on two fundamental questions, quotas and Customs duties, were also inspired at the outset by a spirit which justified a certain optimism, in spite of divergencies of views expressed as to the methods to be adopted. Thus, all the delegations agreed, in principle, to the abolition of quantitative restrictions and to the necessity for a reduction of excessively high tariffs. It is true that some thought that the greatest prudence was essential, especially in regard to agriculture, and that simultaneous progress in cognate questions, such as co-ordination of production and sale, the decontrol of foreign exchange, the abolition of indirect protectionism, seemed to others to be a *conditio sine qua non* of any lowering of tariff barriers.

Finally, the discussions relating to the most-favoured-nation clause showed that, while there was a general opinion in favour of the maintenance of the clause in its unconditional and unrestricted form (with the recognised exceptions), the traditional interpretation of the clause was regarded in certain quarters as raising serious difficulties in the present crisis. A certain number of delegations expressed the opinion that agreements limited to and benefiting solely a few countries might, on occasion, be an advantage for third countries which, by the application of the most-favoured-nation clause, would normally have the right to claim the same benefits. It was understood, however, that such agreements must be subject to certain conditions the nature of which would have to be previously determined by mutual agreement. There was not sufficient time, however, for the Sub-Committee concerned to reach definite conclusions on this subject. In this connection, the last part of the proposals submitted towards the end of the Conference by the American delegation assumed a considerable importance.

It was not possible to examine in detail either these fundamental questions of commercial policy or the cognate problems of subsidies and bounties of all kinds, particularly shipping subsidies. A further investigation of these questions was therefore left for a more appropriate moment. The Conference, however, authorised its Bureau to take any steps likely to promote the successful completion of this work.

* * *

Among the chief questions the examination of which it was decided to continue, in spite of the difficulties in the monetary field, is that of the co-ordination of the production and sale of certain important products. The work of the Sub-Committee dealing with this subject assumed, towards the end of the Conference, an importance which exceeded all expectations. The idea that during a period of depression, such as that through which we are now passing, it is difficult to contemplate any lowering of trade barriers unless efforts are first made to establish a better equilibrium between production and consumption of certain basic commodities, although not shared by everyone, made itself very apparent in the earnestness with which the countries concerned urged the examination from an international standpoint of the conditions of production of and trade in a series of important foodstuffs and raw materials.

At the same time and, as it were, outside the Conference, the efforts of wheat importing and exporting States to bring about an improvement in the world wheat market were being continued. These efforts were the outcome of the action of the Economic Committee, which had already in 1932 convened for the first time representatives of the four chief oversea exporting countries. The importance of the agreement which has been concluded and signed by twenty-seven States must be realised by all who consider the extent to which the prosperity of farmers in almost all parts of the world is dependent upon the price of wheat.

* * *

The work relating to the possibility of co-ordinating the production and sale of dairy produce, sugar, wine, coffee and cocoa is to be continued under the direction of the President of the Economic Commission and with the assistance of the Economic Committee of the

League of Nations. Among the raw materials in regard to which the Conference adopted resolutions suggesting the line of action which might be taken are timber, coal, copper and tin. It is highly probable that the discussions on several of these commodities will be renewed shortly and, in view of what has been done in the case of wheat, it is to be hoped that they may lead to valuable results.

Finally, the work relating to veterinary and phyto-pathological questions, and the framing of a draft agreement dealing with a large number of technical questions bearing directly or indirectly upon the concept of indirect protectionism, is to be continued under the direction of the President of the Economic Commission of the Conference and with the assistance of the Economic Committee of the League.

2. *Financial Questions at the Conference.*

The Conference decided at the outset to divide the monetary and financial problems into two main heads, as suggested in the report of the Preparatory Commission of Experts — namely, immediate measures for financial reconstruction and permanent measures for the re-establishment of an international monetary standard. Under the first heading were grouped problems relating to credit policy, price-levels, limitation of monetary fluctuations, exchange control, indebtedness, resumption of international lending; under the second, those relating to the functions of Central Banks, the co-ordination of their policies, monetary reserves, the utilisation of silver, etc.

For the reasons indicated in the introductory remarks, this programme was modified and temporarily curtailed.

In these circumstances, the work of the Monetary and Financial Commission of the Conference led to the unanimous adoption — accompanied in some cases by reservations or explanations on the part of certain delegates — of a number of important resolutions, the subjects covered by which are indicated below. The full text of the resolutions, to which reference should be made, is contained in the report of the Monetary and Economic Conference (document C.435.M.220.1933.II).

1. A resolution relating to the problem of indebtedness. This resolution states that, under present conditions, a solution of the problem of indebtedness, which possesses both a financial and an economic aspect, may in certain cases be necessary for the re-establishment of equilibrium. It should not, however, be dealt with in such a way as to impair credit. It is indispensable, indeed, for the restoration of credit that contracts should be respected in the absence of modifications agreed between the parties concerned. As regards State loans, it is in the interest of the creditors themselves to conclude arrangements of such a nature as to permit at the same time the adoption and effective application of programmes of economic and financial restoration by the debtor countries. The resolution further recommends the countries concerned to encourage the creation of, and contact between, organisations representative of different classes of creditors in respect of short- as well as long-term loans.

2. A resolution relating to the return to monetary stability, the adoption of gold as an international monetary standard and its use for monetary requirements and Central Banks' reserves.

3. A resolution relating to the creation of Central Banks.

4. A resolution relating to the need for close and continuous co-operation between Central Banks and to the part which might be played by the Bank for International Settlements in this connection.

5. A resolution relating to the adaptation of the Central Banks of certain agricultural countries to the special economic conditions of those countries.

It is not necessary to enter into the details of these various resolutions, as their mere enumeration is sufficient to explain their nature. Among their chief objects is to affirm:

That it is in the interests of all concerned that stability in the international monetary field should be attained as quickly as practicable;

That gold should be re-established as the international measure of exchange values, time and parity being for each country to determine;

That it is undesirable to put gold coins or gold certificates into internal circulation;

That greater elasticity should be given to Central Bank legal reserve provisions. For instance, if the system of percentage gold cover is applied, a minimum ratio of not more than 25 per cent should be considered as sufficient. The sole effect of this stipulation should be to increase the free reserves of Central Banks.

From a closer study of the provisions of these various resolutions and the nature of the principles laid down therein — as, for instance, in regard to the policy of Central Banks and their mutual relations — it will become rapidly apparent to how large an extent they are based on the findings of the Gold Delegation of the Financial Committee as set

forth in the report issued by that Delegation in 1932. The Second Committee is glad to note this further proof of the Financial Committee's judgment and the value of the work which it is unremittingly pursuing.

The last resolution adopted by the Conference relates to the use of silver for monetary requirements. It should also be mentioned in this connection that an agreement has been concluded between silver-producing countries and countries which possess large stocks of this metal, with a view to putting a stop to price fluctuations.

3. *Public Works.*

This question, which was discussed at the Monetary and Economic Conference, is dealt with in the report (document A.41.1933.VIII) on the work of the Transit Organisation.

III. ACTIVITIES OF THE FINANCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE.

1. *Financial Committee.*

As was the case in the year ending September 1932, the Financial Committee has had during the last twelve months a very heavy burden to bear. Whereas during the first ten years of its existence the Committee was to a large extent able to devote attention one year to one country and the following year to another, it is now faced by the necessity of dealing simultaneously with the difficulties which the world depression has brought upon the majority of the countries with which it has been concerned in the past. Nothing can better illustrate the heavy strain imposed upon the Financial Committee than the following figures. The sessions of the Committee itself (excluding the time spent in travelling) lasted thirty-six days in 1931 and fifty-seven days in 1932, and will during 1933 probably last nearly fifty days. But, apart from its regular meetings, further calls have been made upon the time of this Committee on account of special meetings, missions of enquiry into the situation of various countries, etc. As a result, in 1932, two members sacrificed over a hundred days (again excluding time spent in travelling) to the service of the League.

As in previous years, the work of the Committee has been mainly concentrated on the problems of individual countries whose Governments have sought its advice. With the majority of these Governments the Committee has been in close touch for a considerable time now, as a result of the reconstruction schemes which were elaborated with its assistance before the present depression began.

It is not thought necessary to attempt to summarise the reports of the Committee, which explain fully the nature and scope of its activities. As is well known, the Council of the League has arranged for the appointment of advisers in Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, who keep in daily touch with the financial authorities in those countries; and it is the practice of the Financial Committee to discuss the progress of events in detail both with those authorities and with the advisers at its quarterly meetings. In its reports the Committee explains the policies which have been pursued, the results that have been attained, the new problems that arise for solution and the suggestions which it has put forward in the course of those discussions. Although much of its time has been devoted to these three countries, its attention has by no means wholly been confined to them. Thus, it made a special enquiry, in the spring of this year, into the financial situation in Greece and was responsible for preparing an agreement for technical co-operation with the Government of Roumania.

Roumania. — The agreement between the Council of the League and the Roumanian Government for the organisation of advisory technical co-operation is a new departure of considerable significance. Under this agreement, made at the request of the Roumanian Government, the Council undertook to appoint, in consultation with the Roumanian Government, a financial adviser, who would co-ordinate the work of various experts to be appointed by the Roumanian Government on the Council's recommendation. As pointed out in the report of the Financial Committee submitting the agreement to the Council, this plan of advisory technical co-operation differs in many respects from the earlier League schemes of financial reconstruction. "The Roumanian Government applied", the report remarks, "not for financial assistance, but for technical co-operation in the financial sphere between the League of Nations and the Roumanian authorities responsible for the management of affairs in Roumania. The Committee considers that the introduction in this form of free co-operation between the League and Governments requesting its technical assistance is capable of producing excellent results."¹ This agreement, however, which was signed in January last, has not yet been put into execution.

Austria. — The Committee has continued to keep in close touch with the Austrian Government during the past year. Through a policy of strict economy combined with adequate taxation, the Government has substantially improved the budgetary situation. A final agreement has been concluded with the foreign creditors of the Creditanstalt, and the two other principal banks have been re-organised with the help of the State. The

¹ Document C.56.1933.II.A.

loan provided for in the Protocol approved by the Council of the League on July 15th, 1932, was issued in August 1933 in London, Paris and Rome in blocks guaranteed by the British, French and Italian Governments respectively, the Swiss Government taking part in the action by making a direct advance. This foreign loan is to be followed by the issue of an internal 4 per cent lottery loan. The proposal to issue an internal loan at the present time indicates the improvement that has taken place in Austria's credit. The Austrian National Bank has followed a prudent and far-seeing policy which has permitted the natural value of the schilling to be determined without undermining confidence in the currency. It has proved possible, in consequence, to abolish the greater part of the restrictions imposed earlier on the foreign exchange market.

Bulgaria. — In May of this year, the Financial Committee made a special report on Bulgaria, the situation having been carefully studied on the spot in the preceding month by a special delegation. The public finances presented, and indeed still present, very grave difficulties; the budget year was expected to close with a deficit amounting to one-quarter of the receipts, there was a large floating debt, whilst the salaries and pensions of State officials and of the army had not been paid for three months. After lengthy deliberations with the Financial Committee, the Government decided upon a series of measures which, if completely carried out, should, it is believed, contribute largely to preventing any further deterioration of the situation and to re-establishing budget equilibrium. The Financial Committee is having a further discussion with the Bulgarian Government representatives during the course of this session of the Assembly.

Greece. — The Financial Committee was also invited to make an enquiry into the financial situation of Greece, and, after the visit of a delegation to Athens, held a special session last June. On that occasion, the Greek Government, after consultation with the Committee, made an important declaration on the policy it proposes to follow in order to improve the budgetary situation and clarify the accounting system. A number of the proposals it then made have already been put into execution.

Hungary. — As a result of the efforts made by the Hungarian Government, the situation in that country has improved during the last twelve months, and there are signs, moreover, in recent months of some slight amelioration of the general economic situation and in foreign trade. The Financial Committee has throughout the year kept in close touch with the Hungarian authorities. The improvement which has taken place in a country so acutely affected by the depression was noted with satisfaction by the Second Committee.

Special attention was drawn, in the discussions of the Second Committee, to the value of the work performed by the Financial Committee and to the readiness with which its members have sacrificed their time and energies to the League. The Second Committee feels confident that the Assembly will desire to endorse its appreciation both of the value of the work done and of the devotion which its members have shown in carrying out the difficult tasks with which they have been charged. For reasons with which the Assembly is familiar, the attention of the Committee has been mainly confined recently to certain countries in Central and Eastern Europe. The Committee expresses the hope that, as the problems now before the Committee are gradually solved, it may prove possible for it to deal also with problems of a more general order, including such as would be of direct concern to overseas as well as to European countries, and that the Council, both in the questions it refers to the Committee and in the determination of its composition, will have in mind this consideration. It desires to draw attention to the fact that, while the Economic Committee was given a definitive status in 1927, no such action has yet been taken with regard to the Financial Committee.

2. *Fiscal Committee.*

The Fiscal Committee can also look back upon a useful year's work. The enquiry undertaken, with the financial support of the Rockefeller Foundation, into the systems employed by the tax administrations of different countries for the apportionment of profits of enterprises working in more than one country has been successfully terminated. That enquiry has taken three years and led to local studies in twenty-seven countries. Its results were first discussed by a Sub-Committee of the Fiscal Committee which, upon the invitation of the American Section of the International Chamber of Commerce, met in New York and Washington in the spring of this year, and subsequently by the Fiscal Committee as a whole. As a result of the work accomplished, the Fiscal Committee was able to elaborate a draft Convention for the purpose of preventing double taxation of the income of business enterprises operating in more than one country. This draft Convention will be laid before the Council, together with the suggestion contained in the Committee's report that it should be submitted to Governments for their examination.

The Committee is glad to be able to record that the Rockefeller Foundation has offered a new grant of \$50,000, which has been accepted by the Council, for the work of the Fiscal Committee on international taxation questions during the next three years.

It feels sure that the Assembly will desire to endorse its appreciation of the generosity of the Foundation in making this grant and the additional grant to the Economic Intelligence Service of the League to which reference is made later in the report.

3. *Economic Intelligence Service.*

The Economic Intelligence Service has continued, as in past years, to collate and issue valuable information concerning economic and financial developments throughout the world.

The *World Economic Survey*, first published in 1932 at the request of the Assembly, has proved to meet a real need and has had an excellent reception, as its sales prove. The 1933 edition, just published, continues the narrative contained in the first volume and gives a careful and readable account of the course of events during 1932 and the first half of 1933.

In addition, the Service has issued during the past year further editions of its *Statistical Year-Book*, *Review of World Trade*, *International Trade Statistics*, the *Balance of Payments*, and the *Review of World Production*. It has, of course, continued also to publish its *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, which Governments have supported even more actively than in the past by cabling regularly the data required. This fact, in view of the present financial difficulties from which all Governments suffer, affords significant proof of its utility. The *Review of World Production* was published in the beginning of September under a new title, *World Production and Prices*, and includes an international index number of industrial production and a special study of price movements. A new edition of the *Memorandum on Commercial Banks* will appear at the end of 1933.

The extent to which the current publications of the League now meet the essential needs for information concerning world economic developments may perhaps be judged by the fact that, while it was considered necessary to prepare special studies for the 1927 World Economic Conference which cost nearly a quarter of a million francs, no such work was called for in preparation for the Monetary and Economic Conference this year. The field which it was desired to cover in 1927 was somewhat greater; but the existing annual publications of the Service so far covered the necessary ground on this occasion that it was possible to fill in at least the most important remaining gaps in the information by the publication of a small supplement to the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*.

In conclusion, the Second Committee desires to draw attention to the fact that one piece of work suggested as long ago as 1930 by the Assembly, but postponed on budgetary grounds until now, can be begun immediately owing to the generosity of the Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation — namely, the study of the causes of the recurrence of periods of economic depression. It is a laborious and highly technical piece of work from which quick results must not be expected. Under the terms of the grant, \$25,000 a year are given for the "promotion of the analytical research work of the Financial Section and Economic Intelligence Service of the Secretariat of the League of Nations over a five-year period beginning September 1st, 1933, and ending August 31st, 1938, with the understanding that such grant is not intended to be in substitution for moneys normally voted by the Assembly for research, but rather for complementary work which may arise in connection therewith, as, for instance, the proposed enquiry into causes of the recurrence of periods of economic depression."

IV. DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED TO THE ASSEMBLY BY THE SECOND COMMITTEE.

"The Assembly approves the report submitted to it by the Second Committee on the Economic and Financial Work of the League of Nations."

Appendice — Appendix

1. INDICES DE LA PRODUCTION INDUSTRIELLE. — 1. INDICES OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION.
Augmentation (+) ou diminution (—) en %. Percentage increase (+) or decrease (—).

Pays	Juillet 1933 par rapport à juillet 1932 July 1933 compared with July 1932					Juillet 1933 par rapport à avril 1933 July 1933 compared with April 1933					Country
	Indice général General index	Textiles	Machines Engineering	Biens de production Producers' goods	Biens de consommation Consumers' goods	Indice général General index	Textiles	Machines Engineering	Biens de production Producers' goods	Biens de consommation Consumers' goods	
Allemagne	+18,3	+ 25,9	— 2,3 ¹	+ 19,8	+ 16,8	+ 7,4	+ 8,2	+8,9 ²	+ 7,8	+ 7,2	Germany.
Belgique	+19,1 ¹	+ 32,6	—	—	—	+ 5,8 ²	+ 18,9	—	—	—	Belgium.
Canada	+11,3	+167,5	—	—	—	+26,9	+137,7	—	—	—	Canada.
Chili	+ 0,2	—	—	—	—	— 7,2	—	—	—	—	Chile.
Etats-Unis	+69	+ 87	—	+167,5 ¹	+ 69,9 ¹	+48,5	+ 51,8	—	+100 ²	+30,6 ²	United States.
France	+21,7	+ 32,8	+22,6	—	—	+ 4,7	+ 13,2	+5,6	—	—	France.
Japon	+15,8 ¹	+ 7,8 ¹	—	—	—	— 5,1 ²	— 0,2 ²	—	—	—	Japan.
Pologne	+ 6,5	+ 16,8	+ 3,3	+ 12,2	+ 7,7	+ 9,5	+ 19,7	—1,6	+ 11,2	+10,7	Poland.
Royaume-Uni	+ 1,7 ²	— 0,2 ²	+ 2,9 ²	+ 6,5 ²	+ 1,1 ²	United Kingdom.
Suède	+18,9	—	—	+ 27,3	+ 6,8	+ 4,8	—	—	+ 16,7	— 6,9	Sweden.
Tchécoslovaquie	+ 2,8 ¹	— 15,9 ¹	—	—	—	+ 6,2 ²	— 14,2 ²	—	—	—	Czechoslovakia.

¹ Juin 1933 par rapport à juin 1932.
² Deuxième trimestre 1933 par rapport au deuxième trimestre 1932.
³ Juin 1933 par rapport à avril 1933.

¹ June 1933 compared with June 1932.
² Second quarter 1933 compared with second quarter 1932.
³ June 1933 compared with April 1933.

2. PRODUCTION DE FONTE ET ACIER. — 2. PRODUCTION OF IRON AND STEEL.
Augmentation en %. Percentage increase.

	Juillet 1933 par rapport à juillet 1932 July 1933 compared with July 1932		Juillet 1933 par rapport à avril 1933 July 1933 compared with April 1933		
	Fonte Pig-iron	Acier Steel	Fonte Pig-iron	Acier Steel	
Total mondial	+64,1	+89,1	+46,7	+47,9	World total.
Total mondial sans Etats-Unis d'Amérique	+23,8	+25,8	+10	+ 8,6	World total excluding United States of America.

3. STOCKS VISIBLES DE CERTAINS ARTICLES ESSENTIELS.

3. VISIBLE STOCKS OF CERTAIN STAPLE COMMODITIES.

Augmentation (+) ou diminution (—) en % à la date indiquée par rapport :					Percentage increase (+) or decrease (—) at the date indicated as compared with :	
a) A la date correspondante de 1932;		(a)	(b)	(c)	(a) Corresponding date in 1932;	
b) Au chiffre maximum de 1932;					(b) Maximum reached in 1932;	
c) Au chiffre maximum de 1933.					(c) Maximum reached in 1933.	
Articles	Date	(a)	(b)	(c)	Commodity	
Froment (Stanford University)	VII. 1933	+ 3	¹	¹	Wheat (Stanford University)	
Sucre	VII. 1933	— 2	—13	—11	Sugar	
Café	VII. 1933	—27	—38	—25	Coffee	
Thé	VIII. 1933	+27	—10	—20	Tea	
Coton	VIII. 1933	—10	—11	— 6	Cotton	
Caoutchouc	VII. 1933	— 2	— 6	— 7	Rubber	
Charbon (Continent européen)	VII. 1933	— 2	— 3	— 1	Coal (European Continent)	
Plomb	VIII. 1933	+ 5	+ 1	— 9	Lead	
Etain	VIII. 1933	—26	—29	—22	Tin	
Zinc :					Zinc :	
Cartel à l'exclusion des Etats-Unis	VIII. 1933	—21	—32	—16	Cartel excluding United States of America.	
Etats-Unis et Royaume-Uni	VIII. 1933	—24	—24	—22	United States of America and United Kingdom.	

¹ Des données comparables ne sont pas disponibles.

¹ Comparable data not available.

4. COMMERCE MONDIAL. — 4. WORLD TRADE.

Augmentation (+) en %. — Percentage increase (+).

Total du commerce de 49 pays représentant plus de 90 % du commerce mondial en 1932	Juillet 1933 par rapport à juillet 1932 July 1933 compared with July 1932	Juillet 1933 par rapport à avril 1933 July 1933 compared with April 1933	Total of 49 countries representing over 90 per cent of world trade in 1932
Importations	+0,3	+ 3,3	Imports
Exportations	+3	+10,1	Exports
Total	+1,6	+ 6,4	Total

5. CHÔMAGE. — 5. UNEMPLOYMENT.

Augmentation (+) ou diminution (—) en %.
Percentage increase (+) or decrease (—).

Pays	Juillet 1933 par rapport à juillet 1932 July 1933 compared with July 1932	Août 1933 par rapport à avril 1933 August 1933 compared with April 1933	Country
Allemagne	—17,2	—18,7	Germany
Belgique	—16,1	—21,1 ¹	Belgium
Canada	+ 4,1	— 9 ¹	Canada
Etats-Unis	— 5,6	— 8,1 ¹	United States
France	—10,3	—23	France
Italie	—11,5	—13,4	Italy
Pologne	— 1,4	—16,9 ¹	Poland
Royaume-Uni	— 8,4	—10,5 ¹	United Kingdom
Tchécoslovaquie	+41,3	—22	Czechoslovakia

¹ Juillet 1933 par rapport à avril 1933.

¹ July 1933 compared with April 1933.

6. INDICES DES PRIX DE GROS. — 6. INDICES OF WHOLESALE PRICES.
 Augmentation (+) ou diminution (—) en %. — Percentage increase (+) or decrease (—).

Pays	Juillet 1933 par rapport à juillet 1932 July 1933 compared with July 1932				Août 1933 par rapport à avril 1933 August 1933 compared with April 1933				Country
	Indice général General index	Aliments Foodstuffs	Matières premières Raw materials	Produits Industriels Industrial products	Indice général General index	Aliments Foodstuffs	Matières premières Raw materials	Produits Industriels Industrial products	
Allemagne (or)	— 2,1	— 6,4	+ 3,8	— 3,3	+ 3,9	+ 7,2	+ 3,0	+ 1,9	Germany (gold).
Belgique (or)	— 1,2	—11,8	— 3,5 ¹	— 6,1 ¹	± 0	— 2,9	Belgium (gold).
Etats-Unis (papier)	+ 6,8	+ 7,6	+13,0	+ 2,4	+14,1 ²	+18,8 ²	+23,6 ²	+ 9,9 ²	United States (paper).
France (or)	— 6,7	—16,9	.	+ 5,1	+ 2,6	± 0	.	+ 5,4	France (gold).
Italie (or)	— 5,5	—12,5	+ 5,7	— 2,5	+ 0,4 ²	— 2,4 ²	+ 4,6 ²	— 1,8 ²	Italy (gold).
Royaume-Uni (papier)	+ 3,5	— 5,4	+10,1	.	+ 3,4	± 0	+ 5,7	.	United Kingdom (paper).

¹ Avril 1933 par rapport à avril 1932.
² Juillet 1933 par rapport à avril 1933.

¹ April 1933 compared with April 1932.
² July 1933 compared with April 1933.

ANNEX 4.

Official No.: A.53.1933.II.

PROPOSAL FOR THE ORGANISATION ON AN INTERNATIONAL BASIS OF ASSISTANCE FOR REFUGEES (JEWISH AND OTHER) COMING FROM GERMANY.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : M. GUANI (Uruguay).

The draft resolution submitted by the Netherlands delegation brought out the economic, financial and social nature of the problem of refugees, Jewish and other, coming from Germany, and the Assembly accordingly referred the question to the Second Committee. The latter was thus called upon to deal urgently with a practical situation, but not to enter into an examination of the causes that have led to it.

After an exhaustive discussion, the Committee concluded :

- (1) That the problem cannot be satisfactorily solved, except by international co-operation ;
- (2) That its solution is a matter of urgency.

In view of these two conditions, the Second Committee has come to the conclusion that the best way of speedily securing practical results would be to appoint a High Commissioner who should be allowed the fullest freedom of action.

The Committee has reason to hope that funds from various sources, including private sources, may be available for the High Commissioner's use. The best possible employment of these funds could be ensured by co-ordinating the different relief movements and centralising the funds from various sources. It is likewise essential that the High Commissioner should be able to keep in touch both with the Governments directly concerned with the problem and with those of any other countries, Members and non-members of the League of Nations, which might be able to contribute in any way to its solution.

It is therefore necessary — and the Second Committee feels that the Assembly ought to make this point clear — that the High Commissioner should be able to reckon immediately on the fullest possible co-operation both from Governments and from private organisations.

The High Commissioner should be assisted by a Governing Body, to which he would be responsible.

The High Commissioner and the Governing Body would constitute an autonomous organisation.

The High Commissioner would submit periodical reports on the fulfilment of his task' including financial administration, to the Governing Body alone, which would forward them to States likely to be able to assist in the action contemplated.

The Second Committee is of opinion that this relief work should be undertaken forthwith. It therefore recommends the League to make an advance to the High Commissioner of the initial funds essential for his work.

The following draft resolution has been framed on the basis of the considerations set forth in the present report :

“ The Assembly,

“ Having regard to the situation created by the fact that a large number of persons, Jewish and other, coming from Germany have, in recent months, taken refuge in several countries ;

“ Considering that their presence in those countries constitutes an economic, financial and social problem, which can be solved only by international collaboration :

“ Suggests that the Council should nominate a High Commissioner to negotiate and direct such collaboration, and particularly to provide, as far as possible, work for the refugees in all countries which are able to offer it ;

“ Requests the Council of the League of Nations to invite States and, if it thinks it advisable, private organisations best able to assist these refugees to be represented on a Governing Body of which the duty will be to aid the High Commissioner in his work, the High Commissioner having to submit periodical reports on the development and fulfilment of his task to the said Governing Body, which would forward them to the States likely to be able to assist in the action contemplated ;

“ Suggests further that the expenses of this collaboration and of the High Commissioner's office should be defrayed by funds contributed voluntarily from private or other sources ;

“ Recommends to the Council that, in accordance with Article 33, paragraph 2, of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League, it should approve that a sum not exceeding 25,000 francs should be advanced to the High Commissioner from the Working Capital Fund, it being understood that this advance will be refunded to the League out of the funds placed at the disposal of the High Commissioner ;

“ Is convinced that all Governments will assist the High Commissioner to the best of their abilities in the tasks defined above ; with this object, the present resolution will be communicated to States Members and to non-members of the League ;

“ Finally, the Assembly expresses the firm hope that private organisations will collaborate in every way with the High Commissioner for the success of this relief action. ”

INDEX

	Page		Page
Agriculture		Communications of Importance to League at Times of Crisis	
Banking facilities for agricultural countries	40	Facilities granted by various Members of League in connection with telegraphic communications and transport, by air, etc.: document <i>re</i>	35
Countries, agricultural, of Central and Eastern Europe, trade relations, <i>see</i> Bucharest Conference		International Convention on Long-Distance Communications: inclusion of provisions granting priority to League telegrams	35
Customs tariffs	39	Wireless station, League, <i>see that title</i>	
Exports of agricultural countries: increase.....	38	Communications and Transit	
Prices of products	16, 37, 39	<i>See</i> Transit and Communications	
Production and marketing: co-ordination, <i>see that title</i>		Consumption, Increase in.....	15
Reclaiming of land and irrigation in Italy	20	Copper.....	40
Wheat Agreement	16, 39, 40	Crisis, World Economic and Financial	
Air Navigation		Definition of situation in 1932 by Preparatory Commission of Experts of Monetary and Economic Conference.....	37
Air Transport Co-operation Committee, proposed resumption of work.....	34	Improvement of conditions as compared with 1932 and League information <i>re</i> 15, 15-16 (<i>statement</i>), 16, 37-8	
Establishment of system of essential air communications on European Continent and in Mediterranean basin....	34	Unemployment caused by, <i>see</i> Unemployment, Crisis, etc.	
Austria, Economic and Financial Situation		United States of America: events in, in relation to crisis..... 15, 16, 37, 38	
Financial Committee, work.....	41-2	Monetary and Economic Conference, to resolve, <i>see</i> Monetary and Economic Conference	
Loan, 1933.....	42	Currency	
Bangkok, Port of		<i>See</i> Foreign exchange	
<i>See under</i> Ports		Monetary Problems, Currency, etc.	
Banks and Banking.....	40-1	Customs	
Bridges	19	Tariffs: lowering	38, 39
Bucharest Conference for Improvement of Trade Relations between Agricultural Countries of Central and Eastern Europe, 1932	38	Truce concluded	38-9
Budget of League		Debts and Credit.....	37, 38, 40
Working capital fund: sum to be drawn from, as advance for High Commissioner for refugees coming from Germany..... 17, 23, 27, 47, 48		Diphtheria	
Building Trade and Housing.....	16, 20	<i>See under</i> Health	
Bulgaria, Financial Situation of		Drugs	
Examination by Financial Cttee. and measures proposed	42	<i>See under</i> Health	
Buoyage, Unification of		Economic Conference, World, 1927	
Draft Agreement and Regulations to be submitted to Govts.....	34	Cost of.....	43
China		Economic Depression, Recurrence of Periods	
Communications in: co-operation between Transit Org. and Chinese authorities 13-14, 31, 35		Study: Rockefeller grant for.....	43
Cholera		Economic and Financial Conferences	
<i>See under</i> Health		<i>See</i> Bucharest Conference	
Coal	40	Economic Conference, 1927	
Commerce		Monetary and Economic Conference, 1933	
<i>See</i> Trade		Stresa Conference, 1932	
2nd Committee		Economic and Financial Crisis, World	
Agenda: text and adoption	7	<i>See</i> Crisis, etc.	
Members: list	4-6		
Publicity of meetings	7		
Rapporteurs, appointment	7		
Tribute to memory of M. Velghe.....	7, 33		
Vice-chairman: name and election.....	7		

	Page		Page
Economic and Financial Work of League		Health, Epidemics and Prevention of Disease	
Discussion, general.....	14-17, 18-21	(continued)	
Rapporteur, appointment.....	7, 26	Convention, Sanitary, for Aerial Navigation: chapter <i>re</i> yellow fever, application.....	30
Rapporteur's statement		Diphtheria.....	10, 33
Discussion, <i>see above</i> Discussion, general		Drugs, campaign against: Sub-Cttee. of experts appointed by Health Cttee. to study methods of ascertaining morphine content of raw opium.....	14, 33
Text.....	37-43	Economic crisis, effect on public health Enquiry.....	8, 9, 10, 12, 31-2, 33
Report of 2nd Cttee.: discussion and adoption.....	26	Statement by representative of United Kgd.....	8-9
Resolutions of 2nd Cttee.....	43	Epidemiological Intelligence work of Service of Singapore Bureau... ..	9-10, 31, 33
Economic Intelligence Service		Far-Eastern ports.....	10, 30, 31
<i>See under</i> Financial organisation		Infant mortality	
Epidemics		Campaign against.....	33
<i>See</i> Health		in Roumania.....	10
Financial Assistance to Certain Countries		Malaria	
<i>See also the countries concerned</i>		Campaign in China.....	31
of Central and Eastern Europe.....	16, 41	Centres and scholarships.....	10
Problems concerning overseas countries: study by Financial Cttee. suggested	16-17, 42	Commission: work.....	9, 10, 31, 33
Financial Organisation		Conference, Geneva: work.....	8
Activities reviewed by rapporteur.....	41-3	Quinine: Italian State manufactory..	9
Economic Intelligence Service		Schools of malariology, Italian.....	9
Activities and publications.....	43	Therapeutical treatment.....	31
Rockefeller grant for work.....	43	Maternity, infant welfare and health of child of pre-school age	
Financial Committee		Documents published by Health Org. containing refs. to a practice abhorrent to a large section of religious belief and contrary to the national laws of certain countries	
Composition: suggestions of representatives at 2nd Committee..	17, 18, 42	Amendments to and resol. proposed by representative of Irish Free State.....	10-11, 33
Tribute to work.....	41	Medical officers: study tours and fellowships	32
Fiscal Committee, <i>see that title</i>		National co-operation in health work, tribute to	8, 32
Financial Work of League		Nutrition, <i>see that title</i>	
<i>See</i> Economic and financial work of League		Organisation	
Fiscal Committee		Competence, respective, of national health organisations and.....	8, 12
Rockefeller grant for work.....	42-3	Work	
Work <i>re</i> allocation of profits for purpose of taxation.....	42	Curtailment and choice of activities	8, 9, 10, 12, 33
Foreign Exchange Restrictions	37, 39, 40, 42	Discussion.....	8-12, 14
Foreigners, Indigent, Relief to		Medical director's statement.....	11-12
Committee of Council: study of question of mutual international assistance to sick persons.....	8, 32	Rapporteur, appointment.....	7, 14
Gold		Report of 2nd Cttee.....	14, 30-3 (text)
Abandonment of gold standard by U.S.A. and repercussion.....	38	Report of Health Cttee. on work of 19th session, reference to... ..	9, 11, 12, 33
Circulation, internal.....	40	Resolutions of 2nd Committee.....	11, 33
Standard.....	40	Tributes to.....	8, 9, 10, 11, 33
Greece, Financial Situation		Pellagra, study <i>re</i>	10
Examination by Financial Cttee. and measures proposed.....	42	Plague.....	8, 30, 31
Health, Epidemics and Prevention of Disease		Public health services	
in Africa, Central and South: Regional Health Conference, Capetown, 1932	10, 30	of African countries: Conference, Nov. 1932: work.....	8
Biological and serological products: Perm. Comm. on Standardisation.....	8, 10, 33	Rationalisation of services and medical assistance.....	9, 32
in British India, problems relating to study by Regional Health Conference, Capetown, 1932.....	10, 30	Re-organisation of health services and assistance of Health Org.	
Care of the sick, international, reciprocity in	8, 32	China.....	10, 11, 30
in China		Czechoslovakia.....	31
Central Field Health Station, Nanking: work.....	30-1	Requests for assistance and gratitude expressed....	10, 11, 30, 31, 32, 33
Cholera and malaria campaigns.....	31	Public health works, <i>see under</i> Public works	
Collaboration of Health organisation; tribute of Chinese representative... ..	10, 11, 30	Quarantine.....	10, 30
Medical training and hospital at Nanking.....	31	Rural hygiene, studies <i>re</i>	32
Cholera.....	31	School, Int., of Advanced Health Studies, Paris: creation and funds.....	14, 33
		Sickness insurance in relation to protection of working classes.....	9

Health, Epidemics and Prevention of Disease <i>(continued)</i>	Page	Physical Education	Page
Smallpox	30, 31	Work of Health Org.....	10
Tuberculosis.....	10, 31, 33	Plague	
Typhoid fever	13, 32	<i>See under Health</i>	
Venereal diseases	31	Plants	40
Yellow fever	8, 30	Ports	
Hungary, Economic and Financial Situation		Bangkok, port of : work of Siamese Govt. and Transit Org. <i>re</i> improvement and installation	35
Work of Financial Cttee.....	42	Far-Eastern, <i>see</i> Health, Far-Eastern ports	
Import and Export Prohibitions and Res- trictions	37, 38, 39	Prices	
Industry		of Raw material and foodstuffs as compared with those of industrial products... 16, 37, 46	
Prices of products compared with those of raw materials and foodstuffs....	16, 37 46	Wholesale prices : situation in 1933 as compared with 1932	46
Production and marketing : co-ordination <i>see that title</i>		Production	
Situation in various countries : improve- ment.....	15, 37, 38, 44 (table)	Industrial, <i>see</i> Industry and Marketing : co-ordination... 16, 37, 39, 39-40	
Inland Navigation		Protectionism, Direct or Indirect	37, 39, 40
Documentation <i>re</i> application of principle of freedom of navigation to inland waterways	34	Public Works	
Initial study by Perm. Cttee. for Inland Navigation, of unification of naviga- tion regulations in Europe.....	34	Commission of Enquiry : work.....	19, 21, 35, 36
Labour		Discussion	12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 21-2
Conditions in relation to execution of public works.....	19, 20	History of question of public works of international concern.....	18
Malaria		Monetary and Economic Conference, Activities <i>re</i> and appointment of Sub- Cttee.	13, 18, 19, 21, 21-2, 35-6, 36
<i>See under Health</i>		Public health works in relation to unem- ployment	12, 13, 33
Maritime Navigation	34	National and international public works and financial aspect of question 13, 18-19, 19-21, 21-2, 35, 36 (<i>resol.</i>)	
Maternity		Resol. of 2nd Cttee.....	18
<i>See under Health</i>		<i>See also</i> Ports, Bangkok, etc.	
Mining Trades	38	Quota System	
Monetary and Economic Conference, World, 1933		<i>See</i> Import and Export Prohibitions, etc.	
Budgetary appropriations for future work		Railways	
Letter Oct. 2, 1933, from Chairman of 2nd Cttee. to Chairman of 4th Cttee.	17	<i>See under Transit</i>	
Letter Oct. 5, 1933, from Chairman of 4th Cttee. to Chairman of 2nd Cttee.	25	Refugees (Jewish and Other) coming from Germany : Proposal for the Organisation of Assistance on an International Basis	
Preparatory Commission, work of	37, 38, 40	Co-operation of Governments and private organisations with High Commissioner 27, 28, 29, 47, 48	
Questions studied :		Council of League : activities in relation to question	23, 29
Economic questions	38-40	Credit for setting up of institution to deal with question	17, 23, 27, 47, 48
Financial questions	40-1	Discussion.....	22-5, 26-8, 29
Public works.. 13, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 35, 36, 41		Employment of.....	22, 23, 26, 27, 47
Report and resolutions, references to....	40, 41	Financial aspect of question.	23, 27, 29, 47, 48
Sub-Committees appointed by : work 15, 19, 21, 39		Governing Body : composition, status, com- petence and relations with High Commissioner.....	29, 47, 48
Value of work accomplished	38	High Commissioner : appointment, powers and duties.....	27, 29, 47, 48
Monetary Problems		League of Nations : competence to deal with question	23, 24, 27
Banks and Banking, <i>see that title</i>		Letter from President of Assembly Oct. 1933 referring question to 2nd Cttee.	17
Capital, movement of	37, 40	Nature of problem and international action suggested 22-3, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 47, 48	
Currency : fluctuations	37, 40, 41, 42	Number of refugees, financial situation and countries harbouring them	23, 23, 24, 25
Foreign exchange restrictions, <i>see that title</i>		Palestine, question of emigration to....	22, 24
Gold, <i>see that title</i>		Draft recommendation of Spanish delegate	24, 25
Restoration of credit and monetary sta- bility	38, 40		
Silver, <i>see that title</i>			
Most-Favoured-Nation Clause	39		
Motor Traffic			
<i>See</i> Roads, etc., Road traffic, Signalling			
Nutrition			
in Chile	30		
Enquiry by Health Org.	10, 31		
Pellagra			
<i>See under Health</i>			

Refugees (Jewish and Other) coming from Germany: Proposal for the Organisation of Assistance on an International Basis (continued)	Page
Passports	22-3
Rapporteur	29
Report of 2nd Cttee. to Assembly.....	47-8
Resolution of 2nd Cttee.	47-8
Resolution submitted by Netherlands delegation.....	17
Statements by	
German delegate.....	23-4, 27-8
Netherlands delegate	22-3
States Members and non-Members of League: co-operation in action, <i>see above</i> Nature of problem, etc.	
Sub-Committee	
Appointment and composition	23, 25, 28
Report and resolution: discussion and adoption	26, 27-8, 29
Roads and Road Traffic	
Road building	
in China	31, 35
in Italy.....	20
in Sweden	19
Road traffic: work of Perm. Cttee.	
Commercial motor transport	34, 34-5
Signalling	34
Roumania	
Agreement <i>re</i> organisation of advisory technical co-operation between League and Roumania in financial sphere ...	41
Shipping Subsidies	39
Silver	16, 40, 41
Smallpox	
<i>See under</i> Health	
Stocks, Situation as regards 16, 21 (<i>statement</i>), 38, 45	
Stress Conference 1932: Activities	18
Syphilis	
<i>See</i> Health, Venereal diseases	
Taxation, Double	
<i>re</i> Income of business enterprises operating in more than one country; draft convention established by Fiscal Committee	42
Telegraphy, Wireless	
Diffusion of news <i>re</i> health matters	10, 31
<i>See also</i> Wireless Station, League	
Timber	40
Tin	40
Trade	
Increase in.....	15-16, 45 (<i>table</i>)
Relations between agricultural countries of Central and Eastern Europe, <i>see</i> Bucharest Conference	

Trade (continued)	Page
Removal of impediments paralysing int. trade	37, 38, 39
<i>See also</i> Import and Export, etc.	
Production and marketing	
Protectionism, etc.	
Transit and Communications	
Air navigation, <i>see that title</i>	
in China, <i>see</i> China, Communications, etc.	
Communications of importance to League at times of crisis, <i>see that title</i>	
Inland navigation, <i>see that title</i>	
Maritime navigation, <i>see that title</i>	
Organisation	
Budgetary situation and curtailment of work.....	34, 36 (<i>resol.</i>)
Work	
Discussion.....	13-14, 21-2
Rapporteur	7, 22
Report of 2nd Cttee.	
Adoption	22
Discussion	21-2
Text	34-6
Resolution of 2nd Cttee.....	36
Public works, <i>see that title</i>	
Railways	
Disputes between railway companies dealt with by Transit Org.....	34
Electrification of Italian.....	20
Signalling	34
Road traffic, <i>see under</i> Roads and Road Traffic	
Tuberculosis	
<i>See under</i> Health	
Typhoid Fever	
<i>See under</i> Health	
Unemployment	
Crisis, economic, in relation to 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 18, 19, 19-21, 21-2, 31-2, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38	
Question in relation to presence of refugees, from Germany, in various countries.....	22, 23-4
Situation in 1933 as compared with 1932	16, 45 (<i>table</i>)
Venereal Diseases	
<i>See under</i> Health	
Veterinary Questions	40
Vitamines	
Definition and standardisation.....	8, 9
War or Threat of War	
Communications between League and its Members in case of, <i>see</i> Communications of importance, etc.	
Whaling, Regulation of	
Ratification of Convention of 1931, question of	25-6
Wireless Station, League	35

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Official Journal

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT No. 118

RECORDS

OF THE

FOURTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION

OF THE

ASSEMBLY

MEETINGS OF THE COMMITTEES.

MINUTES

OF THE

FOURTH COMMITTEE

(BUDGET AND FINANCIAL QUESTIONS)

CONTENTS.

	Page
LIST OF MEMBERS	6
FIRST MEETING, September 26th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m. :	
1. Election of the Vice-Chairman	8
2. Publicity of Meetings	8
3. Adoption of the Agenda	8
SECOND MEETING, September 27th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m. :	
4. Audited Accounts for the Fourteenth Financial Period (1932)	8
5. Administration and Finances of the League of Nations : General Discussion	9
6. Appointment of the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears	14
THIRD MEETING, September 28th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m. :	
7. Administration and Finances of the League of Nations : General Discussion (<i>continuation</i>)	14
FOURTH MEETING, September 29th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m. :	
8. Contributions in Arrears and Collection of Contributions	21
9. Administration and Finances of the League of Nations : General Discussion (<i>continuation</i>)	22
10. Appointment of a General Rapporteur	28
FIFTH MEETING, September 30th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m. :	
11. Administration and Finances of the League of Nations: General Discussion (<i>continuation</i>)	28
SIXTH MEETING, October 3rd, 1933, at 3.30 p.m. :	
12. Administration and Finances of the League of Nations : General Discussion (<i>continuation</i>)	35
13. Technical Concentration of the Activities of the League of Nations and Rationalisation of the Services of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office: Examination of the Reports of the Supervisory Commission	38
SEVENTH MEETING, October 4th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m. :	
14. Technical Concentration of the Activities of the League of Nations and Rationalisation of the Services of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office : Examination of the Reports of the Supervisory Commission (<i>continuation</i>)	45
EIGHTH MEETING, October 5th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m. :	
15. Administration and Finances of the League of Nations : General Discussion (<i>continuation</i>)	48
16. Examination of the Budgetary Estimates of the Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League of Nations for the Sixteenth Financial Period (1934) : Chapter I, Assembly and Council	55
17. Chapter II, Item 4 : Salaries, Wages and Allowances	56
NINTH MEETING, October 6th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m. :	
18. Examination of the Budgetary Estimates of the Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League of Nations for the Sixteenth Financial Period (1934) (<i>continuation</i>) : Chapter II, Item 5 : Contribution to the Staff Provident Fund	59
19. Chapter II, Item 7 : Branch Offices	59
20. Chapter II, Item 8 : Travelling Expenses of Officials of the League	59
21. Chapter II, Item 9 : "Frais de représentation"	62
22. Chapter II, Item 10 : Property Account : Maintenance	64
23. Chapter II, Item 11 : Publications Department	64
24. Chapter II, Item 12 : General Office Expenses	64
25. Chapter II, Item 13 : Special Staff Charges	65
26. Chapter II, Item 14 : Interest Charges	66
27. Simplification of the Procedure of the Assembly : Draft Resolution adopted by the First Committee	66
TENTH MEETING, October 7th, 1933, at 10.15 a.m. :	
28. Examination of the Budgetary Estimates of the Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League of Nations for the Sixteenth Financial Period (1934) (<i>continuation</i>) : Chapter II, Item 15 : Unforeseen and Miscellaneous Expenses of the Secretariat	68
29. Chapter II, Item 16 : Unpaid Liabilities Fund	68
30. Chapter II, Item 17 : Supervision of Revenue and Expenditure	68
31. Chapter II, Deduct : Appropriations-in-Aid	71

	Page
TENTH MEETING, October 7th, 1933, at 10.15 a.m. (continued):	
32. Chapter III, Item 18 : Administrative Commissions and Minorities Questions	71
33. Chapter III, Item 19A : Financial Section and Economic Intelligence Service	71
34. Chapter III, Item 19B : Section of Economic Relations	71
35. Chapter III, Item 19C : Monetary and Economic Conference	71
36. Chapter III, Item 20 : Mandates	72
37. Chapter III, Item 21 : Communications and Transit Organisation	72
38. Chapter III, Item 22 : International Health Organisation	72
39. Chapter III, Item 23: A, Supervision of Opium Traffic ; B, Social Questions: Suppression of Traffic in Women and Protection of Children, etc. ; C, Permanent Central Opium Board set up under the Opium Convention of February 1925 ; D (Provisional) : Credits to provide for the Coming into Force of the Convention for the Limitation of the Manufacture and the Regulation of the Distribution of Narcotic Drugs	72
40. Chapter III, Item 24 : Reduction of Armaments	72
41. Chapter III, Item 25 : Intellectual Co-operation, International Bureaux and Miscellaneous Questions	73
42. Chapter III, Item 26 : International Convention on Slavery	73
43. Chapter III, Item 30 : Commission of Enquiry for European Union	73
44. Chapter III, Item 31 : A, Liaison with Latin America ; B, Liaison with China.	73
45. Chapter III, Item 32 : League Wireless Station	74
46. Chapter IV, Profit and Loss on Exchange	74
47. Chapter V, Item 34 : Furniture and Equipment ; Item 35 : Library	74
48. Part V, Buildings at Geneva	74
49. Part VI, Pensions	74
50. Examination of the Budgetary Estimates of the International Labour Organisation for the Sixteenth Financial Period (1934) : General Discussion	74
ELEVENTH MEETING, October 7th, 1933, at 4 p.m. :	
51. Examination of the Budgetary Estimates of the International Labour Organisation for the Sixteenth Financial Period (1934) : General Discussion (continuation)	76
52. Detailed Examination of the Budgetary Estimates of the International Labour Organisation for the Sixteenth Financial Period (1934) : Chapter I, Sessions of the Conference and Governing Body	80
53. Chapter II, General Services of the International Labour Office	80
54. Chapter II, Item 7 : Printing	80
55. Chapter II, Items 8 to 11	80
56. Chapter II, Item 12 : Enquiries, Investigations and External Collaboration	80
57. Chapter II, Item 13 : Commissions	80
58. Chapter II, Item 14 : Branch Offices	81
59. Chapter III, Profit and Loss on Exchange	82
60. Chapter IV, Permanent Equipment, etc.	82
61. Chapter V, Unforeseen Expenditure of Chapters I to IV	82
62. Chapter VI, Contribution to the International Management Institute	82
63. Deduct : Appropriations-in-Aid	82
64. Examination of the Budgetary Estimates of the Permanent Court of International Justice for the Sixteenth Financial Period (1934).	82
65. Examination of the Budgetary Estimates of the Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League of Nations for the Sixteenth Financial Period (1934) (continuation) : Part IV, Nansen International Office for Refugees	83
TWELFTH MEETING, October 9th, 1933, at 10.15 a.m. :	
66. Report of the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears	84
67. Financial Position of the League on August 31st and September 23rd, 1933	90
68. New Work involving New Expenditure on the Part of the League	90
69. Reports of the Supervisory Commission ; Examination of those Chapters not adopted during the Examination of the Budgetary Estimates	90
70. Second Supplementary Report of the Supervisory Commission	91
THIRTEENTH MEETING, October 9th, 1933, at 4.30 p.m. :	
71. Report of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund	92
72. Election of Two Members of the Supervisory Commission	97
73. Election of Three Regular and Three Substitute Members of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund	97
FOURTEENTH MEETING, October 10th, 1933, at 4 p.m. :	
74. Examination of the Draft Report of the Fourth Committee to the Assembly	97
75. Contributions in Arrears : Examination of the Draft Report to the Assembly	97
76. Close of the Session	97

ANNEXES.

	Page
1. Provisional Agenda	98
2. Technical Concentration of the Activities of the League of Nations and Rationalisation of the Services of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office	99
3. Supplementary Report by the Supervisory Commission to the 1933 Assembly	115
4. Report of the Supervisory Commission to the 1933 Assembly	122
5. Financial Position on August 31st, 1933, and on September 23rd, 1933	137
6. Contributions in Arrears; Report of the Fourth Committee to the Assembly	147
7. Second Supplementary Report by the Supervisory Commission to the Assembly	156
8. Third Report of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund to the Assembly	159
9. Report of the Fourth Committee to the Assembly on Financial Questions	162

LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (1933).

Chairman: His Excellency M. Constantin FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).

Vice-Chairman: Freiherr von RHEINBABEN (Germany).

<i>Abyssinia:</i>	His Excellency Count LAGARDE, Duke d'ENTOTTO.
<i>Albania:</i>	M. Lec KURTI.
<i>Australia:</i>	The Right Honourable S. M. BRUCE, C.H., M.C., M.P. Mr. Henry John SHEEHAN, C.B.E.
<i>Austria:</i>	Dr. Franz MATSCH.
<i>Belgium:</i>	Count CARTON DE WIART. M. J. MÉLOT (Substitute).
<i>Bolivia:</i>	His Excellency M. Adolfe COSTA DU RELS.
<i>United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:</i>	Mr. L. HORE-BELISHA, M.P. Mr. E. ROWE-DUTTON, C.M.G. (Substitute).
<i>Bulgaria:</i>	His Excellency M. Stéphane STEPHANOFF. M. Dimitri MIKOFF (Substitute).
<i>Canada:</i>	The Honourable Philippe ROY, M.D. The Honourable Robert J. MANION, M.C., M.P., M.D. (Substitute).
<i>Chile:</i>	His Excellency M. Jorge VALDÉS-MENDEVILLE.
<i>China:</i>	His Excellency Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo. His Excellency M. T. Y. Lo (Substitute).
<i>Colombia:</i>	Dr. Julio E. RUEDA.
<i>Cuba:</i>	His Excellency M. Carlos DE ARMENTEROS Y DE CARDENAS. M. Emiliano DUSSAQ Y FISCHER (Substitute).
<i>Czechoslovakia:</i>	His Excellency M. Štefan OSUSKÝ.
<i>Denmark:</i>	Chamberlain H. A. BERNHOFT. Count Bent HOLSTEIN (Substitute).
<i>Estonia:</i>	His Excellency M. Auguste SCHMIDT. M. C. R. PUSTA. M. J. KÓDAR (Substitute).
<i>Finland:</i>	His Excellency Dr. Rolf THESLEFF. M. P. HJELT (Substitute).
<i>France:</i>	His Excellency M. Henry BÉRENGER. M. Jean MISTLER. M. CAHEN-SALVADOR. M. Jean RÉVEILLAUD. M. François DE TESSAN.
<i>Germany:</i>	Freiherr von RHEINBABEN. Herr von KAMPHÖVENER.
<i>Greece:</i>	His Excellency M. R. RAPHAËL. M. A. CONTOUMAS (Substitute).
<i>Guatemala:</i>	His Excellency M. José MATOS.
<i>Haiti:</i>	His Excellency M. Constantin MAYARD. M. A. F. FRANGULIS (Substitute).
<i>Hungary:</i>	His Excellency M. Jean PELÉNYI. M. Georges DE OTTLIK (Substitute).
<i>India:</i>	Sir Hormusji MEHTA. Sir D. BRAY, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E. (Substitute).
<i>Irish Free State:</i>	Mr. Sean LESTER. Mr. T. J. COYNE (Substitute).
<i>Italy:</i>	The Honourable Stefano CAVAZZONI. The Honourable Fausto BIANCHI.
<i>Latvia:</i>	His Excellency M. Jules FELDMANS. M. Karlis KALNINS (Substitute).
<i>Liberia:</i>	His Excellency Dr. Antoine SOTTILE.

<i>Lithuania:</i>	His Excellency M. Voldemaras ČARNECKIS. His Excellency M. Vaclovas SIDZIKAUSKAS (Substitute).
<i>Luxemburg:</i>	M. Gaston DIDERICH. M. Charles VERMAIRE (Substitute).
<i>United States of Mexico:</i>	His Excellency Dr. Francisco CASTILLO NAJERA. M. Arturo PANI (Substitute).
<i>Netherlands:</i>	Mme. C. A. KLUYVER.
<i>New Zealand:</i>	Sir Thomas Mason WILFORD, K.C.M.G., K.G. Mr. C. KNOWLES (Substitute).
<i>Nicaragua:</i>	M. Tomás Francisco MEDINA.
<i>Norway:</i>	M. Carl Joachim HAMBRO. M. Hersleb BIRKELAND (Substitute).
<i>Panama:</i>	Dr. Raoul A. AMADOR.
<i>Paraguay:</i>	His Excellency Dr. R. V. CABALLERO DE BEDOYA.
<i>Persia:</i>	M. Abdollah ENTEZAM. M. Abdol-Hossein SARDARI (Substitute). Mme. A. H. HÉKIMI (Substitute).
<i>Poland:</i>	His Excellency M. Jean DE MODZELEWSKI. M. Thadée GWIAZDOWSKI.
<i>Portugal:</i>	His Excellency Dr. Augusto DE VASCONCELLOS. His Excellency Dr. José Capelo Franco FRAZÃO, Count DE PENHA GARCIA. M. Henrique Rezende DIAS DE OLIVEIRA (Substitute).
<i>Roumania:</i>	His Excellency M. Savel RADULESCO, M. Edmond CIUNTU (Substitute).
<i>Salvador:</i>	Dr. Joaquin PAREDES.
<i>Siam:</i>	His Excellency Phya Subarn SOMPATI. Luang BHADRAVADI (Substitute).
<i>South Africa:</i>	Major F. F. PIENAAR, D.T.D., O.B.E.
<i>Spain:</i>	His Excellency M. Salvador DE MADARIAGA Y ROJO. M. Leopoldo PALACIOS. M. José Maria DOUSSINAGUE (Substitute).
<i>Sweden:</i>	His Excellency M. E. C. BOHEMAN. M. N. R. WOHLIN (Substitute).
<i>Switzerland:</i>	M. William RAPPARD. M. Camille GORGÉ (Substitute).
<i>Turkey:</i>	His Excellency Cemal HÜSNÜ Bey.
<i>Uruguay:</i>	His Excellency Dr. Alfredo DE CASTRO, His Excellency Dr. Alberto GUANI (Substitute).
<i>Venezuela:</i>	His Excellency Dr. C. PARRA-PÉREZ. His Excellency Dr. Diógenes ESCALANTE (Substitute).
<i>Yugoslavia:</i>	His Excellency M. Constantin FOTITCH. Dr. Ivan PERNE.

FIRST MEETING

Held on Tuesday, September 26th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).

1. Election of the Vice-Chairman.

On the proposal of M. RAPHAËL (Greece), Freiherr VON RHEINBABEN (Germany) was unanimously elected Vice-Chairman.

2. Publicity of Meetings.

It was agreed that the Committee should meet in public unless it decided otherwise.

3. Adoption of the Agenda.

The provisional agenda (Annex 1) was adopted.

SECOND MEETING

Held on Wednesday, September 27th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).

4. Audited Accounts for the Fourteenth Financial Period (1932).¹

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, said that, for the moment, he had only one general observation to add to the comments which would be found in the report of the Supervisory Commission on the audited accounts for the financial period 1932 and on the report by M. Ceresa which accompanied them.

If the Fourth Committee would refer to the closed accounts, it would observe that, in 1932, thirteen States had made no payment towards their contribution and fifteen had paid only part. Consequently, the League had received only twenty-eight and a-half million francs of the budget adopted by the Assembly for 1932, amounting to 33,687,000 francs. It would be agreed that, in those circumstances, it was no easy matter to ensure the regular working of the three administrations — the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice. The year 1932 had nevertheless ended without a treasury deficit, which proved that the responsible officers and the Supervisory Commission had not allowed themselves to be caught unawares, but had taken the necessary restrictive measures in time. M. Osuský did not overlook the budgetary objection that such a situation must raise in the minds of certain delegates, and would give explanations on this matter in due course. For the time being, he was entitled to say that it was owing to the prudent and wise administration of its finances that the League had been able to end the year 1932 without special financial difficulties.

In conclusion, M. Osuský considered that, after the effort which the Supervisory Commission had made, it would be unfair for the Members of the League to put it once again into the situation in which it had found itself in 1932. Placing confidence in the Commission, the Assembly had laid upon it a heavy responsibility, and since it had achieved a satisfactory result at the end of the financial period, it was entitled to ask the Members of the League to show the same wisdom as it had itself shown with respect to the budget of the League and to their own obligations in that matter.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) asked the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission to be good enough to explain how it had been possible to close the year 1932 without a treasury deficit, in spite of the fact that certain States had not paid either the whole or part of their contributions. M. Osuský's explanations would perhaps enable certain important conclusions to be drawn with regard to the 1933 budget. In particular, did the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission consider that the extraordinary means employed in 1932 could be utilised, at least to a considerable extent, in 1933 also, in order to prevent a treasury deficit in respect of that financial period as in respect of the preceding period?

In reply to a question by Sir Thomas Wilford (New Zealand), the CHAIRMAN explained that, for the time being, the Committee was considering the closed accounts for the financial period 1932 with a view to their approval, and that later on, when the 1934 budget was under discussion, the delegates would be able to refer to those closed accounts without, however, calling them into question.

¹ Document A.3.1933.X.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, replying to M. Cavazzoni, explained that the saving effected by the Supervisory Commission, which had made it possible to balance the 1932 accounts, came mainly from two sources. In the first place, the Commission, realising from the beginning of 1932 the gravity of the financial situation, had asked the heads of the three organisations to postpone certain work which had been authorised by the Assembly. Thus, for example, when provision had been made for three sessions of a particular committee, the number had been reduced to two, except when that was absolutely impossible. At the same time, such measures could not be developed into a regular system; they had placed the Supervisory Commission in an extremely unpleasant situation as regards the heads of the League organisations, who were thus prevented from carrying out the tasks assigned to them by an Assembly vote. In reply to their observations, the Supervisory Commission had pointed out that the essential thing was to keep alive.

The second source of saving consisted in an almost complete suppression of transfers. Whenever sums allocated to a particular chapter or item were not utilised, the Supervisory Commission, with the help of the heads of the three administrations, had taken care that they should not be employed for other purposes.

To repeat what he had said, the measures he had just mentioned did not form a system which could be used indefinitely, but were merely expedients to be employed in exceptional circumstances.

M. DE MODZELEWSKI (Poland) wondered whether the results mentioned as having been achieved during the year 1932 did not prove, apart from what M. Osuský had said, that, in adopting the budget for the year in question, the Fourth Committee had been too generous. For example, of the four million francs provided for the Disarmament Conference, one million only had been expended. Should not that consideration lead the Fourth Committee to show more caution and energy in future, and to support the Supervisory Commission in its efforts to economise?

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, reminded the Committee that, in his preceding speech, he had referred to the suppression of transfers. The three million francs saved on the Disarmament Conference came within that category. Moreover, when the Fourth Committee and the Assembly had adopted the credits for the Disarmament Conference, was it not necessary to provide for a maximum amount? What would have happened if, for want of funds, the work of so important a conference had had to be held up?

The audited accounts for the fourteenth financial period (1932) were approved for submission to the Assembly.

5. Administration and Finances of the League of Nations : General Discussion.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, said that, for the moment, he would confine himself to the general problem of the finances and administration of the League, holding over the details until the various questions dealt with in the Supervisory Commission's reports were discussed.

He reminded the Committee that, in May 1932, the United Kingdom Government, disturbed by the tendency of the League budget to increase, had brought the question up before the Council, which, after discussing it for five days, had referred it to the Supervisory Commission and thus also to the Assembly. The Supervisory Commission, which was the faithful watchdog of the Assembly's rights in budgetary matters, had been anxious to make no proposal until it had received a definite mandate from the Assembly, but in order to save time it had, with the help of the heads of the various administrations, prepared a number of documents for the enlightenment of the Fourth Committee and of the Assembly. The Fourth Committee was familiar with those documents: they had been submitted the previous year. There were eighteen reports, the object of which was to explain the League's various activities. It would be remembered that, after an extremely important discussion, the 1932 Assembly had settled only two of the questions raised — namely, the principal officers and salaries. The remainder had been referred to the Supervisory Commission for study and report.

A report by the Supervisory Commission on the technical concentration of the activities of the League of Nations and the rationalisation of the services of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office (Annex 2) was at present before the Fourth Committee. Any study of such problems must inevitably come up against one fact — namely, that the administrations of the League and of the International Labour Office were of a very special nature. The question of what was sometimes called the representation of nationalities constantly arose in these bodies, and it had some influence, not only on the budget, but also on the administration itself. In this connection, M. Osuský pointed out that the Assembly, and, in particular, the Fourth Committee, had already expressed on several occasions the desire for retrenchment and for the rationalisation of the Secretariat services. But what had happened? When the question of Secretaries and Under-Secretaries-General — that was to say, the question of the existence of the Secretariat — had been taken up, these posts, instead of being reduced, had been increased first from four to five, then from five to six, so that all the efforts made between 1924 and 1930 to reduce the number of the principal officers had merely resulted in increased expenditure. M. Osuský expressed the hope that the present discussion would lead to a different result.

Two methods were available to the Supervisory Commission in carrying out the task assigned to it the year previously. It could either reduce the number of officials merely by suppressing posts, or it could proceed to transfers of staff. To suppress posts would raise far more complicated problems than might be supposed, for, as the Assembly had decided the year previously that the contracts of the League officials could not be changed, it would be legally and constitutionally bound to recompense officials dismissed owing to the suppression of their posts. There remained transfers when vacancies occurred. The Supervisory Commission felt that it had not been appointed to work out theories but to produce tangible results, and it had therefore examined the cases which arose, one by one.

From the point of view of rationalisation, the officials could be divided into two classes — the political and technical staff, and the administrative staff.

With regard to the first class, which included the principal officers and the Members of Section, the Supervisory Commission felt that there was no need to ask an expert from outside to study the problem of rationalisation raised in their case. Apart from the heads of the League administrations, no one had so complete a knowledge of the League's activities as the Supervisory Commission itself. Once the Assembly had settled the problem of the principal officers, the Supervisory Commission had only to consider it with respect to the Members of Section, and the question which then arose was the method of organising the recruitment and progression (in the scale) of Members of Section.

In 1930, the Assembly had abolished the distinction between A and B Members of Section. The result was to be found in Annex 2, paragraph 19. The figures given in that paragraph would probably suffice to convince the Fourth Committee that the system adopted was not ideal. From the administrative point of view, it made the division of responsibilities between the different grades impossible, as, indeed, Sir Malcolm Ramsay and Mr. Robertson had pointed out. It was quite true, as was stated in the above-mentioned document, that an army mainly composed of generals could never make a good army. The Supervisory Commission, whatever its respect for precedents, had felt that means must be sought : (1) to make the division of responsibilities in the Sections easier ; (2) to reduce the cost of the present system ; and (3) to stimulate the activity of Members of Section, whose salaries rose from 12,000 to 28,000 francs by the usual annual increments and, so to speak, automatically, on the sole condition that they committed no serious fault.

After a careful and thorough examination of the question, therefore, the Supervisory Commission had concluded that certain changes should be made in the present situation. Consequently, it was submitting certain suggestions to the Fourth Committee in a report which would shortly be distributed (Annex 3) with regard to the re-organisation of the category of Members of Section in order to make it correspond more closely to the division of responsibilities, and also on the recruitment and progression in the scale of Members of Section.

M. Osuský desired to point out at once that, having set forth certain general considerations and principles in its report in July (Annex 2), the Supervisory Commission was now making concrete proposals. It was just as well to say in passing that the Supervisory Commission had been careful not to re-introduce the difference between A and B Members of Section, the disadvantage of which had been recognised in practice.

The special services of the Secretariat raised several important questions both in connection with the private secretariats of the Secretary-General and the Under-Secretaries-General, the Information Section and the centralisation of statistics.

With regard to the private secretariats of the Secretary-General and the Under-Secretaries-General, it would be remembered that various delegates in the Fourth Committee had complained that the present system had certain drawbacks from the point of view of the efficiency and activities of the League. They had even gone so far as to say that the private secretariats were so many fortresses in which the high officials of the Secretariat entrenched themselves to avoid carrying out the League's decisions. These private secretariats had been re-organised in the past year. The Supervisory Commission had, however, considered that they might be more thoroughly re-organised and, in order to give satisfaction to a legitimate desire expressed by the high officials themselves, had proposed, in complete agreement, moreover, with the Secretary-General, that from the officials who were at present members of the private secretariats a small section should be formed whose duties would be to draw up the agenda of the Assembly, Council, etc. This would not, of course, lead to an increase in the number of officials in the Secretariat.

The Information Section, as the Committee was aware, had also been criticised in the Fourth Committee. After making a detailed examination of the organisation and work of this Section, the Supervisory Commission had had to choose between two solutions : either to convert it into an organisation in which each State Member of the League should have one of its nationals or to restrict it to its real purpose, which was to give information. In this connection, it had felt that liaison between the Secretariat and the States should be maintained by the Secretariat as a whole and not by the Information Section only, that the business of the latter was to give information to the Press and not to collect information, which should be the work of the Political Section. Liaison with the international bureaux fell more properly within the sphere of intellectual co-operation. These were the main lines of the proposals which would be found in the Supervisory Commission's report. They involved a reduction of the personnel of the Information Section from 54 to 41. That was not a final figure, as the

Secretary-General and the Supervisory Commission were still awaiting the settlement of the question of the auxiliary bureaux. There could be no doubt that, if these bureaux were closed, some of their activities would be carried on by the Information Section, whose staff would then have to be increased, whereas it would be reduced if the bureaux were strengthened.

With regard to the centralisation of statistics, M. Jahn, the expert appointed to examine the question, had felt that, in view of the diversity of the statistics collected, nothing was to be gained by centralisation. In the circumstances, the Supervisory Commission had not thought it necessary to propose the introduction of a central statistical service.

The Chairman of the Supervisory Commission then examined the possibility of reducing the Central Services and the auxiliary staff in the Sections. The Committee was aware that an important fraction of the Secretariat budget — 3,600,000 francs — was allocated to these Services. The real question was whether, with the present organisation of the Secretariat, the clerical staff reached the maximum efficiency, and whether the Sections made as full use of it as possible. In order to form an opinion on this subject, the Supervisory Commission had set up a special committee in the Secretariat and had availed itself of the help of its Scientific Management Institute. It had received reports on the following services : Central Stenographic Service, Messenger Service, Distribution Service and Roneo Service. It had considered these reports with the Director of the Institute and in this way had obtained all the necessary explanations on these matters.

With regard to the administrative services of the various Sections, it had obtained the assistance of an official of the United Kingdom Civil Service, Mr. Robertson, who had submitted a report and given verbal explanations.

M. Osuský then reviewed the Supervisory Commission's recommendations with regard to the various clerical activities of the Secretariat.

Centralisation of clerical work : On this point the Commission had reached the conclusion that most of the stenographers attached to the Sections should be transferred to the Central Service. With regard to the Registry, Indexes, and Archives, Section files, Section stocks of documents, Section accounts and proof-reading in Sections, the Supervisory Commission had proposed a number of measures in order to remove certain objections to the present system. The enquiry into the clerical work of the Sections, however, was not yet completed. Finally, with regard to the Messenger Service, the Commission had noted that sufficient distinction was not made in the Secretariat between messengers and office-keepers, and it had made a proposal in this matter.

Regrouping of the Printing, Reproduction of Documents and Distribution Services : The Supervisory Commission proposed a number of measures in this connection, which would also be found in its report, and had also made various recommendations with regard to the arrangement of premises and central control.

Having made all these suggestions, it had turned its attention to their execution, and would have liked to avail itself of the services of Mr. Robertson, the British Treasury expert. Unfortunately, the United Kingdom Government had been unable to release this important official for a sufficiently long period, and, in these circumstances, the work had been entrusted to a competent official in the Secretariat, who would work under the direction of the Secretary-General and in accordance with the principles laid down by the Supervisory Commission, the Fourth Committee and the Assembly.

M. Osuský dealt next with certain criticisms that had been made with regard to co-operation between the Secretariat and the International Labour Office. During the first years of the League's existence, such co-operation had been very difficult owing to the jealousy with which each of the two administrations had guarded its prerogatives. Happily, that state of mind had changed, and the Supervisory Commission's report contained a number of proposals for increasing the co-operation which had already been begun in practice and had produced satisfactory results. Furthermore, there was already a Joint Purchasing Committee for supplies, and the Supervisory Commission had suggested that a similar committee should be set up for the libraries of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office. Finally, the technical sections of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office were co-operating with one another.

With regard to the rationalisation of the International Labour Office, it should be noted that the services of the latter institution were more highly centralised than the Secretariat services, and that fewer changes had therefore to be contemplated. Following on the decision of the Committee of Thirteen in 1930, the Governing Body had considered the grouping of the personnel of the International Labour Office. The Supervisory Commission had been informed of the lines along which the Governing Body was working, and, after receiving various explanations, had made further reforms in that connection. It would be seen from the documents and reports of the Supervisory Commission that the distribution of officials of the first, second and third divisions would be altered, and that twenty-seven posts would be transferred from the first to the second division, involving a saving which the Governing Body of the International Labour Office estimated at 362,000 francs. The International Labour Office had thus applied the principle that an army should not have too many generals. Furthermore, if the reduction of 10 per cent voted for a period which would end in 1934 were maintained, the saving would amount to 847,000 francs. That gave an exact idea of the direction in which the International Labour Office was proceeding.

M. Osuský wished to make it clear that the proposals which had been or would be submitted by the Commission had already had effects that were visible in the 1934 budget. It would be seen from this budget that fourteen posts had been suppressed in the Secretariat, leaving aside, of course, all the posts which would be suppressed, without payment of any

indemnity for dismissal, as they became vacant. In this connection, M. Osuský pointed out that, in the Secretariat alone, there were, on an average, about fifty vacancies a year. He had already drawn attention to the suppression of six posts of Member of Section and seven of various grades in the Information Section, quite apart from what might be done once the question of the auxiliary bureaux was settled. The budget as submitted to the Fourth Committee presented a substantial reduction as compared with the previous budget.

In conclusion, the execution of the Supervisory Commission's proposals would call for vigilant, efficient and strict though, he would add, kindly supervision for two or three years if the measures adopted were really to be applied. The administrations must therefore feel that the Fourth Committee was determined to demand the execution of the principles which would be laid down, but the Supervisory Commission must also feel that it was itself under supervision. Only so would the ideas and principles which it placed before the Fourth Committee result in real reductions and savings in the future.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL asked permission, as he was sitting on the Fourth Committee for the first time, to evoke the name of Sir Eric Drummond, who, in connection with the first fifteen budgets of the League of Nations, had contributed his great knowledge of the administration he had created, and to allude to his devotion to the League. M. Avenol at that moment envied Sir Eric Drummond his very thorough knowledge of the administration, to make up for which he himself would at least give proof of his goodwill by assisting the Committee as effectively as possible in its very important work of financial administration and in its desire to economise, which in the present situation was more than ever necessary.

M. Avenol simply desired to give the members of the Fourth Committee an opportunity to survey the development of the financial situation for the past three years, and so more readily to grasp the significance and meaning of the budget submitted to them for approval.

Taking first the situation with regard to the financial period 1932, he would draw attention to only two or three figures.

The year 1932 had ended with a total surplus, in round figures, of 1,275,000 francs. The surplus for the services of the Secretariat was 2,375,000 francs. As the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission and some of the delegates after him had observed, the reasons for this unusual surplus were themselves unusual, and the principal reason — as M. de Modzelewski had very rightly remarked — was the very high figure at which expenditure on the Disarmament Conference had been estimated, owing to the impossibility of foreseeing how long the Conference would last and, in particular, by what methods it would carry out its work.

The situation of the current financial period could be described by the following figures :

At the present time, receipts amounted to 57.82 per cent of the budget for the year. On the same date in 1932, the proportion was 64.84 per cent. There was therefore a considerable decrease, but a plausible explanation could be found for it. It was principally due to a difference of a few days in the receipt of certain contributions which were assured. It could therefore be considered that, in 1932 and 1933, the movement of receipts was practically the same.

At the present date, expenditure by the Secretariat represented 44 per cent of the budget ; that of the International Labour Organisation (and, in speaking of the expenditure of the International Labour Organisation, he meant payments to the Organisation by the Treasurer), 60 per cent ; and that of the Permanent Court of International Justice, 55 per cent.

Expenditure for the Secretariat amounted, on August 31st, 1933, to 9,596,000 francs, and the proportion of 44 per cent which he had just mentioned was based on that figure.

Although the financial situation was bad, he was able to say at once that not only was there no deficit to report in the current year — not even a temporary deficit from month to month — but also that, at the present time, actual receipts under the head of contributions, which during September alone amounted to 3,180,000 francs, removed for the moment any fear of a deficit. The situation with regard to the present financial period was therefore fairly satisfactory, provided expenditure was maintained within the same limits as during the early months of the year — that was to say, provided the rate of saving was maintained at 16 per cent, the financial period would end without a deficit. It would perhaps be optimistic to anticipate a surplus, but the Secretary-General believed that, so far as the Secretariat was concerned, there would be no deficit at the end of the year.

Some familiarity with these two financial periods — one entirely ended and the other in progress — was useful in understanding the bearing of the budget at present before the Committee. The main features of the budget, as compared with the two preceding it, were the following — he would refer first to the total figure of the budget and then to the figure for the Secretariat : the total budget for 1932 was 33,687,000 francs and that for 1933, 33,429,000 francs. The draft budget submitted to the Committee amounted to 30,644,000 francs, or a decrease of 3,043,000 francs as compared with 1932 and 2,785,000 francs as compared with 1933.

The figures for the Secretariat, which were included in these budgets, were as follows : 1932, 19,174,000 francs ; 1933, 17,322,000 francs ; and 1934, 15,708,000 francs, or a total decrease in 1934 of 3,466,000 francs as compared with 1932 and 1,614,000 francs as compared with 1933.

What was the meaning of these figures? In the first place, they showed that not only had there been no over-budgeting in the current year, but certain risks had been taken. In accepting the figures, the Secretary-General would associate himself fully with the efforts of the Supervisory Commission, but desired to indicate what risks were involved.

He had already pointed out that the current period would end without a deficit if the rate of saving were maintained at 16 per cent. That figure at present represented the exact decrease in the receipts of contributions.

Next year's budget, however, presented the danger that, however great the economies effected by even more rigorous measures than those applied in the present year, expenditure would continue to exceed receipts. It must not be forgotten that the contributions received by the League were the mathematical equivalent of the revenue at its disposal, and that any delay in the receipt of revenue signified in practice a reduction in revenues. It was, therefore, to be feared that, next year, this figure of 30,644,000 francs now proposed to the Committee would, if receipts in effect only amounted to 82 or 83 per cent of the total, make it impossible to close the current financial year without a deficit, according to present estimates. This was a risk, but it was a risk which he was prepared to accept. He was anxious, however, that the members of the Committee should know it and accept it likewise, in the decision which they would be called upon to take. Given present circumstances, he felt that it was necessary to make a trial of reducing the level of expenditure, and, consequently, that of revenue also, to the amount proposed.

The second risk was not financial; it was that of a radical reduction and retrenchment of the activity of the League, for such economies — and those to which he was referring were not economies to be effected by the administration, but reductions in the amounts voted for expenditure — could only be achieved by means of a considerable retrenchment in every field of the League's work in relation, of course, to the tasks assigned to it by the Assembly. This risk might be taken next year. Next year might be considered as a year of repose, of waiting or semi-hibernation in the case of certain activities. He felt bound to state candidly forthwith that, in his opinion, should any circumstances oblige next year's Assembly to follow the same policy, it would be desirable to take a more drastic course — namely, to proceed to a complete revision of the decisions adopted by the Assembly in former years and to consider whether the theoretical work of the League should not be reduced to the practical level dictated by its finances. He would draw attention to this risk once again.

He would next analyse the various reductions by which the final figure in the draft budget had been brought about. They might be estimated as follows: Assembly, Council, Conference, Committees — what might be termed the activities of the League of Nations — approximately 1,100,000 francs; staff salaries 179,000 francs. The remainder was divided under various heads, and amounted to a net reduction, as regarded the Secretariat services, of 1,609,000 francs, after deduction of increases under certain heads. These figures showed that the reduction effected among the League's activities constituted the major part of the total reduction.

Again, what reduction had been effected by economies in staff salaries, and what had been the first results achieved in the work of rationalisation carried out under the direction of the Supervisory Commission? A few figures would provide this information: in 1933, the number of posts was 698, representing salaries amounting to 9,127,000 francs; for 1934, the number of posts had been reduced to 684, representing 9,078,000 francs.

The reductions must be set off against certain increases in expenditure. These included, in the first place, the statutory annual increases in salary, amounting to 195,000 francs; secondly, certain expenditure on temporary posts necessitated by circumstances which were themselves temporary; the total increase amounted to 240,000 francs.

Against these increases should be set the abolition of fourteen posts, already incorporated in the present budget, the sum involved being 99,000 francs.

The measures taken by the Assembly last year for the reduction of the salaries of new or newly-promoted officials had resulted in a saving of 119,000 francs, while the total reduction had, in agreement with the Supervisory Commission, been fixed at 200,000 francs. This reduction was the first result of the rationalisation that had been put in hand.

The total of these savings was 419,000 francs, and, if the increases already mentioned, amounting to 240,000 francs, were deducted from this total of 419,000 francs, the net reduction would be found to be 179,000 francs. This net reduction of 179,000 francs therefore represented a far greater effort than might be supposed to judge from the figure itself.

The Secretary-General desired to say only a few words concerning contributions in arrears. It was a very grave problem which the Committee would have to consider. Before indicating its full importance, he would like to quote a few precise figures in order to obviate certain exaggerations to which the situation with regard to contributions in arrears might give rise.

Taking the whole of the fourteen budgets of the League, the total of contributions in arrears, compared with total contributions received, represented 6.93 per cent of the contributions due, and if from these arrears there were deducted those portions which had already been consolidated and which were no longer claimable arrears, in consequence of arrangements reached with, for instance, China, and other countries, the amount of claimable arrears was reduced to 4.10 per cent. If a further deduction were made to take into account

the very special position with regard to the contributions of the Argentine Republic which had hitherto always appeared in the League's accounts, this percentage would fall to 3.07.

Between 1920 and 1928, the proportion of contributions received over the whole of the League's existence had amounted in all to 98.99 per cent. In 1929, the percentage had been 96; in 1930, 95; in 1931, it had fallen to 90, and, in 1932, it had reached 82.

Consequently, the most serious problem for the League was not so much the present total figure of arrears — this figure constituted a problem which the Assembly might be given some time to solve and which would be considered by the Sub-Committee to be set up by the Fourth Committee; the real problem of the moment was the receipt of current contributions.

In the previous year, Sir Eric Drummond had expressed himself on this subject with all the anxiety which it caused him, and, it might be said, with all the tact called for in a position that created a somewhat peculiar situation between the different Members of the League.

That was a point of view with which M. Avenol did not intend to deal either; he merely wished to emphasise that, if it had been found possible last year, and in the present year again, to balance expenses without a deficit (notwithstanding the very low proportion of 82 per cent), it was due to certain exceptional circumstances, which, moreover, involved risks that were being taken for next year; but that was a situation which could not be expected to recur. Consequently, these risks could, in fact, only be covered if there were a notable improvement in the position by means of the regular receipt of contributions.

The only aspect of this problem on which M. Avenol wished to add a few words was the practical aspect. There was, particularly in the present period of depression, a certain number of difficulties which had not existed previously, and it was by helping to find a practical solution for these difficulties that it would be possible to make a real improvement in the position with regard to the annual collection of contributions.

At the request of the Supervisory Commission, the Secretary-General had mentioned in a note a few practical suggestions, which, he desired to say, were not final. It was for the members of the Committee to think them over, but they were at any rate a first attempt to find a solution for the problem. If this attempt were not satisfactory, other solutions would be sought, but it was absolutely essential to find one, since — and this was the conclusion with which the Secretary-General desired to close his short statement — the whole work of the League at present depended on the regular receipt of contributions. The Supervisory Commission, with the help of the Secretary-General and the administration, had already made an effort, which it would continue, to reduce expenditure, but this effort must be met with a corresponding effort on the part of the States Members to pay their contributions.

6. Appointment of the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears.

On the proposal of the Bureau, *the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears was constituted as follows*: M. PALACIOS (Spain), M. RAPHAËL (Greece), Sir Hormusji MEHTA (India), M. CASTILLO NAJERA (Mexico) and M. BOHEMAN (Sweden).

THIRD MEETING

Held on Thursday, September 28th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).

7. Administration and Finances of the League of Nations : General Discussion^f (continuation).

Mr. HORE-BELISHA (United Kingdom) said that the lucid and balanced statement of the Secretary-General and the reasoned and particularised report of the Supervisory Commission (Annex 4), supplemented by the exhaustive and capable verbal commentary of its Chairman, would enable the Committee to proceed immediately to the urgent and pressing task of discussing the principles upon which the budget should be based.

The report of the Supervisory Commission, which had been drawn up, not by scaremongers or alarmists, but by reasonable and serious men; showed that a situation had been reached in which, whatever the importance of the individual activities of the League, the main issue at the present time was to safeguard its actual existence.

What had brought the League to that dangerous pass? The explanation, the Committee was told, was to be found mainly on the revenue side — namely, in the difficulties experienced in collecting contributions. Some idea of the justification for that claim and of the magnitude of the arrears that had been accumulating could be obtained by a perusal of the documents on the financial position of the League (Annex 5). The estimated expenditure for 1934 was 30,648,000 francs, no less than two-thirds of which would be met if contributions in arrears, the total of which was at present 21,669,000 francs, were to be paid. It might be, as the Secretary-General had said, that 21,669,000 francs was only a small proportion of the total revenue collected since the League's inception. Had it been in existence for forty years instead of fourteen, the proportion would have been even smaller. Still, the Committee should

not disguise from itself the fact that the total had already grown to a size representing 70 per cent of the annual budget. If that were an episode of the past, it might be viewed with less anxiety, but His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom could not conceal its misgivings at finding that the accumulation of arrears was a growing cancer. Year by year the total increased : excluding China, the arrears in respect of the two previous years alone amounted to 1,346,000 francs in June 1930, 3,000,010 francs in June 1931 and 3,973,000 francs in 1932. In 1933, they amounted to 7,756,000 francs.

Plainly, therefore, there was a gross defect on the revenue side of the League budget and, but that a special Sub-Committee had been appointed to look into the matter, he would have ventured to draw certain deductions. He conceived it to be his duty to tell the Sub-Committee that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom placed particular reliance upon it that year, meeting — as it did — under the shadow of the Supervisory Commission's report, either to resolve the situation or to inform public opinion of the real facts. For both public and parliamentary opinion in the United Kingdom were seriously alarmed, and the United Kingdom delegation would welcome means of allaying their anxiety.

Passing from revenue to expenditure, Mr. Hore-Belisha said that the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, in his painstaking review of the previous day, had recalled that the 1932 budget had amounted to 33,687,000 francs and receipts to 28,565,000 francs. How, in the circumstances, he had asked, was the continuation of the League's work to be ensured ? The marvel was that it had continued at all. At the risk of dispelling the mystery, Mr. Hore-Belisha reminded the Committee that, although the budget estimates for 1932 were 33,687,000 francs, expenditure amounted to only 27,000,000 francs. Far from finding itself in any difficulty, therefore, the League had actually had a cash surplus at the end of the year which, when the necessary reductions were made, amounted to 1,275,000 francs.

Similarly, in dealing with economies, the Secretary-General had compared the 1934 budget with the budgets for previous years and had emphasised the vast reduction which had been achieved. It was true that the budget estimate for 1934 was 30,648,000 francs as compared with 33,687,000 in 1932, an apparent saving of over 3,000,000 francs, but expenditure in 1932 had been 27,290,000 francs, and the present budget was really not 3,039,000 francs less than the 1932 budget but 3,358,000 francs more as compared with actual expenditure — the proper figure by which to judge of economies.

He did not desire to minimise what had already been done. He had heard with the greatest satisfaction of the energetic efforts made and the satisfactory results achieved by the Secretary-General, his predecessor and the staff. His point was a bigger one. He had cited figures to illustrate a shortcoming on the expenditure side of the budget — namely, that year by year the taxpayers in the various countries were being asked for more money than was required. For example, excluding the figures for the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court, it would be found that, in 1928, estimated expenditure was 14,168,000 francs and actual expenditure 11,916,000 francs, leaving a margin of 2,252,000 francs. In the following year, there was a margin of 2,157,000 francs ; in 1930, of 1,989,000 francs ; in 1931, of 2,000,020 francs ; and in 1932, of 5,810,000 francs, or, excluding disarmament — as was only fair — of 2,698,000 francs. Over-budgeting that disclosed such results could only be described as systematic. If there were a mere overestimate of the total, it would be difficult to understand, though it might be understandable. But it occurred in almost every chapter of the budget. Administrative Commissions and Minorities had a margin in 1931 of 22,000 francs and in 1932 of 24,000 francs. In 1932, the Financial Section had a margin of 110,000 francs, Economic Relations of 167,000 francs, Mandates of 59,000 francs, Transit of 105,000 francs, Health of 257,000 francs, Traffic in Women and Children of 23,000 francs, the Opium Board of 42,000 francs, Liaison with Latin America of 118,000 francs, and so on. As long as that method of budgeting continued, it was difficult to judge what saving had been made, and he urged the Committee to rid itself once and for all of a thoroughly unsound system.

He had dealt with the matter on the broadest lines without any desire to carp or criticise or to give offence, because the difficulties were appreciable, but the League should set all countries an example in its budget-making and should honestly face the position. The shortage of revenue had nothing whatever to do with the estimating of expenditure : expenditure ought to stand intrinsically upon its own merits, in any proper picture of the finances of an institution.

He had heard with great appreciation M. Osuský's statement on the efforts at rationalisation and had no comment to make upon it, as the relevant documents had only just been received. Plainly, however, substantial achievements had been realised which justified the initiation of the subject by the United Kingdom a year previously. He believed that the League was administered by serious and earnest people and was confident that they would listen to his appeal to base the budget upon sound principles.

He hoped nothing he had said would lead to the belief that he was trying to undermine any of the League's activities. On the contrary, it was because His Majesty's Government was a true friend of the League and desired to forward its best interests that he was trying

to perform what, after all, was the best service that could be rendered — the putting of its budget upon a sound basis.

M. HAMBRO (Norway) said that, while he fully agreed with many of the minor points Mr. Hore-Belisha had made with regard to both revenue and expenditure, he must draw attention to certain misunderstandings in his fundamental view of the expenditure aspect of the question. He had said that the budget estimates were based on a thoroughly unsound system because the League asked each year for more than it required. But that might be put in another way : what would have been the situation of the League at the present time if during the first years of its existence it had had a deficit ? The budget and finances of the League could not be compared with the budget and finances of any single State. It would be ruinous for the League to have a deficit on its budget in any one year. It had no means of raising a loan to cover deficits, and it must be in a position to fulfil its obligations. Contributions were not paid into the Treasury of the League month by month ; the greater part of them were paid in the latter half of the year. Had the League not budgeted, during the first years of its existence, in such a way as to safeguard the administration against a deficit, it would have been unable to pay the salaries of its officials. Even at the present time, it would have been unable to pay them during the first months of the year but for the Working Capital Fund, which was now almost exhausted. Furthermore, had there been no surplus during the first years of the League's existence, the Members would have been forced to pay more year by year, and they would have had to consider the possibility of curtailing its activities at a very early stage.

There had been no over-budgeting in the past few years. There must, of course, be a safety valve in the budget, and for that reason 500,000 francs was voted year by year for unforeseen expenditure. That sum had very seldom been spent, but it was absolutely essential that the Council should have funds available to enable it to meet should an unforeseen political crisis arise, as, indeed, recent crises had proved. He did not think a single State Member of the League would take the responsibility of removing that item from the budget.

• In the same way, there had been a hidden reserve in the sums voted for the Disarmament Conference and, while he himself would have preferred a somewhat smaller credit, it had been absolutely essential to vote a fairly large one.

It must be remembered that the League, unlike national administrations, could do nothing if the sums voted on the budget were exhausted, and that the Council had no power to vote money or to make States pay their contributions. In such a financial crisis, it would be necessary to call an extraordinary Assembly in order to obtain more funds, which would not have a very helpful effect upon world policy at the present time.

The margins mentioned by the United Kingdom delegate were not really hidden reserves. They were the result of the painful efforts of the administration and of the Supervisory Commission. As M. Osuský had already pointed out, the activities of the League had had to be cut down very rigorously. For example, when provision had been made for three meetings of a committee during a year two only had been held. The Supervisory Commission had been in constant touch, not only with the officials responsible for the League's activities, but also with the Chairmen of a good many committees, and its attempts to curtail their budgets had led to some not very agreeable controversies. It might even be said with some truth that in certain cases the Supervisory Commission had taken a good deal upon itself, and had really no authority to deprive a committee of funds voted by the Assembly. At the same time, it had felt that it was acting in an emergency to safeguard the very existence of the League and could not afford to pay too much attention to constitutional points. The utmost care had been taken to effect savings, and there was nothing in the budget that was not felt to be absolutely essential.

Savings had been made during the past two years mainly by curtailing all the League's activities and by not filling vacancies. Both the present Secretary-General and his predecessor had followed that policy, and at the present time certain posts of Directors of Section were vacant for financial reasons and for reasons of rationalisation. The various heads of the League's activities had shown a most wonderful team spirit during the past two years under very severe pressure, and the highest praise was due to the Treasurer and his assistants for the loyal spirit in which they had safeguarded the economic interests of the League.

The budget could, of course, be cut down, but not without affecting the League's activities, and one great difficulty was that, while the members of the Fourth Committee were demanding economies, other members of the same delegation were demanding more money for special purposes in other committees, and though the Fourth Committee had done its utmost to restrain them, it had not always been very successful. Nor could the budget be cut down over a long period of years, because certain appropriations for machinery, etc., became necessary.

M. Hambro was of opinion that it was essential to maintain the Working Capital Fund at such a sum as to enable the Secretary-General to employ it for the payment of salaries, for

which, at certain times during the past few years, there had been a danger that funds might not be available.

Turning to the revenue side, M. Hambro said that he fully agreed with the United Kingdom representative. But to his mind it was absolutely essential not to give the States that did pay their contributions the impression that the League was trying to lay heavier burdens on their shoulders instead of making the other States pay. There were two distinct sides to that question : contributions in arrears and current contributions. The Secretary-General had placed certain suggestions before the Fourth Committee, and the Supervisory Commission had called the attention of the members of the Council to the disagreeable facts of the situation with regard to contributions in arrears. Both the Chairman and other members of the Commission had spoken before the Council in terms that admitted of no misunderstanding. Even permanent Members of the Council had not always paid their contributions. As long as Members of the League did not feel morally bound to safeguard the economic interests of the League, the States that paid would feel a growing irritation, and it was there that the danger lay. Everyone appreciated the economic difficulties with which certain States were faced, but it was difficult to understand why no steps had hitherto been taken by the Assembly or the Council to settle this very serious problem.

M. Hambro urged the Committee to consider very carefully the Secretary-General's suggestions with a view to the introduction of a new system, and earnestly begged it to realise what would be the moral position of the League if it were forced to go round the world asking for a loan, presumably on the guarantee of all the States Members !

What was a sound and unsound budget ? To his mind, a sound budget was one that gave promise of a surplus, and an unsound budget was one with so narrow a margin that a deficit might at any moment be expected.

M. Hambro was glad that the Secretary-General had suggested that the possible curtailment and intensification of the activities of the League would have to be discussed in the coming year. The year was certainly a very critical one for the League, which could no longer continue without curtailing its activities seriously unless the States met their obligations.

The question of the new building and other obligations must also be borne in mind. Had the League's existence been on a less sound basis there might have been no new building. That would have been no misfortune in the eyes of the Norwegian delegation, which had always been opposed to its construction, but most of the Members viewed it with a certain amount of political and moral pride.

One psychological comment which might be made was that some States Members had never paid their contributions, and had shown no willingness to pay in spite of attempts to cajole them by giving them everything, and more than, they asked for.

M. Hambro hoped the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears would bear all these facts in mind and would put them before the Fourth Committee of the Assembly in plain but businesslike words, so that every financier and every journalist might understand that the League meant serious business. That was what most of the delegates wanted. Some of them had come with the idea that there had been over-budgeting, and that all the proposals put before them by the administration must be cut down. While M. Hambro understood their apprehensions and feelings of irritation and vexation, he felt that it was absolutely essential to start from the right end by authorising the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to put the League on a firmer footing in the years to come.

Mr. BRUCE (Australia) said that he had been very much impressed by the serious implication in the Supervisory Commission's report, that unless the League took thought unto its position, its very existence might be imperilled. In so serious a situation, the question should be approached from the fundamental standpoint that it was essential to do whatever was in the best interests of the League. He, like the United Kingdom delegate, was anxious to do his utmost to help it. Australia believed in the League, had accorded it enthusiastic support throughout its history, and was prepared to do everything possible to ensure its future.

It must be recognised that the League was not in the same position as an ordinary Government or administration, and that accepted Treasury principles could not be applied ruthlessly to its budget.

He did not intend to go into details in the present debate, but to look at some of the broad facts. With regard to the more detailed aspect of the question, however, there was satisfactory evidence that a really determined effort had been made to introduce economical and sound administration. The reports of the Supervisory Commission all seemed to point to the fact that everything possible was being done in that direction. Two points should, however, be borne in mind : first, that the best efforts might be defeated in the great League organisations if nations were determined to have a certain amount of representation on their staffs. Perhaps it might be possible to evolve some system whereby effect could be given to that very natural desire by arranging that they should contribute towards the cost, which might damp their enthusiasm slightly.

In the second place, the Assembly as a whole frequently showed, through its Committees, considerable enthusiasm for some very worthy cause, which committed the League to additional expenditure and made economical administration somewhat difficult.

Turning to the main problems that were imperilling the League's existence, Mr. Bruce associated himself with the statement of the United Kingdom delegate, but was not entirely in agreement with M. Hambro's defence of the present position. It was, of course, essential to avoid a deficit, but that might be done by a slightly different method.

On the expenditure side, he had little to say for the moment, except that he hoped it would not be assumed that he agreed with all that had been said about economies. In particular, he could not approve of the method of budgeting for 33 million francs in one year and 30 million francs in the next while the previous year's expenditure amounted only to 27 million, and then claiming that there had been a saving of 3 million francs. But that was not a fundamental issue.

On the revenue side, the seriousness of the position could hardly be overestimated, and the Committee would be well advised to face it straightforwardly. The percentage of contributions in arrears might not be very high as compared with the total amount involved, but the effect upon States that did meet their obligations was most serious, and, if the present state of affairs were allowed to continue, other States might be tempted to withhold their contributions. It was significant that arrears had increased during the past four or five years.

The Committee on Contributions in Arrears was faced with a most important task, but, however drastic a remedy it might suggest, he was sure it would act in the best interests of the League.

It had been suggested that there had been systematic overestimating. That might be so, but he could not help feeling that a hard-pressed Secretariat had been forced to adopt that method in order to keep the League going, and for his part he was not prepared to criticise it. It had to meet current expenditure and knew from experience that only a certain amount of money would come in. At the same time, the system was unsatisfactory, and should not be allowed to continue. The budget should, of course, show the exact position. The proper way to ensure that sufficient funds were available for current administration was to maintain the Working Capital Fund at a fixed amount, which could probably be relatively low if certain suggestions were adopted whereby contributions would flow into the Treasury in accordance with the League's requirements and in such a way as to suit the convenience of individual States. Steps should also be taken to base the appropriation for unforeseen expenditure upon actual expenditure.

When the Assembly had found a solution to the difficult problem of the payment of contributions, it must review the position as a whole, and make a determined effort to straighten it out, if not all at once, at least stage by stage. It must frankly face the facts, decide what could be done with the means available, and resolve to continue its vital work — the real basic objective of the League — the maintenance of world peace.

M. Osuský, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, thanked the United Kingdom delegate for the appreciative manner in which he had referred to the work and reports of the Supervisory Commission. It had been able to achieve concrete results because the heads of all three administrations had shown the greatest understanding of the decisions taken at the previous Assembly. Most of the Supervisory Commission's proposals affected the Secretariat, and, both before and after taking office, the Secretary-General had devoted special attention to the study of the various services of the Secretariat and, on his own initiative, had made suggestions and proposals for putting them into practice. That was the best guarantee that he would continue to co-operate in the future.

The estimates for disarmament in 1932 had been 3,500,000 francs, of which only 980,000 had been spent. The estimate for the Assembly and Council had been 1,122,000 francs, and expenditure had been only 411,000 francs. Of the 500,000 francs set aside for political unforeseen expenditure by the Council, 28,000 francs had been spent. For sessions of the Assembly and Council, 324,150 francs and 48,000 francs respectively had been appropriated, but only 242,000 francs and 15,000 francs had been expended. The reason was that the Assembly had not sat for four weeks and the Council had met less frequently or for a shorter period than had been anticipated, while the Disarmament Conference had proved less costly than had been expected. A generous appropriation had also had to be made to meet possible calls by various Governments for financial advice, but the total was not actually expended. The total appropriation for European Union had not been expended because the Commission did not meet, but the Secretary-General would have laid himself open to the charge that he did not desire it to meet had he made no provision for it. Again, only 123,000 francs of the 268,000 francs appropriated for liaison with Latin America had been spent in 1932, but when the appropriation had been voted it had been impossible to foresee exactly how much would be required. He hoped these explanations would show that there was no intention of over-budgeting, but only a desire to foresee what steps would be taken by the Assembly and the Council during the year.

The Secretary-General deserved particular credit for waiving his right to make transfers in the budget: he had done so because he had been anxious to make the very savings which the United Kingdom delegate seemed to suspect of being due to over-budgeting.

The Supervisory Commission would never defend over-budgeting, and constantly drew the Fourth Committee's attention to the danger. He felt sure none had occurred in the preparation of the 1934 budget, but if the Committee felt that it was too generous, both the Supervisory Commission and the Secretary-General would be prepared to re-examine the figures in a spirit of co-operation.

M. CAHEN-SALVADOR (France) first of all wished to pay a tribute to the excellent work done by the Supervisory Commission. The latter's task was not an easy one. It had, however, been to a certain extent facilitated by the work of other bodies which had preceded it and also by the accommodating spirit which had been continually displayed by the heads of the three great international institutions. The Supervisory Commission now had definite proposals to lay before the Fourth Committee. M. Cahen-Salvador wished to emphasise that the atmosphere of serenity in which the discussion was now taking place — a serenity which had been quite absent two years ago — was a guarantee that a happy solution would be found for the difficult problems with which the League of Nations was faced.

As it was now desired to rationalise the League's work, M. Cahen-Salvador thought that the first rationalisation should apply to the oratorical activities of the delegates and hence he would be brief. He therefore wished to define the lines on which he was going to speak. The proposals submitted to the Fourth Committee referred on the one hand to questions of organisation and on the other to budgetary questions. He would leave it to M. Réveillaud to state the French delegation's views on the delicate problems of a budgetary nature. Personally, he would confine himself to speaking of the proposals for the re-organisation of the international institutions, and particularly the Secretariat.

In this connection, he wished to remind his colleagues that, among the members of the Fourth Committee, he was one of the last survivors of the Committee of Thirteen which for eighteen months had been engaged upon the question of the re-organisation of the Secretariat, of the International Labour Office and of the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The conclusions of the Committee of Thirteen had been discussed in detail by the Fourth Committee and Assembly, and twice the Committee had resumed its labours with a view to devising equitable solutions to the difficulties which had arisen. M. Cahen-Salvador therefore thought it extremely desirable that a certain relation should be established between the work already done in this connection and the new decisions which the Fourth Committee and subsequently the Assembly might be required to take. He would therefore endeavour to bring out the principles which should guide the Supervisory Commission in the matter of the re-organisation of the Secretariat.

The definite proposals which had that morning been submitted to the Fourth Committee were the outcome of a desire which had been voiced in the previous year and shared by all, — namely, the desire for economy. All delegates both to the Fourth Committee and the Assembly were unanimous in the view that everything should be done to effect savings by the best possible means, and it was in that spirit that the Supervisory Commission had put forward a number of useful suggestions. On the other hand, the particulars which the Secretary-General, speaking with obvious sincerity, had supplied to the Fourth Committee on the previous day had undoubtedly produced a strong impression.

Now that an endeavour was being made to re-organise the Secretariat, the principles which had been laid down when the general aspects of the problem had been submitted to a lengthy examination must be borne in mind. M. Cahen-Salvador considered, moreover, that mere mention of these principles would suffice to secure their unanimous approval. He would proceed to enumerate them, as he feared that, if the Fourth Committee's report contained no other justification for the changes in the organisation of the Secretariat than the desire for economy, without mention being made of the principles involved, those of a malicious turn of mind might allege that an attempt was being made to wreck both the principles and their application.

Those principles included one on which M. Cahen-Salvador wished to lay special emphasis — namely, that of the stability of the international organisations. It was obviously necessary that the latter should be adapted to the developments which were constantly in progress. But the idea of stability must be respected, in the first place to enable the administration faithfully to follow certain guiding principles and, in the second place, because the lack of stability had given rise, among the staff of the organisations concerned, to a certain amount of uneasiness which must not be revived.

The second principle was that of the international character of the administrations in question. Reference had been made to the difficulties caused by the competition of nationalities in the recruiting of staff, but, in this connection, M. Cahen-Salvador thought it important to remind the Committee of the arguments which Lord Cecil had very forcibly advanced at the Committee of Thirteen — namely, that it was indispensable that both the Secretariat and the International Labour Office should retain an international character. It was therefore essential that all budgetary reforms should respect and strengthen this statement of principle.

There was, lastly, another aspect of these problems to which M. Cahen-Salvador wished to draw attention; he referred to the necessity of giving the officials a feeling of security through the stability of their posts. In his opinion, moreover, this was a means of saving money as, without stability, it would be impossible to recruit capable officials unless very high salaries were offered. On the other hand, if candidates were offered posts in which they might expect to remain, less generosity in this respect might perhaps be shown.

M. Cahen-Salvador had experienced some uneasiness when he heard M. Osuský state, in the course of his first speech, that the Supervisory Commission had paid no regard to principles but had concentrated its attention on results; that was why he had been anxious to remind the Committee of these principles, which he hoped would find a place in its report to the Assembly on the subject.

M. Cahen-Salvador then proceeded to discuss the definite proposals put forward by the Supervisory Commission in the light of the suggestions made by the responsible heads of the major organisations.

The first proposal dealt with the appointment and promotion of the Members of Section. The question had been debated at considerable length by the Committee of Thirteen which, after a careful discussion and in spite of the misgivings and opposition manifested in certain quarters, had deliberately pronounced in favour of the abolition of the distinction which had previously been made between A and B Members. M. Cahen-Salvador saw no valid reason for revising its opinion on that point. He was, moreover, persuaded that neither the Supervisory Commission nor the Secretary-General was considering a change of policy in that respect. Certain sentences in the Supervisory Commission's reports might, however, give rise to misunderstandings.

In his opinion, the criticisms advanced with regard to a fusion of the A and B categories of Members of Section related, not to the principle involved, but to its practical application. The Committee of Thirteen had been struck by the fact that the distinction between A and B Members of Section did not correspond to any difference in their duties or in the method of recruiting adopted. It was, on the other hand, very difficult to rise from the B category to the A category, and thus two categories of officials had been created whose duties were roughly identical. Though, however, it had pronounced in favour of the abolition of the distinction between the two categories of Members of Section, the Committee of Thirteen had not at all intended to make all Members of Section into officials in receipt of the maximum salary provided for in the case of that category of staff; it had merely desired to provide for the possibility of the more outstanding Members of Section reaching the top of the ladder and, as it were, winning their marshal's baton. The others might remain lower down in the scale as subalterns, or, according to circumstances, be promoted to the general staff. In the scheme drawn up by the Committee of Thirteen, the unification had been accompanied by measures which afforded guarantees in this respect. It had suggested that the promotion of Members of Section should depend upon an annual statement by the responsible chief of each official certifying that the official in question possessed qualifications justifying his promotion. If necessary, such promotion might be postponed by one or even several years. The Committee took strong exception to annual increments being granted automatically.

The Supervisory Commission was now proposing to establish a ratio between the number of permanent posts and the number of temporary posts. It further proposed that the conditions of appointment and promotion should be more strict.

In the explanatory statement by which these proposals were accompanied, a relationship was established between salary increments and increased responsibility. On this point, M. Cahen-Salvador could not entirely agree. In his opinion, there was no relationship between the amount of an official's salary and his responsibility; increases in salary were the reward of long service. It was an official's rank which was the recognition of his abilities. As regards the establishment of a ratio between temporary and permanent staff, M. Cahen-Salvador thought that the Secretariat and the International Labour Office should be empowered to have recourse, as far as possible, to temporary officials. He considered, however, that it would be unwise to lay down a fixed ratio. If such a ratio were fixed, the percentage would have to be revised in the near future, as it was difficult to foresee the requirements in temporary staff long in advance. Such a method would indirectly restore duality in the grading of officials.

As regards the conditions of appointment, he realised that it was indispensable to provide for a fairly long probationary period. If the length of this period appeared inadequate, it could be protracted. There was, moreover, nothing to prevent the Secretary-General from following such a procedure; but, if the Committee preferred to provide for it expressly in a new regulation, M. Cahen-Salvador would have no objection.

Conditions of promotion must not be automatic. The present regulations were already provided with certain safety-valves. If inadequate, these might be made bigger, but the system must not be fundamentally changed.

In short, M. Cahen-Salvador was still convinced of the wisdom of the principles laid down by the Committee of Thirteen. They did not call for any change. All that was necessary was to see that they were applied with greater elasticity.

M. Cahen-Salvador then briefly reviewed certain definite rationalisation proposals submitted by the Supervisory Commission.

As regards the Information Section, it was proposed to reduce its staff from fifty-four to forty-one members. On this point the French delegate had full confidence in the wisdom of the Secretary-General, and was convinced that the latter would do everything in his power to comply with the desires expressed by the last Assembly. As a matter of fact, the Fourth Committee did not need to pronounce on this point, as further studies were necessary. In this connection, M. Cahen-Salvador was indeed prepared to go still further. In his opinion, the Fourth Committee might confine itself to limiting the budget of the Section, leaving it to the head of the organisation to take the practical measures required.

As regards the centralisation of the administrative activities, M. Cahen-Salvador thought that the proposals put forward were obviously sensible. If the responsible heads of the organisations approved these reforms, the French delegation would also approve them.

As regards co-operation between the Secretariat and the International Labour Office, the multiplication of contacts between these two organisations could not but give cause for satisfaction. In this way, duplication would be avoided, economies would be made, and concrete form would be given to the good understanding existing between the Secretariat and the International Labour Office. The French delegation was therefore in favour of the measures proposed in this direction.

To sum up, the French delegation approved the Supervisory Commission's proposals as a whole and placed full reliance on the heads of the international organisations. Nevertheless, M. Cahen-Salvador wished to draw attention to the necessity, in the event of the present organisation being changed or of the delicate machinery which was at present in operation being modified, of not proceeding to these changes in too light-hearted a manner. It was necessary to avoid giving the impression that each year they undid what had been done the year before. In the interests of the efficient working of the services, the principles already laid down previously by the Assembly should once more be confirmed. He thought it essential that, at a time when the League's tasks were so arduous, everything possible should be done to render its organisation more solid, more durable and more efficient.

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) said that his Government had instructed him to take the first possible opportunity of placing before the Fourth Committee its opinion on the budget, and, more generally, the expenditure of the League. The Government of New Zealand was alarmed at the present state of affairs, and believed that, if the financial situation of the League were to be judged from an ordinary business standpoint, it could only be qualified as a bankrupt institution. His Government believed that there was still a chance to save it and that if a determined attempt was made to eliminate waste, to reduce extravagance and to deal with those States which were not paying their contributions, all might yet be well. In the hope that that might be the ultimate result, he urged the Committee, on behalf of his Government, to alter what M. Hambro had so aptly described as "the present disagreeable state of affairs".

Sir Thomas Wilford had no desire to criticise what was called the "unforeseen expenditure" of the League. Every Government required an appropriation of that kind. He would, however, suggest that, at the opening session of each Assembly, full details of such expenditure should be placed before the delegates. He could see no objection to that procedure, which was employed in his own country. It was, of course, not always possible for appropriations to be used for the purposes for which they had been voted, but considerable suspicion and difficulty would be avoided if the delegates to the Assembly were given to understand exactly how the sums voted were expended. All this information was no doubt to be found in the budget, but it was very difficult to analyse. Sir Thomas Wilford also suggested that the relevant documents should be made available at an earlier date.

As he might probably have to move a proposal which would doubtless give rise to considerable discussion when the budget was before the Committee, he would confine himself for the moment to stating that his Government was alarmed at the constant increase in League expenditure and at the increased contribution which it had to find, and appealed to the Committee to do its utmost to call a halt on unnecessary expenditure. The tree of the League had started with a few branches, each of which had thrown out other branches, until at the present time its ramifications were so extraordinary and multifarious that it was difficult for an ordinary individual to trace them in the accounts.

The continuation of the discussion was adjourned to the next meeting.

FOURTH MEETING

Held on Friday, September 29th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m.

Chairman: M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).

8. Contributions in Arrears and Collection of Contributions.

The CHAIRMAN read a letter from the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears asking him to request the delegates of the States mentioned in the Secretary-General's report on contributions in arrears to inform the Bureau of the Fourth Committee as soon as possible on what date they would be able to attend a meeting of the Sub-Committee to assist in the preparation of the report.

The Chairman observed that that was the usual practice which it would be as well to follow in the present year, and further proposed that the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears should be asked to study, at the same time as the question of contributions in arrears, that of the collection of contributions, which was dealt with in Chapter V of the Supervisory Commission's supplementary report (Annex 3).

The Chairman's proposal was adopted.

9. Administration and Finances of the League of Nations : General Discussion (continuation).

Baron VON RHEINBABEN (Germany) did not share the alarm with which Sir Thomas Wilford and the New Zealand Government viewed the financial situation of the League. In the first place, the Secretary-General had already stated, in referring to contributions for the current year, that he foresaw no deficit and did not anticipate any specially critical situation during the next year, provided contributions came in regularly. That declaration should satisfy the Committee that the situation, though far from good and perhaps not sound, was not specially alarming.

Whatever might have been the relation in the past between so-called over-budgeting and arrears, he could not help feeling — after taking an active part in the debate of the last session, studying the documents, and listening to the declarations of the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission and the Secretary-General — that a serious effort was at present being made to economise, which should be recognised in the Committee's debates. It was true that not all the wishes expressed at the last session had been realised in the budget, but a fair beginning which could, and should, be continued in the future had been made.

Baron von Rheinbaben had no desire to awaken a dormant lion — the question of salaries. That matter had been settled two years ago. At the same time, coming from a country in which salaries had been cut considerably during the past year, and realising that in certain other countries, even those generally regarded as rich, the question of the salaries of national officials was a very burning one, he would like to express the view that certain resources and possibilities would be available in the future should the financial situation of the League necessitate further reductions. He would be glad to hear from the Secretary-General whether the adoption of the Supervisory Commission's report would not lead to further economies, which would be reflected in the 1934 budget.

With regard to over-budgeting, Baron von Rheinbaben believed a compromise could easily be found along the lines suggested by M. Hambro. Some margin for unforeseen expenditure would appear to be essential to the sound administration of any international institution; the question was how great it should be. Undoubtedly, the League's needs differed from those of a national parliament.

The new Secretary-General had already begun to effect economies, and the Supervisory Commission and its energetic Chairman were anxious to continue the work, so that Baron von Rheinbaben thought the Committee might give them a chance to show what they could do in the coming year, before taking further steps along the lines laid down at the previous session.

As M. Osuský had said, the proportion of generals to rank and file was unsound, and Baron von Rheinbaben therefore supported the proposal to introduce a better system, but he fully agreed with the French delegate that it should not be too rigid. Certain passages in the report of the Supervisory Commission seemed to reflect what he might call a tendency towards bureaucratic methods; but, in an establishment where the Members of Section played such an important part, the Secretary-General should have adequate freedom of action. A certain number of temporary contracts were necessary and the period of probation should probably be longer — say, two years. At the same time, he was opposed to any measure which might disturb the stability of the administration.

Contributions were an all-important question, and the German delegation would support any proposal to remedy the evil of non-payment.

The German delegation, as it had pointed out in 1932, thought the Committee should consider whether a distinction could not be drawn between the essential and less essential activities of the League. The Canadian delegate had expressed practically the same idea in the Assembly. Unfortunately, delegates in other Committees still asked for additional credits at the same time as other members of their delegations were urging economy in the Fourth Committee.

The German delegation would always co-operate in any attempt to place the League and the International Labour Office on as sound a financial basis as possible, and fully realised the duty of States Members to fulfil their obligations. The financial and economic situation of the world was such, however, that for many years the payment of contributions would be a heavy national burden. Any fair proposal combining economy and financial stability with the efficient performance of the League's essential duties should therefore be welcomed, even if certain activities begun since 1920 had to be curtailed or even suppressed in favour of the all-important task of securing and promoting peace among the nations.

Lord Balfour had said that, to his mind, the only real danger was that the League might go aground on the financial side, but Baron von Rheinbaben was convinced that, in spite of its financial difficulties, there was no cause for real alarm. Those difficulties could be overcome with a little goodwill. He was sure he was expressing the feelings of the German people in saying that the greatest disaster in a troubled world would be failure on the part of the League to fulfil the great mission of peace that had been entrusted to it.

M. PALACIOS (Spain) expressed his delegation's views on the documents relating to the budget and the speeches made by the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, the Secretary-General and the other speakers who had taken part in the discussion.

Generally speaking, the Spanish delegation shared the optimism expressed by the German delegate. It noted that, at the moment, the League was undoubtedly experiencing financial and budgetary difficulties, but it did not regard them as insuperable. It was chiefly a question of will-power. As the proverb said: "Where there's a will, there's a way". Consequently, instead of dealing with figures, which had already been admirably expounded by some of the other speakers, he preferred to confine himself to principles. As Albert Thomas had said one day: "Spain has never failed me in a matter of principle"; and that was true. He might have added that principles were one of her virtues and at the same time one of her failings; they had led to her greatness and to her downfall. In the eyes of the Spanish delegation, the principle that the League's budget — namely, the "peace" budget — should be amply provided with funds at the expense of the budgets of the Member States, which frequently ruined themselves over their "war" budgets, was incontrovertible and should be a sufficient answer to those petty calculations in regard to figures to which the Committee had listened.

For that reason Spain had, since the outset, consistently supported with her voice and vote the heads of the various organisations of the League. The latter were best fitted to organise internal requirements and to apply adequate resources satisfactorily. Since they had the confidence of all and the greatest responsibility, they should be given the greatest freedom.

On that account, also, when the economy campaign had been launched a few years ago, Spain alone had maintained an opinion, which was opposed to a general reduction, and had been the only State to ask for increases rather than for cuts in the budget. The reasons were obvious. The League was often praised, tributes were paid to it and everyone asserted that their faith in it was unshakable; but, by some strange contradiction, they grudged it the means necessary for its effective action. As a rule, the things that turned out to be the most essential were at first regarded simply as luxuries. With the League, the opposite appeared to have occurred. Considered as of the greatest importance for the nations that had fought in the Great War and for the large Powers that had made the peace, it now seemed to be becoming a mere luxury which could be cut down or even gone without as soon as misfortune made it necessary to economise. However, the Spanish delegation considered the League an absolute necessity in view of the increasing solidarity between the peoples and the evolution of humanity.

He thought that, in reality, it was not the economic crisis in each nation which had induced its delegates to demand the curtailment of the League's means of existence, but the crisis in the League itself, which had given rise to the question of economies. If the problem were dominated by the world economic crisis, which was of an international and universal character, it was only logical for States to make savings everywhere except in their contributions to the international and universal organisation established by them. On the contrary, that organisation should be strengthened as much as possible to enable it to remedy the situation in the general interest.

It was the crisis in the League which had to be overcome. Public opinion was anxious that Governments, before effecting economies, should build up an efficient organisation, to be paid for as such. M. Hambro had said that the League could not obtain funds to cover its requirements in the same way as States could do. That was true only in a certain sense. It was a problem of faith and was therefore of a moral nature. Public opinion was aware that the aliquot part saved by each State as a result of the petty economies recommended in the budget under discussion was a mere wisp of straw as compared with the total load of the internal budgets of their armies, navies and air forces.

While bearing the foregoing principle in mind, the Spanish delegation would not upset the unanimity or the atmosphere of harmony and understanding to which the French delegate had referred. Spain would vote the budget submitted and would approve the accounts. She was only anxious that the word "economy" should be interpreted correctly — namely, to obtain the maximum efficiency with the minimum expense and consequently to prevent waste both of the funds and of the functions of the League. In short, the organisations should be capable of carrying out the necessary functions.

It was in that sense that he approved the observation made by the United Kingdom delegate to the effect that the League's finances should be based on "sound principles"; but there should be no exaggeration. The Spanish delegation thought that, this year, effective and practical measures should be taken as regarded contributions in arrears and the non-payment of current contributions. He feared that the position might be aggravated, not only because the bad example might be followed by other States, which were naturally unwilling to pay for defaulting States, but also because he knew that many States would ask for their present contributions to be reduced. However, M. Palacios was not in favour, at the moment, of any specific sanctions, because he thought that diplomatic and moral action might suffice if it were strong enough, especially if many of the recalcitrant States were made to realise the benefits of the League's policy.

The Spanish delegation was also in favour of rationalisation, which had already begun in certain services and in which considerable progress had been made in the International Labour Office — provided, however, that the spirit of the staff was not killed by over-mechanisation.

As for the Information Section, it should continue to fulfil its task of supplying information and maintaining contact with the Press and should not be cut down to such an

extent as to paralyse its activities. He took that opportunity to express his appreciation of the work done by that Section. He had seen in his own country how intelligently and with what devotion to the universal cause of the League it carried out its task.

In short, in view of the opinion expressed by the New Zealand delegate and to borrow the words of M. Avenol, M. Palacios did not think that the theoretical work of the League should be reduced to the practical level dictated by its finances, but that, on the contrary, the latter should be brought up to the level of the former. The peace budget could obtain its funds from the war budgets, which afforded States a much richer source of supply than the public revenue. He would repeat that the problem was one of will-power. The Spanish delegation, recalling the words of the esteemed German jurisconsult Jhering, in connection with Roman Law, would say that its aim was to work in the League, through the League, but going further than the present League.

M. DE MODZELEWSKI (Poland) said that he would not analyse in detail the reports which had been submitted to the Fourth Committee, but would confine himself to a brief survey of the report of the Supervisory Commission on rationalisation (Annex 2), making at the same time such observations as were called for on his part.

Activities of the League : The question raised by the Supervisory Commission on this subject contained its own reply ; the activities of the League should not continue to develop by empirical and improvised methods and without the necessary co-ordination ; they should be continued within the strict limits of what was possible.

General considerations on rationalisation : The Polish delegate was very surprised to see the question of the "representation" of the various countries in the different administrative bodies of the League raised in the report of the Supervisory Commission. He had thought that this question had been long ago decided, more particularly by the following passage in the report of the Committee of Thirteen (document A.8.1931.X.) :

" In these circumstances, the Committee thinks that, in the appointment or promotion of officials to one of the higher posts of the Secretariat, *the first and foremost* consideration must be the knowledge and capacity of the candidate which must be in keeping with the duties he will be called upon to fulfil. In making the choice, however, account should be taken of the representation of the different forms of national civilisation."

This was a very clear reply to the question, and laid down a principle which should be carefully safeguarded in the course of the work of rationalisation.

Recruitment and progression (in the scale) of Members of Section : On this point M. de Modzelewski was of opinion that it would not be desirable to lay down a definite proportion of permanent and temporary posts. He agreed with the French delegate in thinking that stability should be secured to the Secretariat in order that the work might have the advantage of the necessary continuity. For this purpose it was necessary to have a settled framework of officials who could be reinforced from time to time with outside experts engaged on a temporary basis for certain special purposes or even for administrative work.

Private Secretariats of the highest officials : As this question was still under consideration, the Polish delegation could not give a definite opinion. It could, however, already state its approval of the idea that a new Section should be formed consisting of the officials at present included in the personal staffs of the Secretary-General and the Under-Secretaries-General.

Information Section : The Polish delegation could only express its satisfaction at the economies which had already been achieved in the 1934 budget for this Section. In the absence of certain details, it was not possible for the delegation to give a definite opinion ; but, in its view, the general idea was an excellent one, as also was the proposed division. The Political Section should be entrusted with a large portion of the work which at the present time was carried out by the Information Section. The Polish delegation was not completely in agreement with the Supervisory Commission on the subject of the possible maintenance of the branch offices. The Polish delegation did not see the advantage of these offices, as the time for propaganda by words was now past and it was by acts that the League of Nations should be justified.

The report went on to deal with various questions of an extremely technical character, regarding which the Polish delegation placed entire confidence in the Supervisory Commission and in the heads of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office. The more economies they could achieve on these points, the greater would be the satisfaction of the Polish delegation, which was glad to note that an effective co-operation had been secured between the Services of the Secretariat and those of the International Labour Office.

With regard to the rationalisation of the International Labour Office, the draft submitted was in complete agreement with the ideas of the Polish delegation, which hoped that the Office would continue along the lines on which it was already engaged.

M. de Modzelewski then passed to a general examination of the draft budget for 1934. He had studied carefully the interesting statement made by the United Kingdom delegate. The facts which had impressed that delegate had impressed the Polish delegation for the last fifteen years, and, in order to make sure that he had not been indulging in illusions, he had undertaken a calculation, both in the case of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office, of the percentages which it had been possible to economise annually out of the sums voted, allowance being made in the case of the Secretariat for intangible credits, such as sums put at the disposal of the Council for unforeseen expenses, special credits for the Disarmament Conference, the savings effected in the budgetary estimates for the Assembly. This calculation had led to the following results : from 1928 to 1932, the percentage of non-

expended credits had been, in the case of the Secretariat, 10 per cent in 1928, 10 per cent in 1929, 8 per cent in 1930, 8 per cent in 1931 and 10 per cent in 1932 — that was to say, there had always been an excess in the estimates of at least two millions. In the case of the International Labour Office, the same percentages had been 2 per cent, 2.4 per cent, 2.8 per cent, 3.2 per cent and 6 per cent. This calculation showed that expenditure estimates could be very closely computed.

An examination of these percentages showed that it would be possible to estimate more closely the expenditure estimates of the Secretariat or the actual expenditure. Only two hypotheses, after all, need be considered : either the 1934 estimates had been calculated correctly, in which case they greatly exceeded the 1932 expenditure and should be reduced, or they had been drawn up with much too wide a margin as in previous years, and in that case should be cut down to the proper level.

In both the above cases, the 1934 estimates of expenditure should therefore be reduced. It was necessary that this should be done in order not to alienate the sympathies of Governments or of public opinion. When a country such as Poland, for instance, had decreased by up to 40 per cent the wages and salaries of employees, when it was, moreover, unable to undertake the expenditure required for purposes of prime importance, such as public education, there must be no room for anyone to say that sums were asked each year for the League of Nations which were so definitely in excess of its budgets. As regards the budget of 1934, it should not exceed that of 1932 and should even be below it.

Mention had been made of the need for reconstituting the Working Capital Fund in order to avoid the risk that it might one day be found impossible to pay the officials. M. de Modzelewski did not take so pessimistic a view as that. It had been said that only 82 per cent of the payments due for 1932 had been paid. The Polish delegate thought that this was a circumstance of good omen. The States which had not paid the 18 per cent outstanding did not belong to the class of what might be described as chronic debtors. They would pay their subscription some day, and these receipts would, in fact, serve to provide a Working Capital Fund. The financial difficulties from which the League was suffering were temporary in character ; the Geneva institution was not, in fact, in any danger, and it would be no reproach to it to arrange an overdraft for a certain period with a bank. No bank would refuse to grant such an overdraft, and, in fact, had not the League worked on this system during the first years of its existence ? Finally, in view of the payments in arrear which could be expected, it was even possible that there would be no necessity to have recourse to such a step. Would it not be a good plan to adopt a course contrary to that followed during recent years and to give a bonus to States which paid promptly instead of making them pay for the bad payers ? That was why it was necessary to submit to the Members of the League as a whole a budget which contained neither Working Capital Fund nor exaggerated credits.

M. de Modzelewski then appealed to the Supervisory Commission to make an effort to bring the proposed reforms into effect. He thought that the pessimism displayed by its Chairman was not justified in the circumstances, and that the Supervisory Commission might be sure that the Fourth Committee would support it with all the means in its power.

In conclusion, M. de Modzelewski, on behalf of the Polish delegation, thanked all the members of the Supervisory Commission and the heads of the Secretariat and International Labour Office for their valuable work in strengthening the foundations of the League, the only international institution which could bring order and peace into a world disorganised by the crisis.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) had carefully studied the report of the Supervisory Commission on technical concentration and rationalisation (Annex 2) and, while he intended to enter some reservations, thought that the suggestions in the report and the measures at present under consideration would help to give certain results.

His attention had been specially drawn to paragraphs 9 to 12 dealing with the activities of the League of Nations. After stating that the measures of rationalisation could have no lasting effects unless the primary question of the League's activities was settled at the same time, the Supervisory Commission concluded that it could not too strongly emphasise the importance it attached to the settlement of the following general questions :

“ Is the Assembly disposed to allow the activities of the League to continue to develop empirically, at haphazard, and without proper co-ordination ?

“ Has not the time come to keep the extension of the League's activities strictly within the limits of financial possibilities ? ”

Almost all the delegates who had commented on this question had made a point of stressing the financial aspect of the matter. M. Cavazzoni would like to remind the Committee that the Italian delegation had not waited for the present financial difficulties due to the world crisis to draw attention to the danger. As far back as 1927 — to be precise, at the seventh meeting of the Fourth Committee held on September 23rd, 1927 — M. Cavazzoni himself had raised the question and had indicated what line of action he thought should be followed.

After endorsing the statement made to the First Committee of the 1927 Assembly by Viscount Cecil regarding his anxiety at the excessive tendency to increase the League's sphere of action, M. Cavazzoni had expressed himself as follows :

“ The increased credits requested were not due to occasional causes like the meeting of a great Conference, but to a tendency which forced certain Sections to extend unduly the field of their activities.”

And later :

" It must be freely admitted that the state of the budget was bad, and extremely unfortunate consequences might result. Perhaps they had not always a clear idea of what the League of Nations ought to be. The Italian delegation maintained that this institution should be an extremely flexible and active organisation and that it should refrain from doing work which might be left to others

" The League of Nations would have to understand that it would be dangerous to do, in a few years, work that could usefully be done in a longer time. By wishing to force the normal trend of things and to aim at immediate results it would happen, as had already been noticed, that the same work would be begun two or three times. Certainly no one could deny the great value of the work done by the League, but its value would be infinitely greater if all that was excessive were removed from the League's activities."

He had concluded as follows :

" The limit fixed by the budget of the previous year (*i.e.*, 1927) should not be exceeded at any cost."

Unfortunately, it had not been thought necessary to follow this advice. If this programme had been adopted, the Working Capital Fund would to-day be sufficient to enable the League to carry on its work safe from the present serious anxieties.

It was true that the representatives of the very countries which in the Fourth Committee did all they could to keep the budget within reasonable limits were often led in other Committees to support new proposals, and thus help to expand the field of the League's economic, financial and social activities, with the budgetary consequences which were now being felt.

• M. Cavazzoni wished to emphasise the fact that, six years before the crisis, Italy had given a clear warning of the danger of an excessive dispersion of energy, and pointed out how the present difficulty might have been avoided.

The failure of several countries to meet their financial obligations to the League had, of course, aggravated the situation, as the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission and the Secretary-General had emphasised. M. Cavazzoni trusted that this situation would improve, for it was not an encouraging one.

He proposed to raise the question again when the report of the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears was discussed, but gave it as his opinion that such a delicate question should be divided into two parts. The first should refer to the steps to be taken in regard to everything that had happened in the past — the proposal to draw negotiable instruments on the various countries, the only one which had been submitted, seemed to him rather feeble. The second part, in view of the clear and precise statement made by the Secretary-General that the " really pressing problem was the collection of current contributions ", should provide for very strict and generally uniform action being taken in respect of countries which failed in future to meet their financial liabilities towards the League. Henceforward, equal rights should imply equal obligations.

M. Roy (Canada) associated himself unreservedly with the remarks made at the Assembly by the first delegate of Canada and in the Fourth Committee by the representatives of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand. He had listened with great interest to the previous speakers, more especially M. Hambro, the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission and the Secretary-General.

The Canadian Government demanded sweeping and immediate economies in the Secretariat and the autonomous organisations, and Mr. Roy had been glad to observe, while listening to the Secretary-General's statement, that progress was being made towards fulfilling the common wish of all delegations. Nevertheless, prudence and foresight were needed. The desire for economy must not be allowed to result in a total cessation of the League's vital activities. Nor should too dark a picture be drawn of the League's financial position, for the critics of the Geneva institutions were on the watch, and there was no more tendentious or poisonous method of speaking, nor one of which they would be happier to make use, than that employed by certain delegates who had spoken of the possible bankruptcy of the League. There could be no question of either the financial or political bankruptcy of the League of Nations. The Geneva institutions, like all others, were feeling the effects of the world economic, financial and political depression. They would emerge therefrom, given foresight on the part of the delegations and wise administration by the Secretary-General.

Certain of the League's work might, of course, be left to simmer for the time being, but care be taken not to let it grow cold. Some of its activities, those termed exclusively social and humanitarian, were also of political importance. Social and humanitarian questions were at the present time one of the prime cares of all political systems, and Governments of all shades of political opinion could not ignore them.

There was at the League one activity which should be expanded to the full measure of the resources available — that of the Health Organisation. Mr. Roy had heard the representatives of India and China express at the Assembly their grateful tribute for the work done by the Health Committee in their respective countries. The physical and moral hygiene of the peoples, more particularly of the peoples who had been, so to speak, disinherited, had often a marked relationship to their political troubles. If slums could be abolished, a good water supply installed everywhere and even the remotest villages equipped with electric light, order and peace would undoubtedly be enhanced.

To overcome unemployment, many Governments had voted large credits for the execution of public works. In Mr. Roy's opinion, four-fifths of these credits should be used to spread the benefits of moral and physical hygiene among all peoples. That would create a much sounder political atmosphere, and it would mean the fulfilment of a great humanitarian duty.

Without dwelling further on the matter, Mr. Roy would simply express the desire that certain newspapers which never lost an opportunity of criticising the League's work might develop the ideas he had set forth.

In conclusion, he desired to say a few words concerning the League's revenue. As all the delegates agreed, the position with regard to contributions in arrears was very dangerous and it must be reformed without delay. For one reason or another, the Fourth Committee had hitherto hesitated to discuss this matter openly and frankly. It had even refrained from naming the defaulting countries. That, in Mr. Roy's view, was a grave mistake. The Fourth Committee was, in this matter, faced with a business question which should be handled as such, and there should be no exaggerated preoccupation with certain over-sensitive susceptibilities. On going over the list of countries in arrears, Mr. Roy noted that their respective Governments budgeted each year for large votes for purposes which had no connection with the ideals and work of the League. It was in any case certain that the Governments which regularly discharged their obligations to the League, and, moreover, public opinion itself, would fail to understand any omission to settle the question of contributions in arrears once and for all this year.

M. BOHEMAN (Sweden) would say a few words on the question of contributions in arrears without, however, going into details, as he had an opportunity of doing so in the Sub-Committee of which he was a member.

Many of the previous speakers had drawn forcible attention to the seriousness of this question. It was becoming more and more difficult to persuade the Parliaments of the countries which regularly discharged their financial liabilities to pay the share of other States, as was being done at the present moment. Nor was it easy to explain to them why the countries which did not pay their contributions enjoyed the same rights and honours at the League as the others. It was a matter of the utmost importance to take effective steps for the collection of current contributions and to prevent a further extension of the bad habit adopted by certain Members of the League. The Swedish delegation was prepared to accept any reasonable solution likely to improve the position in this respect. The Secretary-General had put forward certain suggestions which deserved careful consideration. M. Boheman, like the United Kingdom delegate, believed that the situation should be explained clearly and straightforwardly and that the Members of the League should adopt a rule that no post of honour or other post would be conferred on representatives of States which, for other than exceptional reasons, failed to pay their contributions.

The Swedish delegation had always been and was still in favour of a policy of strict economy in the League. It regretted that such economies should affect to a large extent the actual work of the League, owing to the fact that the contracts of the officials had been declared inviolable. It also considered that the most effective and the least harmful economies were those carried out by a constant supervision of expenditure rather than by way of administrative reform. He was happy to note in this connection the fruitful results obtained by the Supervisory Commission and the heads of the League's organisations. It would not be going too far to say that the Supervisory Commission's judicious work had saved the League from the worst troubles.

The Swedish Government likewise welcomed with satisfaction the Supervisory Commission's suggestions concerning rationalisation. In the Swedish delegation's opinion, they all fell within the framework of the present system of recruitment and promotion, whatever M. Cahen-Salvador might think, and if it had one regret to express it was that the proposals contained in the first report (Annex 2) were so inadequately put into practice in the second (Annex 3). Moreover, most of these proposals were still under consideration and it was impossible to form a final opinion upon them.

The Secretary-General had stated that, owing to the economies which it had been necessary to make, some of the League's activities were in a state of semi-hibernation. This state of semi-hibernation might perhaps be due to deeper causes than economy measures decided by the Fourth Committee. It might perhaps be the result of a passing eclipse of the spirit of international collaboration. In a period like that through which the world was passing and in which the official's full capacity for work was not utilised, vacancies should only be filled when strictly necessary, in order that the remaining staff might not lose the habit of intensive work which it would need to cultivate in the future and which it might justly be expected to cultivate in view of the extremely favourable status it enjoyed. In this respect, the Supervisory Commission's suggestions for stimulating the work of officials was of vital importance. M. Boheman would himself make certain suggestions on this point when it came up for discussion.

In conclusion, he would assure the Supervisory Commission of the Swedish delegation's support when it made proposals for economies and rationalisation measures which were really practicable and would not damage the League's essential activities.

The continuation of the discussion was adjourned to the next meeting.

10. Appointment of a General Rapporteur.

On the proposal of M. RAPPARD (Switzerland), Mr. LESTER (Irish Free State) was appointed Rapporteur.

FIFTH MEETING

Held on Saturday, September 30th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m.

Chairman: M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).

11. Administration and Finances of the League of Nations : General Discussion (continuation).

Mme. KLUYVER (Netherlands), having thanked the Supervisory Commission for the admirable work it had accomplished during the past year, drew attention to a slight omission in its report.

The Fourth Committee's report to the previous Assembly contained the following passage under "Miscellaneous Questions" :

"The Supervisory Commission was also asked to consider, in conjunction with the competent officials, the desirability of altering the procedure followed by the Fourth Committee in discussing the questions on its agenda."

Mme. Kluyver did not know whether the Supervisory Commission had studied that question at its recent sessions, but it was not mentioned in the report. Nevertheless, it was a point of some importance which had not escaped the attention of other League bodies. It would, she felt, be most regrettable if the question were discussed outside the Fourth Committee — though that was exactly what was happening — without the Committee taking steps to settle it.

Mme. Kluyver would confine herself to drawing attention, by way of example, to one defect in the procedure hitherto adopted by the Fourth Committee. For many years, the agenda had contained the following item : "Reports of the Supervisory Commission". But these reports constituted, in fact, a general survey covering the most diverse items in the Fourth Committee's programme of work. That being so, would it not be better to discuss them under the headings to which they related : "Closed accounts, budget and organisation of the Secretariat" ? The Netherlands delegate did not propose that that reform should be introduced this year. It would suffice for the Supervisory Commission to study it before the next Assembly.

Mme. Kluyver then passed to rationalisation, contributions in arrears and the budget.

With regard to rationalisation, the Netherlands delegation had always felt that it was extremely difficult for the various delegates to the Assembly to obtain an accurate idea of the questions which arose within the Secretariat and the International Labour Office. Generally speaking, it had always been prepared to accept the proposals put forward by the Supervisory Commission in agreement with the Secretary-General or the Director of the International Labour Office. Here, however, Mme. Kluyver thought two remarks were called for. In the first place, she noticed that the Supervisory Commission had asked an expert from outside to examine certain administrative questions in the Secretariat. Whatever respect might be due to that expert, whose ability was unquestioned, the Netherlands delegation was of opinion that the Secretariat was in a very special situation. In particular, paragraph 40 of the Supervisory Commission's report on technical concentration and rationalisation (Annex 2) contained a suggestion by the expert for the transfer to the Central Services of stenographers attached to the Sections and the rationalisation of the Central Services. Mme. Kluyver would return to that question at a suitable moment ; but she must say at once that, in her opinion, it would be a pity to follow too docilely the recommendations of experts from outside, and that it was absolutely necessary, in such matters, that the Secretary-General and the Supervisory Commission should preserve a completely free mind in formulating their opinion.

The second remark related to the following passage in paragraph 19 of the same document :

"It will be seen from this table (table showing the distribution of Members of Section) that the present system is extremely defective . . ."

It seemed to Mme. Kluyver that it was not so much the present system which was defective as its application. In that connection, she held the same view as the French delegate : she thought that, speaking generally, the re-opening of the discussion on the results

achieved by the Committee of Thirteen should be avoided. She was far from claiming that those results were perfect, but thought it undesirable to go back on decisions taken barely two or three years previously. It should not be forgotten, in particular, that the Committee of Thirteen had aimed at giving the officials greater stability, and they must not now be deprived of the guarantees which had been given them in that respect.

With regard to contributions in arrears, Mme. Kluyver had sometimes observed a general tendency on the part of delegates to suppose that their own particular country was the only one paying its contributions. The Secretary-General's speech at the beginning of the Fourth Committee's session had done something to clear up certain over-statements. The Committee now knew that receipts were very much the same in 1933 as in 1932, and that in any event the situation had not become worse in recent months. The Netherlands delegate was grateful to the Supervisory Commission for its suggestions with regard to the collection of contributions in arrears, and awaited the report of the competent Sub-Committee which would certainly study them.

With regard to the budget, the Netherlands delegation agreed with M. Hambro that a budget with no margin was dangerous. Excessive over-budgeting must, of course, be avoided; but, as the League was unable to obtain supplementary credits during the financial period, its budgetary appropriations must not be pared down too strictly, though the Supervisory Commission and the Treasurer must, of course, be able closely to supervise the execution of the budget. As it was essential, however, in the present situation, to make economies, the Netherlands delegation regretted that it would be obliged to agree to the slowing-down of some of the League's secondary activities. The Italian delegate had expressed satisfaction because financial compulsion had caused the League's policy to be what he conceived it should be. The Netherlands delegation, on the contrary, would have liked to be able to vote larger credits, even for the League's minor tasks.

To sum up, the Netherlands delegation was, above all, anxious that the Fourth Committee's discussions should not be interpreted as a sign of defeatism or discouragement. That delegation had always been and still was convinced of the value of the League's work. In conclusion, Mme. Kluyver repeated the words pronounced in the Assembly on the previous day by the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs: "Let us beware of sacrificing the League on the altar of economy".

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy), on a point of order, observed that Mme. Kluyver had misunderstood his remarks of the previous day. He had simply quoted paragraph 12 of the Supervisory Commission's report (Annex 2) and had repeated certain observations made by the Italian delegation in 1927. He had therefore been much milder than the Supervisory Commission, and Mme. Kluyver's observation should be addressed to M. Osuský rather than to himself.

The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee noted M. Cavazzoni's statement. It would discuss and reply to the question raised by the Supervisory Commission during the detailed examination of its reports.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) began by expressing the gratitude of all the friends of the League to the Supervisory Commission. It was always easy to accept proposals, but it was more meritorious to discuss them and to have the courage, when necessary, to refuse them. On behalf of the Swiss Government and on his own behalf, M. Rappard thanked the Supervisory Commission for its work.

For the rest, he would divide his observations into three parts — budgetary method, receipts and expenditure.

The debate on budgetary methods had been very interesting. The United Kingdom delegate had recommended budgetary sincerity and the Norwegian delegate pessimism in preparing estimates. What was one to think? Should one be pessimistic in budgeting in order not to be taken unawares by anything that occurred during the financial period; or, on the other hand, was it better to be sincere as far as possible? It was certain, in the first place, that the League budget must be elastic. The League was unable to make use of certain Treasury devices which were available to the States. It could neither obtain short-term loans nor appeal to a Parliament for additional credits. It might therefore be thought necessary to prepare for the worst in the budget rather than run the risk of serious difficulties. At the same time, between that and inflated budget estimates there was a step which, in M. Rappard's view, must not be taken. It would be altogether wrong to take account, in estimating expenditure, of a possible falling-off of receipts owing to delay in the payment of contributions. To do so would be to encourage the less eager debtors, giving them grounds to suppose that their default would not have serious consequences, because the consequences had already been anticipated. The problem was to reconcile sincerity and elasticity in the budget. In M. Rappard's view, there was only one means of settling the question — to include appropriations for unforeseen expenditure in the budget. At the same time, expenditure which could be foreseen should be more rigorously cut down.

M. Rappard considered, moreover, that any falling-off in receipts should be set off by a decrease in the League's activities. In one sense that would be unfortunate, but it was the only means of making the defaulting States realise their responsibilities.

Passing to receipts, the Swiss delegate pointed out that, on this subject, some were optimistic and others pessimistic. The Netherlands delegate had thanked the Secretary-General for contradicting certain over-statements. Satisfaction had been expressed that most of the States Members were good payers, although that was not actually the case, for, at the end of 1932, over 50 per cent of those States had not paid the whole of their contributions for the year. M. Rappard considered, on the contrary, that the seriousness of the situation must not be minimised, for two reasons. To allow it to be said that, after all, that situation was only a consequence of the world economic situation would be no help to those who in the Parliaments and Councils of State defended the granting of credits to the League. Indeed, if a Parliament or a Government believed it could count on some indulgence, it would be less disposed to make the necessary effort. The other reason was that to prolong that situation was to make a gift of an argument to those who attacked League credits in the countries that paid well, since they could draw attention to the impunity enjoyed by the States which did not pay.

It had been said that it was mainly the countries producing raw materials that had been hit by the depression. That was quite true; but, in the first place, the contribution asked of those countries was, generally speaking, small. Moreover, the economic situation was just as serious everywhere, and default by one country placed a heavier burden on others, at a time when they were at grips with the gravest financial difficulties. Finally, though he did not wish to be indiscreet, M. Rappard pointed out that one continent occupied some space in the list of countries which had difficulty in paying their contributions. It so happened that that continent had been the scene of two wars during the past year. One per cent of what those conflicts had cost would doubtless have sufficed to settle the arrears of the States in question. If the League succeeded in shortening a conflict by one week, it was doing extremely important work from the financial and humanitarian aspects. The League contribution should be regarded as an extremely light insurance premium against an extremely grave risk. M. Rappard therefore hoped that, after the competent Sub-Committee had formulated its proposals, there would be no need to revert to the question of contributions in arrears.

Everything essential had been said with regard to the question of expenditure. The delegates on the Fourth Committee were aware of the Swiss Government's views. M. Rappard fully agreed with the Spanish delegate's statement that it was no time, when one was ill, to grudge the expenses of the doctor and the chemist. If he did not conclude, with him, that the movement towards economy should be resisted, that was because he was sure it was possible to reduce expenditure without decreasing, but possibly even increasing, the League's activities. M. Rappard would not revert to the question of salaries. He confined himself to saying that, since the question had been legally settled the year previously, the responsibility had been placed on other shoulders. The Swiss Government hoped that those to whom it had been transferred would not altogether lose sight of the matter.

In 1930, the Assembly had decided to do away with the distinction between A and B Members of Section. That had resulted in the payment of a good many increments. In 1934, those increments would amount to 240,000 francs in all, whereas the Secretariat's activities would probably be less than in 1933. The Supervisory Commission had submitted a table in paragraph 19 of Annex 2 which had had a great effect on the members of the Fourth Committee. It was not quite accurate to speak of an army of generals. There was rather a surplus of officers. There were more colonels than majors, more majors than captains, and more captains than lieutenants in the Secretariat. It had been said that an army composed mainly of generals could never make a good army. That statement should not be taken literally, for the Secretariat was actually a good army. But it was a terribly expensive one.

The Supervisory Commission was of opinion that the present system of recruitment and progression in the scale of Members of Section was very defective. The Netherlands and French delegates, on the contrary, thought it admirable, and believed that the whole of the trouble was in its application. They could only mean by that, no doubt, that the annual increments should be a reward, not that the withholding of an increment should be a punishment. Did they mean, then, that each year the Secretary-General should refuse increments, thus provoking bitter discussions, incidents, etc. ? A system which in application gave rise to such disadvantages was to be condemned. No doubt its satisfactory application which M. Cahen-Salvador and Mme. Kluyver had in mind was described in paragraph 18 of Annex 3.

“The Administration regards itself as entitled to consider that, in order to give satisfaction (for the purpose of obtaining an annual increment), an official must not merely have avoided giving grounds for criticism, but also have increased his efficiency with his experience until he is fit to perform all the duties normally assignable to officials of his class.”

Did that mean then that only when he received a salary of 28,000 francs was a Member of Section capable of performing all the duties of his section ? If so, it had been a mistake to do away with the distinction between A and B Members of Section. The various Members of Section assumed responsibilities of varying importance, and it would only be right to put them in different categories.

M. Rappard wondered, moreover, whether the solution proposed by the Supervisory Commission for this serious situation would really be effective. It did not suggest restoring categories A and B, which had been done away with three years previously, for the reason

that, having been done away with, the distinction should not be restored. But if it had been a mistake to do away with it, was the mistake to be continued? It was human to err, but it was wicked to persist. However that might be, the Supervisory Commission had looked for an expedient, and suggested that there should be more temporary officials. That, in M. Rappard's view, was certainly not the best solution, the less so as it would not fully remedy the situation. To appoint too many temporary officials would inevitably undermine the international character of the Secretariat and the moral independence of its officials. Everyone was aware that the object of conferring some stability on the officials had been to give them the requisite independence. M. Rappard would be sincerely sorry for the Secretary-General of the League and the Director of the International Labour Office if they had each year to consider too large a number of new appointments or innumerable renewals of contracts. Finally, nothing could be worse in an administration than that the ordinary conversation of the officials should turn upon the conditions and possibilities of renewal of their contracts. The officials must, as far as possible, be protected from all uncertainty.

M. Rappard was therefore of opinion that there should be two or three categories of Member of Section. One of them should, for instance, cover a scale of salaries from 12,000 francs to 20,000 francs or 22,000 francs, and it should be understood that at least half of the Members of Section would be in that class. Members of Section would only be promoted to the higher categories as vacancies occurred and if they showed special ability.

For the rest, M. Rappard doubted whether it would be advisable for a committee like the Fourth Committee to prescribe that a certain number of Members of Section in a particular Section should not be exceeded. For instance, the proposed reform of the Information Section had undoubtedly been welcomed, but would not the officials of the Information Section whose posts had been suppressed pass into other Sections? The Committee had been assured that, as a whole, the steps taken with regard to the Information Section would reduce the number of officials. For his part, the Swiss delegate did not feel competent to examine that point. It was, he thought, entirely within the competence of the Secretary-General of the League and the Director of the Labour Office. Since, too, those officials would be judged by the reforms they introduced, it was only fair to leave them to shoulder their own responsibilities.

M. Rappard concluded by declaring that, while his Government had instructed him to demand economies, its reason was not only because it desired a somewhat heavy contribution to be reduced, but also, and above all, because it wanted an assurance that the money paid over to the League was spent judiciously. Switzerland was glad to take note of the promises to economise, and hoped that the future would prove that they had been kept.

M. RÉVEILLAUD (France) desired at the very outset to remove a misunderstanding to which the United Kingdom's delegate's observations might have given rise. He fully shared the opinions of his colleague of the undesirability of over-budgeting, only he felt that what was true for the United Kingdom and the States generally was not true, to the same extent, for the League. Mr. Bruce and M. Hambro had begun the demonstration of that point and with their permission he would continue it.

As M. Rappard had pointed out, the League had to take account of special needs which were not experienced by the Governments, because it was unable to ask for supplementary credits during the financial period. Consequently, there were certain obligations which it could not escape and which it must take into account in preparing the budget estimates.

How, indeed, was the Secretary-General, when faced with the list of duties which the Assembly required him to carry out during a given year, to foresee exactly what expenditure would be involved by the committees, conferences, etc.? Just as the Assembly was master in as far as the length of its sessions was concerned, the Council was master with regard to its own sessions, and the committees themselves retained the right to say when their work was at an end. It followed that, when the Supervisory Commission asked the Secretary-General to give it further details on such matters, there were certain elements of chance as to which he was unable to give a definite reply.

That was not all. On the different Committees, the number of whose members was fixed in advance by the Assembly, were members belonging to distant countries of the Far East and America, for instance. How could it be known beforehand whether they would all attend all the sessions? Was the estimate to be reduced on the hypothesis that some would be absent? Was not the Supervisory Committee obliged, on the contrary, to make a full appropriation? But that should not lay it open to the charge of over-budgeting.

There was a second, completely uncertain element in the League budget — a political element that had occasioned expenditure, the very principle underlying which could not be determined beforehand. By way of example, M. Réveillaud mentioned the next Economic Conference (see the explanations contained in the draft budget, document A.4.1933.X, notes on pages 5 and 25). Anxious as it was to stick to the facts, the Supervisory Commission was unable to ascertain — and the Fourth Committee knew no more about it at the present time — whether there would be a second Conference in 1934, or whether it should merely provide for the continuation of the first Conference.

Another example he might mention was the appropriation for "Unforeseen expenditure (subject to the special vote of the Council)". Everyone was aware of the budgetary theory which the Supervisory Commission and the Fourth Committee had successfully upheld. In financial matters, the final decision rested with the Assembly alone; at the same time, the Council must be able to carry out its political work, and, since the third Assembly, it had been

allocated a credit of 500,000 Swiss francs for unforeseen expenditure, within which sum it was absolutely master of its decisions. But who could foretell whether in 1934 the Council would spend 20,000 francs or 500,000 francs? What was certain was that it must be able to incur the necessary expenditure; otherwise, it could not fulfil its mission. Again, in 1932, at the height of the depression, the Assembly had provided, in addition to the credit for political expenditure by the Council, a credit for financial expenditure. So anxious had the Supervisory Commission been to act prudently that it had had the word "exceptional" added before that item, so as to show plainly that it was not a permanent credit. Neither in connection with the credit for political expenditure nor with that for financial expenditure could there be any question of over-budgeting. All that could be asked of the Supervisory Commission in such cases was to watch carefully and see that the Administration did not utilise these sums for other purposes, when they were not expended within the Council's discretion — in other words, absolutely to forbid any transfer from these items.

That was one of the specific causes of the discrepancies between budgetary estimates and actual expenditure. In 1932, however, a second factor had come in to reduce actual expenditure well below the estimates. It would be unjust to the Administration not to point out that the discrepancy between estimates and expenditure was due to a serious effort to economise. M. Réveillaud drew attention, in this connection, to the Assembly's uneasiness in 1932, which had caused it to ask the heads of the three administrations to do their utmost to economise. Those officials had associated themselves sincerely with its views and had seen to it, day in, day out, that the strictest economy was practised in all the services. Thanks to their unceasing vigilance, the year had ended without difficulty. It would be really paradoxical to complain of the surplus left over at the end of the year owing to their efforts.

In order to show that there had been no organised over-budgeting, M. Réveillaud proposed to bring four facts to the notice of the Fourth Committee.

When the Supervisory Commission had had to provide a credit for the Disarmament Conference (financial year 1932), it had not had any sort of idea of the expenditure which this Conference would involve, or of its duration, or of the number of plenary meetings or meetings of Commissions which would be held. An estimate of three and a half millions had been made to meet every eventuality. Thanks, however, to the efforts of the then Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, the strictest economy had been exercised, and, on the request of the Supervisory Commission, it had been arranged, at the risk of some inconvenience, to use Secretariat and even International Labour Office officials instead of engaging outside staff for the Conference. The actual expenditure had amounted to only 900,000 francs. In these circumstances, what action had the Supervisory Commission taken for 1933? It had reduced the credit to 1,600,000 francs, and in 1934 had further reduced it to a million, in spite of the fact that this would have been an excellent opportunity for over-budgeting if there had been any wish to adopt such a course.

M. Réveillaud then asked the Commission to refer to Articles 15 and 16 of the Secretariat Budget: "Unforeseen and Miscellaneous Expenses of the Secretariat" and "Unpaid Liabilities Fund". In a budget of the size of that of the League, very large sums might well be shown under these heads. Nevertheless, the total sum shown was merely 50,000 francs.

The budget of the various organisations contained a paragraph regarding unforeseen and miscellaneous expenditure. The Supervisory Commission endeavoured every year to reduce this item, as it considered that it provided a possibility for leakage. Nevertheless, if the Fourth Committee examined this class of estimates, it would see that they referred to extremely small appropriations which, while providing for the unforeseen, had at the same time also to cover small subsidiary expenses.

There was, in conclusion, nothing easier than to indulge in "over-budgeting" in the chapter on salaries. It was only necessary to glance at the estimated expenditure and the actual expenditure under this heading during 1932 and at the estimates for 1933 and 1934 to realise that the salaries budget was very close to the actual payments.

M. Réveillaud had already referred to economies made during 1932 by the Secretariat, and he would now mention shortly in what these economies had consisted. Meetings of committees and even small conferences had been abolished, appointments to vacant posts had been suspended, costs of printing of publications and subsistence allowances had, as the Assembly recommended, been greatly reduced; a reduction of 73 per cent had been made in travelling expenses and a reduction of 59 per cent by restrictions on purchases of furniture. This list would give an idea of the efforts of the Administration and of the expedients which had in too many cases been resorted to in order to effect economies.

The budget for 1934 had been drawn up on identical principles, which was equivalent to saying that budget appropriations had been very closely calculated and that the Fourth Committee should be careful in taking a decision on the credits proposed. It was worthy of notice that, for the first time since 1923, the budget showed a considerable reduction of about 9 per cent. He was sure that all the responsible departments of States Members of the League would not fail to be impressed by this fact. In this connection, M. Réveillaud thought that a tribute was due to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, which had refused to take advantage of a legal position with which the members of the Fourth Committee were well acquainted, and, after having already voluntarily made certain reductions, had been good enough, at the request of the Supervisory Commission, to impose further reductions which amounted to a total of some 150,000 francs.

It might, on the other hand, be remarked that the Supervisory Commission, which had already acquired a reputation as a hunter for economies, had not imposed such economies blindly. It was even possible to quote a case in which the Commission had requested that the

suggested credit should be increased (see paragraph 37 of the budgetary report of the Supervisory Commission (Annex 4)); the reason for this was that it had received a petition from the members of the competent Commission, and had been convinced by the arguments submitted. This example showed the spirit which animated the work of the Commission and that its sole aim was to hold the scales even between the various activities of the League.

The French delegate now wished to make a few remarks on the very precariously balanced budget for 1934.

The budget had finally been reduced to 30,600,000 francs. By applying to this figure the deficit-coefficient of receipts for last year, when only 82 per cent of the contributions were received, it might be expected that income would amount to 25 millions. It should, further, be explained that the figure of 82 per cent represented not only the contributions for 1932, but the total collections, including arrears, paid in by some Members. Against these receipts, what expenditure would have to be taken into account? To get an idea of the problem, reference might be made to the expenditure for 1932, in connection with which a considerable effort had been made to cut down expenses. Expenditure for 1932 amounted to 27,200,000 francs. There was thus a difference of 2 million francs between the receipts normally to be expected and the probable expenditure. That, in his view, was the crux of the problem.

To meet this theoretical deficit, what additional revenue, or what decrease in expenditure, could be anticipated? On the revenue side, the return of the Argentine to the League would mean, at any rate for the current year, no increase in the League's receipts; it would merely decrease the proportion of expenditure payable by each State Member. Only if the Argentine desired to pay her arrears could her return to the League have a favourable financial effect. The only interesting feature on the revenue side was that two countries, which had paid no subscription last year, had made a remittance this year. It could reasonably be expected that they would do the same in 1934 and that others would follow their example. Apparently, therefore, the lowest point of the curve had been reached and there was a tendency towards improvement. Perhaps, also, the measures recommended by the Secretary-General and the Supervisory Commission, as well as the representations made to their Governments by various delegates to the Assembly, as a result of the proposals which the Sub-Committee on Arrears might make, would accentuate the upward tendency. On the expenditure side, as M. Réveillaud had based his calculations on the 1932 figures, which already embodied all the various economies introduced, a smaller budget could hardly be expected except as a result of the rationalisation measures and a few further cuts.

The Committee would agree that, in those circumstances, to submit a budget like that now under discussion was, on the part of the Supervisory Commission, a real act of faith. There had been some talk of a tragic situation. The situation would be tragic if it were necessary to contemplate borrowing from the banks, drawing money from the Pensions Fund, etc., as some people already had, without, happily, there being any real ground for it, suggested. There was still the security of the Working Capital Fund, which had a credit balance at present of 1,283,000 francs. Furthermore, if, when the Assembly broke up, it had adopted the Supervisory Commission's proposal for refunding to the Advances Account the loans made to the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court and the balance of the account for the erection of the wireless station, the credit balance of the account would rise again to 3,200,000 francs. The Supervisory Commission's faith, therefore, had a positive material foundation — namely, that, barring some general unforeseen disaster, it should be possible, with these 3,200,000 francs in hand, to meet all eventualities.

In conclusion, M. Réveillaud again asked his colleagues to be extremely careful, in examining the budget, only to make minor corrections or amendments in the proposed figures unless, in pursuance of a different policy, they decided to make radical reductions in the League's activities. Some delegates had made allusions to such reductions. The advocates of such a policy, however, should not merely talk of economies; they should make concrete proposals — for instance, go through Chapter III on the special organisations of the League and ask specifically for a particular activity to be abolished. He personally believed that such steps were for the moment unnecessary, but, like the Secretary-General, he would not exclude this possibility for the future if the situation, contrary to all expectation, became worse.

A certain tendency to extravagance in some Assembly circles had in the past given the Supervisory Commission serious concern, but that was no longer the case. Other grounds for anxiety, however, had sprung up which were the natural consequence of such facts — as, for instance, the new building, losses on certain assets due to currency fluctuations, and the question of the new scale of contributions, etc. On the latter point, M. Réveillaud wondered how the Committee for the Allocation of League Expenses, of which he was Chairman, would succeed in submitting to the Fourth Committee next year proposals which could be unanimously adopted.

There was, however, one thing which was calculated to give the Supervisory Commission confidence — the feeling that it shared the same views as the Fourth Committee and the Assembly as a whole and that it was so thoroughly understood by the heads and the members generally of the administrations. Without the goodwill universally shown, it would have been impossible to secure the savings made in 1932, 1933, those which would, he was sure, be made in 1934 and perhaps even, alas! in the years to follow. It was due to their faith in the various guarantees implicit in these facts that the members of the Supervisory Commission could say: "We will see it through!"

Sir Hormusji MĒHTA (India) said that the budget had been discussed so thoroughly that there was very little left to say. One thing stood out most prominently — that every speaker appreciated the work of the League officers and the Supervisory Commission who had been responsible for preparing the budget.

On the revenue side, it was disappointing that all the sums expected had not been collected. On the expenditure side, the actual expenditure on every item was less than had been budgeted for. Some members regarded that as over-budgeting; others felt that the officers had done their best in difficult circumstances. He could not help saying that the original object was no doubt to collect the sum budgeted for and to spend it for the purposes for which it was intended. Having failed to collect it, however, they naturally cut down expenses to balance the budget. They must be given credit for that, not criticised. They were unable to raise a loan and were therefore dependent upon the contributions of the various States.

There was plenty of room to economise. The Supervisory Commission had taken up the matter seriously and had achieved something, but there was still much to be done in reducing expenditure, and thus improving the League's financial position, and in building up a reserve.

The Indian Government had full sympathy with the League's work, but had asked him to speak strongly on the matter of arrears of contributions and expenditure. As he had had the honour to be appointed on the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears, however, he felt it would be unwise to speak on the latter subject at present, and would therefore reserve his remarks until the Sub-Committee presented its report.

M. PERNE (Yugoslavia) said that there was a unanimous desire in the Fourth Committee to effect economies. Public opinion also demanded that budgets, both national and international, should reflect the cuts made everywhere in social affairs. The Supervisory Commission and the heads of the League Administrations were submitting reports and proposals which were appropriate, generally speaking, to the present position, and, to some extent, took the world depression into account. The Yugoslav delegation, desirous of ensuring the regular working of the League — which had become a necessity in public affairs — in spite of a temporary restriction, had full confidence in the wisdom and prudence of the Supervisory Commission and, on behalf of the Yugoslav Government, supported the Supervisory Commission's conclusions with regard both to the technical concentration of the activities of the League and rationalisation of the services of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office and to the budgets of the various League organisations.

In so far as concerned more especially the recruitment and progression in the scale of the staff, M. Perne ventured to follow the same line as the Polish and French delegates. Those two delegates had mentioned, on the two previous days, the general lines laid down as a guide by the Assembly as a result of the reports of the Committee of Thirteen. M. Cahen-Salvador had said that there were a certain number of indispensable factors if an international organisation was to have a healthy existence, and he believed it to be essential, *inter alia*, to ensure that the organisation of the League was international. M. de Modzelewski had drawn attention to the need for allocating suitable posts to the various nations and civilisations represented in the League. At a time when the Fourth Committee was asking the Secretary-General and the Director of the International Labour Office to prepare, for the 1934 Assembly, concrete solutions based on the Supervisory Commission's reports, it would appear to be unnecessary to draw attention to the work of the Assembly in 1930. The report of the Committee of Thirteen adopted, in its original form, by the Fourth Committee in 1930 said :

“ It is important that the various nationalities should be fairly represented among the staff of the first division; . . . every vacancy should be filled by competitive examination or selection, the Secretary-General [and by analogy the Director of the International Labour Office] being empowered, should he think it necessary, to reserve certain examinations or competitions for nationals of countries which are not yet adequately represented in the Secretariat. . . . On the same principle of fairness, the Committee is of opinion that too much importance should not be attached to a knowledge of the two official languages, as this would tend unduly to favour French and British candidates.”

The Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee in 1930 had said that the following words from Lord Balfour's report should be repeated at the head of the chapter relating to the general obligations of the staff :

“ . . . Absolute impartiality, tempered by the spirit of research, by objective study, by the practice of true internationalism — that is to say, in no way excluding in any of those who take part in the great work of the League the love of their own country.”

Good things would always stand repetition. True nationalism and the spirit of the League were by no means opposites. The more the composition of the personnel of international administrations — recruited and promoted, of course, in the prescribed conditions — gave an accurate picture of the nations which were Members of the League, the more would the real international character of the League be safeguarded.

The continuation of the discussion was adjourned to the next meeting.

SIXTH MEETING

Held on Tuesday, October 3rd, 1933, at 3.30 p.m.

Chairman: M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).

12. Administration and Finances of the League of Nations : General Discussion (continuation).

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, desired to reply to the remarks which had been made concerning the proposals for rationalisation and technical concentration of the services of the Secretariat.

Many speakers had urged that there should be no interruption of a practice that had grown up during several years. M. Cahen-Salvador, in particular, had exhorted the members of the Fourth Committee to adhere to the principles enunciated by the Committee of Thirteen : stability in the organisation of the Secretariat, affirmation of the international character of the League and security from the point of view of a career.

At the time when the whole series of questions relating to rationalisation and technical concentration had been referred to the Supervisory Commission, the questions themselves and the principles had already undergone a change. A number of things had happened since the meetings of the Committee of Thirteen — for example, the debate in the Council in May 1932 which had led to the designation of a British expert, Sir Malcolm Ramsay, who had been asked to submit a report ; the debate last year in the Fourth Committee itself and the vote by the Assembly of a resolution laying down specific terms of reference for the Supervisory Commission.

The Supervisory Commission had proved that it was the faithful watchdog of principles ; not only of those which favoured one party, but also of those which favoured the other. In defending the salaries of the officials, it had shown last year that it attached vital importance to principles.

During the general debate, two or three objections had been offered with regard to the principles laid down by the Commission concerning Members of Section. M. Cahen-Salvador, more especially, had stated that there was no real justification for the abandonment of the new system adopted by the Committee of Thirteen. Nevertheless, the figures contained in the Supervisory Commission's report concerning the position of Members of Section were eloquent. The fact that the present system had allowed of such an application proved that something needed to be done. The Supervisory Commission had sought for ways and means of improving the present system.

In M. Cahen-Salvador's view, it was permissible, and even a rule, under the system planned by the Committee of Thirteen that incapable officials should receive no increment. As a matter of fact, under the present system there was nothing to prevent an official receiving his increment. In M. Cahen-Salvador's view, the Supervisory Commission's proposals assumed that the receipt of an increment was subject to an increase of responsibility. In his opinion, the receipt of an increment should be justified by the length of service, and responsibility was a question of grade. In practice, however, the system of the Committee of Thirteen had resulted in the abolition of grades. The principles proposed by the Supervisory Commission aimed precisely at the establishment of a certain distinction which would enable officials to progress up to a certain point by reason of their length of service and would also make it possible to establish grades corresponding to the responsibilities of the officials.

According to M. Cahen-Salvador, M. Osuský had said that the Supervisory Commission had paid no regard to principles but had concentrated its attention on results. M. Osuský had expressed himself as follows :

“ The Supervisory Commission felt that it had not been appointed to work out theories but to produce tangible results.”

In what connection had he said that ? In connection with possible savings on personnel. Last year, the Assembly had asked the Supervisory Commission to try to effect economies, not only in respect of material, but also of staff. There were two possible ways of doing so : to suppress posts, or to await vacancies and not fill them. M. Osuský had then said that that solution would not be without effect, for about fifty officials left the Secretariat each year. The Supervisory Commission had said that it did not desire to stick to theory and to adopt one solution and reject the other. It had stated in its report that it had dealt with each case on its merits, seeking in each the best and less costly method.

The German delegate had said that the desires expressed by the German delegation had not all been realised in the budget. M. Osuský did not deny it. But the Supervisory Commission had done its utmost to take them into account, and if it had been unable to satisfy all the delegations, that was because each of them had come up against certain desires expressed by other delegations which were not in the same direction. The Supervisory Commission had therefore endeavoured to combine them in a harmonious whole, and the German delegate could be sure that last year it had followed with great interest the development of his ideas before the Fourth Committee. M. Osuský thought, moreover, that they had largely been taken into account.

The German delegate had also made an observation with regard to rationalisation. He had asked whether the 1934 budget figures would not be changed if the Supervisory Commission's report were adopted. M. Osuský replied that, if the Commission's report were not adopted, certain items would have to be increased. He greatly regretted that it had been impossible to give full effect to all the principles laid down by the Supervisory Commission, but, if the adoption of the report on rationalisation did not modify the estimates, he greatly hoped that during 1934, when the budget was being put into execution, it would be possible to make savings by applying those principles.

Finally, the German delegate had expressed the desire that the Assembly should examine the League's activities and draw a distinction between essential and secondary functions. The Supervisory Commission did not hesitate to remind the Fourth Committee and the Assembly of their responsibilities. In paragraph 12 of its report (Annex 2) it said :

“ The Supervisory Commission cannot, therefore, too strongly emphasise the importance it attaches to the settlement of the following general questions :

“ Is the Assembly disposed to allow the activities of the League to continue to develop empirically, at haphazard, and without proper co-ordination ?

“ Has not the time come to keep the extension of the League's activities strictly within the limits of financial possibilities ? ”

The Commission put that question to the Fourth Committee and the Assembly because it was not competent to settle it. It was for the Assembly alone to decide. If the latter desired to maintain and extend certain activities, the Supervisory Commission must provide for their regular and normal execution.

The representative of New Zealand desired to know whether it would not be possible for the Committee to have a detailed survey of expenditure on the items included in a lump sum, or more exactly on unforeseen expenses. He thought some way of submitting a list or table at the beginning of each Assembly, analysing the unforeseen expenditure in the League budget, might well be considered.

The representative of New Zealand had also raised the question of transfers. The Supervisory Commission had always been very severe on that point, but it had to take into account the Regulations for the financial administration of the League, which, in accordance with their present terms, allowed transfers. The Commission was not in favour of them, however, because they falsified the budget. It endeavoured to avoid them as far as possible during the financial period.

As regards the late date at which reports were submitted, he would point out that a certain time was necessary in which to assimilate the elements of the difficult technical problems submitted to the Commission.

The Supervisory Commission had submitted its report on the budget at the beginning of June and its first report on rationalisation in July, and greatly regretted that it had been unable to present the second report on rationalisation until the beginning of the present Assembly. But it had been constrained by the force of events, though it had done its utmost to see that the documents were ready as soon as possible.

The Polish representative seemed to think that the Supervisory Commission was criticising the principle of “ representation ” of the different civilisations in the League; and had recalled that it had been definitely adopted by the Assembly. M. Osuský replied that the Supervisory Commission had made no criticism. It had simply explained why, in the international administration, it was not possible to act in the same way as in an ordinary national administration, but had recalled that the Commission was obliged to take the above principle into account. The result was as follows : A post, for instance, became vacant; but it had been held by the national of a country which had no other “ representative ” in the Secretariat. If the Supervisory Commission did not mind depriving a nation of its representation, it would simply suppress that post; but as it was anxious to observe that principle, which was that upheld by the Polish representative and which it was bound to apply, it was compelled to maintain the post.

Immediately the idea of representation — it was not really a principle — was accepted, the practical results must be realised. In an international administration, the documents were prepared in one of the official languages. But very few people were able to write correctly in a foreign language. If, therefore, the documents were to be in a satisfactory form, suitable staff must be provided. In other words, the services had to be larger.

In dealing with that point, the Supervisory Commission had once again made no criticism. It merely desired to show why the system in force at Geneva was more expensive than that of a national administration.

The Polish representative had referred to the idea of establishing a fixed proportion between permanent and temporary posts of Member of Section. Here M. Osuský would reply to one of the Swiss delegate's observations also.

It had been said — and the Supervisory Commission was aware — that, during the past year, a considerable economic and financial effort had been made by the League. It had been said that that was necessary, that the circumstances were exceptional, that an immediate effort must be made, and that, when everything was settled, matters would return to the normal. That also applied to the Disarmament Conference. But the League must respect

the contracts concluded with its officials. If it gave permanent contracts, if, for example, it engaged permanent staff to deal with all economic and all disarmament questions once these questions were settled, once, for instance, the Disarmament Conference was at an end, there would be a number of officials with permanent contracts who would have still to be paid. It was precisely in order to combine security with the needs of an institution like the League, where there was considerable work in some years in certain spheres and less in other years, that the Supervisory Commission had endeavoured to find a system in which there would be available a permanent establishment on the one hand and, on the other hand, in accordance with the circumstances, expenditure would not be too high.

The Polish representative had also said that he disagreed with the Supervisory Commission about the branch offices. The Supervisory Commission had examined that question, but there were not only the branch offices of the Secretariat, but also those of the International Labour Office. In studying the question with the International Labour Office, it had found that the branch offices of the latter in the various countries were not propaganda offices, but offices for purposes of liaison and enquiry. As it was considered to be essential and not more expensive to have such offices in certain countries, the Supervisory Commission was considering to what extent the Secretariat offices — whose duties might be modified — could be combined with those of the International Labour Office. The staff of the branch offices in the various countries had contracts terminating in 1934 or 1935. The Supervisory Commission had therefore tried to work out a system by which those offices which were not considered necessary would be done away with or transformed. For the time being, however, the question could not be prejudged, and later on the Committee would be free to express its views.

Further observations had been made by M. Cavazzoni. As far as the principles and questions raised were concerned, a reply had already been given in the report; they would have to be dealt with later.

The Canadian representative, Mr. Roy, had been in favour of economies, but not of those which might paralyse the League's activities. That was precisely what the Supervisory Commission had tried to do.

M. Boheman had said that he was in favour of strict but reasonable economy. That was also the Supervisory Commission's idea. He had also regretted that the proposals contained in the Commission's first report had not been fully executed in the second. In that a question of time was involved; it had now been settled, and the Commission had therefore already announced that, during 1934, it would put into practice the principles embodied in the first report.

M. Osuský must plead guilty before the representative of the Netherlands. The Supervisory Commission had indeed submitted no report on one of the questions that had been referred to it last year — that of more expeditious procedure for the Fourth Committee. The Commission, however, had not forgotten that question, which was part of a more general problem — that of a system for speeding up the work, not only of the Fourth Committee, but of the whole Assembly. It was because the Supervisory Commission had been anxious to leave the Secretary-General free to deal with the problem as a whole that it had omitted to mention it in the report.

It was true that those parts of the report of the Supervisory Commission relating to the questions on the agenda ought to be examined at the same time as the questions themselves. That actually happened in practice. Nevertheless, there were always some questions in that report which did not appear on the agenda. They had therefore to be examined separately and to appear in that form in the Fourth Committee's agenda.

With regard to the transfer of stenographers from the Sections to the Pool, the Committee was in possession of the opinion of the British expert, Mr. Robertson, and that formulated in the previous year by Sir Malcolm Ramsay. After examining this matter with the Secretary-General and the heads of the Services of the Secretariat, the Supervisory Commission had come to the conclusion that an extension of the central pool of typists would result in greater efficiency. What was wanted was a reasonable system allowing at one and the same time of a better utilisation of all the available strength, and to leave the stenographers in those places where they were absolutely indispensable. That was, of course, a matter of judgment and perhaps also of experience. Nevertheless, in the opinion of the experts and of the administration, it seemed better to institute a system on the lines proposed by the Supervisory Commission.

M. Osuský then dealt with an observation by the Swiss delegate concerning the Information Section. There must be no misunderstandings in this matter. True, the Supervisory Commission had proposed a re-organisation of this Section, but it was clearly understood — and this point appeared in the report — that the officials who would leave the Information Section would not form another Section. It might be supposed that there was an idea of creating a Section attached to the Secretary-General, consisting of some of the Information Section officials. That was not the case. This new Section would consist of officials taken from the bureaux or private secretariats of the principal officers. Its duties would be to prepare the work for the Council and the Assembly, to centralise the correspondence to be signed by the Secretary-General, etc.

The Spanish delegate had stated that the Commission should place at the League's disposal instruments to enable it to carry out its ideals. M. Osuský had already had an opportunity of expressing his views on this point in the Council in May 1932, at the time when the Spanish delegate had complained that the failure to pay subscriptions necessitated

reductions and efforts at rationalisation and concentration. He had added that it necessitated a large measure of faith in the League if those who discharged their liabilities were prepared to pay for those who did not. M. Osuský had not hesitated to say, in reply to M. de Madariaga, that personally he felt the greatest admiration for the generosity he displayed and had added that, if everyone did likewise, it would greatly facilitate the work of the Supervisory Commission and the Fourth Committee. In the Council he had said further, in answer to M. de Madariaga, that the Supervisory Commission was ready to work out a system on the basis of his proposal and that he anticipated a suggestion from the Council entrusting the Supervisory Commission with the task of building up some such system. No Member of the Council had, however, made any suggestion of that kind.

At the Assembly on the previous day, M. de Madariaga had reproached the Fourth Committee and the Supervisory Commission for overweeningness. They did not deserve that rebuke because public opinion did not take any great interest in the work of either of these two bodies. M. Osuský did not think that there was really any ground for criticising the two organs which had attempted to co-ordinate the League's finances. Moreover, while the Fourth Committee was competent to take decisions, that was not the case as regards the Supervisory Commission. Moreover, if it were obliged to do what it did, that was not from its own inclination, but because someone must undertake the job. Too often — not, of course, in the Fourth Committee, but in the other Committees of the Assembly — the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission alone was taken to task, since it was he who appeared before the Fourth Committee. He was, however, only one member of the Commission, which numbered five. It must not be imagined that the Supervisory Commission's actions did anything which was contrary to the interest of the League or to the decisions of the Assembly. On the other hand, the Commission applied itself to carrying out loyally the Assembly's decisions, and its only aim was to assist the Fourth Committee.

Further, the Fourth Committee was entirely free to take any decision at its own discretion. If the suggestions submitted were not approved, it could modify or reject them. The Supervisory Commission was only there to help the Committee and did not want to impose anything upon it. Nevertheless, if the Fourth Committee would carefully examine the figures and explanations submitted by the Supervisory Commission, it would see that they expressed the discussions of an entire year, that they were the result of careful reflection, and that they formed a carefully balanced set of measures which, while ensuring the normal working of the administration, still preserved a harmonious concordance. If the Fourth Committee was of the same mind as last year, when it had instructed the Supervisory Commission to consider the ways and means of bringing about a technical concentration and a useful measure of rationalisation, it would see that the state of mind by which it had been animated last year was reflected in the proposals, however modest they might be, which the Supervisory Commission was submitting to it.

13. Technical Concentration of the Activities of the League of Nations and Rationalisation of the Services of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office : Examination of the Reports of the Supervisory Commission.

On the PRESIDENT'S proposal, the Committee decided to study, chapter by chapter, the first report of the Commission (Annex 2) together with those sections of the second report (Annex 3) which dealt with the same subjects.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. Preliminary Remarks.

2. The Secretariat of the League.

No observations.

3. The Activities of the League.

The CHAIRMAN noted that this question had already been dealt with during the general discussion. All the speakers were apparently in favour of reasonable economy, which should not hamper the normal activities of the League as defined by the Assembly.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) drew the Committee's attention to the fact that the Supervisory Commission had put two questions in paragraph 12 of Annex 2 on which the Fourth Committee should, he thought, make definite proposals to the Assembly.

BARON VON RHEINBABEN (Germany) said that the German delegation was satisfied with the serious efforts that had been made to introduce further economies. He would therefore make no precise proposals as to what activities might be reduced, though he might mention one or two points during the discussion of the budget. The heads of the three administrations should be given a chance to see what they could do. If the financial situation became worse, it might be necessary to curtail the League's activities in the future, but decidedly not at present.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy), replying to a remark made by the Chairman, reminded the Committee that the 1932 Assembly had requested the Supervisory Commission "to proceed to a detailed study of the possibilities of effecting economies in the expenditure of the League

of Nations by means of a technical concentration of its activities". The question of the League's activities was thus quite definitely raised. He would like to hear an opinion expressed by the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission on the manner in which the questions dealt with in Chapter 3 of Annex 2 should be brought before the Assembly, in case the Fourth Committee should approve that part of the Supervisory Commission's report.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, pointed out that the passage in the resolution adopted by the Assembly in 1932 which M. Cavazzoni had quoted finished as follows :

" . . . and by any other means of re-organisation and rationalisation in the services of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office, on condition, however, that these measures should in no way hamper the essential functions of the League".

This meant that the Supervisory Commission had in no sense received instructions to examine the actual work of the League for the purpose of restricting it. Moreover, when submitting its conclusions, it had made a point of warning the Assembly that, if the latter body extended the League's functions, the economies which had been realised would not be maintained.

M. DE MODZELEWSKI (Poland) considered that the form to be given to the Fourth Committee's reply depended on the conclusions at which it would arrive as a result of the general discussion. If the Committee agreed on any given opinion, the Rapporteur would no doubt state this in the Committee's report. In any case, as far as M. de Modzelewski himself was concerned, he had replied to the question raised by paragraph 12 in a previous speech (see Minutes of the Fourth Meeting).

M. PALACIOS (Spain) said that the Spanish delegation could not reply in the affirmative to the two questions asked in paragraph 12 of the Supervisory Commission's report. In the first place, because to reply that the Assembly was not disposed to allow the activities of the League to *continue* to develop *empirically*, at *haphazard*, and without proper *co-ordination* amounted to casting on the delegates a blame which they did not deserve. What, then, had the Members of the League, the Commissions, the Committees, the Assemblies, been doing at Geneva; what had the administrations of the Secretariat, of the International Labour Office, of the Court, done year after year, if development had *always* taken place empirically, at haphazard, and without co-ordination? M. Palacios did not think that was the case: he thought that some false steps may have been taken, and even that sometimes one may have fallen, but that was precisely because one was walking. But, even if that were so, the situation only called for improvements, for corrections, such as were necessary in all important work towards the realisation of an ideal.

As regards the second question, M. Palacios observed that, in view of the uncertainty of the payments of contributions in arrears and of current contributions, of the desire of some nations to diminish them and of the demand for reductions in the budget, to maintain the League's activities strictly within the limits of financial possibilities would be a bad policy for the future of the League. That would be empiricism pushed to the extreme. The Spanish delegation proposed the opposite system — fix the essential activities for the work of peace of the League, consider the real possibilities of carrying them out, ensure that they are successful because of the trust of the people in the League's efficacy, and that the States undertake to pay sufficiently for them, which could be perfectly easily done merely by cutting down a little their war budgets.

M. CAHEN-SALVADOR (France) pointed out that the Fourth Committee and the Supervisory Commission had each been allotted well-defined functions. The question now was to decide what reply should be made, in the report to the Assembly, to the questions which had been asked of the Committee and of the Supervisory Commission.

As far as economy was concerned, the Committee was unanimous in considering that the greatest possible measure of economy should be introduced, and, as for the activity of the League of Nations, a distinction should be made between present activity on one hand and future and possible activity on the other. Present activity had already been determined; the Fourth Committee had, of course, subject to a vote by the Assembly, the right to restrict it, but it was clear from the general discussion that such restriction should not be effected for reasons of economy alone. As for future and possible activity, M. Cahen-Salvador was perfectly prepared for the Supervisory Commission to draw the Assembly's attention to the financial consequences of any new decision on the subject of supplementary work. This being so, what remained to be done? Simply to look for possibilities of working at smaller expense without prejudicing present activity. This was the burthen of the instructions received by the Supervisory Commission and the Fourth Committee, and if they carried them out they would have fulfilled the wishes of the 1932 Assembly.

M. BOHEMAN (Sweden) interpreted the mission of the Supervisory Commission as follows: The Commission should attempt to find every possible means of effecting economy within the limits of the League's present activity. In his view, the Supervisory Commission had accomplished this task. It was possible that, in future years, it would be necessary to decide to undertake a revision of the decisions of previous Assemblies, but happily things had not yet gone as far as that, and, in any case, the Fourth Committee would not be able to perform such a task in a few days. As far as new functions were concerned, he thought that the spirit

now in evidence, both in the Assembly and in the various Committees — particularly the Fourth Committee and the Supervisory Commission — was sufficient guarantee that no new departure would be decided on unless it lay well within the limits of financial possibilities.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) also considered that the Supervisory Commission had carried out the instructions given to it by the 1932 Assembly and that in paragraph 12 of Annex 2 it had simply tried to indicate that, if the work of the League continued to develop, it would be impossible to keep the budget within the present limits. It seemed to him that the paragraph in question could not be interpreted in any other way, for the three following reasons :

(1) In view of the way in which work was at present divided between the various Committees of the Assembly, the Fourth Committee could not presume to judge decisions taken by other committees.

(2) It would be harmful if such judgments were possible, for it was essential that all the Committees should fully realise their responsibility and examine all the possible financial consequences of any new activity which they had contemplated suggesting.

(3) It was in any case impossible to give a definition of the activity of the League of Nations which would cover all the functions which the League might undertake, and, even if such a formula could be found, it would be binding on the present Assembly only, for one Assembly of the League could not impose its wishes on another.

M. Rappard was of the opinion that the Committee could only congratulate itself on the work of the Supervisory Commission, which had made every effort to adapt methods to the aims in view.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) drew attention to the wording of paragraph 9 of Annex 2 to the effect that the rationalisation measures advocated by that Commission could have no lasting effects unless the question of the League's activities was settled at the same time. Further, the Council, at its meeting on May 21st, 1932, had drawn the Assembly's attention to the importance it attached to a general review of League policy. In those circumstances, the Fourth Committee's task seemed to be simple : it could leave the matter in the Supervisory Commission's hands, approve the suggestions and comments submitted by the latter and add in its own report that the proposals made to the Assembly would have no practical effect unless the problem of League activities were settled.

Mr. BRUCE (Australia) said that he fully sympathised with the Supervisory Commission's desire to have some indication as to the Assembly's wishes with regard to the League's activities. He believed everyone agreed that they must not continue to develop empirically. All the Fourth Committee had to do, therefore, was to point out the dangers and difficulties of the situation. That would completely dispose of the Supervisory Commission's questions.

A much bigger point was raised, however : the Assembly had suggested that the existing activities should be reduced. The Fourth Committee was not in a position to make any recommendation, but it would certainly desire to endorse the suggestion that the greatest care should be taken in embarking upon new work. In doing so, it would not in any way be attempting to impose its will on the other Committees of the Assembly, but would merely be uttering a word of warning that there might be very serious financial trouble if the League did not exercise the greatest care in entering into further financial commitments.

Mr. LESTER (Irish Free State), Rapporteur, said he would be glad to know what the Committee wished him to say in his report. He had understood the Supervisory Commission's questions to be rhetorical ones, intended as a warning to the Assembly Committees that, in making proposals, they should bear the financial aspect in mind. Was that the feeling of the Committee ?

The CHAIRMAN stated that, at the outset of the discussion, he had tried to draw the inferences from the general discussions which had been held on previous days, so that the Fourth Committee need not re-open the question. He pointed out that, in paragraph 12 of its report, the Supervisory Commission was not really asking a definite question, but rather uttering a warning. The Fourth Committee could apparently confine itself to approving the passage in the Supervisory Commission's report dealing with the activities of the League of Nations and leave it to its Rapporteur to submit a text defining its own views. If, however, the members of the Fourth Committee had concrete proposals to make, he would ask for them to be made immediately.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) thought the Rapporteur should be given a clearer idea of the Fourth Committee's wishes. Would it, for instance, be possible to ask him to reproduce in his report the statement in paragraph 9 of the Supervisory Commission's report ?

The Fourth Committee should in any case express its opinion ; a view of the League's activities had been expressed by the Supervisory Commission. It was for the Committee to say whether there were grounds for that view or not.

M. PALACIOS (Spain) was opposed to the insertion of paragraph 9 in the report to the Assembly, because it was in this paragraph that was raised the question against which he had

protested. The sense of that paragraph and of paragraph 10 gave the impression that the activities and policy of the League of Nations should be carried out in a restricted manner. And why restricted? Again, it raised the question of the organ which should be entrusted with the examination. Should it be the Assembly? In that case, the work would be entrusted to the Committees. Which Committee? The Fourth Committee? The Supervisory Commission? He would be opposed to such a procedure.

M. PARRA PÉREZ (Venezuela), speaking as the Venezuelan delegate and not as a member of the Supervisory Commission, said that, in his opinion, paragraph 9 of the Supervisory Commission's report should be taken together with paragraph 10. It would then be clear that it was not the Supervisory Commission which had, as it were, invented the question of the League's activities. That question had been raised by the Council at its meeting on May 21st, 1932, and the Secretariat had prepared in that connection a document which had been submitted to, but not considered by, the 1932 Assembly. The question, therefore, was still open, and the problem was not the insertion or non-insertion of a paragraph from the Supervisory Commission's report in the Fourth Committee's report, but to ask the Assembly whether it proposed to leave the question open or, conversely, to have it examined as the Council recommended.

M. BOHEMAN (Sweden) moved that the Fourth Committee's report to the Assembly should contain: (1) an endorsement of the Supervisory Commission's report; (2) a paragraph drawing the Assembly's attention to the statement in paragraphs 9 to 12 of the Supervisory Commission's report that the various economy measures to be taken depended on a prudent restriction of the League's activities. It would, of course, be the Rapporteur's duty to find a suitable form of words.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) said he preferred the Supervisory Commission's text.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) was afraid that to quote some passages from the Supervisory Commission's report might be underrating, in the eyes of members of the Assembly, the importance of others.

The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the proposals of both M. Cavazzoni and M. Boheman.

The Swedish delegate's proposal was adopted by fourteen votes to four recorded for the Italian delegate's proposal.

Mr. BRUCE (Australia) said that he interpreted the Committee's decision to mean that the Assembly's attention should be drawn to the whole of Section 3, "The Activities of the League".

The CHAIRMAN replied that the Committee would have an opportunity of expressing its views when the Rapporteur's draft report came up for discussion.

II. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON RATIONALISATION.

M. CAHEN-SALVADOR (France) wished to know whether the Committee shared the views he had expressed in the speech made during the general discussion. If so, he would be glad to see a short reference made to it in the report to the Assembly. He explained that it was a case of the principles underlying the re-organisation of the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court, and he wanted the Fourth Committee to say that it had no idea of going back on those principles.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that, in the speech he had made at the opening of the present meeting, the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission had replied to all the points raised by M. Cahen-Salvador.

M. CAHEN-SALVADOR (France) had no wish to re-open the discussion on this subject. As he understood it, there was no idea, generally speaking, of undoing what had been done. If that were really so, it would be well to explain in the report that the measures advocated meant adjusting, and not altering, the system adopted.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, said that the principles had been laid down a year ago by the Assembly and the Fourth Committee, and all that had now to be done was to say how the Fourth Committee had applied them.

M. CAHEN-SALVADOR (France) said that, if he pressed the point, it was merely because the Supervisory Commission's report contained a chapter devoted to general considerations on rationalisation.

As this chapter was not complete in itself, he would ask the Rapporteur not to omit, in the text which he would submit, certain arguments, also of a general nature, which had been advanced in the Fourth Committee's meetings, but were not mentioned in the Supervisory Commission's report.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) pointed out that, since the relevant paragraph of the Fourth Committee's report would deal with the chapter of the Supervisory Commission's report entitled "General Considerations on Rationalisation", there would be no objection to not dealing in that paragraph with other general considerations which could, alternatively, be dealt with in the chapter of the Fourth Committee's report dealing with the general question of rationalisation.

III. RATIONALISATION OF THE SECRETARIAT SERVICES :

A. POLITICAL AND TECHNICAL STAFF.

1. *Recruitment and Progression (in the Scale) of Members of Section.*

Paragraphs 18 to 23 of Annex 2.

Paragraphs 2 to 18 of Annex 3.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) did not believe that the Fourth Committee could simultaneously approve the statements on rationalisation made in Annexes 2 and 3, seeing that the two reports expressed views which were irreconcilable.

In Annex 2, paragraph 18, it was stated that :

" . . . a Member of Section appointed at an initial salary of 12,000 francs will, in course of time, subject to good behaviour, obtain a maximum salary of 28,000 francs, and the Administration had no power to limit his salary to whatever level may seem appropriate to his real relative value"

whereas, according to paragraph 18 of Annex 3 :

"The Administration regards itself as entitled to consider that, in order to give satisfaction, an official must not merely have avoided good grounds for criticism, but also have increased his efficiency with his experience until he is fit to perform all the duties normally assignable to officials of his class."

The question was whether or not the administration was entitled to make an official's salary commensurate with his efficiency and to stop his salary at the level indicated by his abilities.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, explained that that was a point on which the practice of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office had not been identical. In the latter organisation, the system had been applied more strictly than in the former. After studying the question with the two Administrations, the Supervisory Commission had come to the conclusion that the International Labour Office's method was preferable and that was the method which, in its second report, it had tried to extend to the Secretariat.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL would like to qualify slightly the remarks of the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission. The practice of both Administrations was the same, but there was a difference in the views expressed as to the possibilities of changing it.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland), referring to what he had said during the general discussion, observed that he personally did not agree with the Supervisory Commission's proposals regarding the promotion of Members of Section. He very much doubted whether the present system made it possible to grade an official's salary in accordance with his efficiency. He had also expressed regret that the division of Members of Section into A and B categories had been abolished and hoped that these two categories would be re-established.

M. BOHEMAN (Sweden) said that, in 1930, he had doubted the advisability of abolishing the distinction between A and B Members of Section, and his views were confirmed by the Supervisory Commission's report; he agreed with M. Rappard's remarks on the question of the promotion of Members of Section. A way, he thought, would have to be found of restoring the distinction between A and B Members of Section. Perhaps this could be done, as suggested in paragraph 18 of Annex 3, by "not guaranteeing permanent officials, on the confirmation of their appointment, more than a certain number of increments". It was absolutely necessary to re-introduce a certain grading for Members of Section if the two Administrations were not shortly to have to contend with very serious difficulties in promoting their Members of Section.

The Swedish delegate would like to know, in this connection, how often annual increments had been refused under the present system in the Secretariat.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL said that the number of cases in which an annual increment had been refused, or postponed for six months or a year, was from ten to twelve a year.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) thought that the situation was absurd. Everybody agreed that the system was unsatisfactory, but no one proposed that it should be altered. Was it

only out of respect for a previous decision that the Supervisory Commission did not propose a return to the old system? The fundamental reasons against returning to it were set out most prudently, and under the authority of the Committee of Thirteen, in paragraph 18 of Annex 2. They were, however, not such as to convince anyone.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, pointed out that, in an earlier speech, he had described the results of the principle of the representation of nationalities in the Secretariat. When Members of Section were divided into categories A and B, the States had felt they were being deprived of something if their candidates were appointed only in category B. The Supervisory Commission had therefore thought the former system should not be restored, but had endeavoured to ensure to the Administration its advantages by other means.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) said that that was not rationalisation.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, drew the Italian delegate's attention to paragraphs 13 and 14 of Annex 2, in which it was actually pointed out that :

“ . . . the measures of rationalisation advocated by the Commission cannot be put into effect without giving rise to real difficulties. Of these, the most delicate is undoubtedly that connected with the conception of the 'representation' of the various nations in the different administrations of the League.”

M. BOHEMAN (Sweden) said that it was a matter of indifference to him whether the distinction between A and B Members of Section was restored or whether the same results were achieved by other means.

As to the “representation” of the various nations, the problem had changed during the ten or more years of the League's existence. What the States really wanted was to send to the Secretariat very able young men who would begin — since a career was now assured to them — not in the middle of the scale of salary, but at the bottom. In any event, the Swedish delegate supported all the Supervisory Commission's efforts to settle satisfactorily so highly important a question.

Mme. KLUYVER (Netherlands), referring to the table in paragraph 19 of Annex 2, asked whether the fourth class of Members of Section was so large because of the annual increments. Was it not also due to the fact that a good many officials were not appointed at the minimum salary of their category?

The SECRETARY-GENERAL said that, if necessary, he could supply the figures. At the same time, as the League had been in existence for fourteen years, an official appointed at the beginning at the minimum salary of his category, who had received all his annual increments, would be receiving a salary exceeding the original figure by 11,200 francs. If he had served the League for ten years only, his salary would have increased by not less than 8,000 francs. Consequently, the problem was how many officials who had been appointed at the beginning were to be found among the Members of Section. That proportion would probably be almost sufficient to explain the number of members in the fourth category.

The DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE pointed out that, when the fusion of the two grades had first been discussed by the Committee of Thirteen in 1929, he had expressed doubts as to the desirability of abolishing the distinction between A and B Members of Section. The experience of the past two years had reinforced those doubts. The inevitable result of fusion was that Members of Section had risen in the scale almost automatically — because it was extremely difficult, under the existing rules, not to give increments automatically — so that, whereas two years previously there had been about fifty officials receiving less and thirty receiving more than 20,000 francs a year, there were at present only about sixteen receiving less and sixty-five receiving more.

The old system was not perfect, nor was the only alternative to go back to it, but there was probably some intermediate method which would prove more satisfactory than either.

M. CAHEN-SALVADOR (France) pointed out that the organisation and regulations of the League provided for appointments, progression in the scale and a maximum salary. As it was proposed to amend the provisions already adopted, the French delegate would be glad to know what difficulties the heads of the various administrations had encountered in refusing to grant an increment to an official who had not deserved it. Up to the present, there was nothing in the rules to show that increments were automatic. Did not Article 28 of the Staff Regulations say that :

“ . . . annual increments of salary will be granted in the case of officials working under the direction of the head of a service only on a certificate from him that they have given satisfaction during the past year . . . ” ?

In order, therefore, to obtain an increment, an official had to obtain a certificate from his chief. Furthermore, the contracts of the officials were reviewed every seven years. That

was the rule ; if it were difficult to apply, if it had disadvantages, no member of the Fourth Committee would desire to maintain a defective system. Should an attempt not be made to try to find out what was wrong ?

The SECRETARY-GENERAL believed that the Director of the International Labour Office and he were in entire agreement on the points raised by M. Cahen-Salvador.

The two Administrations considered that, under the present system, the right of an official to annual increments up to the maximum salary was a contractual right, a right of which he could only be deprived as a disciplinary measure when he had done wrong. The Staff Regulations also gave the officials the right to appeal to the Judicial Committee against any measure affecting them. Consequently, disciplinary measures could only be resorted to with the greatest precaution and only when the official's work had not been satisfactory. But there was another point of view — the value of the work. It was admitted in both Administrations that all the officials did not perform work of the same value ; it could not be otherwise. The problem for the future, therefore — for there could be no change in respect of the present staff, whose contracts could not be changed — was not to introduce further penalties, but to adapt the official's remuneration to his efficiency.

The DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE entirely agreed with the Secretary-General. He added that the Committee of Thirteen had defined annual increments as follows :¹

“ The salary will rise by annual increments of 800 francs. These will be contingent upon the official's efficiency during the year. If his chief's report upon him is not satisfactory, the annual increment will be postponed [that was to say, not “withheld”]. These increments will continue until the maximum salary of 28,000 francs is reached.”

That made it quite clear that the Secretary-General's interpretation was in accordance with the Assembly's intentions. But the difficulties to which it led were obvious : for instance, an official engaged at 12,000 francs a year might be quite good at the kind of work he was required to do at that salary, but he might reach a point when he really was not worth more than, say, 20,000 francs. Unless his chief reported that his work was really bad, however, he was entitled to annual increments until he reached a total salary of 28,000 francs.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, summarising the discussion, explained that the question was whether the Fourth Committee was in favour of progression by seniority or by merit. The present system did not permit of the second, and the Supervisory Commission had therefore thought it necessary to study a new system. As far as the application of the principles to be adopted was concerned, he was sure that acquired rights would not be affected.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) considered that it was not for the Fourth Committee to redraft the existing provisions. At the same time, it had no reason to congratulate itself on the present system. Everybody complained of it — the heads of the Administrations as well as the Supervisory Commission — and it had also given unsatisfactory results from the financial point of view. M. Cahen-Salvador, a former member of the Committee of Thirteen, had said that that Committee's documents had been misunderstood, that that was why difficulties had occurred. But the provisions quoted by Mr. Butler could hardly be interpreted in any other way than that stated by the Secretary-General and the Director of the International Labour Office. Those provisions should be amended as soon as possible, so that the disadvantages would be limited to the case of the officials already holding contracts.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, observed that it was actually the two heads of the League Organisations who, with the Supervisory Commission, had taken the initiative in proposing amendments to the Fourth Committee.

M. CAHEN-SALVADOR (France) once more quoted Article 28 of the Staff Regulations and summarised Article 62 relating to the septennial reports on officials' conduct and capacity. He pointed out that appeal to the Judicial Committee, to which the Secretary-General had referred, applied to the disciplinary measures mentioned in Article 62 and not to the withholding of an increment. The system was as follows, therefore : Either the official gave satisfaction during the year and received his annual increment, or he did not give satisfaction and the increment had to be postponed, or else he committed grave misconduct and then disciplinary measures could be taken against him. In an administration with which M. Cahen-Salvador was familiar, the authorities would find these weapons sufficient. But if they had been allowed to rust at the Secretariat and the International Labour Office, perhaps others should be provided.

¹ See Report of the Committee of Thirteen, document A.16.1930, page 18.

M. DE MODZELEWSKI (Poland) supported M. Cahen-Salvador. The system established by the Committee of Thirteen ought to work, but if, as had been suggested, the weapons at the disposal of the heads of the Administrations had been allowed to rust, it was fortunate that the Supervisory Commission had thought of forging others. For his part, the Polish delegate thought the Committee should stop thinking of the past, particularly as, at the present rate of resignation, there would be hardly any officials under the present system in a few years' time.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL did not think it could be said that the Administrations had allowed the weapons placed at their disposal to rust. Moreover, there was no question of weapons. Those who did wrong were punished. Salaries should be adapted to the value of the official, for an official whose work might be regarded as adequate at a salary of 15,000 francs or 16,000 francs might very well not be worth 20,000 or 22,000 francs.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) proposed that the Fourth Committee should say in its report to the Assembly that it attached the greatest importance to the Supervisory Commission's suggestions with regard to the progression in the scale of Members of Section. A statement of that kind would certainly assist the Supervisory Commission and the heads of the Administrations in the task they had undertaken.

M. Cavazzoni's proposal was adopted, and the remainder of the examination of the Supervisory Commission's report on rationalisation was adjourned to a later meeting.

SEVENTH MEETING

Held on Wednesday, October 4th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m.

Chairman: M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).

14. Technical Concentration of the Activities of the League of Nations and Rationalisation of the Services of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office : Examination of the Reports of the Supervisory Commission (continuation).

III. RATIONALISATION OF THE SECRETARIAT SERVICES : A. POLITICAL AND TECHNICAL STAFF (continuation).

2. Individual Sections and Services.

Paragraphs 23 to 27 of Annex 2.

No observations.

Paragraphs 28 to 32 of Annex 2.

Paragraphs 19 to 23 of Annex 3.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) hesitated to mention the Information Section, because he felt that in doing so he was touching upon one of those internal questions which were within the exclusive competence of the Secretary-General. If he had overcome that scruple, however, it was because the measures proposed by the Supervisory Commission had caused him some apprehension. He pointed out, in the first place, that in previous years the Information Section had frequently been criticised for its excessive budget. Consequently, many delegations would undoubtedly welcome the proposals to reduce it. At the same time, the delegations that had criticised the Information Section had had no desire to reduce the efficacy of the Secretariat's information services. They all felt that the Information Section contained eminent men and others who were perhaps less eminent.

According to his information, however — and it was always easy to obtain information when one lived at Geneva — most of the proposed economies would affect officials of the former kind, if he might say so. The Information Section would therefore be deprived of its main sources of inspiration and its heads, and the Press of some of the countries with a large number of correspondents at Geneva would no longer find officials of its own nationality in the Information Section from whom to obtain information. That being so, either the reduced staff of the Information Section would have to be increased in order to meet the objection to which M. Rappard had just called attention, and then there would be no saving, but rather the contrary, or the objection would subsist, and that would be unfortunate. M. Rappard would be glad to have explanations on that point, for, while the Swiss delegation had always hoped for a reduction in the staff of the Information Section, it had never intended that the value of its services should be diminished.

Mr. Roy (Canada) felt that the Supervisory Commission's report gave too narrow a definition of the functions of the Information Section, particularly with regard to the contact

it maintained with the representatives of the Press at Geneva. It was not true to say that the world Press had sufficient agencies, correspondents and journalists at Geneva and did not need to be supplied with information. Canada, for instance, had no correspondent at Geneva. In Mr. Roy's opinion, the new Information Section should maintain continuous contact with oversea countries, in particular. It should supply their journalists with information on the work done at Geneva by means of articles and bulletins, and spread the idea of the League by photography, the cinematograph and wireless broadcasting. To tell the truth, those activities were not excluded by Annex 2, but it must be interpreted in a broad spirit if they were to be exercised freely. On that condition, the Information Section could fulfil its mission without, moreover, burdening its budget further.

M. DE MODZELEWSKI (Poland) thought that, in spite of the explanations of the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission as to the difficulties of closing the branch offices, the Supervisory Commission and the competent officials would do well to continue during the coming year to consider whether those offices could not gradually be closed. At bottom, they were only information services detached from the central section at Geneva. If the central section were closed, they would obviously have to be closed also. The Polish delegate had specially in mind the branch offices in the countries contiguous to Switzerland, where the League was sufficiently well known. Both spoken and written propaganda was, in M. de Modzelewski's opinion, waste of time and money. Everyone knew that it was not effective. If there were technical difficulties in the way of closing the branch offices of the Secretariat, they might be overcome by collaboration with the International Labour Office.

M. BOHEMAN (Sweden) approved the Supervisory Commission's suggestions with regard to the Information Section. Nearly all the delegations were under the impression that it was too large. On the other hand, it was undoubtedly extremely useful to journalists belonging to distant countries. In supporting the Supervisory Commission's proposals, therefore, M. Boheman asked the Supervisory Commission to see that the Section continued its valuable work of maintaining contact with the Press of the different countries.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL said that he had fully acceded to the Supervisory Commission's proposals with regard to the Information Section. The Supervisory Commission and he had been able to reach almost complete agreement because they had been convinced, after studying the matter thoroughly, that, if the efficiency of the Section would not be increased by the new measures, it would, at any rate, not be decreased. The Supervisory Commission and the Secretary-General had been anxious that the Information Section should be able to render as many services to the Press in the future as it had rendered up to the present.

The question of numbers was fundamentally a question of organisation. Rationalisation and concentration, above all, meant obtaining a similar or greater result with less staff. That was precisely the aim of the Supervisory Commission and the Secretary-General.

With regard to the branch offices to which M. de Modzelewski had referred, the Supervisory Commission had indicated the possible reasons for maintaining them. Its suggestion did not amount to a decision, for, as had been said, the question would have to be examined during the coming year. M. Avenol would indicate quite briefly, however, the spirit in which the study had been pursued. If the branch offices were to be maintained, it would certainly not be, as had been suggested, for propaganda purposes. The Secretariat did not carry out propaganda, and M. Avenol did not think it needed to do so. Such work would be utterly useless, and it would not be performed at the Secretariat's expense. If the Secretariat needed offices in certain countries, it was for questions relating to organisation, to the maintenance of contacts, requirements which could be discussed and weighed up, but which had nothing to do with propaganda.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, drew the Fourth Committee's attention to the fact that the Supervisory Commission had merely proposed general principles, in applying which it would certainly take account of the preoccupations expressed during the meeting.

Paragraphs 28 to 32 of Annex 2 and 19 to 23 of Annex 3 were approved.

Paragraphs 33 and 34 of Annex 2.

These paragraphs were approved.

III. RATIONALISATION OF THE SECRETARIAT SERVICES : B. CLERICAL AND GENERAL STAFF.

Paragraphs 35 to 39 of Annex 2.

These paragraphs were approved.

Paragraphs 40 to 44 of Annex 2.

Mme. KLUYVER (Netherlands) pointed out that the measures proposed in these paragraphs would apply chiefly to women officials. She was aware that the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission had already replied, in a previous statement, to the observations she was about to make. Indeed, she agreed with him and with the British expert that, if the time of stenographers was not fully occupied in certain Sections, they should be transferred to a central service where their hours of attendance could be fully utilised. At the same time, there were women officials in the Sections whose work was different from that of the stenographers, and Mme. Kluyver wondered whether the Supervisory Commission's proposal might not lead to the removal of those officials from their own Section and their permanent transfer to a central service, where they would become completely anonymous. She asked the Committee to realise the change which such a transfer would make in the lives of these women. Was it not inconsistent with the principle of stability on which so much emphasis had hitherto been laid?

Mme. Kluyver would ask those who were tempted to think that her argument was mainly sentimental whether the efficiency of the Secretariat would be increased if the Members of Section were compelled to do small tasks which had hitherto been entrusted to the officials in question. In conclusion, the Netherlands delegate asked the competent officials to apply the Supervisory Commission's idea with the necessary flexibility.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL was very grateful to Mme. Kluyver for giving him an opportunity to explain in what spirit the proposed re-organisation would be effected. In the first place, M. Avenol felt that it was necessary. The idea was to do away with the watertight compartments which had gradually been built up in the services and to restore to the central services their proper rôle, which was to supply staff to the various Sections of the Secretariat. There was no intention of transferring all officials of the same category to one building and giving them all the same work. The idea was mainly to place them under the control of a central service, able to decide, when work slowed down in one Section, whether they should be transferred to another Section where the work was for the moment heavier.

Paragraphs 40 to 44 of Annex 2 were approved, together with paragraphs 45 to 53.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, could not allow the discussion on the proposals relating to the rationalisation of the Secretariat to end without expressing the Supervisory Commission's thanks to Mr. Robertson, British Treasury expert, and Mr. Urwick, Director of the Scientific Management Institute, for their valuable co-operation.

Mr. HORE-BELISHA (United Kingdom) said that the United Kingdom delegation was gratified that Mr. Robertson had been of use to the League and to the Supervisory Commission. The United Kingdom Government regretted that it had been unable to spare him longer, but was glad to know that the Secretary-General had appointed one of his most highly qualified officials to carry out the necessary duties.

The United Kingdom Government was most satisfied with the general lines of the Supervisory Commission's report.

It was decided to mention the thanks addressed to Mr. Robertson and Mr. Urwick in the Fourth Committee's report.

IV. COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARIAT AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL, in reply to a question by M. de Modzelewski (Poland), explained that there were actually two separate services of diplomatic bags between Geneva and Paris for the Secretariat and the International Labour Office, but they were conveyed under a single contract with the postal administration. They were delivered separately, however, because the Secretariat and the International Labour Office were not housed in the same building.

Paragraphs 56 to 65 of Annex 2 were approved.

V. RATIONALISATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) pointed out that the table in paragraph 71 showed that, while the unsatisfactory state of affairs at the Secretariat did not exist to the same extent at the International Labour Office, its nature and causes were the same. He expressed the hope that the measures proposed by the Supervisory Commission, which had, indeed, been suggested by the Director of the International Labour Office himself, would remedy a situation which the Fourth Committee could not regard as normal.

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) congratulated the Director of the International Labour Office on the publication of an excellent brochure showing what had been accomplished by the Office. It had been issued in response to a request of his own last year for a pamphlet

in simple, plain language to serve as a reference-book on the Office's activities, and was most satisfactory.

He would have proposals to make, during the discussion of the budget, but fully realised that the International Labour Office must be treated as a separate and independent institution.

The DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE, in thanking Sir Thomas Wilford, said that he would like to feel that all the Labour Office's propoganda was as successful as it appeared to be in that instance.

Paragraphs 66 to 73 of Annex 2 were approved.

Annex 2 as a whole was approved.

It was agreed that those items in Annex 3 which had still to be examined would be considered at the same time as the corresponding questions on the agenda.

EIGHTH MEETING

Held on Thursday, October 5th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m.

Chairman: M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).

15. Administration and Finances of the League of Nations : General Discussion (continuation).

The SECRETARY-GENERAL said that he had followed the general discussion on organisation with particular attention, because that was the first time he had had the honour to be present. He had been struck by the lofty tone of the discussion, the sympathetic understanding of the League's needs and the confidence shown in the Supervisory Commission, the Secretary-General and the Director of the International Labour Office. Speaking for himself, he would like the Committee to know how greatly he appreciated this.

At the close of the general discussion, it would be difficult to reply individually to each of the speakers who had been good enough to submit observations and express opinions. He had endeavoured to draw up as complete a table as possible of these observations and to classify them.

Apart from questions relating to rationalisation, which had been discussed on the previous day, nearly all the observations came under two main heads, the first relating to economies, and the second to the avoidance of over-budgeting.

He would first take the question of savings in expenditure. If the budgetary resources of the League, like those of States, were derived from receipts and taxation, the Administration might, he thought, expect to receive congratulations upon the manner in which, when the crisis came, it had adapted expenditure to actual receipts.

In 1931, the receipts had amounted to 28,654,000 francs and the expenditure to 29,087,000 francs — that was to say, a surplus expenditure of 433,000 francs. In 1932, the receipts had amounted to 28,595,000 francs and the expenditure to 27,290,000 francs — the surplus receipts thus amounting to 1,305,000 francs. The difference between the 1931 and the 1932 expenditure represented a reduction of 1,797,000 francs. He presumed that, at the end of 1933, the expenditure figure would be still lower. Since the beginning of the year, at the Supervisory Commission's first session, the situation had been carefully — he might even say anxiously — examined, and, in full agreement with the Supervisory Commission, instructions had been sent to all services, not only to confirm those issued to them in the same sense in 1932 by Sir Eric Drummond, but also to urge them to make a much greater effort. He would like to pay a tribute to all his colleagues in the Secretariat who had given their full support to this effort in a high appreciation of the general interest. The same feeling was shared by all the League organisations.

The result had been, however, that all, or nearly all, the League's activities had been marking time. That would enable the financial year to be closed honourably; but, as he had stated on the first day of the discussion, a decision would have to be taken next year. The Assembly would have to decide whether, after another year of the slowing-down and relaxation of the League's efforts, it intended openly to adopt a policy for the gradual suppression and reduction of its activities. He need not press this point, which had been fully discussed on the previous day.

He would like to add that only since 1932 had there been a notable falling-off in the receipt of contributions. Until 1931 — and that fact should be stressed — the proportion received had been in the neighbourhood of 98 per cent, while in 1932 it had fallen to 84 per cent. This latter figure included both receipts on account of current contributions and on account of arrears; it represented the amount of actual receipts. The Committee was therefore faced with an abnormal situation due to the crisis. It should never be forgotten in this discussion that it was to meet an abnormal situation that a remedy was being sought. That was, he hoped, merely a temporary state of affairs, and it was not on that basis that the Fourth Committee could fix the budgetary regulations of a financial system.

He would take a hypothetical case which might enable the Committee to appreciate the position more clearly. If, last year, the Secretary-General and the Supervisory Commission had closed their eyes and ignored this abnormal situation and had allowed the organisations to make use of their credits, the financial year 1932 would have closed with a deficit amounting to some 4 millions, and the financial year 1933 would close with a similar deficit. The Committee was now meeting for the first time since these facts had become apparent. It would not, therefore, have been able to act sooner, and only now would it have had the opportunity of taking a decision and doubtless of voting a credit to repay the loans which would have been necessary. Such repayment could only have been effected the following year out of the credit voted this year, which would have been reduced in the same proportion. During the whole of this period, therefore, the deficit would have steadily increased, and he did not think it was an exaggeration to say that, in a period of three years, the actual deficit would have reached the sum of from 12 to 15 millions before the authorisation of the Assembly could have been effectively used with a view to its repayment. That sum would have suddenly swollen the budgets of 1935 and 1936. The Committee could imagine the discredit which the League would thereby have incurred. The absurd and entirely false rumours which were spread from time to time about the bankruptcy of the League would have been very nearly true.

The higher officials of the Secretariat had not followed any system. They had acted to the best of its interests day by day according to circumstances. They had succeeded, with the full approval of the Supervisory Commission, in imbuing the whole staff with a remarkable spirit of economy and a perfect understanding of the financial burden placed upon States Members of the League. Was it right to censure them or to say to them : "The level of expenditure which you have thus achieved is the maximum level for the League; you have no longer any right to hope for the resumption of normal conditions, having given us a proof that you can exist in an anæmic state" ? Was the Secretary-General to evade the problem of what had been called over-budgeting in this way? He had not the slightest intention of doing so.

Having dealt with the question of savings in expenditure, he would now turn to the problem of over-budgeting. The position was as follows : The economies — and he had just shown that these were being made — benefited no one. The actual expenditure was less than the total expenditure borne by the Member States. That was quite true, but he would like to go into the matter more closely. The expenditure placed to the account of the Secretariat and special organisations — to which category the problem of over-budgeting was, he thought, restricted in practice — could be divided into three parts : (1) salaries; (2) equipment and other charges; (3) activities.

The figures for these three parts on a total of 15,703,000 francs were as follows :

	Francs
Salaries	9,078,000
Equipment and other charges	1,785,000
And what he would call, with the Committee's approval, the League's activities	4,840,000

The budgetary estimates relating to salaries were very strict. There did not appear to be any difficulty on this point. The only means of effecting economies on the estimates was to keep posts vacant as long as possible. During the present year that method had been used, and possibly abused, by the higher officials of the Secretariat. He would point out that the savings made in 1933 had been carried forward to the financial year 1934 by means of a total reduction of 200,000 francs in the chapter relating to salaries. The Supervisory Commission had accepted that reduction as the firstfruits of rationalisation.

The greatest flexibility — or, if the Committee preferred the term, the greatest margin of variation — therefore, was to be found in the category of what he had called "activities".

Of what did those "activities" consist? They comprised the expenditure incurred by the meetings of the Assembly, the Council and the technical organisations. The budget provided for an annual session of the Assembly; but the time was not far distant when the Assembly had met several times in a single year. The same was true of the Council.

There were also conferences and, to take a recent example, the Economic Conference. At the present time, the exact cost to the Secretariat of the first session of the London Economic Conference was not known. The problem was a somewhat complicated one, thanks to the generosity of the United Kingdom Government, which had agreed to meet the additional expenditure entailed by the holding of the Conference in London. But that was only one element of uncertainty. No one had any idea how long the next session would last; whether it would begin this year or next. Nor could the duration of the work of the committees to be set up under the final resolution of the Conference be foreseen.

Consequently, everything was uncertain as regards the arrangements for the coming year, and he would confess that the figure he had submitted to the Committee for authorisation was pure guesswork. The same applied to many other figures.

That was not usually the case. In regard to the regular technical organisations, the expenditure inserted in the budget was strictly calculated on the basis of the number of days' presence at Geneva of the various experts. However, while each day's expenditure could be

strictly — he might almost say mathematically — calculated, there remained uncertainty as to the length of each of those meetings, which varied according to circumstances.

It was precisely this category of the League's activities which gave to the League its most distinctive character. The Secretariat was no more than the permanent nucleus for the work of the experts, who not only brought to Geneva their national experience, but also kept Geneva in touch with outside influences. Here resided the real moral and technical wealth of the League of Nations, and it was in the expenditure on these activities that the margins of variation and the unforeseen element to which he had already referred were to be found.

The unforeseen element was constituted by political realities, and however strict the calculations by which the daily cost of the majority of these activities was determined, it was absolutely impossible to anticipate what the total cost would be.

As he had said just now, the expenditure on these activities had been entered in the 1934 budget at 4,840,000 francs. But it was important to note that this figure, in comparison with last year, represented a decrease of 1,051,000 francs, and that the most considerable effort towards a reduction of credits in the budget now submitted had reference to this category of expenditure.

It would therefore be realised that, if the 1932 results showed margins of economy taking the form of unexpended credits, these unexpended credits — as all his previous remarks went to show — did not represent over-budgeting, but real decreases in the activities of the League. At the present time, however, unless the Committee pronounced on the general problem which it had examined yesterday and which it would perhaps have to examine next year — that of the systematic reduction of the activities or of certain activities of the League — it would not be wise, to put the matter in the most moderate terms, to accept any further decrease.

This did not mean that, after hearing all the observations which had been made, the Secretary-General would confine himself to negative explanations.

He had tried to consider how it would be possible to meet the desire for amendment expressed by several members of the Committee. This idea had been expressed in various forms. Some had referred to an increase in the Working Capital Fund, others to a reserve fund, and others to over-budgeting. In reality, all these observations had the same end in view — to ascertain to what extent it was possible to meet the situation caused by the non-payment of contributions, and to what extent a clear and honest method could be found of enabling States which paid contributions to the League of Nations to know what was their exact share in its actual expenditure. The Secretary-General did not think that this was too narrow a way of regarding the problem, and he thought that this was its essential aspect.

There were two solutions. The first was to secure more regular receipt of contributions. The Committee had appointed a Sub-Committee to deal with this question, and this Sub-Committee would have practical proposals to make. He need not, therefore, stress this point, although it was certainly the most important side of the problem.

But there was another aspect of the problem — that of credits and that of making the credits in the budget approximate as much as possible to effective expenditure. This was a question connected with the financial system of the League, which had been in operation for fourteen years. He did not wish to imply that this system was sacrosanct; but there it was, and the Committee was aware that changes could not be made in a financial system without much care and reflection. The thing could be done, and there were certainly points on which proposals and tentative suggestions could be put forward after a little thought and study. But he considered that it was not the best moment to undertake the study of so complicated a problem during the Assembly, in the short time at the Committee's disposal. Hence, if his proposal met with the support of those who had made observations on this point, he would, for his part, as far as the Secretariat was concerned, be quite ready, if the Supervisory Commission also agreed, to participate in a study of the present financial system with a view to seeking improvements or reforms and to submit to the Committee, at the Assembly's next session, solutions which would as far as possible obviate the drawbacks that had attracted the Committee's attention. That was the essential point.

He did not wish to conclude his observations simply with general considerations. As a symbol of the continuation of the efforts which had to be made, he wished to make a modest proposal — but he repeated that it must be regarded as only a symbol — for a further aggregate reduction of the credits which the Committee was asked to vote.

After very carefully examining all the possibilities of the budget, although he was not without apprehensions as to its execution in the coming year, he would suggest a decrease of 150,000 francs on the total credits, which he asked the Committee to leave him free to allocate, in agreement with the Supervisory Commission, between the items of the budget which were not already undergoing a diminution of activity and to which he had endeavoured to draw the attention of the members of the Committee. If the Fourth Committee accepted that decrease in pledge of a hope of improvement for the next year, he would see in that acceptance a token that between the Fourth Committee and the Secretary-General there would be the same confidence as at present prevailing between the Secretary-General and the Supervisory Commission.

M. Osuský, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, said that the Commission had been greatly exercised about the speech made by the United Kingdom representative some days previously. Mr. Hore-Belisha had mentioned, *inter alia*, the habit of over-budgeting in which the League was said to indulge.

M. Osuský felt he must say that appearances, but only appearances, were against those responsible for the budgets. He would take, for instance, the most striking and the most complete case in which a budget estimate had been greatly in excess of the expenditure actually incurred : he referred to the appropriation made in the 1932 budget for the Disarmament Conference, which might have been thought to be a haphazard estimate, since only one million out of a total of three and a half million francs had been spent. People might have thought that the Secretary-General and the Supervisory Commission had been grossly mistaken in their estimates. It would, however, be seen that they had done their utmost to make a close calculation of what the Conference was going to cost. It would, in the first place, be agreed that it was rather hard to budget for such a huge undertaking. What precedent could be taken as a basis ? There had been the Barcelona Conference, the various League Assemblies and the London Naval Conference of 1930, although that had not been organised by the League. It had, again, been necessary to budget for the salaries of temporary additional staff, since the ordinary resources of the Secretariat could not cover such a Conference ; for the payment of overtime work, travelling expenses, subsistence allowances, printing, telegrams, telephones ; for purchasing various supplies for the multigraph and stenographic sections, typewriters ; for forming a motor-car and cyclist messenger service ; and, lastly, leave a margin for unforeseen expenditure. There were other factors of which the Supervisory Commission and the Secretary-General could have no exact idea, particularly the extent and duration of the Conference. In that connection, M. Osuský pointed out that the Council, as the body responsible for preparing the Conference, had wondered whether, in view of its probable size, it could be held at Geneva ; whether the room available there would be sufficient ; whether the hotels could accommodate all the delegates and all the journalists. The expectation then was that sixteen hundred delegates and six hundred journalists would attend, that there would be three big commissions for land, naval and air questions respectively, and that these commissions might have to sit simultaneously.

The Conference would have to have its *Journal*. Assuming that it lasted six months, there would be 144 issues of twenty-four pages each to be published. Further, some documents could not be multigraphed owing to the large number of copies that would have to be distributed ; almost all the documents would have to be printed. Then there was the question of the Minutes of plenary meetings. Provisional Minutes would first have to be issued, and the Supervisory Commission tried to calculate the length and the number of these Minutes. Then, after the provisional Minutes, final Minutes would be printed and the same procedure would have to be followed with the Minutes of the commissions. From what was known about the printing of documents, it could be assumed that all these publications would cost about 2¼ million Swiss francs.

M. Osuský was going into these details rather minutely so as to prove that the Supervisory Commission had not been working aimlessly, or, as might have been thought, in a haphazard fashion. Together with the Secretary-General, it was at that time taking on a heavy responsibility, for it had to plan so as not to expose the Disarmament Conference to the risk of having to interrupt its work for lack of funds. The Secretary-General's estimates finally amounted to 4 million francs. The Supervisory Commission, thinking that it would be absolutely impossible, during the Disarmament Conference, to keep the Secretariat's other work at full pressure, cut that figure down to 3½ millions. It felt that some of the staff of Sections whose activities would slacken could be detached to work with the Disarmament Conference. The rest of the story was known. The Disarmament Conference had not proceeded at the rate anticipated, and only 1 million out of the 3½ million francs appropriated had been spent.

M. Osuský then drew the Fourth Committee's attention to the fact that the Secretariat was a unique kind of administration which could not be compared with a national civil service. The Secretary-General had just explained that the budget of the Secretariat was sub-divided as follows :

	Francs
Expenditure on staff	9,078,000
Expenditure on supplies, etc.	1,785,000
Expenditure on League " activities ", as he called them	4,840,000

Undoubtedly, the Assembly could abolish the third class of expenditure, and the League of Nations would then appear to exist, but would, in fact, be dead : 9,000,000 francs would be spent on staff, 1,785,000 francs on supplies, but there would be no work to be done, no provision made for the Assembly, Council, the Committees, the Commissions and the experts. Expenditure on staff could not be reduced, except by abolishing a few posts, and if, again, the cost of supplies were cut out, the staff would lack the necessary tools for their work. Lastly, if cuts were made in the 4,840,000 francs devoted to " activities ", that would make some of the staff of the Secretariat superfluous.

The Supervisory Commission had tried to reduce the activities of the League ; but when reductions reached a certain point it had to stop, because, after all, the institution must be guaranteed, if not normal, at any rate regular, conditions of operation.

The Commission's severity had earned it some criticism, particularly from the representative of Spain. M. Osuský therefore wished to say that the Supervisory Commission and the Secretary-General himself desired nothing more than to expand and develop all the activities of the League if they were free to do so ; but they had been instructed to keep those activities within the limits of possibilities, and, if they occasionally took action distasteful to some people, the reason was that they were forced to do so by the need for ensuring the regular and unspasmodic working of the League.

M. Osuský next dwelt on the confidence which had always prevailed between the members of the Supervisory Commission, a confidence which had never been shattered, whatever the members of the Fourth Committee may have inferred from M. de Modzelewski's remarks. It was necessary to have attended the meetings of the Supervisory Commission and to have followed the innumerable details of its work to gather an idea of the frame of mind in which its task was accomplished.

The Supervisory Commission would nevertheless give very close consideration to the proposals of the United Kingdom delegation regarding over-budgeting. The Secretary-General was prepared to agree to the total of the budget being reduced by 150,000 francs if the Supervisory Commission consented. He himself had no objection to offer, not because he had no worries about the future and the execution of the budget, but because he wanted the United Kingdom delegation to be fully convinced that the Supervisory Commission did its utmost to effect savings in League expenditure.

Mr. HORE-BELISHA (United Kingdom) said that the fact that the Secretary-General and the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission had delayed until that day their replies on the general discussion which had concluded three days previously was a gratifying sign that deep consideration would be given to the arguments and appeals put forward, not only by the United Kingdom, but also on behalf of many other States. That they had already been considered carefully was confirmed by the statements the Committee had just heard, and they could not fail to influence the course of the rest of the proceedings.

The object of the United Kingdom delegation in initiating the debate had been not to direct attention to the details of the budget, however important they might be, or to the League's activities, which it had not proposed should be curtailed, but rather to the major and all-important question of the proper principles on which the budget itself should be based. It had seemed to that delegation that, until the general framework was made to correspond more closely to reality, neither the details of the budget nor the League's activities could be scrutinised in a proper focus. It had therefore confined its observations to revenue on the one hand and expenditure on the other.

The United Kingdom delegation agreed with the Supervisory Commission that the difficulties experienced in collecting contributions constituted the most important factor on the revenue side, a factor which was imperilling the League's actual existence. From what the Secretary-General had just said, he apparently concurred in that view. Because of these difficulties, the estimated expenditure did not correspond with the sums that would be received and consequently spent. M. Avenol had shown by statistics that actual expenditure approximated to actual receipts. Of course ! Otherwise, the result would be complete disaster.

The margin between actual and estimated expenditure was about 2 million francs in 15 million francs. In so nebulous an atmosphere, the necessary precision was lacking in which to discuss the budget scientifically. Indeed, the whole position had been revealed with the utmost candour by M. Réveillaud, a member of the Supervisory Commission, who had pointed out that the total budget was in the neighbourhood of 30,600,000 francs, but, if contributions came in at the same rate as in 1932, only 25 million francs would be received. In 1932, despite the strictest economy, 27,200,000 francs had been spent. Expenditure in 1934 might reasonably be expected to amount to a similar sum, in spite of which the Committee was asked to vote, not 27 million francs, but 30,600,000 francs. M. Réveillaud had then pointed out that that would mean a possible deficit of 2,000,000 francs.

Although every year the budget disclosed a gap between actual and estimated expenditure, Mr. Hore-Belisha did not suggest that the most rigorous economy had not been exercised in the services. He readily recognised the determination shown by all to give the last ounce of efficiency at whatever sacrifice, and he had no doubt that they would continue in that admirable spirit. It nevertheless remained true that the League budget was the only budget in the world on which it did not pay to reduce the estimated expenditure. To do so meant to reduce the receipts. By keeping the estimated expenditure high, however, the League indirectly obtained from those who did pay an additional contribution on behalf of those who did not. That meant that the efforts of the Secretary-General and his staff were rendered all the more arduous and could not properly be appreciated, because the real state of affairs was so obscure.

Having pondered over that very genuine problem, they had undertaken to make a study of the League's budgetary methods during the next financial year on the same lines as their study on rationalisation. The latter had resulted in both a saving of 200,000 francs and greater efficiency. Might the Committee not hope that equally satisfactory results would be obtained from a study of budgetary methods ?

Mr. Hore-Belisha therefore welcomed the Secretary-General's fresh demonstration — if any were needed — of his earnestness, in offering to make an immediate reduction of 150,000 francs, a reduction which the Committee was assured would not in any way compromise the League's activities. It was realised, of course, that the major part of the budget was contractual and inflexible, not susceptible of reduction, but that 150,000 francs would be saved on the flexible items. If Mr. Hore-Belisha did not stress the actual sum, that was because the Secretary-General's significant declaration was not to be measured by a figure, but by the determination of the authorities to secure the best possible budgetary system. For his part, then, he hoped that, the general discussion having proved so fruitful, the Secretary-General's offer would facilitate the detailed discussion of the budget. While, of course, there might be particular items which called for comment, it should now be possible to carry on the rest of the proceedings expeditiously, and he appealed to the Committee to reciprocate the spirit shown by the Secretary-General and the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission.

M. DE MODZELEWSKI (Poland) said that the Polish delegation, though it too had raised the question of over-budgeting, had never meant to criticise the Supervisory Commission, whose energetic and effective work it was the first to appreciate. His only object in the remarks to which the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission had referred was to draw the attention of the Fourth Committee to a practice which appeared to have established itself in the preparation of the budget estimates of the League of Nations and, in his opinion, called for reform.

He had listened with the closest attention to the reasoned and judicious speech of the Secretary-General. He was now persuaded that it was impossible to alter the budgetary system of the League overnight. The reform of the system should be studied in connection with the other reforms proposed. The Polish delegation was anxious to testify to the confidence it reposed in the Secretary-General by accepting the token reduction of 150,000 francs which the latter had proposed, and by approving the budget as submitted, convinced as it was that the measures proposed by M. Avenol would not fail to yield positive results.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) was loath to disturb the satisfaction felt by the Secretary-General, the United Kingdom delegate and the Supervisory Commission, each in their turn, in regard to the arrangement they had reached among themselves; but he could not shut his eyes to the highly astonishing character of this procedure. Here was a budget submitted to the Fourth Committee, in which the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission had told them, and told them more than once, that there was no trace of over-budgeting. A single delegation had raised objections to this budget; negotiations had thereupon taken place with the responsible authorities, and agreement had been reached on a reduction of 150,000 francs, and the Fourth Committee was now invited not to scrutinise the budget estimates thus reduced with too critical an eye. That was the position, for it was clear that the Secretary-General's offer would only hold good in so far as the Fourth Committee refrained from laying hands on the appropriations appearing in the draft budget. That was profoundly heretical doctrine from the standpoint of budgetary orthodoxy.

It was essential to remember that the Assembly of the League was the supreme financial authority. Voting a budget did not merely mean authorising the expenditure for which it provided; it implied also that the responsible authorities were called upon to carry out the budget as faithfully as possible. But what became of the Assembly's authority in presence of this offer of a reduction of 150,000 francs? Proceedings of this kind might be regarded as the symptoms of a crisis — acute though temporary — but he urged the Fourth Committee not to continue along this path, for the only affect of such proceedings must be to weaken the sense of responsibility and authority of the Assembly.

The CHAIRMAN said that the rights of the Fourth Committee were in no sense affected by the statement of the Secretary-General, which voiced the view of other delegations besides that of the United Kingdom. It was within the rights of the Fourth Committee, if it thought fit, to examine the draft budget item by item.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) entirely agreed with M. Rappard's objections. He had been told that the 150,000 francs reduction would be effected in agreement with the Supervisory Commission after the vote by the Fourth Committee. He could not accept such a formula, which made short shrift of the Assembly's rights. Whatever the confidence felt by the Fourth Committee in the Secretary-General and the Supervisory Commission, it was perfectly possible that, in scrutinising the budget item by item, the Committee would arrive at a total reduction of more than 150,000 francs. What the Committee had to do was to cut down a difference of 8 or 10 per cent which made itself apparent each year between the estimated and the actual expenditure. The Secretary-General's offer went some way towards reversing the traditional system of preparing the budget. In his view, the Fourth Committee should examine the estimates item by item, as in the past, leaving it to the Secretary-General and the Supervisory Commission to make all possible economy in the budget as adopted.

Mr. HORE-BELISHA (United Kingdom) desired to remove a completely unjustifiable misunderstanding. The Swiss delegate had suggested that he had made a deal with the Secretary-General behind the Committee's back, whereby all discussion of the budget would be avoided. That was absolutely contrary to the truth. The Committee had only to reflect on the situation to see that events had followed their proper course. It had first had a long

general debate — which he himself had initiated — in which many points of view had been expressed and many criticisms made. The Secretary-General and the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission had replied. What was the use of a debate if, in replying, they could not deal with criticism and remodel their point of view accordingly?

The Secretary-General had promised to institute an enquiry on budgetary methods, and his report would be discussed next year. That was an entirely proper procedure. He had made an immediate offer of 150,000 francs, which, by the closest estimating, he hoped to be able to save, and he naturally felt that, after the very full general discussion, a long and detailed discussion might be avoided.

Mr. Hore-Belisha was grateful for the spirit in which the Committee's criticisms had been met, and appealed to any whom his words could influence to facilitate the discussion in the same spirit.

The delegate of Poland had made a similar appeal. The Committee was in full possession of its rights. There had been no question of a deal of any kind, and he very much resented the suggestion.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL felt it was mainly a question of method. The 1934 budget, as the Committee would remember, had been discussed with great thoroughness by the Supervisory Commission. In undertaking, in agreement with the latter, to make an aggregate reduction of 150,000 francs in the budget total, he had been actuated by the desire to gain the necessary time for a new careful scrutiny of the estimates with a view to further reductions without bringing the activities of the Secretariat to a standstill. The rights of the Fourth Committee remained intact; that went without saying. All he had done was to suggest a particular method to the Committee. The Committee would no doubt examine the draft budget chapter by chapter, and would invite the Secretary-General and the Supervisory Commission to make specific reductions. But he did not think it would be possible for him, under present circumstances, to put forward definite proposals for economies, such as would satisfy the Committee, in the course of debate. It was an extremely complicated business. He had appealed to the Fourth Committee's confidence in the Supervisory Commission and in himself. If the Committee did not see fit to leave it to them to distribute a reduction of 150,000 francs, it must find some other method of dealing with the estimates of the Secretariat.

M. PALACIOS (Spain) said that the Spanish delegation was not in favour either of the aggregate reduction or of the method proposed for making it; and it remained unconvinced by the explanations of the United Kingdom representative and the Secretary-General. In the matter of the method proposed, what could be thought of a procedure under which the Fourth Committee was called upon to vote all the appropriations, knowing all the while that they were open to reduction by an aggregate total of 150,000 francs? The faith would be shaken of those who believed that the budget submitted had been reduced to the utmost limit. They would find themselves substantially in the position of a customer buying a watch in a shop where prices were not fixed. He would get the watch for 80 instead of 100 francs, and he would leave the shop, not with the satisfaction of having paid twenty francs less, but with the doubt that he had paid ten francs too much. Why was an arbitrary and round figure of 150,000 francs proposed? Why not 148,000 or 175,000?

So far, therefore, as the question of method was concerned, he agreed with M. Rappard and M. Cavazzoni.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, reverting to the question of over-budgeting, pointed out that there were certain items (such as the unforeseen expenditure of the Council) where it was quite impossible to adjust the estimates to the expenditure. A particular method had been suggested to the Fourth Committee. If it did not agree, it was perfectly free to consider the budget item by item.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) said that there was obviously some misunderstanding. He had no doubt that the United Kingdom delegate had acted in the spirit by which all were animated, and that the Secretary-General was doing his very best to meet the situation. But he desired to point out the consequences of the proposal in question.

The United Kingdom delegate would realise from former sessions that there were two stages in the examination of the budget — a general discussion and a discussion item by item. Between those two stages the Committee was informed that one delegation, desirous of securing economies, had quite properly, and not behind anyone's back, had conversations with the responsible authorities, with the result that the Secretary-General had very generously offered to reduce the budget by 150,000 francs. The United Kingdom delegate had urged the Committee to accept that offer, but surely it could only stand provided the budget were not modified as a result of the detailed discussion. To accept it before embarking on that discussion would, therefore, be implicitly to waive the right to modify the budget. He objected to that method of budgetary discussion, but had not had the slightest intention of suggesting that there had been anything underhand or reprehensible. He was extremely sorry that he had been understood to suggest that there was anything dishonourable in what had occurred. He simply felt it was not a very felicitous method of meeting a great difficulty.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL viewed the question in the following way. The Fourth Committee had before it a budget in which the estimates had been framed after a very thorough consideration of all possible economies. It followed that, in reply to any observations the

Committee might make regarding each of the chapters considered, the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission and the Secretary-General could only answer that the item in question represented as close an estimate as possible of the probable expenditure. The Secretary-General had said a few moments ago that the Secretariat had effected certain savings last year, that it was effecting some this year and that it would effect yet others next year, but that, owing to the financial system in force, the various States would hardly benefit by these economies, since the contributions to be collected by the League were based on the total amount of the expenditure voted. The object of M. Avenol's proposal had been to afford Governments their share in an economy to be achieved by deducting immediately 150,000 francs from the total contributions to be collected.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) asked, in order to clear up the position, whether, in the event of the Fourth Committee reducing the Secretariat budget by a total amount of 150,000 francs, the Secretary-General would maintain his offer.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL replied in the negative. He did not think that the sum of 150,000 francs could be found in the budget immediately, but he considered that it would be possible during the year to effect economies up to this total amount.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, said that Baron von Rheinbaben had just made a suggestion with which he concurred. His proposal was to leave over for the moment the Secretary-General's offer of 150,000 francs and to discuss the budget item by item.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) said that that was the very proposal he himself had made.

M. DE MODZELEWSKI (Poland) observed that, during the discussion of previous budgets, the method contemplated this year by the Secretary-General had been applied and had resulted in a rapid discussion of the budget. The Polish delegate would accept either the Secretary-General's proposal or the normal procedure.

Mr. BRUCE (Australia) said that, as the Committee had been promised a report on budgetary methods, he would not deal with that aspect of the budget. He did desire to explain his attitude, however, with regard to the Secretary-General's offer to reduce it by 150,000 francs. He had been quite prepared to accept that offer on the understanding that it was in settlement of the first of the two main questions raised during the general discussion — namely, whether there had been over-budgeting.

He had understood that, when the relevant items came up for discussion, those who felt with him on that point would refrain from provoking long discussions, but would accept the Secretary-General's assurance that the whole question of the framing of the budget would be studied during the coming year. He had also understood the Secretary-General's offer to be an earnest that something would really be done to bring the estimates a little nearer to what everyone realised would be the actual expenditure, since there was no hope of 30 million francs coming into the Treasury.

He had not understood that that in any way limited the Committee's right to consider the problems arising out of the second question — namely, whether the League was being administered efficiently and economically. He himself was very reasonably satisfied that the Supervisory Commission was doing its work extraordinarily well; but, while he did not anticipate having any points to raise, he would not regard himself as being precluded from doing so, should any new and illuminating light be thrown upon the matter.

The Committee decided to proceed to examine the budget item by item, leaving over till later the question of a total reduction of 150,000 francs proposed by the Secretary-General.

16. Examination of the Budgetary Estimates of the Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League for the Sixteenth Financial Period (1934) : Chapter I — Assembly and Council.

The CHAIRMAN opened the discussion on the Budget and Supplementary Budget for the Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League¹ (documents A.4.1933.X and A.4(d).1933.X) and on the passages relating to the budget in the various reports of the Supervisory Commission.

Mr. BRUCE (Australia) desired to put forward one suggestion with regard to Item 3 : "Unforeseen expenditure" (subject to special vote of Council). For the past twelve years it had been estimated at 500,000 francs a year, but during that period only 1,700,000 francs had actually been spent, so that the total amount unexpended was 4,300,000 francs. Would it not be possible to maintain intact a fund of 500,000 francs, including in the budget each year only that portion that had been expended in the previous year ?

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, pointed out that the figures for unforeseen expenditure fluctuated considerably : 150,000 francs in 1932, 293,000 in 1931, 63,000 in 1930, 77,000 in 1929, 145,000 in 1928 and only 2,961 francs in 1927. That

¹ The budget as adopted by the Assembly is published in Part II of the October issue of the *Official Journal*.

showed how difficult it was to estimate the figure with any degree of accuracy. The Council had very grave political responsibilities, and provision had to be made for reasonable contingencies. Careful consideration would, however, be given to the Australian delegate's suggestion.

He added that it had been necessary to budget for three sessions of the Council in Geneva and one elsewhere, which explained why the estimates so greatly exceeded actual expenditure.

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) desired explanations on two items, although the amounts involved were small, in order to ascertain by what process they had been arrived at — namely, "Salaries of additional temporary clerical and house staff, 50,000 francs"; actual expenditure in 1932, 37,207 francs; and "Assembly hall, rent, lighting, heating, etc., 64,000 francs"; actual expenditure in 1932, 22,275 francs (see Schedule A, Nos. 1 and 4, page 7).

M. Osuský, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, explained, with regard to the first item, that last year some of the staff engaged for the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments had been used for the Assembly. With regard to the second item, he said that, in view of the meeting of that Conference, it had not been necessary to dismantle the Assembly Hall, but that would have to be done in 1934.

Chapter I was adopted.

17. Chapter II, Item 4, Salaries — Wages and Allowances.

Sir Hormusji MEHTA (India) moved the following resolution :

- "The Assembly decides that the reduction of 10 per cent in rates of pay imposed by resolution of the Assembly of October 17th, 1932, shall apply, with effect from October 15th, 1933, to all officials covered by the terms of that resolution, irrespective of the date of entry into the service of the League, and, in addition, shall apply with effect from the same date to officials who entered the service of the League between September 15th, 1931, and October 15th, 1932, on contracts which permit variation of the rates of pay laid down therein."

In moving that resolution, he desired to review the circumstances out of which the need for it had arisen.

In 1932, the Fourth Committee had considered whether it was not possible, by reducing salaries, to effect a substantial and urgently necessary saving. Finding that the officials' pay was on a contractual basis, it had referred the legal aspect of the question to a Sub-Committee of Jurists. The report of the Sub-Committee having indicated that a general reduction was not within the power of the Assembly, the Committee had turned its attention to the possibility of imposing a reduction of salaries in those cases in which the terms of the officials' contracts did not prevent it. There were two classes of such officials : first, those appointed to the League's service between September 15th, 1931, and October 15th, 1932, whose contracts, in accordance with an Assembly decision of 1931, contained a clause empowering the Assembly to reduce their rates of pay. The resolution submitted by the United Kingdom delegation in 1932 contained a clause specifically applying the 10 per cent cut to that class of official. The circumstances in which the clause had later been dropped were not very clear ; but the Assembly resolution of October 17th, 1932, did not cover it, and the salaries of these officials had not been reduced.

When the 1931 Assembly decided that future contracts should contain a provision empowering the Assembly to reduce the rates of pay prescribed therein, it was evident that it contemplated that circumstances might arise in which it would be expedient and right to exercise that power. He submitted that that time had arrived. If the present circumstances did not justify it, it was difficult to imagine any circumstances that would.

The second class of official comprised those who, on the expiry of their contracts, continued their service on fresh contracts. The United Kingdom resolution, as approved by the Fourth Committee in 1932, specifically provided for the reduction of the salaries of that class. The Committee would recall that, on the day following its approval, Sir Eric Drummond had urged its reconsideration on the ground that it would be unfair and not in the interests of smooth administration that an official whose contract expired should for a time draw less pay than a colleague, possibly of the same status, who was doing similar work but whose contract had still some time to run. The Committee had responded to that appeal and accordingly the following sentence had been inserted in the Committee's report after the resolution and approved by the Assembly :

"It was understood that, for reasons of equity, the 10 per cent reduction referred to above would not apply, except in the case of promotions, to officials who entered the service of the League before September 15th, 1931."

The effect of that sentence was to exclude the class of official in question from the scope of the cut. With the greatest deference to Sir Eric Drummond's judgment and to his knowledge of conditions in the Secretariat, Sir Hormusji Mehta could not but feel that he had misjudged his staff. He found it impossible to believe that any official, knowing well that

worldwide opinion was in favour of a reduction in the salaries of the staff and that it was their contractual basis alone which prevented a general reduction, would allow the temporary advantage of his colleague in the matter of pay to affect his administrative efficiency or his devotion to the League.

The savings to be anticipated as a result of the resolution were not very large. Possibly the Secretary-General would be able to submit an approximate figure. But while it was a sound canon of finance that no economy was too small to be worth making, there was a far more important aspect to the question.

The public now fully realised that the financial position of the League was serious; that more than half of the League's expenditure went in salaries; that Sir Malcolm Ramsay, than whom no expert could be more highly qualified to judge, recommended a general reduction of pay from 10 to 15 per cent; and that, at the 1932 Assembly, no means could be found, other than voluntary action by the staff, to secure such a reduction. As had been pointed out by delegation after delegation, public opinion, aware of these facts and at the same time smarting under the imposition of cuts in the national services, was in a highly critical mood. In India, where drastic cuts had been imposed throughout the services, even by legislation where the existence of contracts made that course necessary, the failure of the Assembly — not, indeed, to enforce a general reduction, for that was beyond its powers, but to make a cut in all cases in which one could legally be made — had had an unfortunate effect on public opinion. If the Assembly repeated that mistake now, when the financial situation was even more critical, the prestige of the League would be seriously damaged. It was essential, in its highest interests, that it should be able to declare that it had done its utmost to put its house in order, and that in every single case in which it had power it had enforced reductions of pay. In moving the resolution, he desired to emphasise that that aspect of the matter had an importance altogether disproportionate to the amount of the possible savings.

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) said that he desired to support another of the Indian delegation's proposals¹ — that subsistence allowances should be reduced. All who had already had a cut in their subsistence allowances, including himself, realised that the sacrifice was necessary, because times were very hard. The subsistence allowances of the representatives of his own country had been subject to a cut of 10 per cent.

He was quite satisfied that, even if the motion were negatived, the Secretary-General would obtain some of the 150,000 francs by which he had offered to reduce the budget from subsistence allowances, and he would not despair, therefore, even if the Committee did not unanimously accept the proposal.

*The discussion on this question was adjourned until the discussion on Item 8 of the budget.**

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, said that the Supervisory Commission had not forgotten the various observations submitted by the Indian delegation in 1932 with regard to economies in expenditure on personnel. It was obliged, of course, to respect contracts, but had tried to economise in the spirit of the Indian delegation's suggestions, and that was why it had proposed a re-organisation of the personnel, so that there would be fewer highly paid officials in the higher categories and more officials in the lower categories.

As far as the 10 per cent cut was concerned, he would venture to point out that it was the representative of New Zealand who, when a cut of 10 per cent was suggested in 1932, felt that it would bear too hardly on some of the staff and had proposed a first exception to the rule. Others had followed his lead, and the result was now being criticised.

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) observed that that was twelve months ago.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, continuing, said that, when the Supervisory Commission had re-examined the matter, it had noted that the decision relating to a 10 per cent reduction would only remain in force until October 15th, 1934, and that the Fourth Committee would be called upon to decide whether it should continue. It had felt that that would be the right time to study the matter, and it intended to present a more definite programme next year.

One of the exceptions made in 1932 related to the case of an official who had served the League for ten years, but for one reason or another had not been given a permanent seven-year contract, but a contract renewable from year to year; it was felt that it would not be just to reduce his salary. M. Osuský hoped the Committee would allow the Supervisory Commission to re-examine the matter and to present new proposals in 1934.

Mr. BRUCE (Australia) said that his Government deeply regretted that it had not been possible to cut all League salaries by 10 per cent. It recognised the difficulty with regard to contracts, and would be the last to suggest that a contract could be abrogated without the consent of the other party. At the same time, it believed that the existing situation was one

¹ See page 59.

of the factors working against the moral force of the League as a whole. All countries had had to subject themselves to very severe discipline, owing to the period of depression through which the world was passing. In Australia, there was no section of the community that had not had to make the greatest sacrifices. The salaries of all public servants had been reduced by 20 per cent, or, in the case of the more highly paid officials, by much more. Every social service had been cut — old-age and invalidity pensions, child endowment, widows' pensions, etc. Every wage and salary earner was receiving from 20 to 30 per cent less, and the increments of bondholders and investors had fallen. It was felt very strongly that the League officials should not be exempted owing to their contracts, and the present situation was unquestionably alienating a good deal of the growing force of public sentiment in favour of the League.

In those circumstances, the Australian Government was most definitely of opinion that every single cut that could be made should be made, and it greatly regretted that it had not been possible to reach some arrangement whereby the more highly paid officials of the League could make a gesture and come into line with every other highly paid official in the world.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, pointed out that advantage had been taken of the expiration of the contracts of the highest officials in 1932 to make real reductions.

Sir Hormusji MEHTA (India) asked whether he was to understand that, in all further contracts, the possibility of a reduction in the rates of pay would be considered.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, replied in the affirmative.

Sir Hormusji MEHTA (India) then withdrew his resolution, adding that he had made it with great reluctance. Had it not been for world economic conditions, his Government would never have asked him to move such a resolution, and he hoped it would not be misjudged for having done so. Its sole purpose had been to enable the League to follow the example of its Members.

BARON VON RHEINBABEN (Germany) observed that, having been awakened, the dormant lion of salaries would be very difficult to put to sleep again.

Referring to the allowance of 2,500 francs to the Secretaries of the Administrative Tribunal and the Supervisory Commission respectively (see Sub-Schedule I to Schedule B, Items 4 and 5), he said that he would have thought the Secretary of the latter had far more to do than the Secretary of the former. He would be glad if the Secretary-General would say whether it was really necessary to allow the Secretary of the Administrative Tribunal 2,500 francs a year for occasional work on that body.

He also drew attention to the item "Gratuities given in accordance with local custom to house staff and others on New Year's Day" (Schedule J to Chapter II, Item 13 (f)), which had been reduced from 2,500 francs to 500 francs. It seemed hard to deprive the house staff of their gratuities, while at the same time continuing the comparatively large allowance to the Secretary of the Administrative Tribunal.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL explained that the allowances under consideration were not included in the permanent contracts of the officials concerned, and that their only justification was the additional work required of these officials. They were not therefore inviolable and the Secretary-General was entirely prepared to revise them on the lines proposed by the Vice-Chairman.

Sir Hormusji MEHTA (India) said he had understood M. Osuský to say that a reduction of salaries was under consideration and would be put into practice. He now understood that no definite decision had been taken. Was the matter actually being considered with a view to reducing salaries in the present economic situation?

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, repeated that the Supervisory Commission had looked into the matter; but, as the decision with regard to a 10 per cent cut in those salaries which were variable would expire in 1934, the Supervisory Commission had thought it advisable to await the 1934 Assembly before making comprehensive proposals. For the moment, there was no intention of making any reductions except in the sense of the 1932 Assembly resolution.

Sir Hormusji MEHTA (India) accepted M. Osuský's explanations.

Item 4 was adopted.

NINTH MEETING

Held on Friday, October 6th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m.

Chairman: M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).

18. **Examination of the Budgetary Estimates of the Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League of Nations for the Sixteenth Financial Period (1934) (continuation) : Chapter II, Item 5 : Contribution to the Staff Provident Fund.**

Adopted.

19. **Chapter II, Item 7 : Branch Offices.**

Adopted.

20. **Chapter II, Item 8 : Travelling Expenses of Officials of the League.**

Mme. KLUYVER (Netherlands) pointed out that she had asked in 1932 for "a statement of the expenditure incurred under this item grouped by Sections". She expressed the desire that the travelling expenses of the officials, both in the general services and in the various Sections, should be reduced to the strictest minimum. It was particularly useless for members of the Secretariat to travel for the purpose of obtaining information which could be obtained by correspondence. She would not mention any precise case, but asked the Secretary-General to see that the strictest economy was exercised in this item.

M. BIANCHI (Italy) supported Mme. Kluyver's observations and asked, in particular, why the estimates for 1934 so greatly exceeded the actual expenditure in 1932. It was particularly curious, because, in his report on the financial year 1932, the Auditor had said :

"The most notable saving effected (in the general services of the Secretariat) is that of 189,809.31 francs (or 52 per cent) in respect of travelling expenses of officials of the League."

M. FELDMANS (Latvia) did not agree with the Netherlands and Italian delegates. He felt that some countries were not at all well known to the League officials, and that it was desirable that the latter should visit more often the Baltic States, for example.

Sir Hormusji MEHTA (India) moved the following resolution :

"The Assembly decides : (1) that in Rule 7 (a) of Annex III to the Staff Regulations, for the figure 54 francs, being the rate of daily subsistence allowance admissible to Chiefs of Section and officials of higher rank, the figure 44 francs shall be substituted, and that such proportionate reduction shall be made by the Secretary-General, as appears to him appropriate, in the rate applicable to other officials and in the rates prescribed where inclusive passage is paid by the Secretariat ;

"(2) That, where subsistence allowance is paid in respect of duty performed in a country the currency of which has gone off the gold standard, conversion of Swiss francs shall be effected at the gold parity ;

"(3) That the rates prescribed under Rule 7 as modified above shall not be admissible for more than twenty-eight days in respect of duty performed in one place and the rates in respect of duty performed in that place thereafter shall be reduced by 20 per cent ;

"(4) In principle, that similar reductions and conditions should be applied to officials of the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice."

In moving this resolution, he pointed out that the rate of subsistence allowance for Class I officials when on duty away from Geneva was 54 Swiss francs a day in addition to actual travelling expenses ; lower rates applied to Class II and Class III officials.

Subsistence allowance was a compensatory allowance, not a remuneration, and it was a general principle that a compensatory allowance should not be so high as to be on the whole a source of profit. He believed he would be able to convince the Committee that the rate of 54 Swiss francs a day infringed that principle.

He had examined the question in relation to the rates of allowance laid down in the regulations applicable to the members of the Indian Services on duty in Europe. The results were startling.

The question was affected by the depreciation of a number of currencies, and he would deal first with the position in regard to countries whose currencies were still linked to gold. In those cases, the Indian rates were expressed in local currency. A Class I official of the Indian Government in Paris would receive 175 French francs a day, or elsewhere in France 125 French francs (as in the case of League officials, lower rates applied to officials of a lower status). At the present rate of exchange, 54 Swiss francs yielded 266 French francs. In Rome, the Indian official would draw 125 lire and the League official 197 lire. In Berlin, he would draw 30 marks and the League official 44 marks. Those figures were not specially selected. In general, the League rates were higher in the countries which were still linked to gold than the Indian rates by a percentage varying at the present rate of exchange between 47 and 113 per cent. The proposed reduction by about 20 per cent was therefore not excessive.

The difference was still more striking in countries with depreciated currencies, where the rate for Indian officials was, generally speaking, 20s. or 25s. a day, as compared with the League allowance, which was at present equal to more than 67s.

It seemed clear, therefore, that, in addition to a reduction of the basic rate from 54 to 44 Swiss francs, a provision should be made for a further reduction when the allowance was drawn in countries with depreciated currencies. The resolution accordingly provided that the subsistence allowance should be converted at the gold parity — that was to say, a League official on duty, for example, in London, would draw 44 Swiss francs converted at the rate of 25 to the pound, or about 35s.

There was a further point in regard to which the League regulations appeared extravagant. They made no provision for the reduction of the rate when the official had been working for a considerable time in one place. That was a feature of the regulations applicable to members of the Indian Services on duty in the United Kingdom, and no doubt to those of other national services, and it was reasonable, because the expense of a prolonged stay in one place was likely to be lower. In the Indian regulations, the rate was 25s. for the first fourteen nights and 15s. thereafter. The position was not, perhaps, quite parallel for a League official in a foreign country, and the period suggested in the resolution was therefore twenty-eight days, the reduction being 20 per cent.

The Secretariat alone — he had not the figures for the International Labour Office — spent 127,000 francs on subsistence allowances in 1932. The resolution would therefore effect considerable savings; but, in addition to the urgent need for economy, there was a further consideration. As he had already had occasion to point out, the prestige of the League had been seriously damaged by the impression that League officials were not taking their share in the sacrifices which the world economic crisis had imposed upon the national services of all countries. It was exceedingly undesirable from the political standpoint that League officials visiting the countries of States Members should do so on terms, or under conditions, which lent support to that impression.

Several speakers had suggested that, in seeking to establish a sound financial basis for the League, it might be necessary to distinguish between those of its activities which were indispensable to its primary purpose of preserving peace, and those which, while contributing in an important measure indirectly to that purpose, could be temporarily postponed or curtailed. It might be necessary to have recourse to some such restriction of the League's work, but that expedient should come last on the programme and should not be resorted to until all other sources of economy had been tried. The merit of the draft resolution was that it would secure substantial economies without restricting the League's work.

M. Osuský, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, explained, in the first place, in reply to Mme. Kluyver, that the travelling expenses indicated in Item 8 related only to the general services. He went on to explain that considerable economy had successfully been effected in 1932 on travelling expenses, because all the League's activities had been dominated — and reduced — by the Disarmament Conference. Lastly, the Supervisory Commission had considered the question of travelling expenses with the Secretary-General and, in spite of the rates of allowance laid down in the Staff Regulations, the Secretary-General examined all the special cases arising in connection with the daily subsistence allowance to be granted to officials when travelling. The scale of subsistence allowances laid down in the Staff Regulations was not therefore applied to the letter, and the Secretary-General had reduced the allowances actually granted to an extent which had satisfied the Supervisory Commission. This body had also considered whether it would not be well to reduce the subsistence allowance of members of Committees. It realised it would not be possible to do this without losing the services of a fair number of persons who worked gratuitously for the League for part of their time.

In reply to the remarks by the Indian delegate, the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission explained that there were three categories of allowances. Only the Secretary-General, the Under-Secretaries-General and Directors received a daily subsistence allowance of 54 francs when travelling. The allowance for other officials was 37.50 francs or 28.50 francs, according to their grade. Where journeys to countries with depreciated currencies were concerned, the Supervisory Commission had noted that the cost of living in certain countries had not fallen in the same proportion as had the exchange value of the currency. Lastly, it was rare for an official to be called upon to reside for several months in some town other than Geneva, but in such cases the Secretary-General did not fail to reduce the daily subsistence allowance.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL said that the information for which Mme. Kluyver had asked last year was to be found in a note which could be consulted in the office of the Secretary of the Fourth Committee.

He entirely agreed with M. Feldmans that it was highly desirable that the staff should travel more in order to gain a better knowledge of the various countries which were Members of the League. This was a matter of judgment, and the expenditure involved must be reconciled with the need for economy.

Mr. HORE-BELISHA (United Kingdom) said that, at first sight, the rates of subsistence allowance did appear to be very high. He was informed that the rates payable to United Kingdom officials were less than one-third of the League rates where hotel expenses were low, and less than two-thirds where they were high. Everyone would appreciate the discouraging effect of that upon officials in other countries.

According to the Staff Regulations, however, they were maximum rates. Perhaps the Secretary-General would say what rates, in his discretion, he actually paid.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL gave, as an important example of a reduction of the travelling expenses provided for in the Staff Regulations, the allowance granted to officials sent to London for the Economic Conference. Instead of receiving 54 francs, the higher officials had only received £2 3s., and the allowances of officials in the other categories had been reduced in like proportion.

Sir Hormusji MEHTA (India) said that, in India, the highest officials, who drew some £5,000 or £6,000 a year, never received more than 25s. a day. He saw no reason why League officials should receive about £3 7s. a day.

In the economic crisis, all countries were selecting men who would work at the lowest possible cost to the country, and he hoped the League officials who were drawing high salaries would also see their way to accept reduced allowances.

In the absence of M. Osuský, M. RÉVEILLAUD (France), speaking on behalf of the Supervisory Commission, said that, where travelling expenses were concerned, the Committee was faced, on the one hand, with a scale laid down in the Staff Regulations, and, on the other, with a statement by the Secretary-General that this scale was not applied to the letter. The position was thus far from clear, and he therefore proposed that the Fourth Committee should refer the matter to the Supervisory Commission, which would give it due consideration and submit to the next Assembly precise draft regulations.

Sir Hormusji MEHTA (India) said that he would certainly accept M. Réveillaud's suggestion, if he could be assured that the matter would be examined thoroughly and rates reduced.

M. RÉVEILLAUD (France), representing the Supervisory Commission, assured Sir Hormusji Mehta that the Supervisory Commission intended to submit definite proposals to the Fourth Committee. He had just mentioned precise regulations, but must make a reservation in this connection, for, did the Secretary-General so desire, he must be left the power to vary the rate of allowances with the exchange value of the currency of the country to which the official was despatched. M. Réveillaud could assure the Committee that the Supervisory Commission was prepared to study again the question of travelling allowances in order to give satisfaction to the wishes of the delegates and to do justice to the officials.

Mr. BRUCE (Australia) thought it imperative that the question should be examined most carefully, because of the impression that would be created if the allowances laid down in the Staff Regulations appeared to be excessive, as compared with those allowed in other countries. The Secretary-General should probably be empowered to vary the rate where necessary, but the most satisfactory method would be to fix reasonable and fair rates as compared with the rates paid in other countries, and then to provide that, in exceptional circumstances, they might be increased. That would be far better than fixing a maximum scale, in order that exceptional cases could be met, giving the unfortunate impression that it was the ordinary scale.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) wondered whether it was absolutely necessary to wait until the next Assembly before applying the scale of travelling expenses as revised by the Supervisory Commission.

M. RÉVEILLAUD (France), on behalf of the Supervisory Commission, said that he had only made this suggestion out of respect to the Fourth Committee's powers of decision. If the Committee would consent to leave matters to the Supervisory Commission, the latter would, after revising the scale, be perfectly prepared to put it into force in 1934 as from the date which seemed to it the most suitable. He assured Mr. Bruce that due note would be taken of his remarks.

Mr. BRUCE (Australia) also desired to emphasise that Item 8 (c) (Removal expenses to and from Geneva) and (d) (Extension of leave journey privileges to officials' families) should

be carefully examined for the same reason : that there must be equality of treatment in all countries. It was most undesirable that the public servants in other countries should gain the impression from the budget that the League expenditure on its staff was extravagant, for it would probably prejudice the advice they gave to their Governments on the whole budget.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) agreed with Mr. Bruce. For four or five years past he had unceasingly repeated that the Secretariat could not render greater service to the cause of the League than by convincing national administrations that the Secretariat officials were no better placed than themselves.

Item 8 was adopted.

21. Chapter II, Item 9 : "Frais de représentation".

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) wondered whether economies could not be effected under this head.

M. RÉVEILLAUD (France), representing the Supervisory Commission, explained that this credit was divided into two parts, the first being the entertainment allowances of higher officials, the second a common fund for the various sections of the Secretariat. In 1932, of this latter fund, only 16,000 francs had been spent out of a credit of 30,000 francs. M. Réveillaud proposed that the Fourth Committee should leave unchanged the credit provided for under Item 9.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) said that, when the Secretary-General had, on the previous day, made an offer to effect a reduction of 150,000 francs, he had wondered in what part of the budget the necessary economies would be effected. He personally had looked through the various items, seeking those which were not essential. He feared that, if the discussion continued in its present vein, it would come to an end without finding the 150,000 francs in question — an economy which was to his mind inadequate. He would like to see economy proposals made with reference to items which did not affect the essential work of the League. He did not know whether the Secretary-General had thought of suggesting them under Item 9.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL replied that this was a question which had been discussed at length last year. He did not know the full details of the discussion which had then taken place, and the Committee was of course at liberty to re-open it, should it so wish. In any case, the credit for entertainment allowances had been calculated on the basis of the Assembly's most recent decision. Lastly, if he had had any doubts as to the legitimacy of the estimate under Item 9, he would not have made so bold as to make the proposal in question. The Fourth Committee would return to this proposal at the end of the present discussion, when he would have an opportunity to explain the spirit in which it was conceived and the motives underlying it.

Mr. MANION (Canada) noted that the proposed expenditure on Item 9 was 160,000 francs as compared with actual expenditure of 139,149 francs in 1932. Why, when all the Governments in the world found it necessary to reduce expenditure of that kind, did the League increase it? A reduction would not interfere with the League's essential activities, and it would appear to him that, in the present times of stress, the item should be reduced to about 130,000 francs or 140,000 francs as a sign of the desire for economy. Such a reduction would be welcomed by those who had to pay their contributions in depreciated currencies.

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) supported the Canadian delegate. He greatly regretted that no real explanation had been offered as to why the item had been increased.

M. RÉVEILLAUD (France), representative of the Supervisory Commission, said that the latter had certainly no intention of taking it upon itself to go against the wishes of the Fourth Committee. His chief duty, after hearing the Administration's explanations, was to enlighten the Fourth Committee and not to bring pressure to bear upon it. He would, therefore, like to explain the items of which the credit in respect of *frais de représentation* consisted: The first part of this credit, which was assigned to the principal officers, was not, strictly speaking, a variable credit, but formed part of the salary of those officials. The present position was the result of the lengthy discussion in the 1932 Assembly on the principal officers of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office. He referred to the amount of the *frais de représentation* adopted at that time, which was inserted on page 253 of the Minutes of the Fourth Committee (1932). The explanation of the increase in this credit to which Sir Thomas Wilford had referred was quite simple — a new post of Under-Secretary-General had been created. There remained the second part, the common fund which the Fourth Committee could cut down if it thought fit. If it did so, however, it would be restricting the liaison work of the Secretariat as a whole and its opportunities to get in touch with the delegates. In his opinion, the only thing the Fourth Committee could ask the Secretary-General to do as regards

frais de représentation was to exercise the closest possible supervision over the proposed expenditure.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) pointed out that, between 1932 and 1933, there had been twelve months of crisis. He thought, therefore, that the Committee should see whether it was possible, without touching salaries, to effect economies in the *frais de représentation*. He was not referring to the common fund intended for officials who were not principal officers, and he felt that, since the *frais de représentation* were partly intended to enable the Secretary-General and the Under-Secretaries-General to entertain, this was an excellent opportunity for those officials to escape from an onerous duty. Moreover, such entertaining was of very little value to the League. He would not propose any figure for the reduction, but would merely ask whether there was any possibility of cutting down the *frais de représentation*.

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) regretted that M. Réveillaud had still given no explanation, and proposed that a vote should be taken to ascertain the feeling of the Committee. He therefore moved a reduction of 20,851 francs, the difference between the estimates for 1934 and the actual expenditure in 1932.

The CHAIRMAN explained that the 130,000 francs which constituted the first part of the credit in respect of *frais de représentation* were granted as the result of a decision adopted by the Assembly when the highest posts in the Secretariat and the International Labour Office were re-organised. Before contemplating any alteration in the amount of the allowances granted, it was first of all necessary to make sure that they were not of a contractual nature, because, if they were of such a nature, the question would be settled by the opinion expressed last year by the Committee of Jurists.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) observed that, if his proposal were accepted, that consideration need not be taken into account. He would remind the Committee that he had not mentioned any figure; he had merely pointed out the good effect which a reduction in the *frais de représentation* would have on public opinion, and he would be glad if the Secretary-General would be kind enough to signify his consent to M. Cavazzoni's request for a reduction of the credit in Item 9. In his view, that was mainly a moral gesture; a reduction made with the consent of the persons concerned would carry far more weight with public opinion.

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) said that, if there were a contractual obligation, he would withdraw his proposal. If there were no such obligation, he thought the officials concerned might agree among themselves to make a reduction, sharing the reduced vote in proportion.

M. RÉVEILLAUD (France) representative of the Supervisory Commission, said that even as delegate of France he completely disagreed with the views expressed by M. Cavazzoni and Sir Thomas Wilford. He added that, last year, when the crisis was at its height, the whole question of the salaries of the Secretariat had been examined by the Assembly. The latter had consulted jurists who had only confirmed the opinion expressed by the Supervisory Commission to the effect that the salaries of officials could not be modified. The Fourth Committee had then proposed to reduce by 10 per cent, with certain exceptions advocated by Sir Thomas Wilford, the salaries of future officials. As the result of the decisions adopted, only the principal officers of the Secretariat and International Labour Office had had their salaries reduced. Was it fair to make a further reduction in their emoluments this year? The emoluments of the Secretary-General (salary and *frais de représentation*) had been reduced by 23,930 francs, those of the Deputy Secretary-General by 15,880 francs and those of each of the Under-Secretaries-General by 17,500 francs. All those officials had agreed to the reductions. An arrangement had been concluded which had been approved by a decision of the Assembly. Respect for the dignity of the League and its officials should prevent the Committee from asking the Secretary-General and doubtless the Director of the International Labour Office to give up part of their present emoluments. If the question were put to the vote he would oppose a proposal which he considered inopportune and even unfair.

Mr. MANION (Canada) doubted whether there was a single Government that had not cut down its expenditure, and he must say most emphatically that the League should act in exactly the same way. By way of illustration, he pointed out that the Canadian National Railway had reduced its entertainment allowance by two-thirds during the past three years. He felt very strongly that this and other items should be cut down if the League was to stand well with the peoples of the world.

M. BOHEMAN (Sweden) was inclined to think that the credit under item 9 represented contractual obligations of a decisive character. He thought that, in view of the manner in which the highest posts had been re-organised, the *frais de représentation* formed, under a different heading, an integral part of the salary of the Secretary-General and Under-Secretaries-General.

The CHAIRMAN said that in his view those allowances were undoubtedly of a contractual nature. As far as the Secretary-General was concerned, he did not receive any letter of appointment. The allowance was granted by a decision of the Assembly. In the case of the Deputy Secretary-General and the Under-Secretaries-General, the allowances were stipulated in their contracts.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) said that he could not agree with M. Réveillaud that he had made an unfair and inopportune proposal. He pointed out that he had not mentioned any figure and had merely asked the Secretary-General a question. A proposal for a reduction of 150,000 francs having been made, he had done his utmost to discover from what items it was possible to deduct those 150,000 francs.

Baron VON RHEINBABEN (Germany), speaking as a member of the Sub-Committee on the Principal Officers of the League, reminded the Committee of the compromise reached in 1932 after long and arduous sittings. He pointed out that there had actually been reductions in entertainment allowances, which were really part of the salaries of the officials concerned. The sole reason for the increase was the Assembly decision of 1932 to increase from one to two the number of Deputy Secretaries-General. In view of the compromise then reached with so much difficulty, it would not be right to press for a reduction.

The CHAIRMAN said that the only definite proposal was that made by the delegate of New Zealand for a reduction of 20,000 francs. However, he understood that Sir Thomas Wilford did not wish to press for a vote.

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) said that after Baron von Rheinbaben's clear, concise and conciliatory statement, he would not press his proposal.

Item 9 was adopted.

22. Chapter II, Item 10 : Property Account, Maintenance.

Adopted.

23. Chapter II, Item 11 : Publications Department (see also Supplementary Budget, document A.4 (d).1933.X).

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) asked why expenditure in 1932 had been 377,123 francs as compared with estimated expenditure for 1934 of 439,500 francs, a difference of 62,377 francs.

M. RÉVEILLAUD (France), representative of the Supervisory Commission, explained that, in Item 11, there were two cases of increases — viz., "Council documents and *Official Journal*" and *Treaty Series*. In 1932, the credit for the first of these two items had been exceeded by 16,000 francs and, as there could be no question of preventing the Council from publishing the documents it considered necessary, the Supervisory Commission had raised the appropriation for this item to 125,000 francs. As regards the *Treaty Series*, 116,000 francs had been spent in 1932 out of an appropriation of 120,000 francs, but the Supervisory Commission had been told that the expenditure estimates in the 1932 budget had made it impossible to publish a certain number of treaties, and these had consequently been held up. Such publication, as the Committee knew, was an obligation laid down in the Covenant. In those circumstances, the Supervisory Commission had felt that it was not called upon to discuss the Secretariat's application for a credit.

Mr. SHEEHAN (Australia) asked what was the total cost of printing and publications, including salaries, and whether the Supervisory Commission had examined the possibility of reducing printing to some extent, with a view to making economies which would not interfere with the League's real activities.

M. RÉVEILLAUD (France), representing the Supervisory Commission, said that the question of publications, particularly of printed documents, was one of those to which the Supervisory Commission had devoted very thorough study. At the end of its May report (Annex 4), a table would be found giving a comparison of the annual expenditure on publications. In 1932, this expenditure had been cut down by 28,000 francs in spite of the increase in the number of documents resulting from the Disarmament Conference; this showed the direction which was being taken. Furthermore, when he was still only Deputy Secretary-General, M. Avenol had personally gone into the question of publications and, as submitted to the Supervisory Commission extremely valuable suggestions.

Item 11 was adopted.

24. Chapter II, Item 12 : General Office Expenses.

Adopted.

25. Chapter II, Item 13 : Special Staff Charges.

Sir Hormusji MEHTA (India) moved the following draft resolution :

“ The Assembly, having regard to the rates of pay of officials, which it believes to be adequate, considers that there is not sufficient justification for the continuance of a subvention from League funds to the Insurance Associations against Accidents and Illness of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office, and accordingly decides to delete the sum of 21,600 francs from Item 13 of Chapter II (Special Staff Charges) of the Secretariat budget, and the sum of 21,000 francs from Item 9 of Chapter II (Special Staff Charges) of the International Labour Office budget, being the contributions respectively to the Associations of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office.”

In moving this resolution, he pointed out that the object of these credits, amounting in all to 42,600 francs, was to make possible the continuance in the Secretariat and the International Labour Office of the existing Mutual Insurance Scheme against Sickness and Accidents established in 1922, the expenses of which were borne in equal parts by the League and the participating officials. The funds provided for the payment of doctors' and surgeons' fees, nursing-home expenses, and so on. But it should be observed that the disabilities against which they afforded protection were not disabilities incurred in the course, and in consequence, of employment by the League, for which the League, under the various regulations governing the conditions of service, accepted a measure of responsibility. They were the sicknesses and accidents to which any person might be liable, irrespective of the nature of his employment, and for which the League, as employer, was not called upon to accept any liability.

The League's contribution to the two funds had been reduced in 1931 by about 20 per cent to its present figure. He assumed that the reduction was made in view of the general need for economy and had no relation to the establishment of the Pensions Fund which, like the Provident Fund, made no payments to an official while he was in the service. But the statements contained in the second paragraph on page 20 of the budget were not very clear. Perhaps the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission would tell the Committee why the Commission had recommended the reduction, and whether the matter had been further considered.

Subject to what the Chairman might have to say, Sir Hormusji Mehta felt that the Committee should take the view that the Assembly, having provided adequate rates of pay (rates, indeed, which, on the high authority of Sir Malcolm Ramsay, were, in general, more than adequate), was under no obligation to augment them by indirect channels, and could not in the present financial circumstances justify before world public opinion the continuance of the subventions to the Mutual Insurance Scheme.

It was not pleasant to move a reduction in the amenities of a body of men and women who rendered the League true and faithful service, and to whose efficiency, industry and unfailing courtesy he was glad to pay a tribute. But he believed the Committee had no choice in the matter and would fail in its duty to the League if it allowed its natural inclinations to deflect it from the path of economy, difficult and painful though it might be.

M. RÉVEILLAUD (France), representative of the Supervisory Commission, explained that the Staff Insurance Associations of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office were not subsidiary funds, so to speak, of the Provident or Pensions Funds. Their purpose was to help officials, particularly the lower officials, to pay their medical expenses. When the Pensions Fund was established, the Supervisory Commission had wondered whether the contribution to the Staff Insurance Associations of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office should not be stopped ; but, after due investigation, had felt that it was perhaps a good ideal to help officials to keep well and so make it as rare as possible for the Pensions Fund to have to pay invalidity benefits. At the beginning, the staff and the League contributed equally to these Associations, but when it reviewed the position of their reserves some years back the Supervisory Commission had considered that the League contribution might safely be reduced. It was also convinced that there was no point in combining the Associations of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office, as the regulations were different and it would have been difficult to bring them into line. The Supervisory Commission intended in 1935 to review the whole question of the contribution to the Staff Insurance Associations.

The DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE hoped the question would not be decided until its merits had been carefully considered.

He desired to emphasise one point — the Fund had been operated in the interests of the lower categories of the staff. In 1932, expenditure had amounted to 57,000 francs, to which the Office had contributed 20,000 francs, or one-third. The lower staff paid much less than the higher staff. The rates for officials receiving 10,000 francs a year varied from 42 to 60 francs a year, and the higher staff paid from 90 to 108 francs a year.

The great bulk of the benefits went to the lower staff. In other words, the higher staff were really paying for their own benefits, and the Office contribution went to help the lower staff. This was as it should be.

It was the duty of a good employer — and one assumed by a good many employers and a number of Governments — to assist their staff in sickness. Without going further into the details, he would express the hope that the matter would be referred to the Supervisory Commission on the understanding that the Fund was mainly intended for the lower staff, whose salaries the Fourth Committee had agreed in 1932 were not excessive.

Sir Hormusji MEHTA (India) accepted the proposal to refer the matter to the Supervisory Commission. At the same time, he did not consider that the higher staff should obtain sickness benefits from the League under any circumstances whatever. Even when employers and Governments did institute a health insurance system, he did not believe it applied to the higher staff, and, so far as they were concerned, the scheme should be dropped.

The CHAIRMAN said that the Supervisory Commission would study the question of the League's contribution to the Staff Insurance Association in the light of the remarks made by the delegate of India.

Item 13 was adopted.

26. Chapter II, Item 14 : Interest Charges.

Adopted.

27. Simplification of the Procedure of the Assembly : Draft Resolution adopted by the First Committee.

The CHAIRMAN opened the discussion on the following draft resolution adopted by the First Committee on the simplification of Assembly procedure :

“ The Assembly decides that the following procedure shall be applied, as an experiment, at the ordinary session of 1934 :

“ (1) The President of the Council may convene the Finance Committee for a date preceding by not more than one week the first meeting of the ordinary session of the Assembly. The Committee shall be composed of the representatives accredited for the purpose by the Members of the League. It shall appoint its chairman, who shall thereby become a member of the General Committee of the Assembly under the terms of Article 7 of the Rules of Procedure. The establishment of the Committee shall be reported to the Assembly at the first plenary meeting of the Assembly.

“ (2, i) When the reports and resolutions submitted by the various committees of the Assembly are brought up for adoption in plenary session, the President, in the cases indicated below, shall read the titles of the reports and put forthwith to the vote the resolutions which are proposed.

“ (ii) The procedure provided for in paragraph (i) shall only apply in cases where the committee has unanimously declared that it does not consider a discussion of the report in plenary session to be necessary and where no delegation has subsequently asked the President to open a discussion on the report. The report must be circulated to the delegations twenty-four hours before it is brought up in plenary session.”

M. BOHEMAN (Sweden) said that, as he understood it, the above draft resolution arose out of the very legitimate desire to shorten the length of the Assembly sessions. Up till now, the Assembly had often been obliged to wait to close its session until the Fourth Committee had finished its discussions. Such would not be the case this year. However that might be, the Fourth Committee would have no difficulty in approving the draft resolution, for the first paragraph merely afforded discretionary powers to the President of the Council. It was obvious that the President of the Council would not use these powers unless he foresaw that the Fourth Committee's discussions were likely to be long. M. Boheman, therefore, proposed approval of the draft resolution while emphasising the discretionary nature of the proposed power to convene the Committee. He suggested that perhaps the President of the Council might only take the step after consultation with the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission. His personal impression was that the President of the Council would not have to take advantage of this new faculty next year.

M. PARRA PÉREZ (Venezuela) said that his delegation had submitted to the First Committee certain remarks which he would not now repeat. The early convening of the Fourth Committee would undoubtedly present drawbacks in the case of delegations from distant countries not permanently represented at Geneva. He would abstain from voting on the draft resolution adopted by the First Committee.

M. PALACIOS (Spain) said that he also would abstain from voting.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) saw nothing to prevent the adoption of the draft resolution, but asked for an assurance from the representative of the Supervisory Commission that this would not impede the Fourth Committee's work ; it was well known that the documents prepared for this Committee were not always distributed very long before the opening of the Assembly.

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) said that he was entirely opposed to the resolution. He pointed out that the First Committee had by no means been unanimous; indeed, the resolution had been carried by fifteen votes to seven with three abstentions, so that it might be presumed that ten delegations had been against it. Hardly anyone had supported it without at the same time drawing attention to possible disadvantages, such as, for instance, whether a quorum could be obtained, whether the Supervisory Commission's reports would be ready in time, the inconvenience to distant countries, and the extra expense to the League and the delegates. Moreover, there was no proof whatever that the Fourth Committee had delayed the proceedings of the Assembly.

M. RAPHAEL (Greece) had no hesitation in accepting the draft resolution adopted by the First Committee. It was possible that it had not been unanimously voted by the First Committee, which had considered it in particular from the legal point of view. The Fourth Committee, which was studying it in its practical aspect, could not but approve it, in view of the advantages it presented to all the delegations which were not very heavily staffed, since they could thus more easily follow the financial discussions as well as the technical and political discussions, whereas these had formerly been held simultaneously.

M. RÉVEILLAUD (France), representing the Supervisory Commission, said he could only express his personal opinion on the substance of the proposal, as he had had no time to consult his colleagues. He thought he could say, however, that, as regards the presentation of documents, the draft resolution before the Fourth Committee would not entail any special inconvenience. As regards the saving to be effected, which must have been the chief concern of the First Committee, a two weeks' Assembly session plus one week's session of the Fourth Committee would certainly cost less, particularly to the delegations, than a three weeks' session of the whole Assembly. Lastly, M. Réveillaud very warmly endorsed M. Boheman's suggestion to ask the President of the Council not to decide on convening the Fourth Committee earlier until he had consulted the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, who was in a particularly good position to estimate the probable duration of the Fourth Committee's discussions at any Assembly.

Mr. SHEEHAN (Australia) feared the proposed procedure might weaken the Fourth Committee's influence and lower its status. In practice, the heads of delegations would probably be unable to attend the earlier meetings, and the junior delegates would be called upon to bear the whole brunt of the discussions. If important questions arose, they would be in great difficulty in not being able to consult the heads of their delegation. On those grounds, he would refrain from voting.

Baron VON RHEINBABEN (Germany) supported the First Committee's proposal. Overseas delegates had normally to be at Geneva by the beginning of September, so that there could be no objection to the proposed procedure unless the Fourth Committee were convened during the last week of August.

He also supported the proposal that the President of the Council might be asked to consult the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission as to whether the Fourth Committee should be convened earlier.

M. BOHEMAN (Sweden) drew the Fourth Committee's attention to the fact that the First Committee's proposal would only apply to 1934 and was merely intended as an experiment. He thought that, once it had been made quite clear that this was only an optional course which the President of the Council could adopt after consulting the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, the Fourth Committee need have no difficulty in agreeing to it. M. Boheman could not accept the German delegate's suggestion, as the opening date of the Assembly was in principle fixed for the first Monday in September. Moreover, it was known that the next Assembly would meet on September 10th, 1934.

M. DE MODZELEWSKI (Poland) accepted the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee, provided that, before deciding on an earlier convocation of the Fourth Committee, it should be the duty of the President of the Council to consult the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission.

The proposal of M. Boheman (Sweden) to the effect that the President of the Council should only convene the Finance Committee earlier after having consulted the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission was adopted by thirteen votes to two.

The draft resolution of the First Committee was approved, subject to the above decision.

TENTH MEETING

Held on Saturday, October 7th, 1933, at 10.15 p.m.

Chairman: M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).

28. Examination of the Budgetary Estimates of the Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League of Nations for the Sixteenth Financial Period (1934) (continuation): Chapter II, Article 15 : Unforeseen and Miscellaneous Expenses of the Secretariat.

Adopted.

29. Chapter II, Article 16 : Unpaid Liabilities Fund.

Adopted.

30. Chapter II, Article 17 : Supervision of Revenue and Expenditure.

M. DE MODZELEWSKI (Poland) wished to make a few remarks regarding Article 17 (c) (Expenses of the Committee on Allocation of Expenses). He referred to the fact that, in 1928, the Assembly had instructed the Committee on Allocation of Expenses to submit a draft revised scale to the Assembly in 1932. In 1931, the aforesaid Committee, after a careful consideration of the question, had come to the conclusion that the existing financial and economic conditions, and particularly the exchange conditions, were not sufficiently stabilised to allow of the preparation of a scientific scale. The Committee therefore requested that the existing scale should remain in force and that the preparation of a revised scale should be postponed. In these circumstances, it was decided by the Assembly in 1931 that the revised scale should not be submitted until 1934. It was hoped that, in the meantime, the world situation would improve. In actual fact, the contrary had occurred. The exchange instability from which certain currencies were then suffering had become a sort of chronic disease of the world and the existing situation might be described as chaotic.

As the crisis in 1932 had precluded the preparation of a fair scale, it would, in M. de Modzelewski's opinion, be impossible to carry out any useful work in this direction during the present year. It would be difficult, in the present state of the world, to find any logical basis for a definitive scale, and it would therefore be advisable to postpone the question for two years in the hope that the world situation would improve in the meantime and that a fair solution might then be found. He wished to make it clear that he was not making a definite proposal, inasmuch as among the members of the Fourth Committee was the Chairman of the Committee on Allocation of Expenses, who was well able to express the Committee's views. If the Chairman of the Committee considered that the time was not yet ripe for the preparation of a final scale, M. de Modzelewski would suggest that the credit should be restricted to a few thousand francs in order to provide for a possible meeting of the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses, but that no effort should be made this year to secure a complete and definite result.

M. RÉVEILLAUD, Chairman of the Committee on Allocation of Expenses, thanked M. de Modzelewski for his observations, and referred to the fact that, during his own statement to the Fourth Committee a few days previously, he had himself expressed some anxiety, as Chairman of the Committee in question, as to his obligation to draw up a revised scale for the 1934 Assembly. The world was at the present time in far too unstable a position for it to be possible to draw up any scientific scale.

M. Réveillaud wished, however, to point out that when, two years ago, he had asked the Assembly to postpone this question, he had given a definite undertaking to the Assembly to submit a revised scale in 1934. The Committee on Allocation of Expenses had met during the present year and proposed to meet again during December 1933 or January 1934. The preparatory work had been undertaken by the Secretariat and the various States had been asked to supply the information required. M. Réveillaud was anxious therefore not to appear to be in any way withdrawing from the undertakings which he had given, or abandoning a task which had been officially entrusted to him. In his opinion, the decision was one for the Fourth Committee, but he would be surprised, from his knowledge of the position, if the Fourth Committee agreed with the views expressed by M. de Modzelewski.

M. Réveillaud had recently been called upon to attend a meeting of the Committee on Contributions in Arrears and he had heard declarations from various speakers to the effect that certain States which were not paying their contributions considered the quota allocated to them as excessive, and were building considerable hopes upon the work of the Committee on Allocation of Expenses. In this connection, M. Réveillaud did not wish to encourage any exaggerated anticipations, for it was difficult in such a matter to satisfy everybody. It was obvious that, if the work of the Committee led to the lightening of the burden in some cases, it would have to be made heavier in others.

In any case, M. Réveillaud wished to make it clear that he was anxious to co-operate in every way. He was ready to undertake the task if the Fourth Committee maintained the

decision of the 1931 Assembly; if, on the contrary, the Fourth Committee postponed the question for two years, as was suggested by M. de Modzelewski, M. Réveillaud would bow to its decision.

M. DE MODZELEWSKI (Poland) observed that the Chairman of the Committee on Allocation of Expenses had himself recognised that there were insurmountable technical difficulties in the way of establishing a definite scale at the present time. It was clear that the present difficulties were even greater than those of 1932. M. Réveillaud had mentioned that the Committee had at its disposal a certain amount of evidence, and proposed to meet again early in 1934. If the Committee thought that it should meet in order to go through the evidence at its disposal and define the existing state of the work, M. de Modzelewski would have no objection, but, in that event, it seemed to him unnecessary to include a credit of 40,000 francs in the budget. A credit of 12,500 francs would be adequate to allow of a meeting of the Committee if its Chairman thought such a meeting necessary.

M. RÉVEILLAUD, Chairman of the Committee on Allocation of Expenses, observed that his remark to the effect that the Committee proposed to meet in December or January next was not intended as an argument against the proposal put forward by M. de Modzelewski. If the Assembly decided to retain the present scale until 1936, he thought it would be unnecessary for the Committee to meet. The main object of the Committee was to do practical work, and, in the circumstances mentioned, it would be unnecessary to provide a credit for any meeting.

Mr. SHEEHAN (Australia) said that he understood that a definite undertaking had been given in this respect. This was not a matter which caused concern only to States that did not pay their contributions. Other States would be much disappointed if the matter were put aside for two more years. He thought the scale of allocation should be re-examined, whether it resulted in the granting of any relief or not.

Sir Hormusji MEHTA (India) supported the view expressed by the Australian delegate. He thought it would be much better for the Committee to meet and to endeavour to find a more suitable method of allocating the quotas. Certain States had the impression that they were paying more than was just, and desired to express their views on the subject. He thought therefore that the credit in question should be retained.

Mr. ROWE-DUTTON (United Kingdom) pointed out that when, in previous years, it had been decided not to modify the existing system, this had been done on the recommendation of the Committee on Allocation of Expenses. He thought it was an equally serious matter to decide against revision as to say that a revision should be made; he therefore thought that the matter should be referred to the Committee for enquiry.

M. BOHEMAN (Sweden) thought that the most important thing was that the Committee should not be asked definitely to report to the next Assembly; it would be better not to ask for a report by that date, as any decision reached in the intervening period would probably soon become inequitable. The present exchange difficulties made it impossible to lay down a decision which would hold good for any lengthy period.

The CHAIRMAN observed that there were two definite proposals before the Committee. One made by M. de Modzelewski, that the credit of 40,500 francs proposed for this item should be reduced to 12,500; the other, proposed by M. Réveillaud, that the entire credit should be deleted.

M. RÉVEILLAUD, Chairman of the Committee on Allocation of Expenses, wished to avoid any possible misunderstanding. His proposal that the credit should be suppressed was only made on the supposition that the Fourth Committee decided to retain the existing scale until 1936. It was for the Fourth Committee to decide between the three solutions now before it — viz., (1) to postpone the question for two years, (2) to maintain in their entirety the instructions given to the Committee on Allocation of Expenses and to instruct it to draw up a new scale for 1934, (3) in accordance with an idea that had arisen during the discussion, to leave the Committee on Allocation of Expenses free to examine the situation and to decide whether it was possible, in existing circumstances, to submit a new scale. Personally, he hoped the Committee would take a definite decision.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL stated that, even if the Fourth Committee decided to follow the terms of the Assembly resolution of 1931, it would be possible to reduce by 12,000 francs the credit allocated for this purpose; this would be done by utilising part of the normal Secretariat staff for the work of the Committee on Allocation of Expenses.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) stated that, in the main, he agreed with M. de Modzelewski. The uncertainty of the exchanges on the one hand and the attitude of certain States towards the League on the other was such that no one who was not blind would suggest that the substance of the problem could be discussed during the present year. The Committee on Allocation of Expenses might, however, have certain necessary work to perform and it would therefore be advisable to leave a credit in the budget for this purpose, even if for no other reason than to avoid the appearance of putting out of court too brutally those States which

were most anxious for the scale to be amended. The Committee might also make such adjustments as were necessary as a consequence of the entry of new Members, or other similar circumstances. If, in the Secretary-General's view, the credit of 12,550 francs suggested by M. de Modzelewski was inadequate, this figure could be modified, but, in M. Rappard's opinion, the Fourth Committee should show by its vote that the present was not a suitable time for drawing up a fresh scientific scale.

M. RAPHAËL (Greece) referred to the decision of the 1931 Assembly, by which the Committee on Allocation of Expenses was bound to submit a draft revised scale to the Assembly of 1934. This decision had at the time been opposed by many States, and, in these circumstances, M. Raphaël was against any further postponement of the question, which was one of extreme urgency, not merely for non-paying States, but also for certain of those which paid their contributions. The instability of the exchanges was in itself a source of difficulty for certain States. He therefore suggested that the original figure should remain, subject to the reduction provided for by the Secretary-General.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) would agree to the postponement of the question, provided this postponement was for one year only. He hoped that it might be possible for currencies to be stabilised in 1934.

M. PALACIOS (Spain) was in favour of maintaining the credit, as reduced by the Secretary-General. He supported M. Boheman's view. The Committee on Allocation of Expenses must be allowed to do its work, and at the same time must be free to decide whether it could, or could not, submit a revised scale in the coming year.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the Assembly had adopted a decision. In the absence of a contrary decision, the Committee on Allocation of Expenses was bound by it, and must submit a revised scale to the next Assembly.

M. RÉVEILLAUD, Chairman of the Committee on Allocation of Expenses, thought that the very moderate debate that had just taken place had been extremely valuable. It had shown that the Assembly decision of 1931 should subsist, but at the same time by bringing to light the technical difficulties of the problem, had given some elasticity to the terms of office of the Committee, which could abandon its attempt to find a scientific scale and confine itself to making the necessary adjustments, as far as possible. A credit should therefore be maintained in the budget, with the reduction proposed by the Secretary-General.

M. DE MODZELEWSKI (Poland) agreed with M. Réveillaud. The Committee on Allocation of Expenses should continue its work, but it would only be able to reach negative conclusions. If it established a new scale, some would pay less but others would pay more. No State would agree to pay more, however, and its work would therefore be useless. At the same time, he agreed to maintain the credit in the budget with the reduction of 12,000 francs suggested by the Secretary-General, and withdrew his own proposal.

M. BOHEMAN (Sweden) pointed out that it was impossible, with the present fluctuations in exchange, to establish a scale which would hold good for several years. But the situation might change from one day to another, and he therefore thought it would be wise to leave the Committee on Allocation of Expenses free to decide whether it could or could not submit a revised scale. Consequently, he entirely agreed with M. Réveillaud's proposal.

M. DE ARMENTEROS (Cuba) did not think, like M. de Modzelewski, that the Committee on Allocation of Expenses would only be able to submit negative conclusions. It was bound by the decision of the 1931 Assembly to submit a revised scale in 1934.

The Committee decided to maintain the item relating to the expenses of the Committee on Allocation of Expenses, the figure to be fixed at 28,550 francs, in accordance with the Secretary-General's proposal.

Subject to this reduction, Item 17 was adopted.

M. RÉVEILLAUD, Chairman of the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses, desired, now that the question was settled, to draw the attention of the members of the Committee to certain practical considerations. If the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses was to be able to carry out its work, it must have the budgets of the various States for the years 1929 to 1932. It was important that it should have, not only the budgetary estimates, but also the closed accounts. The Secretariat had already asked the States for those documents. A certain number had not replied, more particularly the States which complained that their contributions were too high. M. Réveillaud therefore asked the members of the Fourth Committee to do their utmost to make their Governments realise the importance of the problem.

He added that when the date of the meeting of the Committee on Allocation of Expenses had been fixed, each Government would be free not only to send additional information but also a representative, if it desired to be heard by the Committee. That point was not of capital importance, however, as the Committee was working on figures. Nevertheless, each State had that right.

31. Chapter II, Deduct : Appropriations-in-aid.

Adopted.

32. Chapter III, Item 18 : Administrative Commissions and Minorities Questions.

Baron VON RHEINBABEN (Germany) asked whether it was intended, seeing that the Chief of the Administrative Commissions Section had been appointed Director of the Section, to maintain the post of Chief of the Section, or to abolish it.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL replied that the reduction Baron von Rheinbaben had in mind was already included in the rationalisation programme before the Supervisory Commission, which had agreed to reduce the item.

Item 18 was adopted.

33. Chapter III, Item 19 A : Financial Section and Economic Intelligence Service.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) asked for information with regard to the grant by the Rockefeller Foundation marked *ad memoriam*.

M. RÉVEILLAUD, Rapporteur of the Supervisory Commission, pointed out that, in order to effect economies, it had been decided to discontinue the studies on double taxation. The Rockefeller Foundation had stated that, in view of the importance of the problem, it was prepared to meet the expenditure. As the amount of the grant was not known when the budget was prepared, no credit had been included. It was understood, however, that the sum furnished by the Rockefeller Foundation would be placed at the disposal of the Committee on Double Taxation, but that no expenditure under this head would be met by the League.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL explained that the Rockefeller Foundation had made known its intentions after the budget had been prepared. There were actually two grants, and the Secretary-General asked the members of the Committee to refer to Annex 3, paragraph 26, and document A.4(d), page 3.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) asked whether the sums in question had already been received in dollars and converted into Swiss francs, or whether payment had been promised in dollars, in which case fluctuations in the rate of exchange would naturally have to be taken into account.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL replied that it had not been thought advisable to ask the Rockefeller Foundation to pay the whole of the sums immediately. They would be paid from time to time as required. It was understood, however, that only the equivalent in Swiss francs of the sums received in dollars would be spent.

Item 19 A, including the additions appearing in Annex 3 and document A.4(d), was adopted.

34. Chapter III, Item 19 B : Section of Economic Relations.

Adopted.

35. Chapter III, Item 19 C : Monetary and Economic Conference.

M. RÉVEILLAUD, Rapporteur of the Supervisory Commission, told the Fourth Committee that it would be asked for an additional credit for the second session of the Monetary and Economic Conference. The Technical Committee had estimated the amount required at 336,000 Swiss francs. The Supervisory Commission was very glad to be able to give the Fourth Committee a specific instance of the difficulties which it sometimes encountered. To verify the accuracy of the credit requested, the Supervisory Commission had asked the Secretariat to inform it how much the first Monetary and Economic Conference held in London had cost. The Secretariat had been able to state what it had spent itself — namely, the travelling expenses and subsistence allowances of the officials sent to London. Those expenses would be refunded by the United Kingdom Government, as it was at the latter's request that the Conference had been held in Great Britain. On the other hand, the United Kingdom Government itself had incurred expenditure, part of which the Secretariat would have to defray, but the Government had not yet been able to fix the amount of that expenditure.

It was therefore extremely difficult for the Supervisory Commission to foresee the cost of a second session of the Monetary and Economic Conference when it did not know either how long it would last or where it would meet or even if it would meet. The Secretariat and the Supervisory Commission had often been blamed during the discussion for overbudgeting. In this case, he would appeal to the members of the Fourth Committee who had made those criticisms and ask them to deal with this figure of 336,000 francs, which the Supervisory Commission was prepared to accept, as it had no data by which the figure could be reduced.

The CHAIRMAN stated that there would be a special report by the Supervisory Commission on the application for an additional credit; the tenor of this report had just been verbally

communicated by M. Réveillaud. The Fourth Committee could, therefore, either wait for the report or decide forthwith on the credit in question.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) thought that for the sake of form it would be better to await the Supervisory Commission's report. If the latter, however, contained nothing beyond what M. Réveillaud had stated, the Fourth Committee would still be in a difficult position.

M. Rappard realised the difficult task of the Supervisory Commission, but thought, nevertheless, that M. Réveillaud had perhaps drawn too dark a picture. Obviously, the questions whether the Conference would actually meet and how long it would last were uncertainties. On the other hand, he was surprised that the cost of the London Conference was not known. As regards the place of meeting, M. Rappard thought that point could be disregarded. If it met elsewhere than at Geneva, the Government of the country in which it was held would have to meet the difference in cost.

Lastly, M. Rappard pointed out that the figure of 336,000 francs proposed by the Technical Committee was not a round figure and must have been computed on a definite basis. In accepting that figure without detailed explanations, the Supervisory Commission had certainly had confidence in its authors, but had perhaps not exercised all its powers of supervision.

M. RÉVEILLAUD, Rapporteur of the Supervisory Commission, replied to M. Rappard that the figure of 336,000 francs was the same as that appearing in the budget of the present financial year.

Mme. KLUYVER (Netherlands) remarked that, without the Supervisory Commission's report and that of the Second Committee, no opinion could be expressed. She therefore moved that the question be postponed.

Item 19 C was adjourned.

36. Chapter III, Item 20 : Mandates.

Adopted.

37.⁹ Chapter III, Item 21 : Communications and Transit Organisation.

Adopted.

38. Chapter III, Item 22 : International Health Organisation.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) said that the Fourth Committee was constantly receiving complaints from Directors of Section that the work of the technical organisations was made impossible by the reduced credits. Yet he noticed that in most of the chapters for the technical organisations the 1934 estimates were above the actual amount spent in 1932.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL recalled the remark he had already made in his general statement that the savings on budget estimates had been achieved by cutting down the activities of the technical organisations, the result of which had been to hamper those organisations.

Item 22 was adopted.

39. Chapter III, Item 23 : A. Supervision of Opium Traffic ; B. Social Questions : Suppression of Traffic in Women and Protection of Children, etc. ; C. Permanent Central Opium Board set up under the Opium Convention of February 1925 ; D. (Provisional) Credits to provide for the coming into Force of the Convention for the Limitation of the Manufacture and the Regulation of the Distribution of Narcotic Drugs.

M. RÉVEILLAUD, Rapporteur of the Supervisory Commission, explained that the credit of 25,000 francs under Article 23 D, should be deleted and a fresh credit of 16,640 francs inserted under Article 23 A, for the supervisory organ established by the 1931 Convention. The effect of these changes would be a reduction of the credits (see document A.4 (d), page 3).

Items 23 A, B, and C were adopted with the above amendment.

40. Chapter III, Item 24 : Reduction of Armaments.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) observed that the budget estimates for 1934 were higher than the actual expenditure in 1932, though the latter had been the big year of the Disarmament Conference. He failed to see how the Conference could be estimated to cost more in 1934 than in 1932.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL drew M. Rappard's attention to Schedule Q of the draft budget, where provision was made under No. VII for a credit of 500,000 francs for the organ to be set up by the Conference. This was a general estimate designed to ensure the execution of the political decisions taken by the Conference. The expenditure might be more, or possibly less, or perhaps other resources would be available. In any case, a figure had to be inserted and that had been done.

Mme. KLUYVER (Netherlands) was surprised to find that no credit had been provided for continuing the work of the Disarmament Conference in 1934. There was a possibility that the Conference would continue next year. If no credit were provided, a remedy would perhaps have to be found by resorting to transfers. She thought that, if the Conference were expected to meet in 1934, it would be better to make express provision therefor in the budget.

M. RÉVEILAUD, Rapporteur of the Supervisory Commission, said that Mme. Kluyver's remark was perfectly correct; but, in that case, the credit to which the Secretary-General had just referred would, by means of an internal transfer, help to pay the cost of carrying on the Conference.

Item 24 was adopted.

41. Chapter III, Item 25 : Intellectual Co-operation, International Bureaux and Miscellaneous Questions.

Mr. SHEEHAN (Australia) remarked that, in 1932, 47,000 francs had been saved on this item, while the estimates for 1934 were the same as those established for the two previous years. As this was perhaps one of the less essential activities of the League, he hoped that the savings effected in 1932, which he observed had affected chiefly the items for travelling expenses and printing, would be secured again.

M. PALACIOS (Spain) believed that the Sixth Committee had suggested restoring the credit of 10,000 francs for the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters. He asked for the vote on Item 25 to be postponed until the Fourth Committee had received the reports of the Sixth Committee and the Supervisory Commission.

Item 25 was adjourned.

42. Chapter III, Item 26 : International Convention on Slavery.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that there was an additional credit proposed for this item amounting to 8,890 francs (see document A.4(d), page 4).

M. RÉVEILAUD, Rapporteur of the Supervisory Commission, after referring to the explanations on page 4 of document A.4(d), said that it was essential, if the Committee was to be able to meet, that the additional credit of 8,890 francs should be approved.

Item 26, including the additional credit of 8,890 francs, was adopted.

43. Chapter III, Item 30 : Commission of Enquiry for European Union.

In reply to an enquiry by M. Rappard, the SECRETARY-GENERAL explained that the Commission of Enquiry for European Union, which had to submit a report to the Assembly, had not met in 1933. This question had therefore been deleted from the agenda of the present Assembly, but the Assembly had confirmed the Commission of Enquiry in its function for 1934. The Commission might therefore meet, and, in those circumstances, it was essential for credits to be provided for the purpose.

Item 30 was adopted.

44. Chapter III, Item 31: A. Liaison with Latin-America ; B. Liaison with China.

Mr. SHEEHAN (Australia) enquired whether any special contributions were paid by Latin-America or by China in respect of the liaison services dealt with in Items 31 A and B.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL replied, as regards China, that an arrangement was in existence with that country, with the approval of the Assembly, for an annual payment of about 480,000 francs. This sum had been regularly paid. The total sums paid by China amounted to an average of 1,233,000 francs per year for the last three years.

As regards South America, the position was well known to the Committee, but he might mention that he had recently received from one of the South-American States which was furthest in arrears a payment of 31,000 dollars.

Mr. SHEEHAN (Australia) explained that his enquiry had not been as to whether these States were paying, but whether they made any special contribution in respect of these two items.

M. RÉVEILAUD, Rapporteur of the Supervisory Commission, said that the Latin-American States paid no special contribution to the cost of liaison, but no one would expect them to do so. Much more of the League's political work was done in Europe than in the other continents. That was why an effort had been made to establish closer connections with some remote countries which tended to think that the League's expenditure affected them less than others. The idea was that this *rapprochement* might chiefly be carried on in the technical field — for health questions, for example. That was clear from the way in which the credit itself was composed.

In view, however, of the desire for economy, the Supervisory Commission had succeeded in getting the Secretary-General to reduce the credit allocated to enquiries, which amounted to 136,000 francs for 1933, to 100,000 francs. Further, the Secretary-General had undertaken to investigate the possibility of making further savings on the credit allocated to corresponding members, which amounted to 68,000 francs. The result of his work would be submitted to a coming meeting of the Supervisory Commission.

Items 31 A and B were adopted.

45. **Chapter III, Item 32 : League Wireless Station.**

Adopted.

46. **Chapter IV, Profit and Loss on Exchange.**

Adopted.

47. **Chapter V, Item 34 : Furniture and Equipment ; and Item 35 : Library.**

Adopted.

With the exception of Items 19 C and 25, the budget of the Secretariat and the Special Organisations of the League and the parts of the Supervisory Commission's reports dealing therewith were adopted.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL, seeing that this discussion, the first at which he had been present in his new capacity, had closed, wished to thank all the members of the Committee who had been good enough to submit remarks on the budget. As he had been elected by the Assembly, he felt he had equal duties towards all the Members of the League, but between this somewhat theoretical idea of duty and its practical application there was a certain gap which he had been glad to be able to bridge.

The remarks made by the representatives of several countries had been very valuable. They had been recorded by the Supervisory Commission as the custodian of the Assembly's intentions ; but he, too, had noted them closely and would bear them in mind, as he wished to collaborate very actively with the Supervisory Commission in the light of those observations.

The Secretary-General then reverted to the proposal he had made at the outset of the budget discussion. He did not know whether the Committee maintained the constitutional objections, perfectly justified incidentally, which had been raised. Nevertheless, he again proposed to make a general reduction of 150,000 francs over the whole budget. The estimates laid before the Fourth Committee had been honestly established and it was impossible, owing to the re-organisation and rationalisation which were proceeding, to say at the moment on what points savings would be made, but they would be made. If the Fourth Committee, therefore, agreed to leave this task to the Supervisory Commission, the Secretary-General, with the latter's help, would decide in what chapters cuts would be made. The effect in any case was that the total figure of expenditure would be cut as from now on by 150,000 francs, which would mean a corresponding reduction in the figures of contributions to be asked for from States.

In conclusion, he drew attention to the entirely exceptional character of this method, which should not form a precedent, and he asked the Fourth Committee to be good enough to approve it as an exception for the 1934 budget.

The Secretary-General's proposal was adopted.

48. **Part V, Buildings at Geneva (document A.4.1933.X).**

Adopted.

49. **Part VI, Pensions (document A.4.1933.X).**

Adopted.

50. **Examination of the Budgetary Estimates of the International Labour Organisation for the Sixteenth Financial Period (1934) : General Discussion.**

THE DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE said that the debates on the budget had dealt with the most fundamental matters regarding the League and had been of no less interest to the International Labour Office than to the Secretariat. The International Labour Office had for some time past felt much anxiety regarding the general financial position, particularly as it was affected by the non-payment of subscriptions, and had discussed with the Supervisory Commission the whole question of the relation of the International Labour Office to the general finances of the League.

By way of illustrating this statement, he mentioned that the total budget, which amounted to 8,257,000 francs, was the lowest since 1928, and that the estimated expenditure on general services (8,037,000 francs) was the lowest since 1930 and below the estimates for 1921 and 1923. The International Labour Office had for some years had a stabilised budgetary

position, though the demands on the activities of the Organisation were considerably more exacting than had been the case five or ten years ago. Efforts had therefore been made to allocate the available funds to meet the most urgent requirements. A comparison of the 1934 budget with that for 1932 would show a decrease of 550,000 francs; when the sums for statutory annual increments were taken into account, this represented an effective economy of 880,000 francs.

The securing of these economies was attended by two serious risks: (1) the risk that the efficiency of the Office might be decreased at a particularly critical time, and (2) the risk of incurring an inevitable deficit next year unless effective measures were taken to secure the payment of contributions.

With regard to (1), the Governing Body had felt serious misgivings. The total estimate originally drawn up by the Finance Committee amounted to 8,404,000 francs, which had been reduced by 147,000 francs as a result of consultations with the Supervisory Commission. This reduction had only been accepted with considerable misgiving, and had, in fact, been voted for by the Governing Body only, the representatives both of the workers and of the employers having abstained.

Economies had been effected: (1) by suppressing the post of Deputy Director, the second highest paid post on the staff, and (2) by leaving vacant two permanent posts of Chief of Section, which it was proposed, as a first step towards rationalisation, to fill by temporary appointments at lower salaries. Further savings had been effected in travelling expenses (30 per cent), meetings (60 per cent), furniture (75 per cent), typewriters (20 per cent).

The economies arising out of improved co-ordination with the Secretariat were, of course, a definite and permanent saving; but, generally speaking, there was little hope that the economies already effected could be repeated, while some of the savings — namely, those due to exchange fluctuations — were purely fortuitous.

It was true that the present period was one of crisis, but it was also true that never were so many problems pressing for attention by the International Labour Office. The feeling was growing with Governments, employers and workers that the world was passing through a transitional stage, and that the old automatic economic system no longer functioned satisfactorily. Governments and other persons now hardly hoped that the economic crisis would be self-regulating. It had been stated by a well-known British industrialist that the economic life of the present day must pay a heavy price for the gains of science unless the general public became more socially and scientifically minded. All the burning economic questions, such as the possibility of shorter hours, technological improvements and the competition between countries with different wage rates and different social circumstances, converged upon the International Labour Office, and the orientation of the Office was, in consequence, undergoing a transition.

For these reasons, an effort was being made to pay less attention to minor matters and to allocate staff to deal with more pressing problems. No trace of this re-organisation appeared in the present budget, which was drawn up in April; but, during the last three months, there had been a considerable internal re-organisation, which would become apparent in the next budget. Efforts were being made to form a model staff scheme and to replace where possible higher posts by clerical workers, without loss of efficiency.

Turning to the risk of a deficit, Mr. Butler said that the Governing Body was not convinced that it was in the interests of the League or of economy to make too serious cuts in the margin of efficiency. Almost every item in their budget was below that for 1932. Exceptions were: (a) holiday travelling, which was a statutory obligation; (b) unforeseen expenditure, and (c) committees. With regard to the last two, he would point out that expenditure depended upon the decision of the Governing Body and not of the Director, and he thought that the economies achieved were proof of the prudent and reasonable attitude of the Governing Body. Some economy had been effected on expenditure in branch offices, but it was not safe to gamble upon the exchanges remaining at their present favourable level.

It was therefore clear that, in spite of all economies, no means had been found of avoiding the danger arising from non-payment of contributions, and, if they were not paid, a deficit would be inevitable, particularly as, since 1933, expenditure had remained very close to estimates. He pointed out that, if an adequate reserve were available, emergencies would not, as now, immediately bring about a critical position. This point had already twice been referred to by the Governing Body, and he would suggest its examination by the Supervisory Commission, in which he would do his best to reduce expenditure, and consequently contributions, as far as possible.

The continuation of the discussion was adjourned to the next meeting.

ELEVENTH MEETING

Held on Saturday, October 7th, 1933, at 4 p.m.

Chairman: M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).

51. Examination of the Budgetary Estimates of the International Labour Organisation for the Sixteenth Financial Period (1934) : General Discussion (continuation).

Mr. KNOWLES (New Zealand) noted that the estimates for 1934 were lower than the expenditure for 1932. It was true that the reduction was a small one; the New Zealand delegate wished that it was larger. But, at any rate, it was a reduction, and the estimates compared favourably with the estimates received from another place.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) had, like other delegates, been very favourably impressed by the full, frank and sincere statement of the Director of the International Labour Office. He would confine himself to one question. Mr. Butler had given the Committee to understand that reforms had already been introduced at the International Labour Office, but that, as the budget had been prepared in April, their financial effects did not appear in the estimates. M. Rappard was sure, however, that the Director would not await the 1935 budget before allowing the States Members to benefit from the savings which must result from the changes he had made.

The DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE said that the financial effects of the re-organisation were shown in the 1934 budget, but the actual structure of the Office appeared to be the same as in the 1933 budget. It would be found in the next budget, however, that the divisions had disappeared and that the sections had been considerably remodelled, in order to meet the present needs of the Office. A number of higher posts had already been suppressed and replaced by posts of a lower category, and permanent had been replaced by temporary posts.

Mr. Butler thanked the delegates of Switzerland and New Zealand for their remarks, though he did not entirely agree that the estimates should be lower; they had been reduced as much as possible.

Cemal HÜSNÜ Bey (Turkey) had no general remarks to make on the budget of the International Labour Office. He pointed out that, at the previous Assembly, he had asked that the need for ensuring a fair representation of nationalities among the officials of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office should not be lost sight of owing to rationalisation and economies. As a result of those observations, the following paragraph had been added to the Fourth Committee's general report :¹

" It was made quite clear that the foregoing provisions were not to have the effect of preventing the admission to the Secretariat and the International Labour Office of nationals of States which have no officials of their nationality in these offices. The Secretary-General and the Director of the International Labour Office gave the Committee an assurance that, when posts had to be filled, they would give particular consideration to the requests of countries which have recently been admitted to the League . . . "

The Secretary-General had offered last year to make a cut of 130,000 francs in the general budget of the Secretariat, mainly by not filling vacant posts. Cemal Hüsün Bey had considered that this measure should not be prejudicial to countries that had recently entered the League. A formal assurance had been given that they would not suffer from it. In spite of the declarations contained in the Fourth Committee's report in 1932, in spite of the promises made to the Turkish delegates, there was at present no Turkish official at the Secretariat or the International Labour Office. It was true that the Secretary-General had promised him that a Turkish national should be appointed to the Secretariat at the beginning of October; but, as the Director of the International Labour Office had said that about ten posts were vacant in his administration, he hoped that when they were filled Turkey would not be forgotten. The Turkish delegation was by no means opposed to economies, but considered that they should not be made at the expense of certain nations. If there were too many officials at the League, that was certainly not the fault of the more recent Members. Moreover, every time a State entered the League, it created new activities which naturally entailed new appointments. Preference should, however, be given, providing their qualifications were equal, to the nationals of States with too few representatives in the administrations.

¹ See Minutes of the Fourth Committee, 1932, page 244.

It should be possible, from the documents supplied to the delegations by the Secretary-General, to prepare statistics of the Secretariat's officials by nationality and also of the States represented in the administration, classified according to the total salaries paid to their nationals. The result would certainly be surprising, and it would be seen that the nations recently admitted to the League had a very small share. It might well be that, if this attitude were persisted in, the question would be raised at some time or another. The intellectual level in the various countries being what it was, moreover, it could not be argued that it was impossible to find officials of a particular nationality capable of filling any post.

In conclusion, the Turkish delegate hoped that the question of the representation of nationalities in the Secretariat and the International Labour Office would shortly be settled in the spirit of equity which the heads of the various League organisations had always shown.

M. PERNE (Yugoslavia) said, in the same connection, that Yugoslavia, although an original Member of the League, had no national at the International Labour Office. He fully concurred in the Turkish delegate's views.

M. VALDÉS-MENDEVILLE (Chile) endorsed the tribute paid to the Director of the International Labour Office, and asked whether he would accede to a desire expressed by the representatives of the countries of Latin America, who would be glad if liaison between the International Labour Office and Latin America could be maintained by a special official who was a national of one of the Latin-American countries. That would cost the administration nothing, as it already had in its service the official who was capable of performing the work. The countries of Latin America would be extremely glad to deal, in their relations with the International Labour Office, with an official specially qualified and properly appointed for such liaison.

M. RAPHAËL (Greece) also concurred in the Turkish delegate's observations, and asked the Director of the International Labour Office sympathetically to consider the possibility of increasing in the staff of the Office the representation of nations which still had an inadequate number of nationals at the International Labour Office.

M. DE ARMENTEROS (Cuba) was in complete agreement with the Turkish delegate, and also supported the Chilian delegate's request, which, moreover, he had already made himself.

M. CASTILLO NAJERA (Mexico) said that the Mexican Government attached absolutely no importance to a post, small or great, at the Secretariat or the International Labour Office being given to a Mexican national. Any posts which it was proposed to reserve for Mexico could therefore be offered to candidates of other nationalities.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) was of opinion that the Fourth Committee was at present faced with an extremely serious question. What was rationalisation if not the most complete adaptation of the means to the end? It was therefore absolutely essential that the most competent candidate should be selected for a given post. Of course, if they were equally well qualified, nationals of the countries with fewer representatives should be given the preference. It would, however, be a mistake to suggest that recruitment should be based first on the equitable representation of nationalities and then on qualifications. Such a method would be contrary to rationalisation. M. Rappard strongly commended the Mexican delegate for subordinating the national to the general interest. In M. Rappard's opinion, the heads of the League organisations should be supported in their endeavour to make of their administrations bodies for effective work and not offices in which States might place unemployed nationals or gain representation.

Cemal HÜSNÜ Bey (Turkey) was sure M. Rappard had not meant to refer to his proposal, and hoped that he had simply intended to lay down a guiding principle for the re-organisation of the League services. The Turkish delegate could also define rationalisation. In his view, it meant to organise the administrations so as to obtain the maximum efficiency. But he did not think the maximum efficiency could be obtained by giving most of the principal posts to certain countries. If it could be shown that each post had been thrown open to competition throughout the countries forming the League and had been offered to the most competent candidate, he would have nothing but praise for the method adopted. Unfortunately, that had not been the case. Nor could he allow it to be said that, owing to acquired situations there was no post for the nationals of the countries which had recently joined the League. He did not regard appointment to posts in the Secretariat and the International Labour Office as a remedy for unemployment, as M. Rappard had suggested. He considered that, given equal ability, the candidates of the countries with fewer representatives should be given the preference.

To sum up, while it was as well to conform to what might be called the commercial principles of sound rationalisation, an equilibrium should also be maintained, as far as possible, between the various nationalities.

Mr. SHEEHAN (Australia) supported the Swiss delegate. The Committee should realise where the proposal made might lead. According to Annex 4, paragraph 46(1), it would appear to involve an expenditure of 108,000 francs. The Committee would be changing its attitude considerably if it allowed that sum to be expended, or, alternatively, made it impossible for the authorities to save either the whole of it or a substantial proportion. The Supervisory Commission had said that :

“ Without for the moment taking up any definite attitude in this question, which is connected with that of rationalisation, the Commission desires to draw the Assembly's attention to it.”

The Committee should not tie the hands of the Supervisory Commission, but should leave it free to determine, with the Director of the International Labour Office, and in the best interests of the administration, to what extent, if at all, the posts in question should be filled.

M. RÉVEILLAUD, Rapporteur of the Supervisory Commission, thought it would be very dangerous to contrast such ideas as those expressed by the Turkish delegate with the efforts for rationalisation carried on in the Secretariat and in the International Labour Office. Indeed, there was no contradiction between these two sets of ideas. In the past, there had been some exaggeration on the part of certain delegates who had submitted statistics regarding the number of the nationals of various Member States employed in the organs of the League of Nations, showing, *inter alia*, the proportion in which each nationality was represented. It might have been deduced therefrom that the position would be ideal if there were a perfect relationship between the number of representatives of the various nationalities in the Secretariat and in the International Labour Office on the one hand and the amount of the contributions on the other. Such a view was scarcely admissible. What the Turkish delegate asked for was something quite different, and there was no objection to vacant posts being filled for preference by nationals of countries not sufficiently represented in the administrations of the League. It was less to the interest of a great country like Turkey than to that of the League of Nations that, qualifications being equal, preference should be given under existing circumstances to one of its nationals. The same observation applied, moreover, to Mexico. M. Réveillaud was in favour of the views expressed by the Turkish delegate.

In reply to the Australian delegate's speech, M. Réveillaud wished to point out that the Supervisory Commission had no powers in respect of the appointment of officials, since this question was settled exclusively by the heads of the League organisations.

In conclusion, he supported M. Valdés-Mendeville's request, since the proposed measure would not involve any additional expenditure, and it could but be advantageous to place a Latin-American official in charge of the liaison work with that part of the world.

M. CASTILLO NAJERA (Mexico) said his Government interpreted the spirit of co-operation which it must show towards the League of Nations to mean that, when the League required the services of one of its nationals, the Government would welcome his appointment as an official of the Secretariat or of the International Labour Office. Until that time, Mexico, which did not pretend to possess specialists with higher qualifications than those of other countries, would abstain from bringing any pressure to bear in respect of representation in the organs of the League of Nations.

The DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE said that he was in almost complete agreement with the doctrine brought to light by the various speeches — namely, first, that posts should be filled primarily with a view to efficiency; secondly, that, in order to fill them efficiently, it was necessary in some cases to call upon the nationals of specific countries; and, thirdly, that new posts should not be created solely in order to provide for national representation, but, when vacancies occurred, an endeavour should be made to remove any disequilibrium that might exist by an equitable redistribution of nationalities. The International Labour Office was trying to work on those lines. Mr. Butler did not propose to fill the ten vacancies by permanent appointments, but to down-grade most of them and fill them by temporary appointments. Those appointments were under the control of the Governing Body, which stood in much the same relation to himself as the Supervisory Commission to the Secretariat. The aforesaid proposal would reduce the budget by 30,000 francs. He had also agreed to a reduction of 40,000 francs on supernumerary or temporary staff — a very considerable economy.

The present was not a suitable moment to make any definite declaration as to the allocation of the posts, but he was very conscious of the Office's inadequate knowledge of conditions in certain countries, and would endeavour to make good the deficiency.

In reply to M. Valdés-Mendeville, he pointed out that re-organisation was only at the first stage; but, as one of its more important features, a special Section to extend knowledge of conditions in countries outside Europe had been established. That Section had already a group of Latin-American officials, and Mr. Butler was quite prepared to consider the suggestion put forward by M. Valdés-Mendeville and M. de Armenteros that it should be given a corporate character of its own.

M. Osuský, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, had been pleased to hear some members of the Fourth Committee, such as the delegates of Switzerland and New Zealand, congratulate the Director of the International Labour Office on the budget which he had submitted. This document had, in fact, been prepared with the greatest care. The Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, however, would be sorry if persons not fully acquainted with the two administrations drew an unfavourable conclusion for the Secretariat from the praise addressed to the International Labour Office.

The International Labour Office, by the very nature of its work, was able better to estimate its requirements and to keep more effectively to its decisions. The estimates of the Secretariat were influenced by countless external circumstances which were not under its control. The budget of the International Labour Office was decreasing, but the same could also be said of the budget of the Secretariat.

M. Osuský would also be sorry if a comparison between the results obtained at the end of the financial year by the Secretariat and the International Labour Office led to conclusions which might be harmful to the interests of the League. The International Labour Office budgeted for its requirements more accurately because actual circumstances left the Director of the International Labour Office less latitude than the Secretary-General. In any case, M. Osuský would not like the value of a financial administration to be considered greater owing to the fact that the budgetary credits had been completely expended. If such an impression were gained from the discussions in the Fourth Committee, the Supervisory Commission would be rendered powerless during the entire financial year; the officials should not be entitled to think that, if they expended all the credits allocated to them, the Fourth Committee would leave them in peace. Moreover, on this point the Secretary-General and the Director of the International Labour Office were agreed and were endeavouring to impose a policy of economy on their co-workers, however legitimate their demands.

With regard to the remarks of the Turkish delegate, the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission informed the Fourth Committee that, whenever a concrete case came up in the course of rationalisation, it raised the question of nationalities. He begged the Turkish delegate to consider that, at a time when efforts were being made in the Secretariat and the International Labour Office to bring about rationalisation, the results of which could not yet be foreseen, it would have been difficult to begin making fresh appointments. It was necessary to wait until all the rationalisation measures had been decided upon in order to ascertain to what extent satisfaction could be given to certain legitimate desires. Moreover, all the officials were recruited by competition, and, even in the highest posts where certain special considerations came into play, the greatest attention was paid to the qualifications of the candidates.

In reply to the remarks submitted by the Australian delegate regarding the ten vacant posts in the International Labour Office, M. Réveillaud had rightly pointed out that the appointments were made by the heads of the departments and not by the Supervisory Commission. That Commission, however, in paragraph 46 of its report of May 1933 (Annex 4), had nevertheless drawn the attention of the Fourth Committee to this question, which, in its opinion, was bound up with that of rationalisation.

Lastly, the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission wished to reply to a statement made by Mr. Butler in a previous speech. The discussion between the Director of the International Labour Office and the representative of the Supervisory Commission regarding the financial autonomy of the International Labour Office had become, as it were, a matter of routine. This year, Mr. Butler had said that the place of the Supervisory Commission in respect of the Secretariat was taken, as far as the International Labour Office was concerned, by the Governing Body. This was an idea which the Supervisory Commission could not accept, since it considered that it had duties in respect of both the Secretariat and the International Labour Office. It even considered that its duties were the same in both cases, and that their accomplishment in the International Labour Office was made easier or more difficult, according to circumstances, by the existence of the Governing Body. M. Osuský had been anxious to remind the Committee of this cardinal principle of the finances of the League of Nations.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) thought that the position of the Director of the International Labour Office in respect of the Supervisory Commission was different from that of the Secretary-General. The former had a Governing Body to support and supervise him. While M. Osuský had pointed out that the budget of the International Labour Office was open to less objection than that of the Secretariat, he must also consider that that budget was closer to reality. Moreover, the officials were not asked to bring their expenditure into line with the budgetary estimates; on the contrary, it was hoped that they would find means of economising on the estimates. Had not a budget been voted for the Secretariat at a figure exceeding by three millions the expenditure effected in 1932?

M. VALDÉS-MENDEVILLE (Chile), in the name of his Cuban colleague and on his own behalf, thanked the Director of the International Labour Office for having received so favourably the request of the representatives of Latin America.

The DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE said that he had no desire to raise the difficult question of the relationship between the Governing Body and the Supervisory Commission. Whatever the constitutional theory might be, the practice was excellent. At the same time, he was, in fact, under an obligation to the Governing Body not to fill the ten vacancies without its express sanction.

52. **Detailed Examination of the Budgetary Estimates of the International Labour Organisation for the Sixteenth Financial Period (1934)¹ (document A.4(a).1933.X) : Chapter I, Sessions of the Conference and the Governing Body.**

Adopted.

53. **Chapter II, General Services of the International Labour Office.**

Items 3 to 6 were adopted.

54. **Chapter II, Item 7 : Printing.**

Mr. SHEEHAN (Australia) wondered whether the International Labour Office could not follow the example set by the Secretariat, whose Publications Committee had reduced expenditure on printing by more than the 25 per cent demanded by the Assembly. It would not lose, but rather gain, prestige by shortening its publications, some of which were too long.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) noted in reading Schedule F (page 15) that the expenditure relating to each of the publications was stated in the budget, while the corresponding receipts from sales were lumped together on page 3. It would be interesting to know how the receipts were distributed among the various publications and, in particular, which publications did not pay for themselves.

The Swiss delegate then pointed out that the expenditure for publicity amounted to 31,000 francs, which appeared to him to be rather high as compared with total receipts of only 150,000 francs.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) drew the attention of the Director of the International Labour Office to the wording of Sub-head *k* in Table F (page 15) : " Pamphlets, leaflets and circulars for propaganda ; editions *in languages other than English, French and German* ". He would like to know exactly the meaning of the words used.

The DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE said, in reply to the Australian delegation, that the Finance Committee went most carefully into the question of publications each year, and a very elaborate analysis of the cost and sales of each publication had been prepared. Every effort was made to reduce the cost. The first big effort, ten years previously, had reduced the budget estimate for publications from 627,000 francs to about 430,000 francs, at which it still remained. The demand had become greater, however, so that greater services were probably rendered for the same expenditure.

In reply to M. Rappard, he said that he had no figures with him, but would be glad to show M. Rappard the analysis to which he had already referred. Some publications more than covered their cost ; among them were the periodical publications, particularly the *Review* published in Spanish. A number of studies and reports had had to be reprinted two or three times and the cost of printing them had been more than covered.

On the other hand, official documents were almost a dead loss. They were unsaleable, and only of interest to those whose remarks were recorded in them, who received them for nothing.

As to publicity, he pointed out that it did not mean advertising, of which practically none was done, since it did not pay. The figure of 30,000 francs covered staff employed for the despatch and sale of publications.

In reply to M. Cavazzoni, the Director explained that practically all the documents were published in English and French, and as many as possible in German. Editions were also published in other languages.

Item 7 was adopted.

55. **Chapter II, Items 8 to 11.**

Adopted.

56. **Chapter II, Item 12 : Enquiries, Investigations and External Collaboration.**

Mr. SHEEHAN (Australia) asked whether a schedule could in future be given showing the details of the expenditure on enquiries, investigations and external collaboration.

The DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE replied in the affirmative.

Item 12 was adopted.

57. **Chapter II, Item 13 : Commissions.**

Adopted.

¹ The budget is published also in the October number (Part II) of the *Official Journal*.

58. Chapter II, Item 14 : Branch Offices.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) noted (see Schedule J, page 17) that the credits relating to the offices in Paris, Rome and Washington had been decreased as compared with the expenditure in 1932, while those relating to the offices in London, Tokio and Delhi had been increased. He would like to know the reason for this difference in treatment.

The DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE explained that, when the estimates for the London, Tokio and Delhi offices were prepared, it was not considered that it would be wise to foresee that in 1934 the saving resulting from the profits on exchange would be as considerable as in 1932.

Mr. SHEEHAN (Australia) asked whether there was any hope of a reduction in expenditure on the branch offices, as in the case of the Secretariat branch offices, and why they were necessary.

The DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE explained that propaganda, relations with the Press, etc., formed only a very subsidiary part of the activities of the branch offices of the International Labour Office. Their chief duties were, first, to provide information as to the social and industrial conditions of the country in which they were situated. For that it was essential to have a representative on the spot; for instance, it would have been quite impossible to follow the American experiment, which was of primary importance to the whole of the industrial world, without an official in Washington.

Their second duty was to answer enquiries, many of those received in Geneva being short-circuited through the branch offices. The International Labour Office had to deal, not only with Governments, which were usually well informed and had their own sources of information, but also with employers' and workers' organisations, which were not so well placed. After discussing a memorandum on the subject, which Mr. Sheehan could see if he desired, the Supervisory Commission had agreed that the branch offices could only be abolished if the Geneva staff were increased. That would be less effective, however, and hardly less expensive.

At the same time, he was anxious to reduce expenditure as far as possible without affecting efficiency. Some reduction had already been made in the 1934 estimates. If an arrangement could be reached with the Secretariat for sharing premises, etc., it might be possible to effect considerable economies in future.

Mr. ROWE-DUTTON (United Kingdom) enquired whether the Committee was being asked to authorise expenditure in French francs, pounds, and so on, or in Swiss francs.

The DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE explained that it was asked to approve a credit of 662,000 Swiss francs, and in doing so to provide for the expenditure of the sums indicated in each of the different currencies — that was to say, if the Office gained on the exchange, it would not be entitled to increase the allowance to the branch offices.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) was afraid that the reply given by the Director of the International Labour Office to M. Cavazzoni had not entirely cleared up the point, and that, if the difference in treatment referred to by M. Cavazzoni could only be explained by exchange considerations, it should be concluded that Mr. Butler was expecting a drop in the lira, the French franc and the dollar at rates which were hardly probable. Moreover, in examining Schedule J, it was observed that the various currencies had been converted at their nominal value and that a sum corresponding to a depreciation of certain currencies as compared with par had been deducted from the total.

The DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE said that expenditure had already been reduced at the London, Rome and Berlin offices. He understood M. Cavazzoni to ask why there was such a large discrepancy between actual expenditure in 1932 and estimates for 1933. The explanation was that there had been considerable profit owing to the United Kingdom having gone off the gold standard. He could not anticipate a similar profit in 1934, however, but there was a slight reduction in order to allow for the low value of the pound sterling.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, would not like any misunderstanding to arise with regard to the branch offices. When the Supervisory Commission had examined this question, it had first thought that efforts should be made to abolish the branch offices; but it subsequently found that this solution would not necessarily be the best one. At the present moment, it had no definite opinion on this subject, and the question remained pending, as would be seen by reading the relevant passage in paragraph 25 of the Commission's report on the budget (Annex 4).

Item 14 was adopted.

59. **Chapter III, Profit and Loss on Exchange.**

Adopted.

60. **Chapter IV, Permanent Equipment, etc.**

Adopted.

61. **Chapter V, Unforeseen Expenditure of Chapters I-IV.**

Adopted.

62. **Chapter VI, Contribution to the International Management Institute.**

Mr. KNOWLES (New Zealand) asked whether the contribution to the International Management Institute was in respect of assistance received in connection with the rationalisation of the International Labour Office, or was a general contribution.

The DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL OFFICE explained that the item had appeared in the budget for some years. It arose out of an agreement between the Office, an American foundation — the Twentieth Century Fund — and the International Management Association, a European body interested in problems of management in Europe, for the constitution of an institute to study the various aspects of "rationalisation". The Governing Body had expressed some doubts, in voting the item, as to whether it received full value for the money. Some considered that too much attention was paid to the purely technical aspects of rationalisation and not enough to the more social aspects in which the Office was interested. After a long discussion, the credit was adopted, though not until three separate votes had been taken. The estimate had been reduced to some extent, and it had been decided to reconsider the whole matter at the October session of the Governing Body, to which a report had just been circulated.

As a result of difficulties that had arisen owing to the devaluation of the dollar, which meant a considerable reduction in the value of the American contribution, Mr. Butler had been entrusted with negotiations between the three founder members to see whether and in what conditions the work could be carried on in future.

M. CAVAZZONI (Italy) proposed to leave it to the Director of the International Labour Office, who would no doubt find the best settlement as regards the International Management Institute. He would, however, state that he thought this institute was capable of rendering very great services, especially at the time when the crisis came to an end. Moreover, the value of the advice given by Mr. Urwick on the rationalisation of the services of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office was well known. Since a budgetary question had arisen, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office would have to take a decision itself, but M. Cavazzoni expressed the desire that the International Management Institute should, as far as possible, be kept in existence.

Chapter VI was adopted.

63. **Deduct : Appropriations in Aid.**

Adopted.

The Budgetary Estimates of the International Labour Organisation were adopted, together with the paragraphs of the various reports of the Supervisory Commission relating thereto.

64. **Examination of the Budgetary Estimates of the Permanent Court of International Justice for the Sixteenth Financial Period (1934) (document A.4(b).1933.X).¹**

M. HAMMARSKJÖLD, Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice, said that, as last year, the Assembly had before it a draft A and a draft B of the Court's budget. He recalled in this connection that the Statute of the Court adopted in 1920 and put into force in 1921 had undergone, in 1929, an examination demanded by certain Governments with a view to a possible revision. This examination had led, at the 1929 Assembly, to the adoption of amendments which were attached to a protocol requiring the ratification of a large number of States before it could enter into force. As it had not been possible to obtain those ratifications in time for the 1930 Assembly to proceed to the election of the judges who were to serve from 1931 to 1939, that Assembly had adopted, on the Council's proposal, a series of resolutions modifying — in so far as it was possible to do so constitutionally — the regime applicable to the Court in virtue of the amendments of 1922. Consequently, pending the ratification of the 1929 Protocol, the Court was living under a somewhat irregular regime. This situation had been rather severely criticised at the 1931 and 1932 Assemblies, which had adopted resolutions aimed at hastening the entry into force of the 1929 Protocol in order to place the Court finally on the basis of the revised Statute.

At the present time, only four of the necessary ratifications were still lacking, those of Abyssinia, Brazil, Panama and Peru. In the case of three of these States, the procedure of

¹ The budget is published also in the October number (Part II) of the *Official Journal*.

ratification seemed to be far advanced ; and, as regards the fourth, Panama, she had officially stated that she saw no objection to the revised Statute being put into force. There was also reason to anticipate that the Government of one of the other three States would make a similar declaration. In these circumstances, it might be anticipated that the revised Statute would enter into force in the near future and at any rate in the course of the next year.

The readjustment, however, in certain respects of the forms of the Court's activities which would result from the revised Statute would render inevitable a parallel readjustment of the budget. Since, in accordance with the Financial Regulations of the League of Nations, transfers could not be made from one chapter to another of the budget, it was impossible to effect the proposed re-organisation in the course of the financial period without obtaining a special authorisation from the Assembly.

Budget A was that based on the present constitutional situation, and it was for this budget that the Assembly's approval was requested. Budget B was based on the revised Statute, of which it constituted the financial expression. The Assembly was asked to authorise, should need arise and as an exceptional measure, transfers from one chapter of budget A to another, to the extent indicated in budget B — that was to say, to the extent necessary to permit of the application of the revised Statute immediately after its entry into force. M. Hammarskjöld added that, in the two previous years, the Assembly had consented to adopt the procedure which he suggested it should again authorise.

He then explained that the budget of the Court for 1934 was approximately equal to the amount of the Court's expenses in 1932. M. Hammarskjöld did not wish to take any credit for this circumstance, for he was well aware that the Court — like the International Labour Office, according to the remarks of the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission — owing to its special nature and the type of work it did, had only a comparatively small margin of credits. This was a point which deserved explanation. It might, in fact, be asked whether the fact that the Court was able to reduce its budget for 1934 to the total expenditure effected by it in 1932, despite the obligation under which it was placed of asking for funds in order to work at full pressure and throughout the year, did not indicate that, for the previous financial periods, there had been over-budgeting.

This was not, however, the case. The reduction in question was due to quite exceptional measures. One post had been abolished, 50 per cent of the pensions due in 1934 would be paid out of the accumulated fund — *i.e.*, out of capital — and the credits formerly provided for assessors and the credits for unforeseen expenditure had been practically transformed into entries *ad memoriam*.

These two latter credits were those which in the past had permitted the budget of the Court to retain a certain elasticity. Their abolition made its budget extremely rigid and imposed very strict limits upon it. It had, indeed, been expressly recognised by the Supervisory Commission in its report that the draft budget of the Court was lacking in elasticity.

M. Hammarskjöld could assure the Fourth Committee that it was not without hesitation that he had proposed the reductions which had led to this result. If he had decided to do so, it was on account of the assurances given by the Supervisory Commission, and recorded in its Minutes, that the Court, despite the sacrifices it had agreed to, need not entertain any apprehensions as to its future financial situation.

The Budgetary Estimates of the Court were adopted, chapter by chapter, and the Registrar was authorised to make the necessary transfers to put budget B into force instead of budget A, if need arose.

**65. Examination of the Budgetary Estimates of the Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League of Nations for the Sixteenth Financial Period (1934) (continuation) :
Part IV : Nansen International Office for Refugees.**

M. WERNER, President of the Nansen International Office for Refugees, said that, in its budget for 1934, the Office had kept strictly to the figure laid down in the plan of liquidation. The League's contribution had been entered at a figure of 300,000 francs. The total estimates of revenue amounted, for 1934, to only 322,000 francs, against 371,320 francs in 1933. This reduction was due, on the one hand, to the diminution provided for in the plan of liquidation and, on the other, to the diminution of receipts derived from other sources. From the financial point of view, the situation of the Nansen International Office was, therefore, far from brilliant.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, requested the Fourth Committee to refer to paragraphs 56 and 57 of the Supervisory Commission's report of May 1933 (Annex 4), which stated that :

“ Having learnt of the League's financial situation, which had compelled the Commission to adopt a drastic attitude this year, the President of the Governing Body, while declaring himself ready to accept any reasonable reduction imposed by the Commission, considered that he could not take the responsibility of suggesting a substantial reduction, because the budget was based on the general lines of the plan drawn up by his predecessor and submitted to the Assembly.

“ Both on account of the Assembly's decision of principle fixing the contribution for 1933 at 300,000 francs and on account of the new situation arising from the general crisis, and particularly the inadequacy of the contributions received, the Commission decided to request the Assembly to give a decision on the general question and on the figure to

be entered in the budget for 1934 in respect of the League's contribution to the Nansen International Office for Refugees."

The Supervisory Commission had therefore not felt called upon to pronounce upon the budget of the Nansen International Office, which it was not qualified to examine. It was the duty of the Assembly, however, to take a decision with full knowledge of the facts.

The lump sum grant from the League of Nations amounting to 300,000 francs was adopted.

TWELFTH MEETING

Held on Monday, October 9th, 1933, at 10.15 a.m.

Chairman: M. FORTICH (Yugoslavia).

66. Report of the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears (Appendix to Annex 6).

M. CASTILLO NAJERA (Mexico), Chairman and Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee, presented his report.

He added that the Colombian delegate had informed him that his Government had given instructions for the immediate payment to the Secretariat of a sum of 34,000 dollars. The Colombian delegate hoped that this payment would reach the Secretariat that day.

M. HJELT (Finland) noted with satisfaction that the Sub-Committee had shown great comprehension in the fulfilment of its task.

He did not intend to offer any criticisms. There was, however, among the Sub-Committee's recommendations one which he thought might advantageously be strengthened, that in which the Sub-Committee recommended that States Members should regularly include in their budgets a sum corresponding to their contribution to the League. He did not propose to examine at the present stage the technical problem of the framing of budgets. That varied considerably in the different countries. He merely wanted to reinforce the recommendation he had mentioned in all cases where necessary. Without wishing to detract from the Assembly's authority, he did not think that a simple recommendation of the kind proposed would have all the desired effect.

For these reasons, he thought it would perhaps be useful to request the Secretary-General to send the Governments a letter, reminding them of the sums due to the League, at the time when the States Members who had not discharged their financial liabilities to the League during the previous years were preparing their budgets for the next financial period. He purposely omitted any reference to the current year, because it often happened that States paid their contributions in several instalments, the last of which might arrive at the end of the year. The Secretary-General's letter, which might be published and might even appear in the Press if the Assembly considered that desirable, would, of course, recommend that the Governments in question should, so far as possible, include in their next budget the sums due to the League.

This procedure would have two advantages. In the first place, it would exercise moral pressure on the defaulting States. A Government receiving a letter of that kind would be obliged to reply to it, and the reply also could be published in the Press. The Government would, however, of course, be entirely free to answer in such terms as it thought fit and in that way its dignity would be fully safeguarded. Moreover, the Government in question, when submitting its budget to the national legislative power, would enjoy valuable moral backing *vis-à-vis* objectors to the credit in question.

M. Hjelt was not moving any definite recommendation. He was merely submitting a suggestion to the Fourth Committee. He was, of course, aware that the Secretary-General fairly frequently sent reminders to countries which had not paid their contributions, but the method he had proposed might render those representations more effective.

In conclusion, M. Hjelt was not in any way opposing any other measures that might be proposed to the Committee. He had simply put forward a suggestion which was not, strictly speaking, of a punitive character, and was not in the nature of a reprisal.

Sir Hormusji MEHTA (India), after summarising the work and conclusions of the Sub-Committee, drew attention to the statement that there were three States which had paid next to nothing of their contributions. The members of the Sub-Committee had been unanimous on all points with the exception of his own suggestions included in Part II of the report of the Sub-Committee. He hoped that the Rapporteur would bring these suggestions to the notice of the Assembly.

M. BIRKELAND (Norway) expressed his satisfaction that the subject of contributions in arrears was being discussed in public. He observed that the Sub-Committee's report was marked confidential and suggested that its publication would have the effect of bringing more

pressure to bear on the defaulting States and might also be some consolation to States which did pay their contributions. Many members of the Fourth Committee would sympathise with the drastic proposals of the delegate of India. If those proposals could not be adopted, it should at least be possible to make public all documents and discussions concerning contributions in arrears.

Mr. BRUCE (Australia) thought it impossible to over-emphasise the importance of the whole question. He welcomed the very full examination made by the Sub-Committee and the latter's report. He was in favour of the suggestion for giving full publicity to the relevant documents and debates. From the point of view of the defaulting countries, that might have considerable effect towards stimulating a sense of their obligation to the League. From the point of view of the countries which were meeting that obligation, it was desirable that the exact position should be understood and the publication of the report and of the discussion would remove the feeling that there was something mysterious going on with regard to the unpaid contributions. If the Sub-Committee's report could not be annexed to the Rapporteur's report to the Assembly he would ask that, in any case, the Rapporteur's report should contain a full reference to the Sub-Committee's work and proposals, and the point should be stressed that, unless the whole position were cleared up, it would be necessary to take drastic steps. The most significant statement in the Sub-Committee's report was that reading :

"... The Sub-Committee expresses the fervent hope that the States in question will render any further measures of a general character unnecessary by their efforts towards the liquidation of arrears during the coming year."

This question of contributions in arrears might well be the rock on which the ship of the League would be wrecked. It was terrible to contemplate the disappearance of so great an ideal for a reason of that kind, but the full gravity of the position must be realised.

With regard to specific remedies, while he sympathised with the proposals of the delegate of India, he thought it hardly possible to lay down definite rules of the kind suggested and, further, the proposals themselves might be found to be constitutionally impossible. Nevertheless, Mr. Bruce would say that, were his country to fail to meet its obligations to the League, he would feel himself precluded from expressing any opinion on the budget or taking any position of honour in the Assembly or its Committees. In order, however, to preserve good feeling among the delegates to the League and the countries they represented, it would not, he thought, be wise to go so far as Sir Hormusji Mehta suggested.

He would urge that the question should be regarded on these lines. The undertaking to pay contributions was a solemn obligation. If the League was to attain anything like the ideal set before it, nothing must be allowed to arrest the fulfilment of that obligation. The financial obligations to the League should come almost before any other obligation. The question was much more important than was perhaps realised by some, because those who paid were beginning to feel that they could not continue to bear the whole burden, and any weakening in the discharge of their obligations towards the League on the part of certain countries might entail a weakening on the part of others. In that way, the whole foundation of the League would disappear.

M. BOHEMAN (Sweden) supported the Australian delegate's remarks, which were conspicuous for their dignity and precision. The Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears had given very close attention to the problem, the seriousness of which was manifest. The Sub-Committee had been happy to record this year effective and sincere co-operation on the part of many States whose contributions had not been paid punctually.

He desired merely to emphasise certain points in the report.

All the members of the Sub-Committee had expressed the feeling that, in face of the present crisis, it was not expedient to look for a general solution of the question of contributions in arrears. It had been thought that the Sub-Committee should concentrate on the question of the way in which more regular payment of current contributions could be ensured. That was the consideration by which the Secretary-General and the Supervisory Commission had been guided in the proposals they submitted as to the precise measures to be taken for this purpose.

During the debate in the Sub-Committee, the delegate of India had put forward certain proposals. M. Boheman had expressed his sympathy with the idea on which they were based. He could not, however, agree with them in the hard and fast form in which they had been drafted, for two reasons. The first proposal was for discrimination in the appointment of officials, based on the punctuality with which States discharged their financial obligations to the League. Sweden had always upheld the principle that the staff should be international in character. As long as a country was a Member of the League, its nationals could not be excluded from competitive examinations for appointments in the Secretariat. In any case, it was neither possible nor expedient to introduce discrimination in regard to appointments.

The second proposal suggested that defaulting States should no longer be elected to posts of honour in the Assembly, the Council or the major committees. In M. Boheman's

opinion, it was impossible to introduce a hard and fast rule on this subject. Nevertheless, the principle laid down might perhaps be applied as a measure of common policy in the League.

In conclusion, it would, in M. Boheman's opinion, be desirable that the report by the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears should, in one form or another, be submitted to the Assembly in such a way as to place the Assembly in possession of as full particulars as possible. To do so would not wound any country's susceptibilities and the position would be perfectly clear.

M. BIANCHI (Italy) said that, even in the eyes of those who viewed it with the utmost calmness, the situation could not fail to awaken serious misgivings as to the methods for ensuring the smooth working of the League organisations. There was no need to add anything at all to what had already been said on many occasions in the Fourth Committee as to the gravity of the League's situation. It was also useless to recall the situation to the attention of the countries which had not fulfilled the financial obligations they had assumed as Members of the League.

The time was past for recommendations. He could not over-emphasise the necessity of regarding the duty of all States to pay their contributions as one of the fundamental obligations entailed by membership of the League — an obligation that was fundamental, not merely morally, but legally as well. No one would contest that there was a contractual obligation. Nevertheless, there were certain difficulties as to sanctions. The standing orders of international associations practically never provided for any special sanction for non-payment of contributions, and that was only natural, since it was hardly possible to assume that a State would fail to discharge that obligation.

The founders of the League, who were also signatories of the Peace Treaty, had probably not devoted any thought to the subject, otherwise they would have made provision for a special sanction in place of the general sanction embodied in an article containing other provisions. A special sanction would have fixed a time-limit or waiting period for the receipt of contributions.

The problem of contributions in arrears was becoming older year by year, but unhappily it was becoming more serious as well. Everyone was familiar with the painful story. On December 17th, 1920 — that was to say, at the very beginning of the League — the Assembly had decided that the Committee on Amendments to the Covenant, which was to be appointed by the Council, "should also consider what steps should be taken with reference to States which have not paid their quotas within a specified period".

On April 6th, 1921, a sub-committee consisting of such distinguished lawyers as M. Fromageot, Sir Cecil Hurst, M. Zahle, M. Restrepo and M. Hatoyama had come to the following conclusion :

"In the opinion of the Sub-Committee, it can be maintained that the failure to pay contributions falls within the application of the last paragraph of Article 16 of the Covenant . . . It would seem, however, preferable, at least at the present time, not to apply to such cases the provisions of this paragraph."

The Sub-Committee had contemplated three other measures, which might be summed up as follows :

- (1) Interest on overdue contributions ;
- (2) Publication of the names of defaulting Members ;
- (3) Withdrawal of certain rights.

These measures, it was suggested, might take the form, not of an amendment to the Covenant, but of a simple resolution by the Assembly. The Committee on Amendments to the Covenant had then recommended that the Assembly should pass a resolution for the first two measures mentioned, omitting the third.

On March 9th, 1927, the Council had, at a private meeting, adopted a report by M. Titulesco, in which the latter stated :

"I have considered the Secretary-General's memorandum, and my opinion is that the obligation to pay contributions falls under the sanction contained in Article 16 of the Covenant."

The report, however, added :

"The failure in payment would have to be accompanied by circumstances of fact of a character to show the intention not to carry out the obligations arising from the Covenant."

The contributions in arrears had swollen by 1930, but the Fourth Committee, in unanimously approving the report by the competent Sub-Committee, had confined itself to taking note in its resolution of the measures adopted by the Secretary-General for recovering arrears. In 1932, the Fourth Committee had voted a resolution in almost identical terms to that of 1930.

The resolution submitted by the present Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears was on the same lines as the previous resolutions, and M. Bianchi thought it acceptable for the time being, although it did not propose any sanction. From the formal point of view, the last paragraph in Article 16 of the Covenant was probably applicable, but no Member of the League dreamt of asking for its application.

From the point of view of substance, the delegates of the defaulting States had been good enough to intimate that their Governments would discharge their obligations as speedily

as possible, or at any rate when they had the means to do so. Such promises had frequently been made in the past, but they had not always been carried out. Nevertheless, a promise was a declaration of good intentions.

The representatives of the defaulting States continued to take part in meetings and to work in the committees. Could it be said, could it even be thought, that, as the Council had envisaged the matter on March 9th, 1927, "failure in payment would have to be accompanied by circumstances of fact of a character to show the intention not to carry out the obligations arising from the Covenant"? There was every reason to suppose that the States in question had no intention of that nature. As against that, the Fourth Committee would be entitled to complain of the lack of zeal shown by the defaulting States, and, if those States' quotas were considered, it would be seen that they were so small in comparison with their budget receipts that even friendship would have difficulty in discovering an argument justifying the default. The Italian delegate hoped, and was even convinced, that these States would pay their full contribution this year.

It would be possible to make arrangements for arrears prior to 1932, but M. Bianchi did not think that an arrangement could be made with a defaulting State if the latter had not discharged its debt for the current year. That was the only sanction he proposed.

Some States had objected that their quota under the allocation scale was too high. The Fourth Committee, by reducing — and this was the sole reduction in the draft budget — the credit for the Committee on the Allocation of Expenditure, had decided that it would be premature to undertake any revision of the scale owing to the existing exchange instability, which precluded all work on the basis of long-term assumptions. That would be like the labour of Sisyphus.

The Fourth Committee, although alarmed by the phantom of over-budgeting, had made no comment on the estimated expenditure, which largely exceeded the actual expenditure in 1932, for liaison with Latin America and China. For liaison, however, if he might so express himself, there must be two parties, and each must express in the facts the same sentiment and discharge the same duty.

If the Fourth Committee's hopes were disappointed again this year, what would there be left to do? It would have finally, in 1934, to decide to adopt the drastic measures proposed by the 1921 Sub-Committee. That suggestion applied, of course, to the future only. The amendments to the Covenant could not be retrospective in effect. Nevertheless, these measures placed all countries on a footing of equality and could only be interpreted as a rule applicable equally and in the same manner to all States Members.

In conclusion, M. Bianchi also supported the two proposals made during the discussion for the publication of the reports and records of the meetings on this subject.

Mr. ROWE-DUTTON (United Kingdom) expressed his delegation's appreciation of the report which, in spite of certain tactful omissions, was a document that represented a nearer approach to reality than in past years, and could, therefore, be discussed seriously and in public. He regretted M. Réveillaud's absence, as he would have liked to have heard his opinion as to what course might be taken by the Allocation Committee with reference to the views exposed by the Sub-Committee in Part I of its report,¹ which perhaps gave an undue emphasis. He pointed out that the economic crisis bore as heavily on States that paid their contributions as on those that did not.

He was grateful to the delegate of India for bringing his suggestions to the Committee's attention. It would perhaps be difficult to express those suggestions in a rigid form, and Mr. Rowe-Dutton agreed, therefore, with the Australian delegate that they should be regarded rather as a step towards the building up of a tradition.

The report cleared the air and was a constructive document on which it was to be hoped that the States concerned would act. The point to be aimed at was that States should recognise their obligations to one another in this as in all other matters.

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) associated himself with the Australian delegate's remarks. He thanked the delegate of India for his persistence in bringing this matter before the attention of the Assembly. The Sub-Committee had made a great advance and had put the position clearly. The League could only frown, it could not use its fists against defaulting States. What aggravated the heinousness of the offence was the fact recorded in the report that all the defaulting States could have paid at least part of their contributions.

The report expressed "the fervent hope that the States in question will render any further measures of a general character unnecessary". He would ask the Chairman what was meant by "further" measures. What measures had so far been taken in this matter?

Failure to pay contributions was a danger that threatened little by little to undermine the whole structure of the League until it collapsed.

In conclusion, he would suggest that, if there were no improvement next year, some delegates might find it necessary to ask for the constitutional position to be referred to the First Committee for consideration and report. In this connection, he had listened with great interest to the Italian delegate's remarks; but he feared that Article 21 of the Financial Regulations was not sufficient. Though there might have been a breach of contract, jurists would have difficulty in finding a breach of the Covenant on the part of the defaulting States. The Rapporteur should be asked to make a full statement to the Assembly on the proceedings in both the Sub-Committee and the Fourth Committee. The only way to make the League

¹ See page 149.

stronger was to tell the world the whole truth, and the publication of the statement contained in the Sub-Committee's report that there was not one of the defaulting States which could not have paid at least part of its contributions would, he believed, suffice to bring a blush of shame to the cheeks of their delegates.

Mme. KLUYVER (Netherlands) fully concurred in M. Boheman's views. She would confine herself to adding one observation. A good deal of emphasis had been placed on the need to submit a full report on contributions in arrears to the Assembly, and it had been allowed to be understood that this new method would constitute a radical change. But Mme. Kluyster pointed out that, for some years, two documents had been submitted to the Assembly showing the financial situation on August 31st and, if necessary, at the beginning of the Assembly. These documents contained full details of contributions paid and unpaid. Consequently, the presentation of a fuller report to the Assembly on contributions in arrears was simply a change in procedure.

M. VALDÉS-MENDEVILLE (Chile) had no objection whatever to public discussions and reports on the question. He would even have preferred the whole of the report of the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears to be transmitted to the Assembly. Indeed, that report contained various considerations and very important annexes — in particular, Annex 2 — which threw full light on the question. It was precisely because of the possibility of publicity that the Chilean delegate felt that the debtor States of the League should speak also before the Fourth Committee.

M. Valdés-Mendeville was under the impression that the Indian delegate's proposals mainly concerned the Latin-American States. He would reply to the delegate of India that, in so far as his proposals relating to personnel were concerned, it was impossible to discriminate if international recruitment were to be maintained. As to election to honorary posts, the Chilean delegate desired to point out that the Assembly had complied with the Indian delegate's suggestion in practice that year, no representative of a defaulting State having been elected, with the exception of Argentine, which was in such a special situation that he was astonished to see the name of that country included in a report on contributions in arrears.

To explain the position of the defaulting States, M. Valdés-Mendeville pointed out that, last year, great hopes had been placed on the Monetary and Economic Conference, and, in his speech before the plenary Assembly, he had himself drawn attention to the satisfactory financial results which that conference might have in connection with the abolition of prohibitions and restrictions on the importation of raw materials. At the present time, he did not desire to draw too much attention to the results of the Conference in this connection, with which everyone was familiar. It was none the less true that the economic and financial systems of the various States, and particularly those of Latin America, were absolutely out of gear. It must be realised, indeed, that the products of the soil were the only currency of exchange of the Latin-American countries. They were not allowed to sell those products, and a country like Chile was therefore unable to meet its obligations. The shortage of exchange gave rise to insurmountable difficulties of transfer. It would have been useless to carry out its obligations in the national currency, because the sums thus paid would have had to remain tied up in the banks.

M. Valdés-Mendeville concluded by supporting the Australian delegate's proposal that the report of the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears, including the annexes, should be given adequate publicity.

M. Lo (China) said that he had explained to the Sub-Committee China's difficulties in regard to payment of her contributions. They included foreign aggression, floods, the world economic depression, an unprecedented adverse balance of trade, etc. He had also informed the Sub-Committee that China had paid sums of one and a-quarter million Swiss francs this year, last year and the year before, and that he hoped that the same would be the case in future years. China's consolidated arrears had been fully met in accordance with the arrangement made three years ago. As to her current contributions, when the arrangement had been made for consolidated arrears, it had been fully realised that the aggregate amount of China's current contributions and her payments under consolidated arrears would have meant a very large annual payment which it would be quite impossible for her to meet in the present circumstances. The Chinese Government had been given to understand that, if they paid half their current contributions, China's position *vis-à-vis* the League would be considered satisfactory. Fearing that this procedure might still put China technically in arrears with her current contribution, M. Lo had indicated last year that he would have to ask for a revision of China's quota. As, however, that matter was postponed to next year, he would reserve his right to bring it up then.

He had no objection to the publication of the Sub-Committee's report, but if that were done he would like to have his remarks published as well.

Other delegates had pointed out the constitutional and other obstacles to the suggestions of the delegate of India. The Committee would gather from what M. Lo had said that, if China were regarded as in arrears at all with her current contributions, she was only in arrears from the technical point of view. It must be remembered that some of the countries paying the largest contributions might be said to recover part in the form of salaries paid

to their nationals who were members of the Secretariat. As the proposals of the delegate of India seemed to tie together the question of the amount of contribution and number of appointments, M. Lo wished to say that that was a point upon which there was some feeling in China. Except technically, China was not in arrears, but in the matter of appointments the League was considerably in arrears *vis-à-vis* China. The Chinese delegate therefore could only accept proposals such as those of the delegate of India on the understanding that there should be some correspondence between the amount of a country's contributions and the number of its appointments in the Secretariat.

M. CIUNTU (Roumania) had no intention of reverting to the contractual nature of the financial obligations of the States Members towards the League. In his opinion, to refuse the League the means of existence was to show little devotion to it. He would confine himself to observing, with regard to the report of the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears, that the contents of the report itself did not appear to be altogether consistent with the draft resolution with which it concluded. He thought that, in accordance with the feeling expressed during the Sub-Committee's discussions, it should be specifically stated in the draft resolution that, if the defaulting States once again disappointed the hopes placed in them that year, the Assembly would without delay take general measures of a more effective character.

Sir Hormusji MEHTA (India) thanked those speakers who had sympathised with his suggestions, which, if not strictly constitutional, might perhaps be given effect to in other ways. He wished to make it plain that he had not presented his proposals as laying down a hard-and-fast rule. If that had been his intention, he would have prepared a minority report and drafted his proposals in the form of a resolution.

In answer to the Chinese delegate's remarks, he would point out that India had been paying her contributions in full year after year, but that there were no Indian appointments of high rank in the Secretariat. Nor did India recover very much from the League in other ways, but she still felt it an honour to pay her contributions.

He therefore hoped that his suggestions would be taken as having been made solely in the interests of the League, because, if the League did not receive the contributions it had a right to expect, it would sooner or later get into difficulties.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL pointed out that, according to the last paragraph of the draft resolution submitted to the Fourth Committee, the Secretary-General was requested "to continue his efforts for the recovery of arrears and to report to the Assembly at its next ordinary session". A similar passage had appeared in previous resolutions. At the same time, after the discussion that had taken place that year, the Secretary-General would be better armed when bringing persuasion to bear on the various States in fulfilment of his mission. The discussion had brought to light the effects of default by certain States on the others. The observations exchanged and the explanations given by certain delegates before both the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears and the Fourth Committee showed that all the delegates recognised the strict nature of the obligation to contribute imposed by the Covenant.

The Secretary-General desired to deal also with certain points of detail. He believed he was authorised to graduate the pressure brought to bear on the different States according to whether arrears or current contributions were concerned. The greatest effort should be made to collect current contributions, for that was the question which most seriously affected the League's financial situation. That was why the Secretary-General had submitted proposals to the Supervisory Commission on the method of collecting contributions. It was not desirable to keep strictly to the legal aspect; certain facilities for payment must also be offered. The depression had upset the arrangements hitherto in force. An attempt would be made to offer facilities which would enable the various States to resume payment.

The Secretary-General desired to reply to the Chinese delegate that it was not strictly true that an arrangement had been made between the Secretariat and his country by which the payment of half the regular contribution would be regarded as sufficient. It was, indeed, impossible to make such an arrangement with any State without the approval of the Assembly. China had simply been told that whatever sum she felt able to pay would be regarded as a sign of her goodwill. The figures contained in the various reports showed, moreover, how great an effort China had made.

With regard to contributions in arrears, the Secretary-General pointed out that it was essential to draw a clear distinction, which was perhaps not sufficiently marked in the documents, between consolidated arrears and arrears due. In the latter case, the whole amount was due, whereas in the case of consolidated arrears only the annuity mentioned in the act of consolidation approved by the Assembly was due. There was some objection to including figures of an entirely different character in the same total. Thus, out of a total of over 21 million francs, consolidated arrears — that was to say, arrears not immediately claimable — amounted to over 8 million francs, so that the amount of arrears actually claimable was only about 13 million francs, from which the sums due from the Argentine, whose present position was uncertain, should also be deducted. In future, the figures would be arranged more clearly.

M. Lo (China) entirely appreciated that any agreement with regard to China's contributions would have to have the Assembly's approval. What he had said, however, was that the Chinese Government had been given to understand that payment of half its current contributions would be regarded as satisfactory.

Mr. BRUCE (Australia), with reference to Mme. Kluyver's remarks concerning publicity, said that what he had had in mind was that there had never been any publicity as to the Fourth Committee's attitude to this question and as to the seriousness of the position.

The CHAIRMAN proposed that the Committee should request M. Castillo Najera to submit a report on this question to the Assembly.

This proposal was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN added that the report to the Assembly would mention all the suggestions and observations made during the discussion which had just terminated. The draft report would be submitted to the Fourth Committee on the following day.

Before passing to the other questions on the agenda, the Chairman pointed out that the Second Supplementary Report of the Supervisory Commission (Annex 7) contained under No. IV, "Collection of Contributions", proposals relating to the question of contributions in arrears. He proposed that this part of the Supervisory Commission's Supplementary Report should be examined first.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, said that, in anticipation of the adoption of the report of the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears, the Supervisory Commission had prepared the amendments it would involve in the financial regulations. Those amendments were now before the Committee.

The proposals of the Supervisory Commission relating to contributions were adopted.

67. Financial Position of the League on August 31st and September 23rd, 1933 (Annex 5).

The Committee took note of these documents.

68. New Work involving New Expenditure on the Part of the League.¹

The Committee took note of the report of the Secretary-General.

69. Reports of the Supervisory Commission (Annexes 4 and 3): Examination of those Chapters not adopted during the Examination of the Budgetary Estimates.

I. DISPOSAL OF THE BUDGET SURPLUS OF 1932 AND REPAYMENTS TO THE WORKING CAPITAL FUND.

The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee that it had not yet come to a decision on Chapter III of Annex 4: "Disposal of the budget surplus of 1932 and repayments to the Working Capital Fund".

Mr. BRUCE (Australia) said that the provision for the return to States of part of their contribution in the event of a surplus in the League's budget could hardly be said to have been carried out effectively in the past, because the surplus had been used to build up the Working Capital Fund. Without wishing to encroach upon debatable ground, it might be suggested that, recently, surpluses which should have been used for this purpose had, in fact, been used to make up for unpaid contributions.

In making this point, he wished to stress the necessity of its receiving serious consideration by the Supervisory Commission when considering the new form of the budget.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, assured the Australian delegate that the Commission would give careful consideration to his remarks. As to the utilisation of the surplus for the Working Capital Fund, that had always been done in accordance with special votes in the budget; and, if any special surplus had been used for the Building Fund, it was because the Assembly had taken certain decisions and the Supervisory Commission had had to comply with them.

Chapter III was adopted.

II. AUDITOR'S REPORT ON THE ACCOUNTS OF THE WIRELESS STATION FOR 1932 (Annex 3).

Adopted.

III. EXPENDITURE ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW BUILDINGS (Annex 3).

Adopted.

¹ Document A.22.1933.X.

70. **Second Supplementary Report of the Supervisory Commission (Annex 7).**

I. APPROPRIATION FOR THE MONETARY AND ECONOMIC CONFERENCE IN THE 1934 BUDGET.

M. OSUSKY, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, recalled that a request by the Second Committee for the inclusion in the 1934 budget of an appropriation of 336,000 francs for a second session of the Monetary and Economic Conference had been referred to the Fourth Committee. The Supervisory Commission had considered the question. In the previous year, an appropriation for the first session of the Conference had been included in the budget, and it had been agreed with the United Kingdom Government that the latter should undertake part of the expense entailed by the Conference, since it had been decided that it should meet in London. The Supervisory Commission had endeavoured, but without success so far as the British participation was concerned, to ascertain the amount of the expenditure effected during that first session. With regard to the session contemplated for 1934, it was not known whether it would take place in London, Geneva or elsewhere, how long it was likely to last, or whether the Conference would hold plenary meetings or divide up into sub-committees. In these circumstances, the Supervisory Commission, in the absence of any basis for calculating this appropriation with any degree of accuracy, had had no alternative but to propose that the same figure as for last year should be included in the budget.

Mr. ROWE-DUTTON (United Kingdom) regretted that he was not in a position to reply to the questions asked in the Supervisory Commission's report. He could not make a definite statement without reference to the United Kingdom Prime Minister, who was also President of the Conference. He, therefore, could only speak on the same footing as other delegates, and considered that the Committee should follow the suggestions of the Supervisory Commission.

Chapter I of Annex 7 was adopted; the credit voted for the Conference (Item 19 c) amounts therefore to 436,000 francs.

II. ARTICLE 25: INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

Mr. BRUCE (Australia) offered his apologies for the fact that the Australian delegate had not been present in the Sixth Committee at the time of the adoption of the proposal for the restoration of the appropriation of 10,000 francs for the Committee on Arts and Letters. He regretted to have to state that the Australian delegation's attitude to this vote was that it would be an almost fatal blunder on the part of the present Assembly to approve it. He implied no criticism of the value of the work which might be performed if the vote were allowed or of the size of the grant, which was infinitesimal. To pass a credit of this nature in the present circumstances, especially when the Supervisory Commission had reported that the position might make it necessary to revise the whole of the League's activities in order to bring them into line with its financial situation, would place an invaluable argument in the hands of the League's detractors. Mr. Bruce felt so strongly on this point that, even if he were alone, he would have to ask for a vote to be taken and would vote against the appropriation.

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland) pointed out that, in Schedule R on page 34 of the budget for the special organisations of the League, there was provided for "Plenary sessions (including travelling expenses and subsistence allowances), Executive Committee and Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters", an appropriation of 65,000 francs — that was to say, approximately 18,000 francs more than had been actually spent in 1932. He asked whether the purpose of the appropriation of 10,000 francs, the restoration of which had been requested for the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters, was to enable that Committee to expand its work or simply to carry on its activities.

M. OSUSKY, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, replied that the expenditure for the Committee on Arts and Letters had been cut out of the estimates, but the name of the Committee had not been deleted from the text of the relevant item of the budget. The appropriation of 65,000 francs entered under that item did not therefore include any sum for the committee in question.

The difference between the amount of the actual expenditure for 1932 and the appropriation made for 1934 was due to the fact that all members of the commissions and committees had not been present at all the sessions.

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand) moved the deletion of paragraph 9 of the report.

M. PALACIOS (Spain) stated that the Spanish delegation strongly supported the request for the restoration of the appropriation for the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters. The suppression of that credit would, in fact, mean abolishing the Committee itself. He could not agree with Mr. Bruce's opinion, but believed that it would be very regrettable to prevent this Committee from carrying on its work, since it was essential for the League of Nations to be supported by enlightened public opinion. He therefore supported the Supervisory Commission's proposal.

Mme. KLUYVER (Netherlands) observed that there were several committees connected with the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. For the Committee on Arts and Letters,

a separate appropriation had been made, but she noted that farther on in Schedule R of the budget, under No. 6, there was an appropriation of 26,000 francs for travelling expenses. Were these expenses intended for other committees? In any case, she thought it very difficult for the Fourth Committee to express an opinion as to whether it was desirable for such and such committee to hold meetings. She would prefer a lump sum to be entered in the budget according to the procedure which had apparently been followed for travelling expenses.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, stated that the travelling expenses to which Mme. Kluyver referred only represented the expenses of the Section itself.

M. DE TESSAN (France) supported the observations of the Spanish delegate. Mr. Bruce had spoken of a tragic situation; the term seemed to him somewhat strong. On the contrary, what would be tragic would be to refuse such a small sum and thus prevent the continuation of the work of a Committee which formed a bond between the élites of the world. Moral disarmament was being widely discussed, and it was in this very sphere that the Committee on Arts and Letters was carrying out valuable and necessary work. Financial and technical considerations should be set aside and, for reasons of a higher order, an appropriation which was exceedingly useful for the work of the League should be maintained.

M. PARRA-PÉREZ (Venezuela) entirely agreed with the French delegate.

M. BIANCHI (Italy) unreservedly endorsed the observations of the delegates of Spain and France. This appropriation of 10,000 francs raised a question of principle, and, by refusing it, the Committee would be establishing the contrary principle. He was therefore in favour of the restoration of the appropriation.

M. COSTA DU RELS (Bolivia), as a member of the Committee on Arts and Letters, wished to testify personally to the importance of the work of that Committee, which was seeking a form in which new spiritual currents could be created and the ideals of the League of Nations perfected. It would be contrary to the principles upheld in Assemblies of the League to suppress an appropriation which was, moreover, exceedingly small, and he therefore approved the Supervisory Commission's proposal.

Mr. SHEEHAN (Australia) said that his delegation did not regard this appropriation as a technical financial question. It did not contest the value of the work or the amount of the sum involved. What it did question was the wisdom of increasing the finances of the League in the present circumstances for what was not an essential activity. The Australian delegation must therefore demand a vote.

The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the Australian proposal for the suppression of the appropriation for the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters proposed by the Supervisory Commission.

Five delegations voted for the Australian proposal and ten against.

The inclusion of an appropriation of 10,000 francs for the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters was approved by ten votes to five; the credit for Intellectual Co-operation, International Bureaux and miscellaneous questions (Item 25) was fixed at 259.698 francs.

THIRTEENTH MEETING

Held on Monday, October 9th, 1933, at 4.30 p.m.

Chairman: M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).

71. Report of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund (Annex 8).

M. RAPPARD, Chairman of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund, explained that nearly every official now belonged to the Fund, the number of active members being 999. As would be seen from the table in the report, nine members had retired with a pension and twenty-seven with a lump sum between January 1st, 1931, and May 27th, 1933. From the actuarial point of view, it made no difference which choice an official made, but M. Rappard regretted that retiring officials preferred the capital sum, as this practice in fact defeated the object of the fund, which was to protect retired officials from want.

The salaries of certain members of the Fund were paid in depreciated currencies, and they therefore paid their contributions in depreciated currencies. Some of these officials had, for several years, contributed on a gold basis before the currency in which their salaries were paid had fallen below gold parity. Were they to be allowed to continue to pay in gold, or were they to pay their contributions in depreciated currencies, with the result that their benefits from the Fund would be in the same currency, although they had paid part of their

contributions in gold? The Board was strongly of opinion that, during a period in which currencies were fluctuating, it would be better not to take a final decision, but to pay the benefits in depreciated currency until conditions became more stable.

The great majority of the members were paid in Swiss francs and paid their contributions in that currency. The result was that funds accumulated at the rate of about 200,000 Swiss francs a month, which had to be invested. An Investments Committee, composed of Count de Chalendar, Mr. Jamieson and M. Odier, advised the Fund on investments, and the Administrative Board owed it a great debt of gratitude. They had a particularly difficult task at the present time, for they were in fact asked to foretell the future. Should the money accumulated be left liquid? The advantage of this would be that a fall in the value of investments would occasion no loss. But then in what currency should it be left liquid? Nobody could be absolutely sure of the future of any currency, even the Swiss franc. Should shares or bonds be purchased? To purchase shares would be contrary to the established policy of the insurance companies, yet, at the present moment, great profits were sometimes made on shares and great losses were frequently made on bonds.

Above all these problems was another which the Assembly should examine with special care. Would pension benefits always be payable in Swiss francs whatever happened? If that question were settled once and for all, the problem of investment would become much simpler. The Board had always taken the view that, under the Regulations, the obligations of the Fund had to be carried out in Swiss francs, but what would happen if the Swiss franc depreciated appreciably? If there were any doubt about the currency in which benefits would be payable, it would immediately become necessary to spread the risks as much as possible, and to invest in various currencies in order to incur the minimum loss. He urged the Committee to take a definite decision on that point.

One member of the Investments Committee had suggested that each member of the Fund should be authorised to choose the currency in which his benefits should be payable. If that were done, the Fund would be in the same position as an ordinary insurance company and would invest in strict proportion to its liabilities in the various currencies chosen. The only victim of the depreciation of a currency would, in that case, be the pensioner himself, who would deliberately have chosen the currency in which he desired to be paid. That, however, would not be an ideal solution, because the Pensions Fund was intended primarily to secure the officials against poverty after years of service.

M. Rappard paid a tribute to his colleagues on the Board, to the Treasurer and to all his other collaborators for the devotion which they had shown in their difficult task.

On September 19th last, the assets of the Fund had depreciated by some 26 per cent; that was a rather high percentage, but, at the same time, very few funds had depreciated so little during the present depression. When the dollar had begun to fluctuate, the Investments Committee was asked whether all dollar investments should be sold. It had first replied in the negative. When, however, the fall had continued, the Investments Committee had met just before the Assembly, and recommended the sale of all dollar securities which were standing sufficiently high to be realised without too great a loss. Loans expressed in dollars which were part of the public debt of States Members of the League had not been sold; some of them were in gold dollars. Some countries, such as France and Switzerland, were paying the interest in gold, even though the dollar had fallen. Other States paid only in paper dollars, in accordance with the definition of the gold dollar given in recent American legislation. The Investments Committee had asked that this matter should be brought to the attention of the Assembly, and M. Rappard ventured to make a special appeal to the countries represented on the Committee with whom the Fund had loans expressed in dollars with the gold clause. Of the capital of the Pensions Fund, for example, 100,000 dollars was invested in a Swedish loan. If the service of the loan could be made in gold in future, the Fund would not sell its holding.

M. Rappard then gave a list of the other Government dollar loans. If the Governments in question could protect the Fund from the fall of the dollar by paying in gold, the Fund would be in a safer situation, and the League guarantee of its solvency would not have to be exercised.

M. Osuský, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, proposed that the Fourth Committee should pronounce without further delay on a question of great importance. In the previous year, at the suggestion of the United Kingdom delegate, the Assembly had referred to the Supervisory Commission for examination the question of officials whose pensionable emoluments were paid in depreciated currency. This question related, for example, to the officials employed at the London Office who, for years past, had been paying their contributions to the Fund in sterling, and the problem to be solved was whether their pensions were to be paid in the same currency as their contributions or in some other currency. The United Kingdom delegation had proposed that the payments in question should be made in the same currency as that in which the officials concerned were paid. The Supervisory Commission was not sure that such a solution would be just, as, prior to the depreciation of the pound sterling, the contributions made to the Fund by the officials employed at the London Office had a gold value. After careful consideration of the question, however, the Supervisory Commission had recognised that the only possible solution would be to maintain the principle that pensions were to be paid in the same currency as salaries (Annex 7). Before taking a

decision, the Commission had asked for the opinion of the Administrative Board, which had taken the view that it would be inexpedient to attempt a final settlement of the question. That view, it would be seen, had not been shared by the Supervisory Commission, which was of opinion that it would be dangerous to leave a point of such importance unsettled.

M. RAPPARD, Chairman of the Administrative Board, considered that, in view of the present instability of currencies, the Administrative Board's proposal was wiser than that of the Supervisory Commission. For the current year, moreover, the two proposals were identical. Under the first, as under the second, an official of the category concerned who left the League's service in 1934 would be entitled for that year to a pension in depreciated currency only. What would happen if the Fourth Committee were finally to approve the principle laid down by the Supervisory Commission and if, in 1934, a collapse of sterling placed it under the necessity of raising the contributions of officials at the London Office in order to bring them into proportion with the actual amount of the salaries received? It would be obliged to disavow its own previous action. Such being the case, M. Rappard would strongly deprecate a final settlement of so serious a question at a time of flux. In reality, the only difference of opinion between the Supervisory Commission and the Administrative Board related to the expediency of the measure proposed.

M. OSUSKÝ, Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, thought that the question should be considered in its practical bearings and from the point of view of expediency. As regards the practical point of view, M. Osuský drew the Fourth Committee's attention to the opinion formulated by the Investments Committee in its reply to the Administrative Board :

“ The Investments Committee observes once more that it is in practice almost impossible for it to give any advice as to the desirability of any particular investment for the Fund, and still more as to the general policy of the Pensions Fund, without being sure of the nature of the Fund's liabilities in so far as currency is concerned. . . . ”

From the practical point of view, it was therefore essential to be clear as to the currency in which the Fund's liabilities would be payable. As regards the question of expediency, the Chairman of the Administrative Board was of opinion that it would be wiser to wait, whereas the Supervisory Commission took the view that it would be preferable to settle the point immediately; that was a matter of appreciation. The Supervisory Commission was convinced that everything was to be gained by ascertaining as definitely as possible what were the League's legal obligations.

Mr. ROWE-DUTTON (United Kingdom) felt that the principle laid down by the Supervisory Commission must be accepted. That being so, the main question was whether it should be laid down once and for all — and here again he must support the Supervisory Commission, especially as the Investments Committee required a ruling in order to function properly. Clearly, from the legal and statutory point of view, pensions were payable in the same currency as salaries.

M. BIANCHI (Italy) thought the problem submitted to the Fourth Committee was extremely difficult. He wondered what would be the position of a pensioned official if the currency in which his pension was paid depreciated heavily. According to the statutes of the Pensions Fund, the ex-official should receive a percentage of his salary, which, in the circumstances, he would no longer be receiving. The problem was essentially a problem of equity. The League of Nations should see that a certain balance was observed in the matter. In every country whose currency was depreciated, pensions had been raised to compensate the fall in their purchasing power. Such a step was tantamount to suspending the application of the general principle and was really going back on a decision.

The great majority of officials members of the Pensions Fund paid their contributions in Swiss francs, which had a gold value. In their case, pensions would also be paid in Swiss francs. As regards the other officials, who were very few in number, M. Bianchi's idea would be to adopt the theory of the Chairman of the Administrative Board. If, in the present circumstances, the pound sterling fell considerably, they would suffer very great loss and the League would certainly think it its duty to assist them. On the other hand, as the currency situation was not yet stabilised, whatever decision was taken this year, it might perhaps become necessary to suspend its application at one time or another.

Mme. KLUYVER (Netherlands) remarked that, if the problem only concerned the officials in branch offices, its scope was limited and a decision on it would hardly affect the investments. In those circumstances, she would support the Administrative Board's proposal. She wondered, however, whether this proposal would not lead the Fourth Committee to express its opinion on a much wider question — namely, whether the pensions due to officials who received salaries in Swiss francs were payable only in that currency. If that was the question which the Fourth Committee had to decide, it would be better to have it studied beforehand by the Supervisory Commission and the Administrative Board.

M. RÉVEILLAUD (France) said that the Supervisory Commission thought the question should be settled this year once and for all, because it believed that in such a delicate question

it was important to fix finally the legal basis of the Pensions Fund. There could, in this case, be only one simple rule : pensions were paid in the currency in which salaries were received, and the stipulation should apply to all officials, whether they worked in Geneva, London or Tokio. To allow exceptions would mean exposing the Pensions Fund to a deadly risk. Not only would the Administrative Board and the Investments Committee no longer know how to invest the Fund's assets, but, in addition, the Fund and the League would be liable to very serious losses if the Swiss franc collapsed. To his mind, the thing to be done was to lay down rules ; as for applying them, that could be considered later.

M. PALACIOS (Spain) supported the proposal of the Chairman of the Administrative Board.

M. RAPPARD, Chairman of the Administrative Board, said he would deal separately with the two questions submitted to the Fourth Committee.

In the first place, there was the question of the fifteen officials (out of a total of 999 members of the Pensions Fund) whose salaries were paid in depreciated currency. The Supervisory Commission and the Administrative Board of the Fund were agreed that any pensions which became payable to such officials in 1934 should only be payable that year in depreciated currency.

The Chairman of the Supervisory Commission had linked this question with another and much more serious question, though, at bottom, the two were unconnected. If the Fourth Committee were to adopt the principle laid down by the Supervisory Commission and for the same reasons, both questions would in fact be settled. On this point, M. Rappard drew M. Réveillaud's attention to the fact that, if the Fourth Committee were this year to settle the point under discussion finally and, as it were, dogmatically, the very serious loss to which he had alluded would, in the contingency which he had in mind, be borne by the persons to whom pensions were paid. As far as possible, however, M. Rappard would like to shield these persons from any such danger. It was true that M. Réveillaud, no doubt with the most benevolent motives, had considered what he had described as "cases of application" ; in point of fact, however, all that the Supervisory Commission was proposing was to intimate to the Financial Adviser of the Pensions Fund that, whatever might happen, the Fund's liabilities as towards officials paid in Swiss francs were to be met in Swiss francs. But what would happen if the Swiss franc were to depreciate ? That was an unlikely contingency, but it would be unwise to rule it out entirely, and what would then become of those entitled to pensions ? Would not the Fourth Committee be better advised, instead of pronouncing immediately and once for all on a general principle, to confine itself to dealing with the case of members of the Pensions Fund in receipt of salaries in depreciated currency and to reply to the question referred to it in regard to the Fund's investment policy ?

The CHAIRMAN proposed to take a vote on the proposals submitted by the Administrative Board and the Supervisory Commission respectively regarding the position of officials whose salaries were paid in depreciated currency.

M. RÉVEILLAUD (France) asked the Chairman how exactly the vote was to be taken. M. Rappard had asked the Fourth Committee to confine itself to a decision on a specific case. In this connection, the French delegate wished to point out that the reason why the question had been referred to the Committee this year in conjunction with an opinion formulated by the Administrative Board of the Pensions Fund was that it had been raised the previous year in the Fourth Committee itself. On that occasion, the Supervisory Commission had been consulted and had proposed that the pensions of officials whose salaries were paid in depreciated currencies should be paid in a gold currency. After a speech by the United Kingdom delegate, the Fourth Committee had rejected the suggestion, and it was then that the question had again been raised before the Supervisory Commission. The latter, incidentally, might easily have settled it itself, but had preferred to obtain the opinion of the Administrative Board. Everyone knew the Board's opinion, in which the Supervisory Commission had not concurred. The Supervisory Commission suggested that the Fourth Committee should adopt the solution set out in its second supplementary report (Annex 7). M. Réveillaud considered that it was on that report of the Supervisory Commission that the Fourth Committee was now required to pronounce.

M. RAPPARD, Chairman of the Administrative Board, explained that the question had arisen a year ago in connection with the position of officials whose salary, subject to deduction, was paid in a depreciated currency, and the United Kingdom delegation and the Supervisory Commission had expressed different views regarding it. It had been held that, provisionally, the case of these officials should continue to be dealt with on the basis of a depreciated currency. Simultaneously, the Supervisory Commission was instructed to study the question, and it had asked the Administrative Board's opinion, under the conditions specified by M. Réveillaud. M. Rappard would, however, emphasise that the question of the Pensions Fund investments had arisen quite independently of the situation of the fifteen officials in the London Office. He repeated that circumstances did not lend themselves to a final settlement, and it would be better for the moment to accept the principle of payment in depreciated currency as a provisional solution only.

Chapter III of the Supervisory Commission's report (Annex 7) was put to the vote, and adopted by eighteen votes to seven.

The CHAIRMAN opened the discussion on the question of the investment of the assets of the Pensions Fund (see, *inter alia*, the last paragraph of the section entitled "Investments" in Annex 8).

M. RÉVEILLAUD (France) asked M. Rappard whether, after the vote taken, he considered an additional decision on the question of investments necessary. Once the question of principle was settled, the position was entirely clear. In the speaker's opinion, the legal aspect of the problem took priority over all the other aspects, and, if he did not feel very certain on this point, he was not particularly anxious to have the practical aspect of the question settled. Was it believed that the Fourth Committee would be able, without having given the necessary careful study to the problem, to say in what securities the Fund's assets should be invested?

M. RAPPARD, Chairman of the Administrative Board, thought there had been a slight misunderstanding. To his mind, the Fourth Committee had only been asked to settle the case of the fifteen officials whose salaries were paid in depreciated currency. But the text submitted by the Supervisory Commission seemed to settle both this question and the general principle of paying pensions in the currency in which salaries had been paid. In his opinion, the question was not to decide the investment policy to be followed, but to put the question for the sake of the Investments Committee. The financial advisers had asked in what currency were the Fund's liabilities expressed. In other words, were the great bulk of the pensions payable and always payable in Swiss francs? If the Fourth Committee replied to this question in the affirmative, the financial experts might consider themselves entitled to advise investing the Fund's assets in Swiss francs and in Swiss francs only. Their task would be made very much easier, but the Fourth Committee would be assuming a heavy responsibility.

Mme. KLUYVER (Netherlands) could not follow M. Rappard's reasoning; as regards procedure, she agreed with M. Réveillaud. By voting as it had just done, the Fourth Committee was shouldering the great responsibility to which the Chairman of the Administrative Board had referred. She would mention, in this connection, that she herself had voted against the Supervisory Commission's report.

M. RAPPARD, Chairman of the Administrative Board, could, on the contrary, very well understand several members of the Fourth Committee thinking they had still to settle the main question — namely, whether the obligations contracted towards officials in receipt of a salary in Swiss francs could be finally discharged in Swiss francs.

The CHAIRMAN thought that the decision just adopted regarding the Supervisory Commission's report was calculated to give the Administrative Board and the Investments Committee of the Pensions Fund all the guidance necessary. He saw no reason for putting the question so bluntly as M. Rappard had done.

M. RAPPARD, Chairman of the Administrative Board, said that, if all the members of the Fourth Committee thought that the point of principle was settled, the Administrative Board itself would consider it had received sufficient enlightenment.

Mme. KLUYVER (Netherlands), after reiterating that she had voted against the decision adopted, said she would be only too glad if she were mistaken in her interpretation of the vote.

The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee's vote meant that an official's pension would be paid in the currency of his contributions. He felt that the discussion just closed would give the Financial Advisers of the Fund sufficient data to guide their investment policy.

M. BOHEMAN (Sweden) did not feel it need necessarily be inferred from the vote that all the Pensions Fund's assets should be invested in Swiss francs. Going back to the assumption already made of a collapse of the Swiss franc, it could only be advantageous to the Fund to have securities in other currencies.

M. RAPPARD, Chairman of the Administrative Board, read the whole text of the question which the Investments Committee had put to the Administrative Board of the Pensions Fund (Annex 8, under "Investments"). If the Fourth Committee unanimously considered that a clear reply had been given to this question, there was no need to continue the present discussion. If, on the contrary, that were not the case, the Fourth Committee should express its views without ambiguity.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL was sorry he had been unable to be present at the opening of the discussion on the moral and financial responsibility of the League of Nations arising out of undertakings given in respect of the Pensions Fund. That responsibility, though of a secondary nature, was none the less serious. He warned the Fourth Committee against the danger of deciding an extremely complicated problem the settlement of which would certainly involve consulting specially qualified experts. He was, indeed, doubtful whether experts could be found willing to express an opinion on this subject. It should not be overlooked that the problem concerned hundreds of persons from different countries and that it was necessary to

make the pensions of people living in several countries commensurate with their salaries. The problem was thus one with very many unknown quantities, and M. Avenol asked the Committee to be good enough not to settle it so as to bind the future.

The CHAIRMAN inferred that the Fourth Committee would follow the Secretary-General's advice and therefore suggested passing to the next item on the agenda.

The Fourth Committee noted the report of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund for 1933 (Annex 8) and approved the draft resolution therein contained.

72. Election of Two Members of the Supervisory Commission.

By secret ballot, M. OSUSKÝ and M. RÉVEILLAUD were unanimously re-elected members of the Supervisory Commission.

73. Election of Three Regular and Three Substitute Members of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund.

Mr. ROY (Canada) moved that M. RAPPARD, M. FOTITCH and M. HOEL should be appointed members and M. DE MODZELEWSKI, Mr. LESTER and M. PARRA-PÉREZ substitute members of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund for the next three years.

This proposal was unanimously adopted.

FOURTEENTH MEETING

Held on Tuesday, October 10th, 1933, at 4 p.m.

Chairman: M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).

74. Examination of the Draft Report of the Fourth Committee to the Assembly.

The Committee examined the draft report page by page.

With regard to draft resolution No. 4 to be proposed to the Assembly, the text of which was as follows :

“ The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the various reports of the Supervisory Commission submitted for its consideration ”,

Mme. KLUYVER (Netherlands) expressed the desire that these conclusions should, in future, be set out in detail.

Mr. LESTER (Irish Free State), Rapporteur, thought this a very useful suggestion, which should be considered next year.

M. RÉVEILLAUD, Chairman of the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses, referring to draft resolution No. 3, reminded the Committee that last year, as the result of a request by the Turkish delegate, the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses had, at M. Réveillaud's suggestion, been asked to re-examine the question of the number of units to be assigned to Turkey for the year 1934. The Committee on the Allocation of Expenses, to which the Turkish Government had communicated certain documents, which, up to then, the Committee had been unable to obtain, had carefully studied the question and proposed that the Fourth Committee should maintain in the coming year the figure of ten units originally assigned to Turkey.

Agreed.

An exchange of views took place with regard to the chapter concerning the Staff Pensions Fund, as a result of which the Committee decided to ask a sub-committee composed of M. BIANCHI, Mme. KLUYVER, M. OSUSKÝ, M. RAPPARD and M. RÉVEILLAUD to prepare a text. That text would only be submitted to the Fourth Committee if the Sub-Committee thought it necessary.

The general draft report was adopted with certain amendments (Annex 9).

75. Contributions in Arrears : Examination of the Draft Report to the Assembly.

The draft report was adopted with an addition proposed by the Chilean delegate and certain drafting amendments (Annex 6).

76. Close of the Session.

The CHAIRMAN thanked the Committee and all his collaborators for their valuable help.

M. CASTILLO NAJERA (Mexico), on behalf of the Committee, paid a tribute to M. Fotitch, who had presided over its work so ably and tactfully and had brought it to a satisfactory conclusion.

ANNEX 1.

A.IV/I.1933.

PROVISIONAL AGENDA

1. Election of Vice-Chairman.
 2. Publicity of Meetings.
 3. Approval of Detailed Provisional Agenda.
 4. Appointment of the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears.
 5. Reports of the Supervisory Commission on Accounts, Budgets and Miscellaneous Financial and Administrative Questions.
 6. Audited Accounts for 1932.
 7. Financial Situation of the League on August 31st, 1933, and on September 23rd, 1933.
 8. Report on New Work involving Additional Expenditure on the Part of the League.
 9. Technical Concentration of the Activities of the League and Rationalisation of the Services of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office.
 10. Appointment of Rapporteur.
 11. Budget for 1934 :
 - (a) Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League (including Parts IV, V and VI);
 - (b) International Labour Organisation;
 - (c) Permanent Court of International Justice.
 12. Report of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund.
 13. Consideration of the Report of the Sub-Committee on Contributions in Arrears.
 14. Consideration of the Conclusions of the Reports of the Supervisory Commission (in so far as not previously discussed).
 15. Election of Two Members of the Supervisory Commission.
 16. Election of Three Members and of Three Substitute Members of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund.
 17. Supplementary Credits.
 18. Miscellaneous Questions.
-

ANNEX 2.

Official No.: A.10.1933.X.

TECHNICAL CONCENTRATION OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND RATIONALISATION OF THE SERVICES OF THE SECRETARIAT AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE¹

REPORT BY THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION TO THE ASSEMBLY

CONTENTS.

	Paragraphs	Page
I. INTRODUCTION		
1. Preliminary Remarks	1 and 2	100
2. The Secretariat of the League	3 to 8	100
3. The Activities of the League	9 to 12	101
II. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON RATIONALISATION		
	13 to 15	101
III. RATIONALISATION OF THE SECRETARIAT SERVICES.		
Introduction	16 and 17	101
A. Political and Technical Staff:		
1. Recruitment and Progression (in the Scale) of Members of Section	18 to 22	102
2. Individual Sections and Services	23	103
(a) Private Secretariats of the Highest Officials	24 to 27	103
(b) Information Section	28 to 32	104
(c) Centralisation of League Statistics	33 and 34	105
B. Clerical and General Staff:		
Introduction	35 to 39	105
1. Centralisation of Clerical Work	40 to 44	106
2. Regrouping of the Printing, Reproduction of Documents and Distribution Services	45 to 48	107
3. Miscellaneous Recommendations	49 and 50	107
4. Execution of the Commission's Decisions	51 to 53	108
IV. COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARIAT AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.		
Introduction	54	108
1. Joint Committee on Internal Administration	55 to 62	108
2. Joint Purchasing Committee	63	109
3. Joint Library Purchasing Committee	64	109
4. Collaboration between the Technical Sections of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office	65	109
V. RATIONALISATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.		
1. Clerical Staff in the Sections	66	110
2. Central Services	67 and 68	110
3. Institution of a New Establishment	69 to 73	110

APPENDIX.

Report of the Establishment Committee approved by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office at its Sixty-third Session (June 1933).	111
---	-----

¹ This question was considered by the Commission at its sessions in October and November 1932, and February, April and July 1933.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

1. The Commission's terms of reference are to be found in the following resolution, which was adopted by the Assembly on Monday, October 17th, 1932 :

" The Assembly, on the basis, among others, of the proposals submitted to it by the Supervisory Commission, requests the latter to proceed to a detailed study of the possibilities of effecting economies in the expenditure of the League of Nations by means of a technical concentration of its activities and by any other means of reorganisation and rationalisation in the services of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office, on condition, however, that these measures should in no way hamper the essential functions of the League.

" The Assembly requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, which has already undertaken studies and adopted measures in this direction, to lend its assistance with a view to this study as regards the International Labour Office and its co-operation with the Secretariat.

" For the purposes of this examination, the Supervisory Commission may enlist the assistance of special experts.

" The Supervisory Commission is requested to submit to the next ordinary session of the Assembly a report on the results of this examination.

" It is understood that posts which, as a result of this examination, may be regarded as superfluous may be abolished by the Secretary-General even before the said session.

" Nevertheless, in the case of larger readjustments, the Secretary-General should first submit the question to the Council for approval.

" The Assembly requests the Secretary-General to examine, in each case in which an existing contract comes to an end or a post becomes vacant for any other reason, whether it is possible to postpone the appointment of new officials in order to permit of a detailed examination of the necessity to the League's activities of the duties in question."

2. Before reviewing the various proposals which the Commission, in the execution of its mandate, has thought fit to lay before the Assembly, it may not be superfluous to cast a glance upon the past, to investigate briefly the development of the administrative services and to refer to a problem of a general nature — that of the activities of the League.

2. THE SECRETARIAT OF THE LEAGUE.

3. The Secretariat was constituted in virtue of Article 6 of the Covenant, the relevant clauses of which provide that :

" (1) The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

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

4. The appointments of the first officials were endorsed by the Council at its fifth session, held at Rome in May 1920. Lord Balfour's report, which was adopted on that occasion, laid down the general administrative and financial principles by which the Assembly, the Council, the Supervisory Commission and the Secretariat have since been guided.

5. Being anxious to make the administrative structure of the new international organisation as homogeneous as possible, the Assembly decided, at its first session, that a Committee of Enquiry should be appointed; this Committee, which was known as the Noblemaire Committee, established the bases of the present organisation.

6. Subsequently, at its tenth ordinary session, the Assembly decided that it was desirable to consider, in the light of the experience gained since the outset, what steps could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results. For that purpose, it appointed a committee known as the Committee of Thirteen, whose conclusions, so far as they were endorsed by the eleventh Assembly, have been embodied in the Staff Regulations, and constitute the existing charter of the Secretariat and the autonomous organisations of the League.

7. The essential task of the Secretariat is to carry out the policy approved by the Assembly and the Council, and consequently it has steadily grown in proportion to the duties entrusted to it. It follows that from time to time, as earlier activities come to an end and new needs develop, its organisation should be reviewed, so that it may be able to discharge its duties more efficiently and economically.

8. At its thirteenth ordinary session, the Assembly recognised that this was becoming the more imperative because the financial situation was growing less favourable. Guided by the general considerations outlined above, it accordingly instructed the Supervisory Commission to carry out the investigation which is the subject of the present report.

3. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE LEAGUE.

9. In accordance with the Commission's terms of reference, the measures of rationalisation that it recommends concern, essentially, only the staff and material equipment. They can have no lasting effects, however, unless the question of the League's activities — which, in the Commission's view, is fundamental — is settled at the same time. After all, the scope of an organisation is determined by the number and range of the duties entrusted to it; unless, from time to time, the Assembly and the Council take stock of the activities they have initiated, there will be a tendency for elements that have become superfluous to survive and for expenses to increase.

10. Impressed by this state of affairs, the Council, at its meeting on May 21st, 1932, drew the Assembly's attention to the importance it attached to a general review of League policy.

To enable it to conduct such a general review, the Supervisory Commission accordingly thought it desirable to cause a brief survey to be made of the activities of the various organs of the League, as determined by the Council's and Assembly's decisions.

11. The document prepared by the Secretariat (document A.21.1932) was laid before the Assembly of 1932. The Assembly did not consider it, and the question is therefore still open.

12. The Supervisory Commission cannot, therefore, too strongly emphasise the importance it attaches to the settlement of the following general questions :

Is the Assembly disposed to allow the activities of the League to continue to develop empirically, at haphazard, and without proper co-ordination ?

Has not the time come to keep the extension of the League's activities strictly within the limits of financial possibilities ?

II. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON RATIONALISATION.

13. Before we proceed to examine the proposals that the Commission is submitting to the Assembly, it must be observed that the measures of rationalisation advocated by the Commission cannot be put into effect without giving rise to real difficulties.

14. Of these, the most delicate is undoubtedly that connected with the conception of the "representation" of the various nations in the different administrations of the League. This is a question of capital importance, as much because of its influence on the budget as on account of the administrative difficulties due to the pressure exerted by Governments to secure the appointment of their nationals at Geneva. It is likely to raise particularly serious problems, inasmuch as the adoption of this report will — inevitably lead to reductions of staff.

In this connection, the Commission would refer to the numerous decisions taken by the Assembly; and it desires to mention one difficulty which, if not overcome, might seriously interfere with the execution of the scheme of reorganisation it has established.

15. There are two possible methods of effecting the reduction of staff involved by the measures of rationalisation recommended by the Commission — the abolition of posts, and the absorption of officials who have become superfluous into other sections where there are vacancies. Under the Staff Regulations, the former system entails the payment of high indemnities for termination of contract; the latter would probably produce fairly quick results, as about fifty officials leave the Secretariat every year.

The Commission did not consider itself called upon to choose between the two methods; the best solution is to follow one or the other according to the particular case. Meanwhile, it has asked the Secretary-General to supply it with a list of the posts vacant at the end of each year. On the vacancies already thus notified, the Commission has secured on the 1934 budget a saving of 200,000 francs over and above the saving of 115,000 francs due to the replacement of ex-officials by new officials at lower rates of salary.

III. RATIONALISATION OF THE SECRETARIAT SERVICES.

16. For the performance of its duties, the Secretariat has a staff which may be subdivided into two classes, dealt with in separate chapters — namely :

A. Political and technical staff;

B. Clerical and general staff.

The recommendations regarding the first class are chiefly the outcome of discussions between the Commission, the Secretary-General and certain high officials; as regards the second class, preliminary investigations have been conducted by experts and by a special Committee of the Secretariat (see Chapter B).

A. POLITICAL AND TECHNICAL STAFF.

17. The political and technical staff comprises :

The Principal Officers;

Chiefs of Section and Chiefs of Service;

Members of Section.

1. RECRUITMENT AND PROGRESSION (IN THE SCALE) OF MEMBERS OF SECTION.

18. In the report submitted to the 1930 Assembly, the Committee of Thirteen proposed that the distinction between Members of Section A (19,000-800-28,000) and B (13,700-800-19,000) should be abolished. The Committee gave the two following reasons for its recommendation :

- (a) That the distinction between the two classes did not answer to any real difference of duties ;
- (b) That it tended to complicate the problem of the distribution of nationalities.

The Assembly accepted the Committee's recommendation, so that there is now only one class ; a Member of Section appointed at an initial salary of 12,000 francs will in course of time, subject to good behaviour, attain a maximum salary of 28,000 francs, and the administration has no power to limit his salary to whatever level may seem appropriate to his real relative value.

19. The present distribution of Members of Section over their salary-scale is as follows :

Salaries in Swiss francs	Number of officials
I. 12,000-16,000	7
II. 16,000-20,000	18
III. 20,000-24,000	25
IV. 24,000-28,000	56 ¹
	106

It will be seen from this table that the present system is extremely defective ; its main drawbacks seem to be the following :

(1) *From the standpoint of administration, it makes the division of responsibilities between different grades very difficult.*

In this connection, the Commission would refer to the observations made by Sir Malcolm Ramsay last year (see *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 107, pages 139 and 140) regarding the grading of staff. An army mainly composed of generals will never make a good army.

(2) *From the standpoint of the League's finances, it is very costly.*

More than three-quarters of the officials are in receipt of salaries above the middle of the scale.

(3) *From the standpoint of the staff, it allows of no such discrimination as would encourage a spirit of emulation among them.*

Except in the case of misconduct, a Member of Section reaches the top of the scale in due course.

20. There could be no question of a complete return to the earlier system ; that system had serious drawbacks and did not meet the practical needs involved by the recruitment of officials for the international organisations.

The Commission accordingly directed its efforts to finding a better system for the future without infringing acquired rights.

21. After an exchange of views with the Secretary-General, who pointed out that the 1930 Assembly had contemplated the desirability of establishing a ratio between permanent and temporary contracts (see Report of the Fourth Committee, adopted by the Assembly, document A.86.1930.X, paragraph 10 *in fine*), the Commission determined the lines on which, so far as concerned the recruitment and progression (in the scale) of Members of Section, it thought that a thorough investigation should be conducted before any decision was reached :

(a) Should the proportion of permanent posts to total staff be determined by the establishment of a fixed ratio, which would not necessarily be the same for all sections and services ?

(b) Should permanent posts be exclusively reserved for officials who had served a longer probationary period than is now prescribed, or had reached a given age, so that it could be established that they actually possessed the qualifications and personality necessary for the discharge of international duties ?

(c) Should not recourse be had more than in the past, as was recommended by the Committee of Thirteen,² to experts appointed on a purely temporary basis to fill for a few years positions for which special knowledge and qualifications are necessary ?

¹ Six of these officials rank as Counsellors.

² The relevant passage in the report of the Committee of Thirteen stated that :

" . . . the Secretary-General will have power to make temporary appointments, provided that the Assembly sanctions the expenditure involved. The Committee did not consider it desirable to make an exhaustive list of the cases in which temporary appointments would be proper, nor to specify the classes of duties to which that system ought to apply. It appeared possible to set out, by way of example, certain important instances in which, in the Committee's opinion, temporary appointments might be made — namely, the cases of (1) technical experts, (2) persons with special political or other qualifications, (3) persons engaged for urgent or exceptional work, (4) persons who for reasons of health could not be offered permanent appointments, or for reasons of personal convenience could not accept them.

"The Committee did not consider it advisable to lay down any rigid rule for the duration of temporary contracts. Unless otherwise stipulated, the general rules embodied in the Staff Regulations would apply to such cases."

(d) Would it be possible to introduce the following system? When confirmed in their appointments, permanent officials would be guaranteed only seven annual increments. Their position would be reviewed after every seven years. The purpose of that review would be to ascertain whether they possessed such abilities as to justify a further series of annual increments within the limits of the salary scales.¹

22. The Commission considers that these lines of study completely cover the object it thinks it desirable to achieve. A system of this kind would result in a stricter control of recruitment, the provision of an effectual incentive, and probably a considerable cash saving.

The Commission accordingly asked the Secretary-General to go into the matter, in conjunction with the competent officials of the autonomous organisations, and to lay before it, at its September session, a detailed scheme that could be submitted to the Assembly.

2. INDIVIDUAL SECTIONS AND SERVICES.

23. In consequence of the decisions of the Fourth Committee of the last Assembly, the Commission's investigation had to deal particularly with the following sections and services of the Secretariat :

- (a) Private secretariats of the highest officials ;
- (b) Information Section ;
- (c) Centralisation of statistics.

The Supervisory Commission's attention was also drawn to the Health Section. The Secretary-General informed the Commission that he had taken effective steps to rationalise that section, whose total establishment had been reduced from 51 in 1932 to 42 in 1934.

(a) *Private Secretariats of the Highest Officials.*

24. In the report of the Noblemaire Committee, it was contemplated that the Principal Officers should be the Secretary-General, the Deputy Secretary-General and one Under-Secretary-General (in charge of internal administration), whereas, at the time, there were the Secretary-General, the Deputy Secretary-General and two Under-Secretaries-General. Instead of reducing them to three, the Assembly, step by step, increased the highest officials to five; each of them had a private secretariat of from three to six officials.

The Committee of Thirteen centred its attention on the problem of the Principal Officers; a second Committee of Thirteen was formed to reconsider it, but not until the last Assembly was a definite decision arrived at with regard to the number and organisation of the highest officials. The question of the establishment and equipment of the services placed at their disposal was reserved for the consideration of the Supervisory Commission.

It will be remembered that the organisation of the private secretariats of the highest officials was severely criticised in the Fourth Committee; it was even alleged that they amounted to nuclei and fortresses of national policy, and centres of resistance rather than of collaboration.

25. The Secretary-General has laid before the Commission specific proposals for obviating the real or apparent drawbacks of the original organisation.

The principles to be followed by the Secretary-General, which have been endorsed by the Supervisory Commission, may be summarised as follows :

That the Deputy Secretaries-General, Under-Secretaries-General and Directors should be left the greatest possible measure of initiative in the performance of their duties, but that the indispensable co-ordination should be secured by a knowledge and control of all the activities of the Secretariat.

26. In the Secretary-General's view, the functions of the private secretariats may, for this purpose, be divided into two classes :

- (a) The personal assistance that the high officials may expect of their immediate subordinates in questions within their spheres ;
- (b) General questions which can be withdrawn from the purview of the private secretariats of the Principal Officers.

The latter class would comprise all questions that will ultimately come before the Council or Assembly, or that derive from them, such as the establishment of agendas and notices of meetings, the preparation of documents for the Council and draft reports, the action to be taken on resolutions, and the centralisation of correspondence to be signed by the Secretary-General in execution of the decisions of the two bodies aforesaid.

27. The Commission agreed with the Secretary-General that all these functions might be entrusted to a small section, which might consist of a Chief of Section, one or two Members of Section and auxiliary staff. As a set-off to this, in order to avoid any fresh appointments, the Secretary-General and the two Deputy Secretaries-General would each give up one of the two assistants of higher rank allowed to him by the Assembly's rules.

¹ The officials of the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice are engaged on contracts which already give this latitude to the administration. So far as those officials are concerned, therefore, the only question is whether it will in future be possible completely to assimilate the system applicable to them to whatever rules may be applied to the Secretariat and the International Labour Office.

It was clearly understood that the new body would have no administrative or executive authority over any section. Furthermore, owing to the contemplated abolition of posts, the Secretary-General's proposal will not entail any increase in expenditure.

(b) *Information Section.*

28. The Assembly called the Supervisory Commission's attention to the necessity, when studying the rationalisation and concentration of the League services, of examining with particular care the organisation of the Information Section, whose establishment included a Director and twenty Members of Section in 1932.

29. In its endeavour to carry out its task, the Supervisory Commission attempted to define the functions on which the organisation of this Section should be based. Its present functions are described in document A.21.1932 :

“ The Information Section is responsible for contact between the League and public opinion.”

The Commission recognises that the Covenant imposes on the League special obligations in relation to public opinion : “ the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations ” implies the widest publicity for its deliberations and its acts. Does this obligation, which it is the duty of the Secretariat to discharge, necessitate the concentration of all relations with public opinion in a single section ? The consequences of this concentration are described in document A.21.1932 :

“ As the work of the Section requires a wide knowledge of each country, its public opinion and its political situation, the members represent as many different nationalities as possible. All the Section's relations with the Press, individuals and organisations must be done in the language of the country and by officials understanding its psychology. For that reason, the Section is necessarily numerous, although its numbers have by no means increased in proportion to the development of its work. Its personnel possesses a knowledge of some twenty languages.”

Such a definition of the activity of the Section attributes to it duties which belong to the Secretariat as a whole and also exposes the Section to the risk of an indefinite increase in its establishment ; for the only possible limit to its size is the number of States Members, and it can be maintained that the larger it grows the more those Members who have no “ representative ” in the Section will be entitled to complain of discrimination and the greater, in consequence, will be the dissatisfaction which has already made itself felt in the Assembly.

The necessity of reducing the budget, which the Assembly has proclaimed, is another reason for more strictly limiting the strength of the Information Section.

30. The Commission realises that if it is to perform its duties satisfactorily that Section must retain a high degree of flexibility and initiative. At the same time, while anxious to avoid unduly rigid formulæ, it thinks that the valuable qualities which the Section has shown, will not cease to find employment if the establishment is calculated with a view to clearly defined needs.

It seems to the Commission that the essential function of such a section is to maintain relations with news-agency and newspaper correspondents, who feed the Press of the whole world with their reports from Geneva. The highly important work of those correspondents must be facilitated to the utmost possible extent by *communiqués* and verbal statements on all political, technical and other questions. The Commission thinks it essential that this issue of information should be centralised exclusively in the Information Section. Far from contemplating any restriction of the facilities now available to the Press, the Supervisory Commission thinks that the Section, by specialising itself and concentrating its efforts, could increase those facilities with a smaller staff.

The same applies to relations with Press bureaux.

31. On the Section's other functions, the Supervisory Commission does not yet wish to give a definite opinion. It considers, however, that the objective, as regards relations with States and public opinion, should be to distribute among several sections the functions that have hitherto belonged exclusively, or almost exclusively, to the Information Section. It has therefore asked the Secretary-General to submit at its September session a detailed study based on the following principles :

- I. The Information Section supplies information and remains responsible for relations with the Press.
- II. The Political Section collects information.
- III. The Secretariat as a whole maintains contact with States Members.
- IV. The Intellectual Co-operation and International Bureaux Section maintains contact with private organisations interested in the League.

It would be understood that certain of the officials supernumerary to the establishment of the Information Section might be transferred to other sections and services of the Secretariat, more especially the Political Section and the Intellectual Co-operation and International Bureaux Section. The Commission expects, however, that the reform will eventually lead to a reduction in the number of posts.

Furthermore, when dealing with the question whether the branch offices and correspondents should be maintained, the Commission will primarily endeavour to ascertain whether those offices and correspondents are in a position to perform the proper functions of the Secretariat services in the countries in which they operate.

32. Apart from this, the Commission thought that certain changes were necessary in the publications of the Section and that some should be discontinued.

It does not seem desirable — seeing that the League has long since taken its place as one of the essential parts of the machinery of international life — that the pamphlets and compilations issued by the Section should be designed exclusively for purposes of propaganda.

Lastly, films and photographs should be strictly limited to those of exceptional interest.

(c) *Centralisation of League Statistics.*

33. This question was expressly mentioned at the last Assembly among those to be examined by the Supervisory Commission when it studied the rationalisation of the services. As the problem is primarily a technical one, the Secretary-General asked an expert, M. Gunnar Jahn, Director of the Central Statistical Department at Oslo, to make a report.

M. Jahn considers that the Secretariat's statistical work is more complicated than that of a corresponding Government service. The statisticians of the Secretariat require extensive technical knowledge to analyse figures established according to a wide variety of methods by Governments and various other organisations. The mechanical work is therefore proportionately much less than in Government statistical offices and consequently the advantages of centralisation would be much less substantial.

34. After investigating the statistical work of the Economic Intelligence Service and the Health Section — the only sections that have specialised statistical offices — M. Jahn has come to the conclusion that there would be no appreciable advantage in combining those two services, but that the work would suffer.

That being so, he recommends :

(1) That the Secretariat Committee responsible for securing co-operation in regard to statistics be reconstituted ;

(2) That no section be allowed to compile statistics without first consulting the Economic Intelligence Service as to the methods to be followed, the manner in which the tables are to be compiled, etc.

The Secretary-General and the Supervisory Commission have endorsed M. Jahn's proposals.

B. CLERICAL AND GENERAL STAFF.

35. The Commission decided, in the first place, to concentrate its rationalisation efforts on the auxiliary personnel in the sections (annual salaries : 1,493,000 francs) and on the Central Services, including the Document Service (annual salaries : 2,148,000 francs).

The chief point to be determined was whether the services in question were being employed to the best advantage, and whether the sections were utilising the Central Services to the full extent.

36. It remained to determine the method of work which would enable practical and concrete solutions to be arrived at ; the Commission decided on a Committee composed of members of the Secretariat, though one member would have preferred the constitution of a joint body consisting of officials and persons not belonging to the Secretariat.

At its session in November 1932, the Commission adopted the following resolution :

“ (1) In order to obtain the necessary data for the report which the Assembly, at its meeting on October 17th, 1932, requested the Supervisory Commission to draw up, concerning the possibilities of effecting economies in the expenditure of the League of Nations by means of a technical concentration of its activities and by any other means of re-organisation and rationalisation in the services of the Secretariat,

“ There shall be set up a Committee consisting of the following officials of the Secretariat :¹

“ M. AVENOL, Deputy Secretary-General, *Chairman* ;

“ M. DE AZCARATE, Director of the Administrative Commissions and Minorities Questions Section ;

“ Mr. JACKLIN, Treasurer ;

“ M. PELT, Member of the Information Section ;

“ M. KERNO, attached to the office of the Deputy Secretary-General ;

“ Mr. WILSON, attached to the office of the Secretary-General.

“ It is understood, however, that measures for furthering co-operation between the Secretariat and the International Labour Office will be settled by the body specially appointed for such purpose.

“ (2) The Committee will secure the co-operation, in turn, of the heads of the sections and services which the Committee is investigating.

¹ It was understood that the Rapporteur of the Supervisory Commission would take part in the work of the Committee whenever he was able to do so. The Chief of the Personnel Office was also present at the meetings.

"(3) For all questions on which a special report by experts may seem to it useful and expedient, the Committee will apply for technical opinions to the International Management Institute.

"The Committee will determine the methods for each particular investigation to be carried out by the said Institute, and will communicate, together with its own observations, the report drawn up by the Institute on each of the questions that may have been submitted to it for examination.

"(4) The documents referred to in sub-paragraph 3 above, and any other reports drawn up by the Committee, will be communicated to the Supervisory Commission as they appear, and at as regular intervals as possible."

37. The International Management Institute submitted successive reports on the following services :

- (a) Stenographic Service ;
- (b) Messenger Service ;
- (c) Distribution Service ;
- (d) Roneo Service.

38. Further, after hearing the Secretary-General, the Commission then decided to make an investigation of the administrative services of the sections, considered in relation to the Central Services of the Secretariat. The aim was to obtain parallel and joint rationalisation of the two categories of service dealing with administrative work, and to effect economies by avoiding overlapping.

To perform this work, the Commission requested the United Kingdom Government to be good enough to place at its disposal a specialist official of the Treasury.

39. On receiving its experts' reports, the Commission discussed them with their authors, in the light of the supplementary reports of the Rationalisation Committee and of the Secretary-General's explanations.

It reached the following conclusions :

1. CENTRALISATION OF CLERICAL WORK.

(a) *Transfer to the Stenographic Service of Shorthand-typists attached to Sections and Rationalisation of the Stenographic Service.*

40. The Commission decided to transfer to the Stenographic Service the majority of the shorthand-typists attached to sections.

Of all the proposals submitted to the Commission by the experts, this last is the most radical. Stenographers and typists attached to sections will now be attached to the Stenographic Service. Placed thus under a single direction, they will be distributed, according to requirements, between the Service and the secondary centres situated in the various parts of the Secretariat building and annexes. In order to retain the advantages of specialisation, appropriate steps will be taken to place at the disposal of sections staff conversant with their particular work.

41. Further, the statistics compiled from the more detailed records kept in the Stenographic Service since January 1st, 1933, make it possible to determine more accurately than in the past both the output of the stenographic staff and that of the services using that staff. Once effect has been given to the recommendation in the foregoing section, the strength of the Service can be largely settled by reference to and careful consideration of these statistics.

It would, however, be a mistake to fix the numbers too strictly in accordance with requirements, seeing that some margin must be allowed owing to the fluctuations inseparable from the work of the League.

42. For about 70 per cent of their time, the shorthand-typists of the Stenographic Service are working for the English and French précis-writing and translating services, and during the remaining 30 per cent for the other sections and services.

It therefore appeared advisable to establish more specifically, and in certain cases to supplement, the rules concerning the employment of the members of the Service by the translating and précis-writing services.

(b) *Clerical Work of Sections.*

43. The Commission also decided that the sections should in future, so far as their efficiency was not affected thereby, entirely dispense with, or very largely reduce :

- (1) Registers, indexes, and other archives ;
- (2) Section files ;
- (3) Section stocks of documents ;
- (4) Section accounts ;
- (5) Proof-reading.

Work which cannot be done away with entirely should, as far as possible, be transferred to the Central Services.

This redistribution of work will mean a reduction of the staff employed in the sections on clerical work (at present 23).

(c) *Messenger Service.*

44. In order to speed up the movement of files, and thus ensure more rapid communication between the Registry and the sections, it was necessary to study the organisation of the Messenger Service.

The Commission came to the conclusion that the duties of messenger and of office-keeper, which had hitherto been discharged in a number of cases by the same person, should be kept separate, and that all persons employed as messengers in the sections or services should be attached to the central Messenger Service.

The adoption of the Commission's proposal has only resulted in a slight saving, but it will greatly facilitate the carrying-out of the reform mentioned in paragraph 43 above.

2. REGROUPING OF THE PRINTING, REPRODUCTION OF DOCUMENTS, AND DISTRIBUTION SERVICES.

45. The Commission decided in favour of regrouping the Duplicating and Multigraph, Distribution, Publications and Printing Services under a single authority.

46. This regrouping implies, in addition to other direct and indirect advantages :

- (1) A saving in the reproduction of documents ;
- (2) A better use of staff (more particularly by the simplification of indexing in collaboration with the Registry).

47. It will also facilitate the adoption of more modern processes for the reproduction of documents.

As regards, for example, the Roneo Service, one suggestion of the Management Institute was the immediate purchase of three double-width Rotaprint machines, the necessary photographic material, and from four to six electric typewriters.

The Rotaprint machine is less rapid than the Roneo, but more economical when more than 250 copies are required ; the cost price is also lower than that of printing when fewer than 1,500 copies are required.

On the other hand, the Rotaprint machine cannot be used for the reproduction of :

- (1) Documents offered for sale ;
- (2) Documents which may appear later in the *Official Journal*.

The Commission decided to give the process a trial, and to purchase one Rotaprint machine, two electric typewriters and the necessary photographic material. Further, the Secretary-General is considering at present whether certain preliminary experiments might not be made by entrusting Rotaprint reproduction work to a Geneva institution already possessing the apparatus.

48. As regards the Distribution Service, the Commission came to the conclusion that it would be possible, by means of judicious adjustments, gradually to reduce the staff of the service, which at present numbers thirty-four. This reduction will, in the first place, affect three posts, and will mean a saving of about 10,000 francs.

A very much larger reduction of staff could, however, be effected if a simpler method of indexing were substituted for the present system.

The Commission found that, apart from the service for the indexing of publications proper, the following four services of the Secretariat have prepared indexes for their own requirements :

- (1) The Registry ;
- (2) The Publications Service ;
- (3) The Library ;
- (4) The Distribution Service.

Those indexes, which answer different requirements, have not been prepared on common principles, and this has prevented the Commission from reaching any conclusion ; the question should continue to be investigated in great detail, so as to obviate any overlapping.

3. MISCELLANEOUS RECOMMENDATIONS.

(a) *Arrangement of Premises.*

49. Closely bound up with the question of rationalisation is that of the arrangement of the offices used by the different services.

A Secretariat official will in future be responsible for arranging the offices in the new building so as to permit of more complete rationalisation of the administrative services.

(b) *Central Control.*

50. The British expert was of opinion that, unless the administrative control imposed on the sections and branches of the Secretariat were strengthened by appropriate measures,

no permanent improvement could be looked for. He proposed, with this object, that there should be attached to the Deputy Secretary-General in Charge of Internal Administration an officer fully trained in administrative matters and qualified by his experience to exercise control over the staffing of all the services and sections, the co-ordination of their activities, the working methods adopted, and the equipment provided.

The Commission endorsed the British expert's proposal in principle, but postponed any definite decision pending the receipt of the report referred to in Section 53 below.

4. EXECUTION OF THE COMMISSION'S DECISIONS.

51. In order to put this whole series of decisions, which it had adopted in principle, into effect, the Commission had hoped that the British Government might allow the Treasury expert, Mr. Robertson, to continue to lend his services temporarily to the League of Nations, but the British Government informed it that it would not be possible to detach him for a prolonged period.

52. In the circumstances, the Commission felt that the best solution would be for the Secretary-General to appoint one of his most highly qualified officials to carry out the duties in question.

53. The official appointed by the Secretary-General will set to work at once; immediately on the completion of his task, the Secretary-General will forward a supplementary report to the Supervisory Commission, which will submit the conclusions of that report to the 1934 Assembly.

The economies that may be made immediately will be described in a report by the Secretary-General, which will be circulated during the next Assembly.

IV. COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARIAT AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

54. At its session in November 1932, the Commission had before it a report on measures to promote collaboration between the Secretariat and the International Labour Office.

Following the recommendations which appeared in that report, four Joint Committees were set up, whose activities it is now proposed to summarise, special attention being given to the results already achieved.

1. JOINT COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION.

55. This Committee, under the chairmanship of the Chief of the Administrative Section of the International Labour Office, consists of three officials of the Secretariat and three officials of the International Labour Office.

(a) *Collaboration as regards Equipment.*

(1) *Loans of Premises, Equipment and Machines.*

56. Loans of this kind and mutual assistance between the two administrations have increased since the Assembly and the International Labour Conference held their sessions in the same building.

This co-operation has been systematised and developed by the Joint Committee, and has resulted in various economies, some of which are reflected in a reduction of credits in the 1934 budget.

(2) *Insurance Contracts.*

57. The Joint Committee examined all the insurance contracts held by the two institutions, with a view to ascertaining whether the existing separate contracts could be replaced by joint contracts. The Supervisory Commission is of opinion that the possibility of extending such contracts to the Permanent Court of International Justice should also be considered.

As regards physical injuries received or disease incurred by officials in the course and in consequence of their employment, the Joint Committee's aim was to find a common definition of the expression "reasonable compensation", which, on the proposal of the Supervisory Commission, was inserted in the Staff Regulations in 1932.

There is reason to think that the Committee's investigations will result, on the expiry of the insurance contracts still running, in a reduction of the amount of capital at present insured, and hence in a reduction of premiums.

(3) *Unification of the System for the Conveyance of Diplomatic Bags between Geneva and Paris.*

58. The Joint Committee, having found that the method of transport employed by the Secretariat was the more economical, recommended its adoption by the Office. The new arrangement is now in force.

(4) *Avoidance of Overlapping between the Publications of the Court and those of the International Labour Office.*

59. Following on a suggestion made by the Registrar of the Court, it was decided, experimentally, to use the standing type of the Court printer for printing, in the *Official Bulletin* of the International Labour Office, the text of Opinions of the Court concerning the organisation of labour.

(b) *Collaboration as regards Staff.*

(1) *Reciprocal Loans of Staff.*

60. With the creation of the Joint Committee, this form of collaboration has become systematic. The Committee has endeavoured as far as possible to co-ordinate the dates of sessions of Commissions, of the Council, of the Governing Body, or of Conferences, at the two institutions, so as to facilitate reciprocal loans of staff. It recommended to the two administrations — which agreed to the proposal — that the following principles should be adopted in their administrative practice :

(a) That no temporary staff shall be engaged until it is found that the other administration is unable to supply the necessary help ;

(b) That it shall be incumbent on each administration to lend the staff requested if such staff is available.

Staff was also lent to the Permanent Court of International Justice, and several officials of the Court have been placed, this summer, at the disposal of the Secretariat or the International Labour Office.

(2) *Reduction in the Number of Verbatim Reporters.*

61. The co-ordination of programmes of meetings has facilitated the rational organisation of reciprocal loans of verbatim reporters, with the result that the two administrations have been able to contemplate a first reduction in such staff ; the number of verbatim reporters at the International Labour Office has been reduced by two.

The Joint Committee proposes to consider whether further reductions can be effected in this service, more particularly by extending, if possible, the use of " stenotyping ".

(3) *Conditions of Service of the House Staff.*

62. The Commission studied the question of the standardisation of the conditions of service of the house staff of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office ; it also took up the question of old-age insurance for such staff.

2. JOINT PURCHASING COMMITTEE.

63. The Contracts Committee of the Secretariat, which for some years past had given out the contracts for supplies for the two institutions, has been enlarged and now includes four members, two of whom represent the International Labour Office ; the League Treasurer is Chairman of the Committee.

Hitherto, contrary to the practice followed by the Secretariat, the printing-paper used by the International Labour Office was supplied by the Office's own printers. As a result, however, of a suggestion made by the Joint Committee on Internal Administration, the Joint Purchasing Committee gave out contracts this year, for the first time, for the printing-paper required for the two institutions.

This will mean a substantial saving for the Labour Office, which will benefit by the wholesale purchase terms.

Whether the Court could advantageously be brought under this contract system for supplies is a question which will have to be considered later.

3. JOINT LIBRARY PURCHASING COMMITTEE.

64. The Supervisory Commission was of opinion that the creation of a library common to the Secretariat and the International Labour Office was not feasible. The Library of the International Labour Office is highly specialised in social questions. It must be at the immediate disposal of the services using it, and must accordingly be situated in the same building as those services.

To facilitate collaboration between the libraries of the two institutions, the Supervisory Commission suggested the establishment of a Joint Committee, which has :

(a) Arranged for effective collaboration between the two libraries by examining the proposals for the purchase of books made by the Librarians ; thanks to this collaboration, which will now become permanent, overlapping is definitely prevented ;

(b) Found that the ground covered by the two libraries is clearly demarcated, the Library of the International Labour Office being specialised in social questions, and that all purchases of a more general character should be placed in the Secretariat Library ;

(c) Decided to pursue the study of the question of economies in the binding of books and periodicals and collaboration in regard to subscriptions to and exchanges of newspapers and periodicals, more particularly non-European newspapers and periodicals.

4. COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE TECHNICAL SECTIONS OF THE SECRETARIAT AND OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

65. In conformity with the Assembly's directions, the Supervisory Commission considered the problem of collaboration between the technical sections of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office. Such collaboration has been regularly established ; it

has been found that in the past there has been no real overlapping between the two institutions. Further, the Secretary-General and the Director are agreed in principle that the existing co-operation should be made closer and more regular, and they have accordingly decided to arrange for periodical meetings, under the chairmanship of a higher officer of the Secretariat or the Labour Office, of the chiefs of those sections and services in the two institutions where there is a danger of overlapping. The actual terms of this arrangement and the rules for its operation will be communicated to the Commission later; the machinery thus created will definitely remove any risk of overlapping.

V. RATIONALISATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

1. CLERICAL STAFF IN THE SECTIONS.

66. From the outset, strict administrative centralisation has always been one of the distinctive features of the International Labour Office. No section has at any time had any degree of administrative autonomy whatever. No section has the right to open up files, hold stocks of publications, keep section accounts, or employ messengers of its own. All the shorthand-typists and copyists belong to the Typing, Multigraph, and Roneo Service, which carries out practically the whole of the typing and multigraph work required by the Office. The Labour Office has thus already given effect to the British expert's recommendations, which are summarised in Part III, B, Rationalisation of the Secretariat Services, Clerical and General Staff. All the saving in staff resulting from those recommendations was effected some years ago at the Labour Office.

2. CENTRAL SERVICES.

67. The Director has none the less taken various steps to rationalise the internal working of certain services. In the first place, he took advantage of the various reports of the Management Institute on the Central Services of the Secretariat. Secondly, he appointed an Internal Rationalisation Committee to examine the working of the Central Services under the present organisation, and he has, at that Committee's suggestion, put into force a series of measures of detail to reduce expenditure on printing or binding and to simplify certain forms of internal procedure. It has thus been possible, in the 1934 budget, to introduce various economies as compared with the 1933 budget.

68. Further, the Director requested the Management Institute to carry out an enquiry into the rationalisation of the Sales Service. The conclusion arrived at was that the present organisation of the service is satisfactory and properly co-ordinated; the recommendations concern points of detail. Some of the suggestions made will be put into effect at once, while others will have to be gone into more fully.

3. INSTITUTION OF A NEW ESTABLISHMENT.

69. The principal measure of rationalisation at the International Labour Office, however, has been the institution and the gradual carrying through, as vacancies occurred, of a new establishment in accordance with the general principles laid down by the Governing Body in 1931 after the adoption by the Assembly of the scheme of administrative reform which had, in particular, abolished the distinction between A and B Members of Section, thus considerably increasing the cost of the First Division. The more important of these principles have, as a result of a general downgrading, tended substantially to reduce the expenditure on staff. With this end in view, the Governing Body called for:

(a) A reduction in the number of sections, and hence in the number of posts of Chief of Section;

(b) A reduction in the number of First Division posts, and an increase in the number of Second and Third Division posts;

(c) A reduction in the permanent establishment with a view to the creation of a temporary staff.

70. A preliminary draft report on the new establishment was prepared by the Director in April. He communicated it to the Supervisory Commission, and the latter asked him to consider, in conjunction with the Governing Body, whether it might not be possible to give fuller effect to the general principles laid down by the last Assembly, those principles having, moreover, been approved by the Governing Body itself.

The Establishment Committee subsequently submitted to the Governing Body, which adopted it at its session in June 1933, a new proposed establishment (Appendix).

71. The new proposed establishment, which is the result of a thorough examination of all the services, and even of the work of all the officials, involves the changes in the present establishment of the Office summarised in the table hereunder:

	Present establishment		Proposed establishment	
	Number of posts	Percentage	Number of posts	Percentage
First Division	178	43.3	151	36
Second Division	224	52.3	239	57
Third Division	18	4.4	30	7
Totals	420		420	

72. As regards the reduction in expenditure to be expected from the new establishment, when the latter can be put into effect in its entirety, it has been estimated by the Governing Body at 362,000 francs, on the basis of average salaries. The April preliminary draft contemplated a reduction of 147,000 francs only.

It may be noted that the Governing Body has endeavoured, since 1931, gradually to come closer to this new establishment; in this way it was able to compensate, to a very large extent, for the statutory annual increments, particularly in 1934. The results achieved are shown in detail in the Appendix (page 114).

Lastly, the saving of 362,000 francs mentioned above would be increased to 847,000 francs if the temporary reduction of 10 per cent on salaries were maintained by the 1934 Assembly. Again, if the measures contemplated in 18 to 24 of this report regarding the recruitment and progression (in the scale) of members of Section were finally put into effect, this saving might no doubt be further increased.

73. In transmitting this report to the Assembly, the Supervisory Commission expresses the opinion that the results obtained, and, in particular, the decision to abolish twenty-seven First Division posts, represent a serious effort on the part of the Governing Body to take duly into account, in the exercise of its full responsibilities, the recommendations passed by the Assembly. The Supervisory Commission trusts, however, that the Governing Body will, in the light of experience, see its way to further extending the regrading which has been so successfully begun.

Appendix.

REPORT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT COMMITTEE

Approved by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office at its Sixty-third Session (June 1933).

I. RESULTS OF RATIONALISATION MEASURES ALREADY TAKEN IN THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

1. The rationalisation measures which the Office has endeavoured to carry out in order to reduce its administrative expenditure, including expenditure on material and expenditure on staff, to the lowest amount compatible with the carrying out of its essential activities have been continued unremittingly for some years past, in accordance with the desires of the Governing Body. In 1923, a drastic re-organisation was carried out involving a considerable reduction of staff. Since then a continuous effort has been made to keep down expenditure.

2. *Stabilisation of the Budget.* — The total result of the measures taken has been that the budget of the Office has been more or less stabilised for the past six years, as is shown by the following table :

Year	Budget without deduction of appropriations in aid ¹ Swiss francs	Net budget Swiss francs	Expenditure Swiss francs
1929	8,484,640 ²	8,612,640	8,603,779
1930	8,860,011	8,552,011	8,593,682
1931	9,157,715	8,661,652	8,853,016
1932	9,287,290	8,792,290	8,678,751
1933	9,065,442	8,851,972	—
1934	8,737,505 ³	8,257,876	—

It may be well to point out that the net budget of the Office in the fourteenth year of its existence is substantially lower than the budget for 1921, which was 8,762,500 francs.

3. *Substantial Reduction in Material Expenditure.* — As regards material expenditure — this expression is used to include all expenditure other than that on salaries — the results of the rationalisation measures have been particularly important. They are shown by the following table :

Year	Total budget of expenditure Swiss francs	Expenditure on staff Swiss francs	Expenditure on material Swiss francs
1929 (not including Refugees Service)	8,484,640	5,419,015	3,065,625
1930	8,860,011	5,517,420	3,343,591
1931	9,157,715	5,774,080	3,383,635
1932	9,287,290	6,026,090	3,261,200
1933	9,065,442	6,026,125	3,039,317
1934	8,737,505	5,996,300	2,741,205
1921	8,762,500	3,837,500	4,925,000

¹ Up to 1932 inclusive, the budget included an estimate for the Provident Fund. After 1933 inclusive, the estimate was omitted both from the budget of the Office and from that of the Secretariat, a special chapter in the general budget of the League of Nations being reserved for the estimate for the Pensions Fund.

² Not including the budget of the Refugees Service, which was suppressed in 1930.

³ Estimates submitted to the Assembly.

It will be seen that rationalisation measures have, since 1931, produced a total reduction of 642,000 francs on material expenditure — *i.e.*, 19 per cent — although there was a slight increase in staff during that period, and the activity and external relations of the Office continued to develop in all spheres.

4. *Expenditure on Staff.* — The Governing Body thinks that further substantial economies can hardly be expected as regards establishment charges other than staff charges. If such charges were further reduced, the staff would be deprived of the means of doing its work, without which it cannot carry out the duties which have been entrusted to it and for which it is paid. This would be contrary to the whole purpose of rationalisation, since efficiency would suffer. The Governing Body therefore devoted its attention to the reduction of expenditure on staff, which for the Central Office alone accounts for over 72 per cent of the budget for 1934. For the past two years it has devoted close attention to the possibility of effecting economy in this direction.

II. INCREASE IN STAFF CHARGES CONSEQUENT UPON THE DECISIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY IN 1930.

5. Ever since the administrative reform decided on by the Assembly in 1930, the Governing Body has directed its endeavours to securing rationalisation in regard to this new aspect of the matter. The Governing Body had no direct part in deriving the administrative reform and was not convinced of the advisability of amalgamating the two previous grades of Member of Section (A and B) into a single class. The Assembly's decisions resulted in a sudden and considerable increase in the fixed expenditure — *i.e.*, an increase in the salaries of almost all grades of the staff, particularly Members of Section, institution of special indemnities for translators, revisers and interpreters, payment of travelling expenses of the families of the staff, pensions, etc. The increase will become still greater for some years to come until the time when the present staff, the average age of which is low, reaches the maximum of its salary scales, and subsequently the termination of its contracts, and begins to be replaced by a new generation of officials beginning at the initial salary. The only means of reducing this expenditure was therefore to carry out measures of regrading of posts, to be applied when new staff is appointed. In doing this, account had to be taken of the experience acquired and of the fixing of administrative methods and traditions, as well as of the necessity of safeguarding efficiency.

III. PRINCIPLES FOR THE RE-ORGANISATION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT LAID DOWN BY THE GOVERNING BODY IN APRIL 1931.

6. It was under these conditions and in this spirit that the Governing Body, in April 1931, laid down the general principles which the Office should follow in carrying out rationalisation.

The establishment for which provision was to be made was to be adapted to the present extent of the work of all kinds which the Office has to carry out. It was, of course, necessary to organise it in a sufficiently elastic way to allow it to deal with a possible increase in the functions or the actual composition of the International Labour Organisation, but it was not to provide for such an increase in advance. It was not to be calculated with a view to all the future activities which might at some future time be required of the Office, but particularly with a view to those at present entrusted to it.

7. In order to attain the main object — namely, the reduction of staff charges without loss of efficiency — the Governing Body contemplated two series of measures, dealing respectively with the constitution and the composition of the staff. The former dealt more particularly with the reduction in the number of technical sections to ten or eleven; the latter dealt with the following matters :

- (1) Reduction of the permanent staff compensated for by the creation of a temporary staff consisting mainly of specialists carrying out enquiries;
- (2) A substantial reduction in the First Division staff compensated for by :
- (3) A corresponding increase in the staff of the Second and Third Divisions.

In order to give greater elasticity and to afford the staff opportunities for becoming acquainted with the different branches of the Office's work, the Governing Body recommended that the interchangeability of the staff should be increased as far as was compatible with efficiency, particularly in the case of Members of Section. It also recommended the creation of an establishment service to assist the Director in his task of regulating the utilisation of staff.

In accordance with these principles, combined with other suggestions derived from the experience of the Office, the Governing Body has prepared the new draft establishment, the main provisions of which are explained below.

IV. CHANGES MADE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE OFFICE.

8. The first important characteristic of the proposed establishment is the abolition of the Divisions as organic units specialising in certain branches of the work. The sections now become the organic units; their number is reduced from eighteen to eleven. This change in the structure of the Office is accompanied by changes as regards the Principal Officers. It has been provisionally decided that the number of Principal Officers should be reduced from

six to five by including the Deputy Director's post in the budget for 1934 *pro memoria*. The Chiefs of Division will be freed from the administrative routine work which they now have to perform and will be much more closely associated than in the past with the general direction of the policy of the Office and its external representation. Each of them will be responsible for the technical co-ordination of a varying number of sections grouped according to the interdependence of their functions.

9. The reduction in the number of sections will involve a noticeable increase in the size and responsibilities of most of them. This fact will have to be borne in mind in connection with the increase in the salaries of Chiefs of Section, which was proposed by the Committee of Thirteen to the Assembly and which the latter is to discuss, but the Governing Body does not propose to make any suggestion in this matter for the moment, as it has not yet discussed it.

10. No change has been made in the administrative centralisation of the Office, which has always been one of the distinctive features of its structure as compared with that of the Secretariat. No section has any degree of administrative autonomy whatever. All functions of a general character, such as shorthand-typing, multigraph, messengers' work, distribution, finance, etc., are carried out entirely by the central services of the Administrative Section. For this reason, the suggestions made by a British expert whom the Secretariat consulted with a view to rationalising the administrative services do not seem applicable in the case of the Office.

V. CHANGES IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE OFFICE.

11. It is in the composition of the Office that the proposed establishment introduces the most far-reaching changes. The principles laid down by the Governing Body have been strictly applied. The Governing Body is glad that the question of returning to the principle of the former division of Members of Section into two grades instead of their constituting a single grade as at present is to be re-examined. It will be remembered that the Director always maintained that the fusion of the two grades was undesirable, more particularly at the time of the discussions of the Committee of Thirteen. In a note C.C.373 of June 19th, 1929, the Office explained the system of Members of Section A and B as it then existed and showed that it was impossible for a Member B to become a Member A unless there was a vacancy in that grade — a system which was profoundly different from that of the Secretariat in which Members of Section passed automatically from grade B to grade A. The note went on as follows :

“ It is thought that, notwithstanding its drawbacks, this system has real advantages. In particular, it makes it possible to see that the salary or position of the official are, so to speak, proportionate to his obligations and responsibilities. An increase of responsibility should correspond to an increase of salary. Surely this should be one of the essential principles of any sound administration.”

The Governing Body will be prepared to put forward specific proposals in that sense. It is, however, essential that any change should be made in agreement with the Secretariat. The Director has repeatedly strongly emphasised this point, both at the Committee of Thirteen and at the Assembly. There must be unity as regards the rules and conditions of service of the two international institutions at Geneva. The document C.C.373 of 1929, which was quoted above, contains the following passage on this point :

“ There is, in the view of the Office, one fundamental point which should be stressed at once — namely, the desirability of establishing as far as possible uniformity in the rules applying to the staff of all the international institutions. One of the causes of the difficulties of the past years has been the existence of far-reaching differences and serious anomalies between the system existing in the Secretariat and that existing in the International Labour Office.”

The Assembly confirmed that principle and it must be borne in mind in the study which is about to be undertaken,

12. *Reduction in the Percentage of Posts of the First Division and Increase in the Percentage of Posts of the Second and Third Divisions.* — The two main principles laid down by the Governing Body as regards the composition of the staff were, in the first place, a substantial reduction in the number of First Division posts compensated for by an increase in the number of Second Division posts, and, in the second place, the creation of a temporary staff so as to make it possible to reduce the number of permanent posts. The following table shows the new distribution between the staff of the various divisions instituted by the proposed establishment :

	First Division	Second Division	Third Division	Total
1932 establishment	43.3	52.3	4.4	100
Future establishment	36	57	7	100

13. *Temporary Staff.* — The creation of a temporary staff is only justified in the First Division, since it is intended to consist of specialists carrying out studies and investigations of limited duration. It should represent from 10 to 15 per cent of the staff of the First Division.

VI. TOTAL STAFF.

14. As was pointed out at the beginning of the present report, the proposed establishment should be adapted to the present extent of the work of the Office, but should make allowance for the fact that its activity is constantly developing and that the output of a given staff cannot be increased beyond a certain limit. In other words, the size of the future establishment should be strictly adequate to carry out the present duties of the Office. It should, however, not be regarded as a maximum staff which can never be exceeded, but as one which should be periodically adapted to the amount of work to be done.

15. The enquiry which the Director has carried out, service by service and post by post, with a view to preparing the proposed establishment, has convinced him that the present staff cannot be reduced without reducing the activities and the efficiency of the Office. That conclusion will not surprise those who are familiar with the work of the Office. The Director's reports to successive Conferences show the considerable increase in the activities of the Office in recent years, and more particularly since the beginning of the economic depression, which raised so many and such grave social problems. At the same time, the effects of the depression on the finances of the States Members and those of the League of Nations made it impossible for the Office to obtain the increase of staff which would have been desirable. The following table shows the variations in the total staff of the Secretariat and of the Office during the last seven years.

It is difficult to institute any precise comparison between the staffs of the two institutions, as their composition and duties necessarily differ; but, as will be seen from this table, during the period 1927-1933 under consideration, the total staff of the Secretariat increased by 20 per cent, and that of the Office by 10 per cent only.

	Posts		Increase		Decrease	
	League	I. L. O.	League	I. L. O.	League	I. L. O.
1927	594	375	—	—	—	—
1928	631	379	37	4	—	—
1929	648	399	17	20	—	—
1930	654	399	6	—	—	—
1931	725	411	71	12	—	—
1932	721	411	—	—	4	—
1933	713	411	—	—	8	—
Total			131	36	12	—
			—12			
Net total				119		

The present staff of the Office, including, not only the 411 permanent posts, but the temporary posts, amounting to about ten, which for some years past have existed to reinforce certain services, and which, since they have been shown to be permanently required, should be included in the future establishment, is just sufficient for present needs. Its distribution is shown by the following table :

	First Division	Second Division	Third Division	Temporaries	Total
1932 establishment	178	215	18	9	420
Future establishment	151 ¹	239	30	—	420

VII. METHODS OF INSTITUTING THE FUTURE ESTABLISHMENT.

16. It is desirable to put the future establishment into application without burdening the budget with the heavy expenditure constituted by indemnities for the abolition of posts in present circumstances which call for an immediate limitation of expenditure. For this reason, it is necessary to proceed progressively over a number of years by utilising vacancies as they arise. In this way, the necessary transition from the old to the new organisation can be effected without interfering with the work of the Office.

17. Although the Governing Body has not yet given its decision on the scheme as a whole, it has nevertheless already accepted those elements which, in accordance with the principles which it laid down, can be put into effect in 1934.

The estimates for next year accordingly provide for :

- (1) The suppression of the appropriation for the post of Deputy Director;
- (2) The suppression of two posts of Chief of Section;
- (3) The suppression of one post of classifier;
- (4) The regrading of two posts of Category I B as posts of Category III;
- (5) The suppression of ten permanent posts and the substitution of ten posts carrying temporary contracts.

These measures of regrading are in addition to those previously decided on — namely :

- (1) Regrading of the post of Chief of the Registry (previous grading : 19,000 to 25,000; new grading : 13,700 to 19,000).
- (2) Regrading of the post of Assistant Librarian (previous grading : 13,700 to 19,000; new grading : 12,000 to 16,250).

¹ In the First Division, 10 to 15 per cent of the posts will be temporary posts.

It is partly owing to these measures that the estimate for salaries which, owing to the grant of annual increments in particular, would have been 200,000 francs higher than the estimate for 1933, is only 17,000 francs higher.

VIII. FINANCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE RE-ORGANISATION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT.

18. The above are the main lines of the scheme for the rationalisation of the establishment contemplated by the Governing Body. On the whole, it represents an application of regrading of posts in the sense suggested by Sir Malcolm Ramsay as a result of the enquiry which he carried out. It is proposed to reduce the number of posts of Principal Officers, to reduce the number of posts of Chiefs of Section, to reduce the number of posts in the First Division, to reduce the number of posts of Member of Section, and to reduce the total number of permanent posts. All those measures, which are rendered possible by the experience acquired by the staff and the improvements effected in its methods of work will, without affecting efficiency, tend to reduce the total of the fixed charges for salaries and expenditure accessory to salaries. It is not possible to calculate the reduction exactly, but a comparison of average existing and future salaries shows that it may be estimated at some 362,000 francs, or 6 per cent of the existing salaries.

To the above-mentioned reduction, which is in itself substantial, it would also be necessary to add the reduction of salary scales if the reduction of 10 per cent,¹ which is at present only in force until the end of 1934, were maintained, or some other reduction introduced.

The Governing Body will not finally adopt its scheme until after the next session of the Assembly. Some of the elements of the scheme, including some of the most important, such as the creation of two grades of Members of Section and the possible revision of salary scales, concern all the institutions of the League of Nations and cannot be adopted until the Assembly has accepted them.

Geneva, May 27th, 1933.

ANNEX 3.

Official No.: A.5(a).1933.X.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT BY THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION TO THE 1933 ASSEMBLY.

1. The Supervisory Commission met from September 23rd to 25th, 1933,² to consider:

(1) The supplementary reports of the Secretary-General and the Director of the International Labour Office on the technical concentration of the activities of the League and the rationalisation of the services of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office;

(2) The supplementary budget drawn up in conformity with Article 16 *a* of the Financial Regulations;

(3) Certain administrative and financial questions which it had not been able to consider at its previous sessions.

I. TECHNICAL CONCENTRATION OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND RATIONALISATION OF THE SERVICES OF THE SECRETARIAT AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

I. RECRUITMENT AND PROGRESSION (IN THE SCALE) OF MEMBERS OF SECTION.

2. At its July session (see report on rationalisation, document A.10.1933, paragraphs 18 to 22), the Supervisory Commission had determined the lines on which, so far as concerned the

¹ If the reduction of 10 per cent were maintained, the additional economy would be about 485,000 francs.

² This session (the fifty-fourth) was attended by: His Excellency M. Stefan Osuský, Chairman; Lord Meston of Agra, Vice-Chairman; M. Jean Réveillaud, Rapporteur; M. C. Parra Pérez; and M. C. J. Hambro.

recruitment and progression (in the scale) of Members of Section, it thought that a thorough investigation should be conducted, and had asked the Secretary-General, in conjunction with the competent officials of the autonomous organisations, to lay before it, at its September session, a detailed scheme that could be submitted to the Assembly.

3. After reconsidering the question in consequence of certain points raised jointly by the Secretary-General and the Director of the International Labour Office, the Commission decided not to put forward any final proposals this year, but to ask the administrations to submit to it, before the 1934 Assembly, concrete solutions based on the proposals that had been laid before it (see paragraphs 7 to 18 below).

No difficulty can arise in consequence of the Commission's decision; for, in accordance with the decision reached by the 1931 Assembly, it is now specified, when officials are engaged, that "the terms of the contract are subject to such modifications, if any, as may result from the decisions of the Assembly". Every safeguard is thus provided for the future.

4. The instructions approved by the Supervisory Commission for the study of the changes necessary in the present conditions for the engagement and progression (in the scale) of Members of Section relate to four distinct administrative problems: a problem of establishment (ratio between the number of permanent and temporary posts); a problem of adapting the scale of grades or salaries to the scale of responsibilities; a problem of selecting staff when they enter the service (probation); and a problem of progression in the scale.

5. With regard to the first of these points (the ratio to be fixed between the number of permanent and temporary posts), the Commission asked the competent officials to consider whether it would not be expedient to substitute for the proposed system a solution consisting in the creation of a fixed establishment of permanent officials, based on the essential and permanent needs of the administrations. These permanent posts would be reinforced by a variable number of temporary posts, subject to review, yearly or at longer intervals, by the Supervisory Commission and the Assembly.

6. It was also understood that the investigation to be conducted by the administrations would not necessarily be limited to the proposals laid before the 1933 Assembly, but that the competent officials would be free to make any suggestions (more especially on the salary question, inasmuch as the 1934 Assembly will have to come to a decision regarding the 10 per cent reduction proposed by the 1932 Assembly) that they might think worthy of consideration.

A. Ratio to be fixed between the Number of Permanent and the Number of Temporary Posts.

7. A distinction must be drawn between posts and contracts: a permanent post may be filled by a temporary official. The permanent posts correspond to the permanent functions of the sections. Some of these functions may profitably be discharged by a series of temporary officials remaining on the establishment for a few years, and succeeding one another in rotation. This is the first class of temporary contract.

8. There are two other classes corresponding to two classes of temporary post: posts of very short duration, created to provide reinforcements, generally seasonal, in connection with Assemblies and Conferences (supernumerary posts), and posts of moderate duration (one to seven years), which are created mainly for specialists.

9. While it is possible, if absolutely necessary, to fix a ratio between the number of permanent posts and the number of temporary posts for specialists (although the extent to which this class of staff will be needed is difficult to forecast over a long period, and varies according to the work to be performed by the services), it is not possible to fix a ratio between the number of permanent posts and the number of supernumerary posts, since the latter number must be able to fluctuate within fairly wide limits according to the varying needs of the administrations.

10. The question of establishing a fixed ratio concerns primarily the first class of temporary contract; that is to say, the ratio will be between the number of permanent posts held by officials with permanent contracts and the number of permanent posts held by officials with temporary contracts.

11. To determine the ratio to be fixed, all the factors must be taken into consideration—the division and grade to which the posts belong, the nature of the functions they involve, and the different needs of the administrations and of the sections in each.

12. In the view of the two administrations, the systematic creation of a temporary establishment should be accompanied by a reconsideration of the present status of temporary officials.

B. Extension of the Period of Probation.

13. This is a general problem, common to all grades and all divisions.

The two administrations, in complete agreement, contemplate extending the present probationary period, before confirmation of appointment, to not less than two years, so that only candidates who have already shown that they possess the necessary professional and personal qualifications will be admitted to the permanent staff. The competent officials have already stated that they agree that the period of probation provided in the contracts of Members of Section to be made before the 1934 Assembly should be fixed at two years.

14. They likewise agree that consideration should be given to the desirability of distinguishing the probationary contract from the permanent contract in future. At present, a probationer receives a permanent contract, which involves compulsory membership of the Pensions Fund. Discharge during or at the close of the period of probation provided for in the Staff Regulations, though not exactly a punishment, is somewhat of that nature, and this tends to deprive the administration of its freedom. If a separate probationary contract were introduced, the probationary period would retain its provisional character.

15. Should this probationary contract be a purely temporary contract? That is a question that needs consideration. The advantage would seem to be that it would give the administration greater freedom of choice. The possible drawbacks are apparently, first, that there would be a confusion between the probationary period, in anticipation of permanent appointment, and definitely temporary contracts, such as have been considered above—a confusion that might give rise to administrative complications and difficulties—and, secondly, that it might make it more difficult to recruit permanent officials.

This second drawback will require serious consideration. No system should be adopted that would deter the best candidates from entering the service of the League. The disadvantages of expatriation will always cause the majority of candidates to hesitate somewhat before embracing an international career. In order to overcome this difficulty, it is necessary both to offer adequate conditions of service to attract men and women of superior ability, and to leave the administration sufficient latitude to eliminate candidates who, after trial, fail to show that they possess the qualifications required.

C. Adaptation of the Grading of Members of Section to the Grades of Responsibility which may be entrusted to them. Progression of Members of Section in the Scale.

16. Member of Section is the class in which those officials should be placed who do work of the first division assignable to sections, under the direction of Chiefs or Directors of Section.

This work is of varying difficulty, and calls for qualities of varying value.

Experience shows that all Members of Section have not the same abilities, even when other things—conscientiousness and physical fitness—are equal; they are not all capable of doing work which requires either a high degree of technical specialisation, or confirmed maturity of judgment and administrative experience, or special political gifts.

In some cases, progression by annual increments to the maximum salary is a just reward for increased ability or output, but in others development and increase in output stop too early; and in these latter cases the present scale, which is very long and which the Staff Regulations apparently make it impossible to reduce, is irrational and expensive.

17. In the International Labour Office, experience has also shown that within large sections it may be necessary to form groups directed or supervised by heads, each with several members of section under him. These heads are at present usually Members of Section; but it is an administrative anomaly to have only one class in which to place both superior officials and their subordinates.

The advantage of the old system of division into classes A and B, with a fixed proportion between the numbers of posts in each, as it existed at the International Labour Office, was precisely that it made it possible to adapt the grading of members of section to the responsibilities they were capable of undertaking; and the International Labour Office has therefore always been anxious to maintain the principle of that system. The present single class does not allow of this.

18. Under the present terms of the Staff Regulations, any official may reach the maximum salary of his class by annual increments, but is not entitled to his increment unless he has given satisfaction during the past year. The Administration regards itself as entitled to consider that in order to give satisfaction an official must not merely have avoided giving grounds for criticism, but also have increased his efficiency with his experience until he is fit to perform all the duties normally assignable to officials of his class. If this view of the annual increment is strictly adhered to, it should permit the administration to prevent progression in the scale from becoming automatic.

The Commission still persists in its view that, though the present system may in some respects enable the administration to keep up a spirit of emulation among officials, it is definitely inadequate from the standpoint of the grading of duties; the Commission considers that the administrations should be given an effective means of holding up the salary of a Member of Section permanently at the level indicated by his abilities. The solution would consist in not guaranteeing permanent officials, on the confirmation of their appointments, more than a certain number of increments. At the end of a period, which would have to be fixed after due consideration of the factors involved, their position would be examined in order to determine whether each official had such abilities as would justify his promotion to a higher salary, which would imply heavier responsibilities.

2. INFORMATION SECTION.

19. In compliance with the request of the Supervisory Commission (see document A.10.1933, paragraph 31), the Secretary-General submitted to the latter a detailed study on the re-organisation of the Information Section.

20. The Commission did not consider it necessary for the time being to consider the Secretary-General's report point by point. It felt that it was desirable for the Assembly to decide, in the first instance, on the question of principle raised in the July report of the Commission (document A.10.1933). If the Assembly approves the Commission's point of view, the latter proposes to consider at the earliest possible date, in conjunction with the Secretary-General and the future Director of the Section, all the problems raised in the Secretary-General's report as well as their bearing on the question of Branch Offices. It is, in any case, desirable that the principles by which the re-organisation of the Information Section is to be governed should be laid down as soon as possible, in order to enable the new Director to devote himself entirely to the manifold duties which will devolve upon him.

21. It will no doubt be interesting, as enabling the Assembly to appreciate the extent of the proposed reform, to reproduce here a table which the Secretary-General inserted in his report:

Category	Present Staff	Proposed new Staff	Reduction
Director	1	1	—
Members of Section	20	14	6
Secretary of Section	1	1	—
Members of the Intermediate Class and Senior Assistants	9	6	3
Secretaries, Stenographers and Junior Assistants	17	15	2
Locally recruited Clerks and Messengers.	6	4	2
	54	41	13

The numbers of the administrative staff will also be modified according to the results of the enquiry at present proceeding (see document A.10.1933, paragraphs 52 and 53).

22. It should, however, be understood that this table is only of a preliminary nature, and will be modified as a result of the enquiries which are to be made by the Commission both in regard to the requirements of the Information Section itself and into the question of the Branch Offices which is still pending.

23. The Assembly will at once observe that the budget of the Information Section has already been reduced to a considerable extent—namely, from 1,181,270 francs in 1933 to 935,963 francs—i.e., a reduction of 245,307 francs.

This aggregate reduction is accounted for by:

- (a) Transfers to other Sections (238,300 francs);
- (b) Actual economies of 32,487 francs (7,007 francs on staff, and 25,480 francs on publications and subscriptions).

II. SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET FOR 1934.

24. Apart from the deletion and addition proposed below, the Commission recommends that the Assembly adopt the credits figuring in the supplementary budget (document A.4(d). 1933.X):

I. DELETION OF THE APPROPRIATION OF 4,544 FRANCS SHOWN AS ITEM 10 a: PROPERTY ACCOUNT, MAINTENANCE: SUBHEAD n, RENT.

25. The Secretary-General informed the Commission that, after a fresh examination of the expenditure on rent provided for in the 1934 budget, he was in a position to withdraw his proposal for a supplementary credit.

The appropriation of 4,544 francs shown in the supplementary budget may therefore be struck out.

2. ADDITION OF A NEW SUBHEAD 8 TO ITEM 19 A, SCHEDULE L: FINANCIAL SECTION AND ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE SERVICE: NEW SUBHEAD 8: ANALYTICAL RESEARCH WORK.

	Swiss francs
Temporary staff, travelling expenses, etc.	75,000
<i>Less:</i>	
Grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for the above purposes . .	75,000

26. On May 22nd, 1933, the Council adopted the following resolution:

“ The Council:

“ Decides to accept the offer of \$125,000 made by the Rockefeller Foundation for the promotion of the analytical research work of the Financial Section and Economic Intelligence

Service, under the conditions proposed in the resolution of the Trustees of the Foundation taken on April 12th, 1933.”

The resolution adopted by the Trustees of the Foundation was to the effect that a grant of \$125,000 should be made to the League of Nations for a period of five years, beginning on September 1st, 1933, and ending on August 31st, 1938, on the understanding that not more than \$25,000 might be drawn annually.

27. It was specified by the Secretary-General that the expenditure chargeable to the Rockefeller Foundation grants would in no case exceed the sums actually paid by the Foundation, converted from United States dollars into Swiss francs.

28. The net addition to the original budget is thus reduced from 9,174 francs to 4,630 francs.

	Swiss francs
The Secretariat budget is now	15,708,261
and the total budget of the League of Nations is	30,643,905

III. AUDITOR'S REPORTS FOR THE FINANCIAL YEAR 1932.

I. WIRELESS STATION.

29. The Commission devoted special attention to two questions dealt with in the Auditor's report.

30. (a) On the subject of supervision, the Commission was informed that the remarks referred to on page 19 of the Auditor's report were in fact made by the Secretariat official responsible for the station.

31. Moreover, the upshot of explanations given to the Commission was that the question of supervision had been discussed on several occasions by the Treasurer and the Director of the Transit Section, and that steps were being taken to make all the really essential information available for the audit. It should also be emphasised afresh that, before the arrangements concerning the station had been completed, it had been decided that the " Société Radio-Suisse " and *not* the League would be responsible for its management; and that that decision was embodied in the Convention which binds the two parties. Under those circumstances, the Commission supported the view that the Secretariat should leave all administrative details to " Radio-Suisse ", which was alone responsible for them, and that, according to the terms of the Convention, it—the Commission—could not intervene unless " Radio-Suisse " failed in its duty of efficient management, or unless some question concerning the apportionment of expenses arose.

32. Despite the legal position as outlined above, it was agreed in principle, following negotiations with " Radio-Suisse ", that, whenever the League Treasury needed any information, the Director of the Transit Section should apply to " Radio-Suisse ". Apart from certain necessary improvements, particularly in respect of inventories, the Commission considered that the existing *modus vivendi* was on the whole satisfactory, reconciling as it did the principles of effective financial control with practical possibilities.

33. (b) The Auditor also raised the question of the present scope of the audit. According to the Treasurer's statement, this at present involves:

- (i) A full examination of the accounts and the relevant vouchers for two or three months of the year;
- (ii) Soundings in the accounts for the remaining months.

A more detailed audit would take a long time and entail additional expense, as the accounts have to be examined at Berne.

The Commission considered that, in the present circumstances, the best course would be to keep to the present method of auditing, on the understanding that a more thorough audit could be decided on at any moment, particularly if parts of the accounts gave grounds for criticism.

34. The Commission was entirely satisfied with the explanations furnished by the Auditor and Treasurer on the other points, and therefore proposes that the Assembly adopt the Auditor's report and approve the accounts for the wireless station for 1932.

2. NANSEN INTERNATIONAL OFFICE FOR REFUGEES; INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT INSTITUTE; INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL CINEMATOGRAPHIC INSTITUTE.

35. The Commission took note of the last of these reports, and discussed the Auditor's observations with the representatives of the Nansen Office and the International Management

Institute. The Secretary-General of the Nansen Office undertook to submit certain points, on which a decision was desirable, to his Governing Body.

IV. EXPENDITURE ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW BUILDINGS.

36. At its July session, the Commission requested the Secretary-General to inform the Building Committee of the situation created by the fall of the dollar, which had resulted in a loss of 1,140,000 francs to the Building Fund, and to ask the Committee to see what steps could be taken to meet this loss without increasing the appropriation already voted by the Assembly for the buildings (25,577,150 francs).

37. According to the report of the Technical Sub-Committee, communicated by the Building Committee to the Supervisory Commission, and to the verbal explanations of the Chairman of the Sub-Committee, 1,088,317 francs of the margin for unforeseen expenditure (2,250,278 francs) have been spent on unforeseen work, under-estimated items in the original estimate, and various improvements on the original plan. Deducting the savings made, which total 562,333 francs, the balance in hand of the sum provided for unforeseen expenditure at present amounts to 1,724,294 francs. The Technical Sub-Committee considers that almost the whole of this amount will be needed to supplement items for which insufficient provision was made in the original estimate, particularly those for outside work. The Sub-Committee further recalls its last year's request for an appropriation of 2,097,000 francs for fixtures, which was submitted to the Assembly (see document A.5(b).1932), since it considers that certain items of expenditure under this heading will shortly have to be incurred.

38. Regrettable as this excess expenditure may seem, the Commission agreed that unforeseen circumstances might in some cases make it unavoidable, but it was very much concerned to learn that certain additional work involving changes as compared with the estimate had been undertaken. It has therefore endeavoured to strengthen the technical, and still more the financial, supervision, and it urges the strict and rigorous application of the following rules:

39. (a) No expenditure not included in the estimate may be incurred by the architects unless the Building Committee has considered the question and the Secretary-General has given a decision based on the Treasurer's opinion.

* It is understood that it is the architects' duty to report to the competent authorities any change necessitated by a mistake or omission in the original plan.

(b) In case of urgent necessity, the Secretary-General, on the advice of the competent technical official and of the Treasurer, may authorise the architects to incur expenditure not provided for in the original estimate, provided it does not exceed the sum of 5,000 francs.

(c) Savings made on one item of the estimate may not be allocated to other items.

The Commission resolved in principle, subject to later decision, that savings on the estimate should be earmarked for fixtures.

40. The Commission also held that it was impossible to reconsider the undertaking given by the architects regarding their fees and office expenses, as expressed in the following passage of the Supervisory Commission's report to the Council dated January 25th, 1932 (document C.97.M.50.1932.X):

" They (the architects) undertook that their fees and office expenses should ' in no case be higher for the work described than those specified in their estimate of September 1931, less the economies submitted and accepted by the Supervisory Commission ' " (23,106,995 francs).

41. Lastly, the Commission asked the Secretary-General to instruct the Building Committee to study what further savings could be effected. It also requested the Secretary-General to forward the Building Committee's report on this question to it as soon as possible, and to arrange for the Building Committee's quarterly reports on the financial situation to be communicated to it regularly.

V. COLLECTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

42. Article 21 (1) of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations reads as follows:

" As soon as possible after the Assembly has adopted the budget and the total amount voted has been apportioned among the Members of the League in the manner prescribed by the Covenant, the Secretary-General shall transmit all relevant documents to the Members of the League and request them to remit their contributions as soon as possible after the

beginning of the financial year for which they are due, and, in any case, to give notice when payment may be anticipated."

43. The dates of payment of contributions by States Members depend on their budgetary years, which do not generally coincide with the League's financial year (January 1st—December 31st); payments are therefore widely spread over the whole year.

44. For these and other reasons, it has occurred to the Secretary-General and the Supervisory Commission that possibly changes might usefully be made in Article 21 so as to afford further facilities both to the States Members and to the League—for the States Members, to be able to spread their payments over the year in such a way as to correspond with the dates of their budget periods—and for the League of Nations to make available for the Secretary-General the amount of these instalments paid at dates corresponding to the requirements of the League's own financial year.

45. Thus, the Assembly might authorise the Secretary-General, when States have signified their agreement to the measures proposed and specified the dates on which the payments will have to be made, to draw negotiable bills on them through the central banks or other banks specified by the States concerned.

46. It would also be understood that those States Members who so preferred might, when notifying the dates of payment of their contributions, send the Secretary-General treasury bills, also negotiable on the dates of payment selected.

47. Should the Finance Committee (Fourth Committee) accept these suggestions in principle, the question would have to be submitted to the Assembly for decision, together with the draft texts of additions or amendments to Article 21.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

I. TRAVELLING FACILITIES FOR OFFICIALS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

48. The Commission learnt that certain shipping companies or groups of companies did not grant officials and representatives of the League of Nations the same reductions and facilities as they grant to diplomats. It thought that this practice was most likely due to the circumstance that the companies or groups of companies had lost sight of the fact that the Governments of the Members of the League have conferred diplomatic privileges and immunities on the representatives of the League, and, in particular, on members of the permanent Secretariat, and that any discrimination against the Secretariat would therefore be comparable to a discrimination—which shipping companies have never sought to make—between one diplomatic service and another.

49. In view of the regrettable effects of this discrimination on the finances of the League, the Secretary-General was asked to take such steps as might seem likely to improve the position.

2. LOSSES RESULTING FROM PAYMENTS MADE IN DOLLARS BEFORE THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA LEFT THE GOLD STANDARD AND RECEIVED BY THE SECRETARIAT AFTER THE DEPRECIATION OF THE DOLLAR.

50. The Supervisory Commission had been informed at its July session that exchange losses had arisen on payments made by the Indian and Czechoslovak Governments. The two cheques, representing about half the appropriate budget contribution for 1933 in the one instance and a quarter of it in the other, were drawn in United States dollars, and, though uttered before the United States of America left the gold standard, they had been received by the Secretariat when the dollar was already depreciated.

51. The Supervisory Commission considers that the Governments in question cannot be held responsible for circumstances over which they had no control, and recommends that the Assembly regard these payments as made at the dollar's gold parity.

The loss to the League would amount to 170,091.95 gold francs in all.

ANNEX 4.

Official No. : A.5.1933.X.

REPORT OF THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION TO THE
1933 ASSEMBLY.

1. The Supervisory Commission met in ordinary session (fifty-second) at Geneva from Wednesday, April 26th, to Wednesday, May 3rd, inclusive, to examine the closed accounts of the financial year 1932, the budget for 1934 and various financial and administrative questions which had been submitted to it by the competent organs of the League.¹

There were present at the session : His Excellency M. Stefan OSUSKÝ (Chairman), Lord MESTON OF AGRA (Vice-Chairman), M. Jean RÉVEILLAUD (Rapporteur), His Excellency M. C. PARRA-PÉREZ, and M. C. J. HAMBRO. M. Georges OTTLIK (substitute) occasionally replaced two of the members who were unable to attend all the meetings.

I. CLOSED ACCOUNTS FOR THE FINANCIAL YEAR 1932.

2. After taking cognisance of the report submitted to it by the Auditor, M. A. Ceresa, and of various observations made by the Rapporteur and certain members of the Commission, the Supervisory Commission decided to recommend the Assembly to adopt the accounts as submitted to it by the Secretary-General and the competent officials of the autonomous organisations of the League.

3. Though it did not ask that the method of presenting the accounts for the financial year should be altered, the Commission considered that the contribution of the United States Government to the expenses of the International Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments should not have been deducted from the costs of the Conference, but that, in accordance with Article 22, paragraph 2, of the Financial Regulations, it should have been "applied to reduce the total sum chargeable (for 1934) to the Members of the League". The Commission was of opinion that, in view of the terms of Article 22, no distinction should be drawn between the contributions of States not Members of the League to the general budget of an organisation and their contributions for some particular purpose.

4. The Commission proposes that the sum of 20,705.70 francs, being the proceeds of the sale of the flat purchased by the International Labour Office at Rome in 1923, should be allotted to the furnishing account for the new buildings.

5. As regards the question of possible losses on exchange from the payment of the contributions in dollars, the Commission desires to point out that the League's budget and the contributions are drawn up in gold francs, a monetary unit defined as follows in the note which has appeared since 1929 on page 3 of the budget : "The gold franc adopted by the League of Nations on May 19th, 1920, is equivalent to 0.3225806 of a gramme of gold 90 per cent fine".

In consequence of the depreciation of the United States currency, the dollar can no longer be used for reckoning the equivalent in gold francs of the contributions of the Members of the League. The Members are therefore requested to pay their contributions in a currency negotiable at Geneva, and the gold franc equivalent will be credited to them at the current rate of exchange on the day when the amount paid is cashed.

In this connection the Supervisory Commission would point out that the application of the Financial Regulations precludes the acceptance by the League of any condition attaching to the payment of contributions.

6. The financial situation of the League has been discussed at each of the Commission's sessions held since the last Assembly. At its session of November 1932, it requested the competent officials to reduce expenditure to the utmost possible extent. At its session of February 1933, it discussed with the representatives of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office what measures could be taken to remedy the inadequate payments of contributions.

When it met on April 26th, it was informed that, since January 1st, the total paid in by way of current contributions and arrears was only 5,647,788 gold francs, or about 17 per cent of the budget, whereas in previous years the percentages of the respective budgets paid by that time were 25.6 per cent (in 1932) and upwards of 29 per cent (in 1931 and 1930). To

¹ Three sessions were held since the end of the last Assembly : the fiftieth (November 1932) and fifty — first (February 1933) were mainly devoted to the question of rationalisation.

make up for the fall in revenue, the expenditure of the current financial year has been cut down wherever possible ; nevertheless, the Working Capital Fund has had to be heavily drawn upon, the cash balance of which is at present only one and a-half million francs, whereas at the same date last year it was double that amount.

The Commission, impressed with the seriousness of the situation, was of opinion that it ought to bring the above facts to the notice of the Council, in order that the latter might examine the question at its next session and take such measures as it might think fit to expedite the payment of contributions. Further, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office has expressed its willingness to co-operate with the Secretariat in endeavouring to secure the regular payment of contributions.

7. In connection with the Pensions Fund accounts, a discussion arose regarding the administration of the investments of the fund.

The Treasurer informed the Commission that the depreciation of securities, which, on December 31st, 1931, amounted to 24.5 per cent, was no more than 14.2 per cent on December 31st, 1932. Moreover, there were only two loans, having a nominal value of \$40,500, on which payment of interest had been suspended or reduced.

Article 3 of the Staff Pensions Regulations provides that, " on all questions regarding investment, the Administrative Board shall take the advice of an Investments Committee of three members nominated by the Financial Committee of the League of Nations, subject to approval by the Council of the League ". This Committee, which is composed of three distinguished experts, is presided over by the Chairman of the Administrative Board or his representative ; moreover, a sub-committee of the Board follows the question of investments in the intervals between sessions.

The Supervisory Commission fully realises the serious difficulties presented in present circumstances by the investment of funds. As, under Article 13 of the Pensions Regulations, " the League of Nations guarantees the payment of all . . . sums falling due ", the Commission felt bound to bring the situation to the notice of the Assembly.

It should be added that, according to information received, the Administrative Board is studying the question and will submit its views on the subject to the Assembly.

II. BUDGET FOR 1934.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

8. Before proceeding to a detailed study of the budgets of the various League organisations, it is important that the general principles should be set forth which the Commission took as its basis in examining the figures submitted to it.

9. The *world crisis* and particularly the *difficulties experienced in collecting contributions* constitutes the most important factor which it had to take into account. The Commission considered that, in view of the unsatisfactory financial situation, it was of the utmost importance that the budgets submitted to it should be appreciably reduced. It adopted as its objective a general reduction of 10 per cent, while fully realising that such a reduction could not be uniformly applied, because certain categories of expenditure cannot be touched (salaries fixed by contract, for example) and that consequently, in the case of activities of relatively secondary importance, reductions of over 10 per cent should be made.

10. Whatever the importance of the individual activities now being carried on, the main issue at the present time is to safeguard the actual existence of the League. Between the two alternatives — the full maintenance of all activities at the risk of shaking the budget to its foundations and the suppression of less vital work in the belief that the League's very existence depends on a reduction of expenditure — the choice is not a difficult one, and, though the reduction or suppression of various activities means retarding the development of some organisations, the Commission feels sure it has acted in the best interest of the League.

11. Moreover, in view of the development of the crisis it seems clearly useless to count upon a rapid return to prosperity. Until a change comes, therefore, each must take his share in the retrenchments. It is all the more necessary that the Assembly should realise the impossibility of undertaking in future years fresh activities besides those which may be needed for the organisation of peace. The Commission cannot too strongly urge the unfortunate effects upon the budget of entrusting non-essential activities to the League.

1. Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League.

12. The draft budget submitted to the Commission amounted to 16,442,246 gold francs, or 880,213 francs less than the credits voted for the current year. Whereas up to 1932 expenditure increased every year, the budget of 1933 was almost 10 per cent less than that of 1932, and the estimates for 1934 showed a further reduction of more than 5 per cent as compared with the credits passed for 1933.

13. Though the reductions made were already considerable, the Commission could not rest content with them. It therefore examined with the Secretary-General and the responsible official every item of the budget.

ESTABLISHMENT AND SALARIES OF THE SECRETARIAT.

14. The question of the establishment and the salaries of the Secretariat is closely bound up with that of the rationalisation of the services, which was carried out on the lines laid down by the last Assembly.

15. Placed on the Commission's agenda at its session of October 1932, this question has been the subject of a number of special studies, but the general problem has not yet been solved. Several of these studies are still proceeding. The Commission will prepare a special report on the whole question, which will in due course be communicated to the next Assembly. In the present budget estimates, it was only possible to take account of the results obtained in regard to a certain number of questions already disposed of.

16. The budget estimates submitted to the Commission comprised — exclusive of the branch offices — 685 posts as compared with 698 in 1933. The total amount in respect of salaries was 9,291,842 francs, representing an increase of 164,564 francs as compared with 1933. This figure was composed as follows :

<i>Increases :</i>	Francs
Statutory increments	195,571
Temporary posts	42,475
Miscellaneous	11,150
	<hr/>
Total increase	249,196
 <i>Reductions :</i>	
Suppression of fourteen posts	99,274
Replacement of officials by others receiving lower salaries ; reduction of 10 per cent on the salary scales applicable to new officials and promoted officials ; miscellaneous	115,358
	<hr/>
Total reduction	214,632
Net increase	34,564

If to this last figure is added the aggregate reduction of 130,000 francs effected by the last Assembly on the salaries for 1933 as a whole, the above-mentioned figure of 164,564 francs is obtained.

17. Allowance has, of course, been made in the 1934 budget for the 10 per cent reduction introduced by the last Assembly on the scales of salary applicable to all new officials and to all previous serving officials receiving promotion. The economies effected are not very large, however, because the recruiting of new officials has virtually been suspended and promotions have become very rare.

18. It should be noted, first, that, whatever scheme for the curtailment of services is adopted by the next Assembly, the general results it will produce will not be immediately determinable in figures. Rationalisation is, in fact, a process which will have to be evolved gradually by means of strict and constant supervision.

19. After various exchanges of views with the Secretary-General the Commission decided :

(1) To maintain provisionally the establishment and the salaries proposed in the budget estimates except for the suppression of a post for slavery questions (figure provided in the original estimate : 9,000 francs) ;

(2) To adopt the Secretary-General's suggestion for an immediate aggregate reduction of 200,000 francs on the general credits for salaries, such reduction being rendered possible by vacancies which will in any case not be filled again ;

(3) To examine at its sessions in July and September, in the light of the studies which will then have been made on special points, any further reductions that may be effected under the budget headings relating to salaries of the Secretariat.

20. As now submitted to the Assembly, therefore, the salaries budget covers 684 posts and amounts to a total of 9,082,842 francs.

21. The Commission's observations on the budget and the amendments introduced therein relate to the following items :

SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY.

22. The Chairman of the Supervisory Commission informed the Finance Committee of the last Assembly (Fourth Committee) that the Commission would study the question, which was left pending, of the records of meetings of Assembly Committees, in time to enable a choice to be made for 1933 between the various possible systems.

Realising the serious inconveniences caused to the Press in the previous year by the complete suppression of verbatim records of the meetings of committees, the Commission proposes the regular preparation and posting up of abridged verbatim records for three meetings per day. These meetings would be selected by the General Committee of the Assembly or by the chairmen of the committees according to the importance of the questions on the agenda of the various committees, and the choice of meetings would immediately be posted up in the Press Room. Further, the Information Section would issue the usual communiqué at the end of every committee meeting of which a stenographic record is taken, and a more detailed communiqué of every committee meeting of which no such record is taken.

23. The adoption of this proposal would mean an increase of 7,000 francs for the engagement of temporary staff, and the Commission therefore wondered whether it would not be possible, by a process of amalgamation, to dispense with at least one of the three or four records of meetings of Assembly committees, namely :

The Press communiqué ;

The Assembly *Journal* ;

The Minutes, subsequently printed ;

In certain cases, the abridged verbatim records.

Although it was found by an experiment made at the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments that the total suppression of the *Journal* in the spring of 1932 did not give rise to any complaint, the Commission accepted a proposal by the Secretary-General for a reduction in the size of the *Journal* amounting to three-quarters. In future, it will contain no account of plenary meetings of the Assembly, as delegates receive a verbatim record of those meetings ; the *Journal* will, however, give in a few lines an account of the position of the work of the Committees, will mention their decisions and will reproduce the resolutions adopted. The *Journal* in its reduced form will also give necessary information regarding the General Committee's decisions, the meetings of committees of which no Minutes are taken, and the time and place of meetings. It will, if necessary, mention important resolutions addressed to the League by large outside associations, will reproduce the list of documents distributed to delegations, etc.

The Secretary-General will also consider the possibility of expediting the preparation and distribution of Minutes of committees.

The Secretary-General's proposal involved a reduction of 20,000 francs for Assembly printing.

24. The Commission agreed to the maintenance at 200,000 francs of the credit under Item 3 (b) for unforeseen expenditure for financial purposes, the Secretary-General promising that he would personally examine all requests to the Council for expenditure under that item and that the use of the funds thus placed at the Financial Section's disposal would be strictly supervised.

25. In accordance with the undertaking given to the Assembly, a report was presented to the Commission by the Secretary-General on the functions and organisation of the Secretariat offices in London, Paris, Rome and Berlin. The Secretary-General drew attention to the value which he attached to these offices as a means of maintaining contact with public opinion in the countries in which they were situated. He pointed out, moreover, that the offices were able to assist the Secretariat in performing various tasks of an administrative character and especially for the dissemination of information regarding the League. The Secretary-General proposed, however, to take certain measures which would result in a simplification of the organisation of the offices, in unification of control and a substantial financial saving. This saving would be of 53,000 francs for the four offices in 1934 and would be increased as and when certain leases expired (in London at the end of 1934, in Paris at the end of 1936).

The Commission, after a long consideration of the case, came to the conclusion that a final decision on the maintenance or suppression of the Secretariat branch offices could only be taken when the rationalisation of certain services of the Secretariat, notably the Information Section, was further advanced. To provide for the possibility that the proposed rationalisation would lead to the conclusion that the branch offices should be retained either wholly or in part, the Commission decided forthwith to request the heads of the two organisations concerned to prepare for submission at its session of April 1934 particulars relating to certain definite points, particularly the possibility of amalgamating rents and services. In the meantime, it accepted the proposal to insert in the Secretariat budget for 1934 a lump sum of 300,000 francs for all the branch offices (in 1933, 377,821 francs).

26. As regards Item 10 of the budget : "Property Account : Maintenance", the Commission noted the correspondence between the Secretary-General and the President of the Geneva Council of State regarding the taking over by the League of the premises built for the Disarmament Conference.

In view of the prolongation of the Conference's work, and of the fact that the League has been able to use the premises in question for numerous committees and for the Council and the ordinary and extraordinary Assemblies, as, moreover, the journalists have constantly been using the room fitted up for them, and as the Genevese authorities have reserved the *Salle du Conseil général* exclusively and free of charge for plenary sessions of the Conference for more than a year, the Secretary-General, having received a proposal from the Genevese authorities regarding the settlement of the terms of occupation of the premises, considered that it was unfair to impose on the Genevese authorities for an indefinite period a burden which in a number of cases had enabled direct economies to be effected in the League's budget. In a letter dated January 9th, 1933, therefore, he submitted to the Genevese authorities the following counter-proposal :

"If the State of Geneva would renounce the claims to which your communication refers, and which, I repeat, do not seem to me legally justifiable, I should be prepared to make a definite proposal to the competent authorities that they should *modify the decision already reached and authorise me to take over the premises in question and pay rent as from February 1st, 1933* — i.e., one year after the opening of the Conference. It is understood that in that case, and apart from the interruption referred to in paragraph 4 or any interruptions which may subsequently take place, the Genevese authorities would continue to assume liability for the rent of the premises and land and to defray all costs of upkeep until the Assembly takes a decision, but that if, as I strongly hope, the Assembly accepts my proposal, the rent (70,000 francs per annum, including land) and the costs of upkeep will be refunded to the State of Geneva as from February 1st, 1933."

27. As the outcome of certain observations made by the Commission at its February session, the Secretary-General requested the Genevese authorities not to press the clause providing that for the first year the League of Nations would be responsible for the upkeep of the building during any adjournment of the work of the Conference.

The Genevese authorities having accepted this modification of the terms originally proposed, the Commission recommends to the Assembly the adoption of the arrangement referred to in the above extract from the Secretary-General's letter, modified in accordance with the Commission's recommendation.

28. Reductions¹ amounting to 57,780 francs were made in Item 11 : "Publications Department".

The Commission considered that the printing of a new edition of the "Systematic Survey of the Arbitration Conventions and Treaties of Mutual Security deposited with the League of Nations", for which work a credit of 34,300 francs was entered in the draft budget should be postponed until better times. Moreover, the credits for printing for the Information Section and for the expenses of the sales service were reduced as compared with the original estimates. The figure inserted under the heading for free distribution was suppressed entirely, and the item for the purchase of cinematograph films was reduced by 25 per cent.

Further, the Commission considered that, in view of the world crisis, it was not wise to budget for a sum of more than 250,000 francs in respect of the sale of League publications in 1934. The increase in the budget as a result of this reduction of estimated revenue amounts to 90,000 francs as compared with 1933.

29. The Secretary-General agreed to a reduction of 27,000 francs on general office expenses in respect of the fall in the prices of certain supplies and the possibility of reducing expenditure on Press cuttings and suppressing a subscription to a news' service, the cost of which has hitherto been included under Heading (g) : "Subscriptions and Press cuttings".

30. The credit requested for printing and documentation of the Administrative Commissions and Minorities Questions Section was reduced from 15,000 to 10,000 francs. Though more than the expenditure in 1932, this figure represents only half the printing costs of 1931.

31. The Commission recognised that it was not possible to reduce the estimates of the Financial Section and Economic Intelligence Service to the same extent as those of certain other technical organisations of the League.

Moreover, although the reports published by the Economic Intelligence Service require relatively high credits, these documents have a large circulation and sell very well. Thus the League recovers a considerable part of the expenditure it incurs for the cost of publications of that Section.

The Commission was also informed that the work on double taxation would be suspended unless the Rockefeller Foundation granted a further subsidy for that purpose.

¹ Except where otherwise stated, all reductions (or increases) referred to in the present document are reductions (or increases) in respect of the draft budgets for 1934 as submitted to the Commission by the Secretary-General or the competent officials of the other organisations.

In these circumstances, the Commission accepted an aggregate reduction of 50,000 francs.

32. The Commission noted a table showing details of the estimates under Heading 2 of the budget of the Economic Relations Section.

As in the previous year, it considered that it was necessary, in view of the present budget shortage, to suspend the credits for the Agricultural Sub-Committee and the Consultative Committee. The Director of the Section also agreed to a reduction of 10,000 francs in the figure for the other Committees. The relegation of the credits for these meetings to a subsequent budget means an economy of 115,000 francs in respect of subsistence allowance and travelling expenses and 10,500 francs for printing expenses. The Director of the Section also agreed to reduce the credits for enquiries and subsidiary expenditure from 10,000 to 5,000 francs and from 15,000 to 10,000 francs respectively.

The total economy effected on the budget of the Economic Relations Section thus amounts to 135,500 francs.

33. As regards the budget of the Mandates Section, the Commission thought, in view of the resolutions of the Assembly and Council, that it should not suggest the reduction from two to one of the number of annual sessions of the Permanent Mandates Commission. Moreover, in accordance with an Assembly resolution, the Minutes of the Commission, which also represent a large sum, are to be printed.

As all the estimates are based on exact calculations, leaving little margin for unforeseen contingencies, the following reductions alone were made:

	Francs
(1) Sessions	820
(2) Replacements	2,000
(3) Removal expenses	2,450
(4) Printing	3,500
(5) Cables	400
Total	9,170

34. After a lengthy exchange of views with the Secretary-General on the budget of the Communications and Transit Organisation, the following reductions were made :

	Francs
2. Meetings	30,000
3 (a) Printing	3,000
5. Temporary Staff	1,500
6. Removal expenses	5,000
Total	39,500

35. In accordance with a decision taken by the Assembly some years ago, the budget estimates of the International Health Organisation amounted to 1,000,000 gold francs apart from the subsidy of 144,795 dollars paid by the Rockefeller Foundation.

The Director of the Section stated that, at the urgent request of the Secretary-General, the Section had in the previous year taken the necessary steps to effect an economy of 25 per cent on the credits passed, but it would be unfair to invoke this quite exceptional reduction in drawing up the figures of the budget for the subsequent year. Moreover, the Rockefeller Foundation's subsidy was paid in dollars, on which a considerable loss on exchange was to be expected.

While fully recognising the great importance of the Health Section's work for the Members of the League, particularly those situated outside Europe, the Commission considered that the Health Section's budget was one that could be appreciably reduced without harm to the essential work of the League. Accordingly it obtained the Secretary-General's consent to a reduction of 10 per cent, or 100,000 francs, to be divided among the various headings by the Health Committee.

36. The budgets of the Opium Traffic Section and the Permanent Central Opium Board were reduced by 8,600 francs and 19,000 francs respectively.

The competent organs will, before the establishment of a supplementary budget, make detailed proposals as to the expenditure arising from the entry into force of the Convention to limit the manufacture and regulate the distribution of narcotics. For the moment, the aggregate credit of 25,000 francs, entered in the previous year, was maintained.

37. At its April session, the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People adopted a resolution strongly protesting against the reductions, amounting to nearly 30,000 francs, made in the Commission's budget since 1930. The Advisory Commission expressed the opinion that, under Article 23 of the Covenant, it could not remain indifferent to the harmful effects of the world crisis on young people, and it asked that, in order to enable it to complete the work entrusted to it, its budget should be increased by 19,000 francs.

The Supervisory Commission could not accept all the Advisory Commission's proposals, particularly that referring to the printing of the Minutes of the two Committees, since such a suggestion is contrary to an explicit decision of the Assembly. It agreed, however, to include in the budget a supplementary sum of 9,150 francs, divided as follows :

III. <i>Suppression of traffic in women and children :</i>	Increase
	Francs
(a) Printing and documentation (printing of replies of voluntary organisations regarding the traffic in the East)	2,400
IV. <i>Protection of children :</i>	
(a) Printing and documentation (various reports)	3,500
<i>New heading V.</i>	
Temporary engagement of an expert on traffic in women and children in the East to study the reports of the voluntary organisations	3,250

38. As regards the budget for Intellectual Co-operation, the responsible Director agreed not to convene in 1934 the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters, thereby reducing from 75,000 to 65,000 francs the credit provided for sessions of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee and its sub-committees.

In deference to the urgent request of the Commission, he did not oppose the suggestion made to suppress the credit of 5,000 francs provided for the meeting, contemplated by a Council decision, of a Committee of Architects for the purpose of drawing up regulations for international architectural competitions. However important this question might be, the Commission considered that it was in no way urgent. Other reductions were made amounting in all to 17,000 francs. They relate, in particular, to the printing — to be postponed until next year — of a new edition of the Pamphlet : " The Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations " and the " Handbook of International Organisations ". The total economies effected amount to 32,000 francs.

39. In accordance with a decision taken by the last Assembly, the 1934 budget includes for the first time a credit for the Advisory Committee of Experts on Slavery. In the event of the balance of the gifts received to cover the costs of the Committee of Experts established by the twelfth Assembly being available, the Secretary-General proposed that the Advisory Committee should hold two meetings before the end of 1934 — namely, a preliminary session for the constitution of the Committee and a regular session (the first of the biennial sessions provided for in the Assembly's resolution).

The Commission considered that, in present circumstances, it would hardly be wise to convene the Committee twice in the first year of its existence. The credits were therefore reduced from 32,730 to 10,680 francs by suppressing a new post and reducing removal expenses, subsistence allowance, costs of printing, telegrams, etc.

The balance of the gifts received in 1931 amount to 8,890 francs, so that the sum payable by the Members of the League for the first year of the Advisory Committee of Experts on Slavery will in all probability amount to only 1,790 francs. This sum was entered in the budget for 1934.

40. On account of the need for economy, the Secretary-General proposed a reduction of 36,080 francs in respect of technical enquiries in Latin America. The budget for liaison with Latin America was thus reduced to 212,773 francs.

It was also agreed that the question of correspondents in certain countries of Latin America would be re-examined by the Secretary-General and the results of this examination would be communicated to the Supervisory Commission at a subsequent session.

41. Apart from a reduction of 3,000 francs in respect of the technical work of the Secretariat or of experts in connection with wireless operation, the credits for the operation of the League's wireless station were maintained at the 1933 figures.

Further, the Commission considered with the auditor and treasurer the form of the accounts for 1932. These will shortly be audited by the auditor and will show an inconsiderable deficit.

42. As the outcome of a prolonged discussion, the credits provided for the Library were reduced as follows :

(a) Books and maps	Francs
(d) Equipment	20,000
	2,000
Total saving	22,000

The Librarian also undertook, in view of the depreciation of the dollar, not to expend more than 80 per cent of the credits provided in the budget for expenditure to be met out of the revenue of the Rockefeller Library Endowment Fund, it being understood that the unexpended balance would be placed to the reserve to cover depreciation of securities.

2. International Labour Organisation.

43. The session of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office at which the budget was discussed was held at the same time as that of the Supervisory Commission. The latter had an opportunity of learning the general lines of the budget and the principles on which it was based, and accordingly felt bound, in the exceptional circumstances with which it was faced, to draw the attention of the Director of the Labour Office to the practical considerations which it would take as a basis for establishing a workable budget. It pointed out that large reductions had been made in the budgets of the other League organisations and expressed the hope that the Governing Body would do its utmost to meet the need for economy.

44. The Budget Committee of the Governing Body had adopted a budget amounting to 8,405,000 francs, representing a reduction of 447,000 francs on the financial year 1933; of this, 307,929 francs was derived from the increased revenue obtained through the payment of the Brazilian contribution.

In response to the Supervisory Commission's appeal, the Governing Body reduced the budget to 8,257,876 francs, thus introducing a further reduction of 147,000 francs. In deciding on this reduction, the Governing Body made it clear that that sum constituted an irreducible minimum and that the credits would necessarily be almost entirely expended.

45. In presenting the budget to the Commission, the Director pointed out that the first estimates he had submitted to the competent Committee of the Governing Body were based on the following three principles :

- (a) To reduce the budget wherever an economy could legitimately be effected without loss of efficiency ;
- (b) To maintain in every other respect the credits necessary for preserving the full activity of the Office ;
- (c) To restrict expenditure, even at some sacrifices, when non-payment of contributions pointed to the possibility of a cash deficit.

The Director observed that, at the Commission's request, he had in 1932 made considerable economies in various items of the budget and that it would be unfair and contrary to the commitments incurred to cite those economies as a reason for still further reductions in the 1934 budget, especially as there would then be no margin left at all.

46. In view of the great reductions which had already been made, and subject to certain observations which it might submit in its report on rationalisation, the Commission desires for the moment merely to draw the Assembly's attention to the following two points :

(1) Item 3 of the budget comprises credits amounting to 108,000 francs for ten posts, which would in principle be allocated, temporarily at first, to nationals of States not yet "represented" or "represented" to a very small extent on the office staff. These posts, which have recently become vacant, have hitherto been held by two chiefs of Section, five members of Section, two *rédacteurs* and one member of the intermediate class, so that the economy as compared with the past is quite considerable.

Without for the moment taking up any definite attitude in this question, which is connected with that of rationalisation, the Commission desires to draw the Assembly's attention to it.

(2) As regards the branch offices, the credits were approved, subject to further enquiries by the Secretary-General and the Director of the International Labour Office (see paragraph 25 above).

3. Permanent Court of International Justice.

47. In the introduction to the Court's draft budget, the Registrar pointed out that it might be expected that the Protocol of September 14th, 1929, concerning the revision of the Statute of the Court, would come into force in 1933, or at least in 1934. He drew attention to the fact that, for this reason, he had, as in 1932, submitted two draft budgets, one prepared on the basis of the Statute as actually in force and the other taking into account the revised Statute. In this connection, he suggested that the Assembly might adopt the former budget, while authorising him, should the revised Statute come into force after the session of the Assembly, to effect transfers from one chapter to another within the framework of the latter budget, so as to enable the revised Statute to be applied without delay. It will be remembered that, when approving the Court's budget for 1933, the Assembly adopted this system. The Commission recommended that it should, if necessary,¹ again be adopted for the Court's budget for 1934.

48. In his introductory remarks, the Registrar further pointed out that, as the two budgets were calculated very carefully, a deficit could hardly be avoided if contributions roughly approximate to the total amount of the budget were not received in 1934. It is certain that the Registrar having, in the course of the discussions in the Commission, suggested

¹ Should the revised Statute come into force before the forthcoming session of the Assembly, only the budget based on that Statute need of course be adopted.

certain reductions in the draft budget as originally submitted to the Commission and the Commission having accepted these reductions, the Court's budget is indeed carefully calculated so as to contain no hidden reserves and to offer little or no elasticity.

49. The reductions in question affected mainly the following points :

(a) *Judges' Pensions.*

The sum falling due in 1934 under this head amounts to 30,160.86 florins. On the other hand, the Court holds an accumulated fund for defraying the expenses resulting from the application of the " Regulations regarding the granting of retiring pensions to the members and to the Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice ", which fund amounted, on December 31st, 1932, to 67,581.60 florins. The Registrar suggested that, in view of the present financial position of the League, it would be sufficient to budget for 1934 for only 15,160.86 florins, the remaining 15,000 florins to be taken out of the accumulated fund.

(b) *Assessors, Experts and Witnesses.*

For a number of years, the Court's budget has contained an item of 20,000 florins to defray the payment of indemnities to assessors sitting with the Court under Articles 26 and 27 of the Statute, and another credit of 10,000 florins to defray their travelling expenses. Further, a credit of 6,000 florins has been traditionally inscribed in the Court's budget to defray the indemnities of experts and witnesses cited to appear before the Court. In actual fact, it has rarely been necessary to make use of these credits, but they have served to facilitate transfers and thereby to provide the Court's budget with some measure of elasticity. The Registrar now suggested, and the Commission agreed, that, in view of the present financial situation of the League, these credits could be reduced in the 1934 budget to a total amount of 9,000 florins as against the traditional amount of 36,000 florins (*i.e.*, they should be reduced by 27,000 florins).

(c) *Permanent Staff.*

One of the higher officials of the Court having resigned in the course of the year, the Registrar suggested, and the Commission agreed, that the credit for permanent officials should be reduced by an amount corresponding to the salary of that official, it being understood that this did not mean that the post, which had been occupied by the official, was suppressed from the establishment of the Registry. In order to provide for the carrying on in 1934 of part of the work incumbent on the official in question, without filling his post, the Commission agreed that the credit for temporary staff should be increased. The operation involves a total economy of 10,000 florins.

50. Further reductions aggregating 4,600 florins were made, more particularly in the items for unforeseen and extraordinary expenditure. The reductions in these items were made possible by the fact that the Court's budget for 1934, as submitted to the Assembly, provides for a permanent installation of telephone cabins and for a permanent improvement of the acoustics of the Hall of Justice.

51. In connection with the Court's budget for 1934, the question arose how contributions, if any, paid towards the expenses of the Court from States not members of the League should be handled. It was agreed that any decision on this point might with advantage be postponed, pending the receipt of any such contribution. The Commission, however, confirmed the principle which it had adopted at its session of May 1930 and which it then expressed in the following terms :

" As regards the question of the yearly contributions which may be paid to the Court by States non-members of the League, either by virtue of specific agreements or of provisions in the revised Statute, the Commission . . . understood that an arrangement would be effected whereby such funds will be exclusively devoted to the expenditure of the Court."

The Commission agreed that the competent officials might, if necessary, follow this principle.

(d) *Premises of the Court.*

52. The Commission noted with satisfaction a communication by the Registrar to the effect that the building operations in the Peace Palace to enlarge the premises of the Court, as provided for in the agreement of December 1st, 1932, between the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and the Carnegie Foundation at The Hague, a draft of which was approved by the Assembly in 1932, have been completed within the time fixed — *i.e.*, before April 23rd, 1933.

SAVINGS EFFECTED BY THE REGISTRY IN 1932-33.

53. The Commission recorded with satisfaction the contents of a note prepared by the Registrar of the Court, at the request of the Commission, explaining in detail the measures taken by him to ensure strict economy in the application of the budgetary provisions in force, effected on the lines indicated by the Supervisory Commission.

4. Nansen International Office for Refugees.

54. Adhering to the principle it adopted last year, the Commission did not consider itself competent to make recommendations regarding details of the budget of the Nansen Office, which became autonomous in 1931.

55. As, however, the estimates for 1934 were communicated to it, it was anxious to obtain information as to the general structure of the budget.

The Secretary-General of the Office pointed out that the plan of liquidation submitted to the 1930 Assembly provided, for 1934, a grant of 300,000 francs out of the total League contribution, which, for the period 1931 to 1938, was fixed at 1,710,000 francs.

The budget, which for 1932 amounted to 367,000 francs, was reduced for 1934 to 314,000 francs. The Commission noted that, at the end of the financial year, the budget for 1932 showed a credit balance of 34,000 francs. The Governing Body explained that it had endeavoured to reduce the budgets of the delegations, but stated that the reductions effected had resulted in increasing the work of the Geneva services, the staff of which could not, in its opinion, be reduced.

56. Having learnt of the League's financial situation, which had compelled the Commission to adopt a drastic attitude this year, the President of the Governing Body, while declaring himself ready to accept any reasonable reduction imposed by the Commission, considered that he could not take the responsibility of suggesting a substantial reduction, because the budget was based on the general lines of the plan drawn up by his predecessor and submitted to the Assembly.

57. Both on account of the Assembly's decision of principle fixing the contribution for 1933 at 300,000 francs and on account of the new situation arising from the general crisis, and particularly the inadequacy of the contributions received, the Commission decided to request the Assembly to give a decision on the general question and of the figure to be entered in the budget for 1934 in respect of the League's contribution to the Nansen International Office for Refugees.

5. Buildings at Geneva.

58. In pursuance of the recommendations made in Chapter III below, no credit is provided in the 1934 budget for the construction of the Wireless Station. On the other hand, the terminable annuity payable on account of building operations of the League was increased to 2 million francs.

6. Pensions.

59. The figures entered under this chapter are based on exact calculations. The Commission therefore simply accepted a reduction of 500 francs in respect of the valuation of the fund by an actuary, and the suppression of the credit of 500 francs provided for printing.

7. Total Figures of the League of Nations Budget for 1934.

60. To sum up, the modifications in the budget accepted or proposed by the Secretary-General and the competent officials of the autonomous organisations are as follows :

	Increases	Reductions ¹ (as compared with the draft estimates submitted to the Commission)
	Gold francs	
I. Secretariat and special organisations	—	738,615
II. International Labour Organisation	—	— ²
III. Permanent Court of International Justice	—	118,065
IV. Nansen International Office for Refugees	—	—
V. Buildings at Geneva	150,000	—
VI. Pensions	—	1,000
	150,000	857,680
		— 150,000
Net reduction		707,680 ¹

¹ Subject to further reductions as the outcome of the programme of rationalisation, the results of which will appear in the Commission's special report on that question.

² Although no reduction was made in the budget as submitted to the Commission, attention should be drawn to the reductions made by the Governing Body in response to the Commission's appeal (see paragraphs 43 and 44 above).

The budget for 1934 is as follows :

		Reductions as compared with the 1933 budget
		Gold francs
I. Secretariat and special organisations	15,703,631	1,618,828
II. International Labour Organisation	8,257,876	594,096
III. Permanent Court of International Justice	2,538,827	121,369
IV. Nansen International Office for Refugees	300,000	2,237 ¹
V. Buildings at Geneva	2,000,000	34,659
VI. Pensions	1,838,941	9,035 ¹
VII. Working Capital Fund	—	432,177
Total	30,639,275	2,789,857

III. DISPOSAL OF THE BUDGET SURPLUS OF 1932 AND REPAYMENTS TO THE WORKING CAPITAL FUND.

61. As indicated in the printed accounts and the Auditor's report, the available surplus in respect of the Secretariat for the year 1932 amounts to 2,375,675.76 gold francs.

62. In accordance with precedent, the Commission recommends that the refund of advances amounting to 836,355.57 and 263,663.13 gold francs, made from the Working Capital Fund to the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice respectively during 1932, should be regarded as a first charge on that surplus, which would thus be reduced to a net amount of 1,275,657.06 gold francs.

63. Further, the Commission considers that, in view of the present difficult financial situation of the League (see paragraph 6 above), there should be repaid to the Working Capital Fund the balance (729,478.60 gold francs) of the sums which, under previous decisions of the Assembly, have been withdrawn from that fund, as recoverable advances, to meet the costs of construction of the Wireless Station. In this way, the whole of the costs of construction of the Station will be settled.

64. As regards the balance of the surplus, amounting to 546,178.46 gold francs, the Commission suggests that it should be allocated for the formation of a fund to cover losses on exchange, which will inevitably occur in view of the instability of the present situation.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS.

65. In accordance with a decision of the last Assembly, the Supervisory Commission adopted uniform regulations for the use of the Entertainment Fund at the Secretariat and at the International Labour Office.

66. The Commission noted the sixth annual report of the Publications Committee of the Secretariat (Appendix).

STAFF REGULATIONS.

67. *Article 54.* — The Committee was informed that, under the terms of the existing Regulations, an official who is a widower cannot, when proceeding on leave to his country of origin, obtain a refund of the travelling expenses of his mother if she is taking charge of his young children.

The article of the Regulations referring to the refund of the travelling expenses of relations of officials other than wives and children is worded as follows :

“ An official without wife or children, who has abstained from exercising the privilege above provided for may, if he so requests, on the next occasion on which it is exercised, also be allowed travelling expenses for a relation residing with and dependent on the official.”

The Commission noted that, by the omission of the words “ without wife or children ”, an official who in actual fact “ abstained from exercising the privilege ” provided in the first paragraph of Article 54 could be accompanied by his mother when travelling to his

¹ Increase.

country of origin. As the amendment submitted to the Assembly for ratification does not involve any fresh expenditure, since, in order to avail himself of the new privilege, an official would have to renounce a right to which he was expressly entitled, the Supervisory Commission proposes that the second paragraph of Article 54 should be worded as follows :

“ An official who has abstained from exercising the privilege above provided for may, if the official so requests, on the next occasion on which it is exercised also be allowed travelling expenses for a member of the official's family (excluding servants) who is dependent on the official.”

68. Further, the Commission requested the Secretary-General to introduce a slight modification into Article 30bis of the Staff Regulations, to make it clear that under the article, the effect of promotion of an official after October 15th, 1932, is to make him subject to modification of his new salary by the Assembly, but not to deprive him of any rights which he may have under his original terms of appointment. In the Commission's view, the Assembly's intention was that such rights should not be affected by the mere fact of promotion.

Appendix.

SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE OF THE SECRETARIAT FOR 1932.

The following table shows the amount and cost of League publications in 1932 as compared with 1931.

Year	Number of pages	Cost in Swiss francs	Percentage printed in Switzerland	Percentage printed elsewhere	Percentage of authors' corrections
1931	63,825	1,379,937	71.4	28.6	3.4
1932	53,135	1,305,046	76.5	23.5	2.8

SALARIES.

	<i>Printing Department</i>	<i>Publications Department</i>
	Swiss francs	Swiss francs
1931	215,367	69,562
1932	240,749	79,229

RONEOED DOCUMENTS.

	Number of stencils	Number of copies
1931	69,298	11,789,927
1932	68,380	13,938,919

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

The year 1932 shows that, as a result of the Assembly's decisions to effect economies by reducing the Sections' estimates for printing for the year, a substantial diminution of expenditure has been actually achieved.

From the total expenditure mentioned above, a sum of 325,978 Swiss francs should be deducted for printing for the Disarmament Conference. It will then be seen that the reduction in expenditure shown for 1932 as compared with 1931 is more than the 25 per cent insisted upon by the Assembly, and this although the expenditure on printing the *Official Journal* has again unavoidably increased, owing to political circumstances which could not be foreseen or avoided. It should also be noted that some periodicals cannot possibly be reduced owing to the nature of the information they provide — i.e., the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, etc. The method of budgetary compression seems, therefore, to have operated in a satisfactory manner.

The Committee has lately devised rules in connection with the preparation of documents by outside authors, asking the Sections to collaborate more closely with the Editor before fixing the length of documents to be written by outside experts ; this, in order to avoid lengthy documents which the Editor or the Section finds it difficult to reduce at a later stage, although such reduction may be budgetarily essential and required by the Publications Committee.

Authors' Corrections. — The authors' corrections are lower still than in 1931, but this is probably due to the fact that this year the figures include some important publications such as the *Journal of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments*, for which corrections are not charged separately.

Minutes of Committees. — The printing of the Minutes of Committees, with the exceptions mentioned by the Assembly (European Union Commission, Permanent Mandates Commission) has, as required, been discontinued. There has been one exception: the printing of the Minutes of the Fifteenth Session of the Opium Advisory Committee, which, in May, the Council authorised to be printed and paid for out of part of a gift from the Egyptian Government. A substantial economy was therefore realised in printing, postage, etc., on the item "Printing of Minutes of Committees".

There is no doubt, however, that a strong opinion exists in many quarters on the need for the publication of Committee Minutes. The need for economy is, probably, still greater than this desire for the publication of the Minutes of discussions of the Committees in a more convenient and saleable form; but it must be remembered that the pressure from the representatives of Governments on some Committees is continuous.

Free Distribution. — Following the resolution of the 1931 Assembly, the Publications Committee adopted a scheme to carry into effect the proposal to write to persons to whom League documents were sent, asking them to inform the Secretary-General whether they really wished to continue to receive these documents. As reported last year, a circular was sent to all recipients of League publications and the replies have now been classified. As a result of this enquiry, the free distribution was reduced by 10 per cent. Exchanges were in most cases allowed to stand. The Information Section is still, in conjunction with the Publications Committee, working on the reduction of its own free distribution.

Duplicated Documents. — Although the duplicating of documents is not a matter specifically handled by the Publications Committee, the matter is one relevant to its work. In the first place, the recommendation was made by the Assembly that the 25 per cent reduction in printing should be accompanied by a 25 per cent reduction in roneo; secondly, there was the feeling — almost the fear — that Sections might seek to make up for the economy in printing enforced upon them by increasing their quantity of duplicated documents. The Editor was specially instructed to watch this point and to control the monthly figures of roneoed work for every department. Briefly, in 1932, as against 1931, there was (a) a fractional reduction in the number of stencils used — *i.e.*, from 69,000 to 68,000 or about 1½ per cent; (b) a fairly large increase in the duplicated copies made — namely, from 11,790,000 to nearly 13,939,000, or an increase of 18 per cent.

To analyse these figures more in detail:

(a) *More than half* the Sections have had less duplicating in 1932 than in 1931, in some cases — *e.g.*, the Economic Section — the reduction being one of over two-thirds. Wherever the 25 per cent reduction rule could be kept it has been kept. On the other hand, the unavoidable increases in the quantity of roneoed documents for the Political Section (Sino-Japanese dispute), still more for the Disarmament Section (the Conference), and also for the Information Section in connection with both these matters, were so enormous as virtually to wipe out the heavy decrease in most other Sections, the net decrease being, as above stated, only about 1½ per cent.

(b) The increase in the number of *copies* was due almost entirely to the special figures required for the Disarmament Conference.

Verbatim Records. — Verbatim records were suspended for all the Technical Committees of the Disarmament Conference, and also for all the Committees of the Assembly. This resulted in a big economy in two ways: the verbatim reporting staff that would otherwise have been engaged, and the shorter records, which meant a large saving in printing.

The last Assembly asked the Supervisory Commission to make a report on the matter, in particular as to whether this suspension of verbatim records for Assembly Committees should hold for the next Assembly.

Sales Department. — Sales of League publications have proved particularly difficult during 1932. In last year's report (Appendix II to document A.5.1932.X, page 15), it was stated: "*Restrictions in the budgets of public libraries, and the economic crisis, will certainly influence the proceeds in 1932*". This forecast has proved correct. For the first time, the economic crisis has affected sales results. In spite of increased publicity, sales receipts have

decreased from 370,243 francs in 1931 to 295,547.78¹ francs in 1932 — *i.e.*, 20 per cent. In certain countries, however, the reduction is not due to a decrease in actual sales. Although sales of documents in the United Kingdom have been larger than in any previous year and have produced, in sterling, £2,290 4s. 7d. (equivalent at par to 57,318 francs), yet there is a decrease in receipts at Geneva of 16,290 francs, due to loss on the exchange. The depreciation of currency and exchange restrictions have also naturally affected receipts in some other countries. Another reason for the decrease in sales of publications is that, during the Disarmament Conference, fewer documents of an important nature have been published.

In order to combat the effects of the economic depression, the Publications Department has tried to intensify and extend its activities. Important League documents have been brought to the knowledge of all potential buyers, partly through the medium of the agents. Two new sales agencies have been added to the list — namely, in Egypt and Mexico.

Journeys to visit agents, libraries, etc., which might have increased the sales were not undertaken, because of the financial situation.

Receipts from the principal buying countries were as follows :

	1931	1932
	(Swiss francs)	
Belgium	3,131	3,803
United Kingdom	51,649	41,028
Canada	12,294	6,855
France	19,253	11,100
Germany	38,380	17,884
Italy	16,082	12,271
Japan	23,946	27,645
Netherlands	7,426	5,993
Netherlands East Indies	4,866	250
South Africa	3,964	1,400
Sweden	3,680	2,705
Spain	3,951	9,918
Switzerland	38,329	28,356
United States of America	114,770	98,599

The following table of sales receipts is interesting :

	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932
Swiss francs	185,754	247,592	253,392	323,500	370,243	295,548 ¹

The following table shows inclusive and other subscriptions for 1930 and 1931 :

	All-inclusive subscriptions	Sectional subscriptions
1930	156	744
1931	150	729

A suggestion was made last year by the Supervisory Commission to issue, as an experiment, one or two publications in book form when suitable. The *World Economic Survey* was so published in 1932. The sales results were very satisfactory, 2,000 cloth bound copies (English) being sold in less than six months in addition to 2,000 English and 1,200 French copies in wrappers.

Printing Department. — In considering the table showing the percentage of documents printed in Switzerland and elsewhere, account should be taken of the fact that, in 1932, a considerable number of publications had to be printed at Geneva, as they were urgently wanted for the Disarmament Conference.

¹ Net receipts from sales are shown in Auditor's accounts as being 289,622.78 francs ; difference of 5,925 francs had to be credited to the Forstall Revolving Fund for publications.

**PUBLICATIONS EDITED AND REPRINTED BY THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS,
1931 AND 1932.**

Publications	Number of copies printed		Number of pages		Authors' corrections, Swiss francs		Cost in Swiss francs	
	1931	1932	1931	1932	1931	1932	1931	1932
Assembly:								
Periodical	101,200	84,025	318	388	—	—	41,025.80	37,875.80
Occasional	387,265	362,820	6,702	5,618	3,817.15	3,342.48	141,199.75	124,674.25
Council:								
Periodical	48,100	38,250	7,336	4,868	2,615.50	2,165.—	130,552.85	101,066.10
Occasional	69,608	94,840	1,980	2,000	1,140.90	2,415.75	34,160.15	96,885.50
Minutes:								
Of Committees	37,995	5,890	4,452	456	3,628.95	161.50	57,527.80	6,377.50
Of Conferences	25,020	1,083,435	4,164	5,761	2,246.10	960.15	67,271.85	226,365.30
Occasional:								
Sections:								
I. A. Administrative Commissions	8,600	2,300	352	160	219.60	34.35	4,202.60	1,538.65
I. B. Protection of Minorities . . .	8,055	3,590	1,268	588	867.90	321.10	22,947.65	7,382.90
II. A. Financial and Economic Intelligence	73,943	65,633	2,928	3,666	2,424.50	4,167.93	73,124.55	61,315.10
II. B. Economic Relations	55,410	40,590	2,126	1,268	1,820.85	1,168.—	46,652.80	29,049.71
III. Health	34,530	8,085	2,254	276	2,010.45	217.—	40,381.15	3,508.75
Rockefeller Foundation	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
IV. Social Questions	17,960	15,850	668	1,532	434.15	714.55	10,200.50	9,751.85
V. Legal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
VI. A. Mandates	3,385	1,885	256	44	60.75	11.25	3,590.60	467.10
VI. B. Slavery	6,525	2,980	386	56	330.75	49.50	7,425.20	1,428.35
VII. Political	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
VIII. Communications and Transit	50,841	17,200	1,270	148	759.35	66.90	26,768.05	3,079.10
IX. Reduction of Armaments	238,739	653,405	1,750	2,560	2,690.75	1,850.—	54,435.75	76,506.95
X. Treasury	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
XI. Traffic in Opium	43,020	17,285	3,360	1,190	2,981.25	671.20	74,305.60	22,177.49
XII. A. Intellectual Co-operation . .	5,537	1,920	72	40	53.60	21.—	2,504.35	829.80
XII. B. International Bureaux	—	850	—	176	—	27.90	—	1,189.—
XIII. Refugees	2,300	—	24	—	7.50	—	354.30	—
Latin America	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Information Section	18,500	8,772	740	620	185.85	124.—	10,529.95	12,155.85
Internal Administration	580	1,100	40	64	46.20	29.—	476.45	813.95
Library	3,405	—	286	—	388.70	—	5,146.05	—
Publications Department	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Miscellaneous (tables of contents)	825	1,475	184	168	—	—	1,046.50	1,112.55
Periodicals:								
Sections:								
II. A. Financial and Economic Intelligence	40,715	46,839	3,090	2,964	4,667.35	3,814.15	96,301.30	95,251.80
III. Health	—	10,120	—	1,596	—	1,479.—	1,854.15	25,292.55
Rockefeller Foundation	72,030	65,375	1,304	3,438	3,762.—	3,688.10	62,232.30	87,916.35
V. Legal	28,500	24,900	7,274	5,954	7,045.10	5,631.85	141,621.40	119,164.95
IX. Reduction of Armaments	5,051	7,926	2,876	1,624	1,984.50	3,170.15	53,110.10	35,935.05
XII. A. Intellectual Co-operation . .	6,710	7,360	508	470	96.80	45.—	5,858.75	5,713.—
XII. B. International Bureaux	11,155	5,745	596	312	337.20	73.80	7,811.95	3,650.30
Information Section	205,360	206,068	4,141	3,902	216.75	616.75	81,477.60	80,752.—
Library	26,600	33,250	968	1,068	279.20	183.35	19,694.60	18,756.18
Publications Department	36,000	31,500	152	160	117.85	140.14	6,308.—	6,492.30
Totals	1,673,464	2,951,263	63,825	53,135	47,237.50	37,360.85	1,332,100.40	1,304,475.03

ANNEX 5.

Official No.: A.21.1933.X.

FINANCIAL POSITION ON AUGUST 31ST, 1933.

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL.

The Secretary-General is directed by Article 21, paragraph 4, of the Financial Regulations to present to each Assembly a statement on the general financial position of the League, similar in form and substance to that which he prepares monthly for the information of the Council. He is also requested to include in his statement a résumé of the steps which he has taken to notify Member States as to the amounts due and overdue by way of contributions towards the expenses of the League.

I. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BUDGET OF 1933.

The budget for 1933 was communicated by the Secretary-General on November 1st, 1932, to all the Members of the League, together with a statement showing the amount of the contribution which fell to be borne by each State.

Out of the total amount apportioned between the Members of the League for 1933—namely, 33,429,132 gold francs — there has been received, during the first eight months of the current year, the total sum of 14,459,157.55 gold francs, or 43 per cent of the authorised budget (for details see Annex A).

The following payments have been made in respect of the current financial period:

	Gold francs as adopted by the League of Nations
In January	1,254,198.89
February	1,608,170.81
March	203,620.51
April	1,287,637.63
May	3,384,590.17
June	1,338,170.60
July	2,747,250.56
August	2,635,518.38
	14,459,157.55

In the case of Members that have not made payments or advised the Secretary-General of the date when payment would be made, the request of the Secretary-General has been repeated, as directed by Article 21 (2) of the Financial Regulations.

2. OVERDUE CONTRIBUTIONS.

At the close of 1932, there was due to the League, by way of unpaid contributions appertaining to the financial periods ending on December 31st, 1932, as well as the adjusted and consolidated arrears accounts, a total sum of 23,958,258.85 gold francs.

During the first eight months of the current year, payments have been received in respect of arrears to the amount of 1,680,066.47 gold francs, leaving now outstanding the sum of 22,278,192.38 gold francs (see Annex B).

	Balances due on December 31st, 1932	Balances due on August 31st, 1933	Percentage of revised total of contributions col- lected up to date
	Gold francs as adopted by the League of Nations		
Second financial period (July 1st to December 31st, 1920)	26,952.72	26,952.72	99 ½
Third financial period (1921)	187,499.70	187,499.70	99
Fourth financial period (1922)	182,040.30	182,040.30	99
Adjusted arrears account	124,846.45	124,846.45	—
Fifth financial period (1923)	389,161.63	389,161.63	99
<i>Carried forward</i>	910,500.80	910,500.80	

	Balances due on December 31st, 1932 Gold francs as adopted by the League of Nations	Balances due on August 31st, 1933 Gold francs as adopted by the League of Nations	Percentage of revised total of contributions collected up to date
<i>Brought forward.</i>	910,500.80	910,500.80	
Sixth financial period (1924).	359,200.49	359,200.49	98
Seventh financial period (1925)	375,616.19	375,616.19	98
Eighth financial period (1926)	335,271.80	335,271.80	98
Ninth financial period (1927)	348,449.47	348,449.47	98
Tenth financial period (1928)	126,536.74	126,536.74	99
Eleventh financial period (1929)	1,140,193.97	1,129,106.35	96
Twelfth financial period (1930)	1,407,373.70	1,401,782.08	95
Consolidated arrears (China, 1922-1930)	8,743,212.41	8,258,212.41	—
Thirteenth financial period (1931)	3,193,686.77	3,178,586.77	90
Fourteenth financial period (1932)	7,018,216.51	5,854,929.28	82
	<u>23,958,258.85</u>	<u>22,278,192.38</u>	

The total cash receipts of the League from contributions have been, for the period January 1st to August 31st, 1933, as follows:

	Gold francs as adopted by the League of Nations
(a) From arrears of contributions.	1,680,066.47
(b) From payments on 1933 budget.	<u>14,459,157.55</u>
Total	16,139,224.02

The following amounts are still receivable:

(a) From arrears of contributions.	22,278,192.38
(b) From balances due in respect of 1933	<u>18,969,974.45</u>
Total	41,248,166.83

3. WORKING CAPITAL FUND.

	Gold francs
On December 31st, 1932, the total paid-up Working Capital of the League amounted to	5,486,724.33
Receipts of Working Capital during the period from January 1st, 1933, to August 31st, 1933, increased this sum to	5,490,119.33

The Working Capital Fund is regarded as belonging to the States which contribute towards it, and is reckoned in terms of gold francs. From it, advances may be made, from time to time, to the financially autonomous organisations, in accordance with the provisions of the Financial Regulations. The Secretary-General is the custodian of the Working Capital Fund, and sums advanced to autonomous organisations, when no longer required by them, return to his keeping.

On August 31st, 1933, the Working Capital Fund was employed thus:

(1) With the International Labour Organisation	2,308,213.81 ¹
(2) With the Permanent Court of International Justice	738,577.51 ²
(3) With the Secretary-General	<u>2,443,328.01</u>
	5,490,119.33

The Working Capital with the Secretary-General was, on August 31st, 1933, thus employed:

(1) Advances to the Iraq Commission 1924 (balance to be paid by Turkish Government)	10,000.—
(2) Advances to the Danzig High Commissariat	37,853.30
(3) Expenses of Committees appointed to study the question of the use of the Port of Danzig by Poland.	17,094.05
(4) Construction of Wireless Station	816,899.14
(5) Commission of Enquiry in Liberia.	17,284.20
(6) Commission of Enquiry to the Chaco	<u>13,521.75</u>
	912,652.44
<i>Less:</i>	
Commission of Enquiry in Manchuria (credit balance)	<u>6,191.58</u>
	906,460.86

Balance:

	Gold francs
Actual cash at bank	1,283,648.58
Loss on investment	<u>253,218.57</u>
	1,536,867.15
	<u>2,443,328.01</u>

¹ Includes 836,355.57 gold francs, balance of advances made to the International Labour Organisation in 1932. If the Assembly accepts the proposal made by the Supervisory Commission (in document A.5.1933.X), this sum will be reimbursed to the Working Capital Fund from the 1932 surplus.

² Includes 263,663.13 gold francs, balance of advances made to the Permanent Court of International Justice in 1932. If the Assembly accepts the proposal made by the Supervisory Commission (in document A.5.1933.X), this sum will be reimbursed to the Working Capital Fund from the 1932 surplus.

Voluntary Contributions to the Working Capital Fund.

The following sums have been paid in as voluntary contributions towards the Working Capital Fund in response to the Fourth Assembly's recommendation on this subject:

	Gold francs
Abyssinia	15,613.98
Finland	783.19
Germany	67,996.52
Latvia	21,830.98
Total	<u>106,224.67</u>

4. BUILDING FUND OF THE LEAGUE.

The Building Fund amounted, on August 31st, 1933, to the total sum of 25,742,336.31 francs.

This sum was made up as follows:

	Gold francs as adopted by the League of Nations
1. Net surplus of the financial year 1923	1,139,580.45
2. Total surplus of the financial year 1924	9,395,721.35
3. Payments by the Argentine for the fourth and fifth financial years	1,927,184.35
4. Payment by the Argentine for the sixth financial year	872,507.79
5. Surplus of the financial year 1925	3,367,847.28
6. Surplus of the financial year 1928	1,479,161.12
7. Allocation from Building Annuity, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932 and 1933	4,075,000.—
8. Interest and other receipts	3,485,333.97
	<u>25,742,336.31¹</u>

It should be noted that the sum of 25,742,336.31 francs does not include the amount of 4 million francs which corresponds to the guaranteed sale price of the building now occupied by the Secretariat.

On the other hand, the following expenses have actually been paid for:

	Gold francs as adopted by the League of Nations
1. Payments for the new International Labour Office building	3,310,000.—
2. Payments for the Assembly Hall and the new Secretariat building	13,013,888.—
3. Refund to States Members	50,000.—
	<u>16,373,888.—</u>
Balance:	
Actual cash in hand	8,228,034.77
Loss on investment	1,140,413.54
	<u>9,368,448.31</u>
	<u>25,742,336.31</u>

The payments under No. 2 may be further subdivided as follows:

Non-recurring expenditure:

1. Cost of land	2,678,500.—
2. Cost of annex	270,000.—
3. Annex installations	122,401.60
4. Examination expenses	401,768.55
5. Cost of original plans on old site	126,777.25
	<u>3,599,447.40</u>

Current expenditure:

1. Construction of new building	8,859,615.25
2. Advertising expenses	25.—
3. Prints of plans	28,661.70
4. Transport charges	436.75
5. Telegrams and telephones	403.30
6. Experts' fees	24,563.30
7. Printing	1,209.—
8. Incidental expenses	28,086.05
9. Allowances and travelling expenses of Building Committee and staff	161,221.85
10. Legal expenses	30,995.85
11. Administration of property	2,268.15
12. Salaries of staff	232,808.50
13. Sundry and miscellaneous expenses	44,145.90
	<u>9,414,440.60</u>
	<u>13,013,888.—</u>

¹ Excluding a gift of 129,565 francs received from the Woodrow Wilson Foundation.

Two instalments amounting to 2,563,576.90 Swiss francs, equivalent to U.S.A. \$500,000, have been received for the construction of the new Library, the cost of which will be met by donations from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Junr. This sum has depreciated in value on investment by 105,056.66 Swiss francs. The expenditure so far incurred for this building amounts to 1,654,762.35 francs. The actual cash in hand is 803,757.89 Swiss francs.

Including accrued interest, the Special Fund set up by the Assembly at its eighth ordinary session for the furnishing of the new building amounted, on August 31st, 1933, to 879,408.69 francs, from which must be deducted an amount of 141,935.70 francs, loss on investment, leaving a balance of cash at bank of 737,472.99 francs.

Annex A.

CONTRIBUTIONS AU BUDGET DE 1933, SOMMES VERSÉES ET SOLDES DUS AU
31 AOUT 1933.
CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BUDGET OF 1933. SUMS PAID AND BALANCES DUE
AS ON AUGUST 31ST, 1933.

Etats	Montant de la contribution Amount of contribution	Sommes versées Paid	Soldes dus Balances due	States
Afrique du Sud ¹	495,246.40	—	495,246.40	South Africa ¹
Albanie	33,016.43	—	33,016.43	Albania
Allemagne ²	2,608,297.71	652,075.—	1,956,222.71	Germany ²
Argentine	957,476.37	—	957,476.37	Argentina
Australie ²	891,443.52	594,295.68	297,147.84	Australia ²
Autriche	264,131.41	—	264,131.41	Austria
Belgique.	594,295.68	259,565.—	334,730.68	Belgium
Bolivie	132,065.71	—	132,065.71	Bolivia
Royaume-Uni	3,466,724.80	1,486,666.10	1,980,058.70	United Kingdom
Bulgarie.	165,082.13	—	165,082.13	Bulgaria
Canada	1,155,574.93	398,412.90	757,162.03	Canada
Chili	462,229.97	—	462,229.97	Chile
Chine	1,518,755.63	—	1,518,755.63	China
Colombie	198,098.56	—	198,098.56	Colombia
Cuba	297,147.84	—	297,147.84	Cuba
Danemark	396,197.12	396,197.12	—	Denmark
Républ. Dominicaine	33,016.43	—	33,016.43	Dominican Republic ³
Espagne.	1,320,657.07	1,320,657.07	—	Spain
Estonie	99,049.28	72,303.14	26,746.14	Estonia
Ethiopie.	66,032.85	38,106.65	27,926.20	Abyssinia
Finlande.	330,164.27	144,685.47	185,478.80	Finland
France ²	2,608,297.71	1,862,604.68	745,693.03	France ²
Grèce ²	231,114.98	—	231,114.98	Greece ²
Guatémala.	33,016.43	—	33,016.43	Guatemala
Haïti	33,016.43	—	33,016.43	Haiti
Honduras	33,016.43	—	33,016.43	Honduras
Hongrie	264,131.41	—	264,131.41	Hungary
Inde	1,848,919.89	788,095.—	1,060,824.89	India
Irak	99,049.28	49,525.—	49,524.28	Iraq
Irlande (Etat libre d')	330,164.27	82,538.09	247,626.18	Irish Free State
Italie	1,980,985.60	1,417,643.51	563,342.09	Italy
Japon.	1,980,985.60	—	1,980,985.60	Japan
Lettonie.	99,049.28	24,800.—	74,249.28	Latvia
Libéria	33,016.43	—	33,016.43	Liberia
Lithuanie	132,065.71	42,627.96	89,437.75	Lithuania
Luxembourg	33,016.43	33,016.43	—	Luxemburg
Mexique ²	462,229.97	365,005.25	97,224.72	Mexico ²
Nouvelle-Zélande	330,164.27	125,979.15	204,185.12	New Zealand
Nicaragua	16,508.21	1,215.80	15,292.41	Nicaragua
Norvège	297,147.84	297,147.84	—	Norway
Panama	33,016.43	11,805.90	21,210.53	Panama
Paraguay	33,016.43	—	33,016.43	Paraguay
Pays-Bas	759,377.81	759,377.81	—	Netherlands
Perse	165,082.13	—	165,082.13	Persia
Pérou	297,147.84	—	297,147.84	Peru
Pologne ²	1,056,525.65	—	1,056,525.65	Poland ²
Portugal.	198,098.56	198,098.56	—	Portugal
Roumanie	726,361.39	425,197.01	301,164.38	Roumania
Salvador	33,016.43	22,806.85	10,209.58	Salvador
Siam	297,147.84	297,147.84	—	Siam
Suède	594,295.68	594,295.68	—	Sweden
Suisse	561,279.25	561,279.25	—	Switzerland
Tchécoslovaquie	957,476.37	682,423.14	275,053.23	Czechoslovakia
Turquie	330,164.27	330,164.27	—	Turkey
Uruguay	231,114.98	44,182.65	186,932.33	Uruguay
Venezuela	165,082.13	79,215.75	85,866.38	Venezuela
Yougoslavie	660,328.53	—	660,328.53	Yugoslavia
	33,429,132.00	14,459,157.55	18,969,974.45	

¹ A versé le montant total de sa contribution au début du mois de septembre. — Paid the whole of its contribution at the beginning of September.

² A versé un acompte à valoir sur sa contribution depuis le 31 août. — Paid a sum on account of its contribution since August 31st.

³ A versé le solde de sa contribution depuis le 31 août. — Paid the balance of its contribution since August 31st.

Annex B.

UNPAID CONTRIBUTIONS.

The contributions yet unpaid in respect of the first fourteen financial periods and of the adjusted and consolidated arrears accounts are as follows:

Gold francs
as adopted by the
League of Nations

First financial period (1919-20):

All contributions have been paid or adjusted.

Second financial period (July 1st to December 31st, 1920):

Peru (unpaid balance)	26,952.72
99.5% of the revised total of contributions for 1920 has been paid.	

Third financial period (1921):

Peru (unpaid balance)	187,499.70
99% of the revised total of contributions for 1921 has been paid.	

Fourth financial period (1922):

Peru (unpaid balance)	182,040.30
99% of the revised total of contributions for 1922 has been paid.	

Adjusted arrears accounts of States (Decisions of the Fourth and Fifth Assemblies):

	Reduced amount	Paid on account	Balance due payable in instalments
	Gold francs as adopted by the League of Nations		
Honduras	55,326.58	—	55,326.58
Nicaragua	55,326.58	7,265.13	48,061.45
Paraguay	25,618.—	10,247.20	15,370.80
Salvador	60,850.—	54,762.38	6,087.62
	197,121.16	72,274.71	124,846.45

Fifth financial period (1923):

Bolivia (unpaid balance)	90,000.—
Honduras (entire contribution)	27,196.51
Nicaragua " "	27,196.51
Peru (unpaid balance) "	244,768.61
	389,161.63
99% of the revised total of contributions for 1923 has been paid.	

Sixth financial period (1924) ¹:

Bolivia (unpaid balance)	104,284.01
Honduras (entire contribution)	23,174.23
Nicaragua " "	23,174.23
Peru (unpaid balance) "	208,568.02
	359,200.49
98% of the revised total of contributions for 1924 has been paid.	

Seventh financial period (1925):

Bolivia (unpaid balance)	109,049.86
Honduras (entire contribution)	24,233.30
Nicaragua " "	24,233.30
Peru (unpaid balance) "	218,099.73
	375,616.19
98% of the revised total of contributions for 1925 has been paid.	

Eighth Financial Period (1926):

Bolivia (unpaid balance)	88,100.63
Honduras (entire contribution)	24,472.39
Nicaragua " "	24,472.39
Peru (unpaid balance) "	198,226.39
	335,271.80
98% of the revised total of contributions for 1926 has been paid.	

¹ The figures shown hereunder represented the revised contributions—i.e., the contributions less the amount included for the reimbursement of the Temporary Contribution to the Working Capital Fund which was repaid in 1925 to the States which had paid their quota for 1924. (See reports of the Auditor and of the Supervisory Commission, documents A.3.1926.X, page 69, and A.5.1926.X, paragraph 10.)

Gold francs
as adopted by the League of Nations

Ninth Financial Period (1927):

Bolivia (unpaid balance)	86,940.32
Honduras (entire contribution)	24,150.09
Nicaragua " "	24,150.09
Paraguay (unpaid balance)	17,593.24
Peru " "	195,615.73

348,449.47

98% of the revised total of contributions for 1927 has been paid.

Tenth Financial Period (1928):

Bolivia (unpaid balance)	89,320.01
Honduras " "	12,405.62
Nicaragua (entire contribution)	24,811.11

126,536.74

99% of the revised total of contributions for 1928 has been paid.

Eleventh Financial Period (1929):

Argentine (entire contribution)	736,558.14
Bolivia " "	105,215.77
Guatemala " "	5,303.43
Honduras (unpaid balance)	13,898.40
Nicaragua (entire contribution)	26,303.94
Paraguay (unpaid balance)	21,203.37
Peru " "	220,623.30

1,129,106.35

96% of the revised total of contributions for 1929 has been paid.

Twelfth Financial Period (1930):

Argentine (entire contribution)	791,290.53
Bolivia " "	112,765.07
Chile (unpaid balance) "	16,150.94
Cuba " "	36,286.80
Guatemala (entire contribution)	27,607.06
Honduras " "	28,191.27
Liberia (unpaid balance) "	1,912.33
Nicaragua " "	9,553.32
Paraguay (entire contribution)	27,553.28
Peru " "	253,721.39
Salvador (unpaid balance)	17,826.07
Uruguay " "	78,924.02

1,401,782.08

95% of the revised total of contributions for 1930 has been paid.

Consolidated Arrears (Decision of Eleventh Assembly):

China (1922 to 1930)	8,258,212.41
--------------------------------	--------------

Thirteenth Financial Period (1931):

Argentine (entire contribution)	880,852.04
Bolivia " "	125,118.40
Chile " "	427,659.—
China (unpaid balance) "	719,433.52
Cuba (entire contribution)	275,367.38
Dominican Republic (entire contribution)	31,161.64
Guatemala " "	30,695.38
Haiti " "	28,636.30
Honduras " "	31,279.59
Hungary (unpaid balance)	28,342.97
Liberia (entire contribution)	31,279.59
Nicaragua (unpaid balance)	12,886.51
Panama " "	29,940.39
Paraguay (entire contribution)	30,641.60
Peru " "	281,516.34
Uruguay " "	213,776.12

3,178,586.77

90% of the total contributions for 1931 has been paid.

Gold francs
as adopted by the League of Nations

Fourteenth Financial Period (1932):

Albania (unpaid balance)	31,937.42
Argentina (entire contribution)	947,540.29
Bolivia	134,316.76
Bulgaria (unpaid balance)	14,923.47
Chile (entire contribution)	459,853.32
China (unpaid balance)	772,435.27
Colombia	191,631.28
Cuba (entire contribution)	296,063.74
Germany (unpaid balance)	1,346,516.44
Guatemala (entire contribution)	32,994.97
Haiti	30,935.89
Honduras	33,579.18
Hungary	266,931.89
Liberia	33,579.18
Nicaragua (unpaid balance)	8,380.50
Panama (entire contribution)	32,402.66
Paraguay	32,941.19
Peru	302,212.70
Poland (unpaid balance)	166,034.53
Uruguay (entire contribution)	229,873.29
Yugoslavia (unpaid balance)	489,845.31

5,854,929.28

82% of the total contributions for 1932 has been paid.

RELEVÉ DES ARRIÉRÉS PERÇUS ET A PERCEVOIR (au 1^{er} janvier et au 31 août 1933)
STATEMENT SHOWING ARREARS COLLECTED AND DUE
(January 1st and August 31st, 1933).

Etats	Montant dû au 1 ^{er} janvier 1933	Acomptes versés sur les arriérés, au cours des huit premiers mois de 1933	Solde des arriérés encore impayés au 1 ^{er} septembre 1933	TOTAL DES SOLDES DUS AU 1 ^{er} SEPTEMBRE 1933	States
	Amount due on January 1st, 1933	Payments on account of arrears made during eight months of 1933	Balance of arrears yet unpaid as on September 1st, 1933	TOTAL OF BALANCE DUE SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1933	
Albanie	31.937,42 (1932)	—	31.937,42	31.937,42	Albania
Allemagne	1.346.516,44 (1932)	—	1.346.516,44	1.346.516,44	Germany
Argentine	736.558,14 (1929)	—	736.558,14	} 3.356.241,00	Argentine
	791.290,53 (1930)	—	791.290,53		
Australie	880.852,04 (1931)	—	880.852,04	}	Australia
	947.540,29 (1932)	—	947.540,29		
Bolivie	374.636,21 (1932)	374.636,21	—	} 1.045.110,83	Bolivia
	90.000,— (1923)	—	90.000,—		
	104.284,01 (1924)	—	104.284,01		
	109.049,86 (1925)	—	109.049,86		
	88.100,63 (1926)	—	88.100,63		
	86.940,32 (1927)	—	86.940,32		
	89.320,01 (1928)	—	89.320,01		
	105.215,77 (1929)	—	105.215,77		
	112.765,07 (1930)	—	112.765,07		
	125.118,40 (1931)	—	125.118,40		
Bulgarie	134.316,76 (1932)	—	134.316,76	} 14.923,47	Bulgaria
	81.200,62 (1932)	66.277,15	14.923,47		
Chili	16.150,94 (1930)	—	16.150,94	} 903.663,26	Chile
	427.659,— (1931)	—	427.659,—		
Chine	459.853,32 (1932)	—	459.853,32	} 9.750.081,20	China
	8.743.212,41 (C.A. ¹)	485.000,—	8.258.212,41		
Colombie	719.433,52 (1931)	—	719.433,52	} 191.631,28	Colombia
	772.435,27 (1932)	—	772.435,27		
Cuba	191.631,28 (1932)	—	191.631,28	} 607.717,92	Cuba
	36.286,80 (1930)	—	36.286,80		
Grèce	275.367,38 (1931)	—	275.367,38	} —	Greece
	296.063,74 (1932)	—	296.063,74		
Guatemala	15.534,68 (1932)	15.534,68	—	} 96.600,84	Guatemala
	16.391,05 (1929)	11.087,62	5.303,43		
Haïti	27.607,06 (1930)	—	27.607,06	} 59.572,19	Haiti
	30.695,38 (1931)	—	30.695,38		
Honduras	32.994,97 (1932)	—	32.994,97	} 297.907,16	Honduras
	28.636,30 (1931)	—	28.636,30		
	30.935,89 (1932)	—	30.935,89		
	55.326,58 (C.A. ²)	—	55.326,58		
	27.196,51 (1923)	—	27.196,51		
	23.174,23 (1924)	—	23.174,23		
	24.233,30 (1925)	—	24.233,30		
	24.472,39 (1926)	—	24.472,39		
	24.150,09 (1927)	—	24.150,09		
	12.405,62 (1928)	—	12.405,62		
Hongrie	13.898,40 (1929)	—	13.898,40	} 295.274,86	Hungary
	28.191,27 (1930)	—	28.191,27		
Libéria	31.279,59 (1931)	—	31.279,59	} 66.771,10	Liberia
	33.579,18 (1932)	—	33.579,18		
Lithuanie	43.442,97 (1931)	15.100,—	28.342,97	} —	Lithuania
	266.931,89 (1932)	—	266.931,89		
Nouvelle-Zélande	3.732,88 (1930)	1.820,55	1.912,33	} —	New Zealand
	31.279,59 (1931)	—	31.279,59		
	33.579,18 (1932)	—	33.579,18		
	9.198,04 (1932)	9.198,04	—		
	82.289,74 (1932)	82.289,74	—		

¹ Compte des contributions arriérées consolidées; ces contributions seront versées par acomptes échelonnés sur vingt années (décision de la onzième Assemblée). — Consolidated arrears account payable in instalments spread over twenty years (Decision of the Eleventh Assembly).

² Compte des contributions arriérées revisées; ces contributions seront versées par acomptes échelonnés sur un certain nombre d'années (décisions de la quatrième et de la cinquième Assemblée). — Compounded arrears account payable in instalments spread over a number of years (Decisions of the Fourth and Fifth Assemblies).

RELEVÉ DES ARRIÉRÉS PERÇUS ET A PERCEVOIR (au 1^{er} janvier et au 31 août 1933)
(suite).

STATEMENT SHOWING ARREARS COLLECTED AND DUE
(January 1st and August 31st, 1933) (continued).

Etats	Montant dû au 1 ^{er} janvier 1933	Acomptes versés sur les arriérés, au cours des huit premiers mois de 1933	Solde des arriérés encore impayés au 1 ^{er} septembre 1933	TOTAL DES SOLDES DUS AU 1 ^{er} SEPTEMBRE 1933	States			
	Amount due on January 1st, 1933	Payments on account of arrears made during eight months of 1933	Balance of arrears yet unpaid as on September 1st, 1933	TOTAL OF BALANCE DUE SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1933				
Nicaragua . . .	48.061,45 (C.A. ¹)	—	48.061,45	253.223,35	Nicaragua			
	27.196,51 (1923)	—	27.196,51					
	23.174,23 (1924)	—	23.174,23					
	24.233,30 (1925)	—	24.233,30					
	24.472,39 (1926)	—	24.472,39					
	24.150,09 (1927)	—	24.150,09					
	24.811,11 (1928)	—	24.811,11					
	26.303,94 (1929)	—	26.303,94					
	9.553,32 (1930)	—	9.553,32					
	12.886,51 (1931)	—	12.886,51					
Panama	8.380,50 (1932)	—	8.380,50	62.343,05	Panama			
	29.940,39 (1931)	—	29.940,39					
	32.402,66 (1932)	—	32.402,66					
Paraguay	15.370,80 (C.A. ¹)	—	15.370,80	145.303,48	Paraguay			
	17.593,24 (1927)	—	17.593,24					
	21.203,37 (1929)	—	21.203,37					
	27.553,28 (1930)	—	27.553,28					
Perse	30.641,60 (1931)	—	30.641,60	—	Persia			
	32.941,19 (1932)	—	32.941,19					
Pérou	80.516,20 (1932)	80.516,20	—	2.519.844,93	Peru			
	26.952,72 (1920)	—	26.952,72					
	187.499,70 (1921)	—	187.499,70					
	182.040,30 (1922)	—	182.040,30					
	244.768,61 (1923)	—	244.768,61					
	208.568,02 (1924)	—	208.568,02					
	218.099,73 (1925)	—	218.099,73					
	198.226,39 (1926)	—	198.226,39					
	195.615,73 (1927)	—	195.615,73					
	220.623,30 (1929)	—	220.623,30					
Pologne *	253.721,39 (1930)	—	253.721,39	166.034,53	Poland *			
	281.516,34 (1931)	—	281.516,34					
République Dominicaine	302.212,70 (1932)	—	302.212,70	31.161,64	Dominican Republic			
	456.123,15 (1932)	290.088,62	166.034,53					
	3.771,07 (1930)	3.771,07	—					
Salvador	31.161,64 (1931)	—	31.161,64	23.913,69	Salvador			
	7.548,23 (1932)	7.548,23	—					
Tchécoslovaquie	6.087,62 (C.A. ¹)	—	6.087,62	—	Czechoslovakia			
	17.826,07 (1930)	—	17.826,07					
Uruguay	237.198,36 (1932)	237.198,36	—	522.573,43	Uruguay			
	78.924,02 (1930)	—	78.924,02					
Yougoslavie	213.776,12 (1931)	—	213.776,12	489.845,31	Yugoslavia			
	229.873,29 (1932)	—	229.873,29					
Total	489.845,31 (1932)	—	489.845,31	23.958.258,85	1.680.066,47	22.278.192,38	22.278.192,38	

¹ Voir note 2 à la page précédente. — See note 2 on the preceding page.

² A versé le solde de sa contribution depuis le 31 août — Paid the balance of its contribution since August 31st.

FINANCIAL POSITION ON SEPTEMBER 23RD, 1933.

Note by the Secretary-General.

Several contributions having been received since September 1st, 1933, the following amendments should be made in first part of this document. (Annex 5), "Financial Position on August 31st, 1933":

1. Page 141, Annex A, "Contributions to the Budget of 1933":

	Paid (Gold francs)	Balance due
South Africa	495,246.40	—
Australia	742,869.60	148,573.92
France	1,951,770.68	656,527.03
Germany	1,304,175.—	1,304,122.71
Greece	57,778.74	173,336.24
Lithuania	103,852.44	28,213.27
Mexico	462,229.97	—
Poland	211,455.47	845,070.18
Total (page 141)	16,271,927.28	17,157,204.72

2. Pages 145 and 146, "Statement showing Arrears collected and due":

	Payments in 1933	Balance of arrears on September 23rd (Gold Francs)	Total arrears on September 23rd
Albania (1932)	31,449.90	487.52	487.52
Guatemala {	1929	12,171.27	95,517.19
	1930	—	
	1931	—	
	1932	—	
Poland (1932)	456,123.15	—	—
Yugoslavia (1932)	410,082.13	79,763.18	79,763.18
Total (page 146)	2,288,716.68	21,669,542.17	21,669,542.17

ANNEX 6.

CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARREARS.

REPORT BY THE FOURTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: M. CASTILLO NAJERA (Mexico).

The Fourth Committee instructed a Sub-Committee to consider the question of unpaid contributions for the financial years previous to December 31st, 1932.

The Sub-Committee was composed of the following members:

- M. R. RAPHAËL (Greece),
- Sir Hormusji MEHTA (India),
- M. CASTILLO NAJERA (Mexico),
- M. Leopoldo PALACIOS (Spain),
- M. E. C. BOHEMAN (Sweden).

M. CASTILLO NAJERA was elected Chairman and Rapporteur.

As a departure from the custom observed in previous years, the Fourth Committee discussed the report of its Sub-Committee at a public meeting. The views expressed in the Sub-Committee's report are entirely endorsed by the Fourth Committee. For this reason, and also in order to dispel any impression of secrecy which may in the past have been attached to this question, the text of the report is annexed to the present document.

The Fourth Committee ventures to submit the following comments upon the report of its Sub-Committee:

1. The Fourth Committee considers that the question of contributions in arrears should be given full publicity at the Assembly each year.

2. The Fourth Committee received the proposals of the Indian delegate (contained in the report) with interest and appreciation of the principles underlying them. With regard to the first proposal, however, several speakers expressed the opinion that officials of League Organisations should be appointed with a view primarily to their competence and not to their nationality. As regards the second proposal, it was the opinion of certain delegates that, apart from the constitutional aspect, it would not seem prudent or consistent with the ideals of the League to apply the measures indicated. It appeared to be the general opinion that any such action should be taken on the basis of a common policy, and not on that of established rules. The Indian delegate, while concurring with these views, explained that his suggestions had not been put forward with a view to their adoption as definite rules, but in order to assist the Assembly towards a solution of the problem of arrears which had hitherto been recurring with distressing regularity.

3. Referring to recommendation No. 3 of the Sub-Committee's report, the delegate of Finland proposed that, with regard to States in arrear, the following action should be taken at such periods, varying of course with each State, when their national budgets are known to be submitted to their legislative assemblies.

The Secretary-General should address to each Government a letter, the text of which would be communicated to the Press by the Secretariat, setting forth the various amounts due in respect of arrears and requesting that provision for their payment be included in the budget under consideration. The reply of the Government to this letter should also be given to the Press.

It was the opinion of the Finnish delegate that such publicity would not only bring a certain amount of pressure to bear on States in default with their contributions, but would also facilitate the voting of the necessary credits by the national Assemblies.

4. The Fourth Committee desires to draw the special attention of the Assembly to the two following extracts from the report:

(a) "The Sub-Committee wishes specially to point out that, among the cases under review, there is not one State which could not have paid at least a part of its contribution even if it was not capable of paying the full amount. Where a situation arises making it absolutely impossible for a State to fulfil its financial obligations in their entirety towards the League, a payment corresponding to its utmost capacity in this respect ought nevertheless to be made."

(b) "It expresses the fervent hope that the States in question will render any further measures of a general character unnecessary by their efforts towards the liquidation of arrears during the coming year."

5. Certain delegates pointed out that the taking of measures against the debtor States as a whole would be justified, even in time of economic crisis, were it not necessary to take into account the factor of prohibitions and restrictions on the import of raw materials, which in many countries has considerably aggravated the natural effects of the crisis and which the League of Nations has not yet succeeded in remedying, despite the appeal addressed to the Economic Conference by the thirteenth Assembly.

6. The Fourth Committee considers that the true figure of the total arrears actually due should be taken as being less than ten million francs. This amount is arrived at by the exclusion of consolidated arrears, which are payable over a number of years, and the arrears ascribed to the Argentine, the situation of which country is of a special character.

The Fourth Committee believes that the amount mentioned above can be collected in the course of time by means of arrangements with individual States which, however, should only be made on the condition that the States regularly pay their current contributions.

7. The Fourth Committee associates itself with the view of its Sub-Committee that the question of the collection of current contributions is even more urgent than that of arrears. In order to ensure a greater regularity in the payment of contributions, the Fourth Committee has approved certain amendments to the Regulations for the financial administration of the League proposed by the Supervisory Commission.

8. The Fourth Committee firmly believes that, if all States Members would agree to make it a primary duty to continue contributing towards the expenses of the League, the question of contributions in arrears will eventually cease to occupy the attention of the Assembly.

9. The following draft resolution is submitted to the Assembly:

"The Assembly:

"Notes with regret that the amount of unpaid contributions has once more increased this year;

"Appeals to the States having arrears to make every effort during the coming year to liquidate part, if not the whole, of these arrears and at least to pay their current contributions to the League;

"Considers that, unless the situation has distinctly improved during the course of the next year, the Assembly will be obliged to study measures of a general character to enforce the fulfilment by certain States of their financial obligations to the League;

“ Decides, as a mark of sympathy for the Dominican Republic, which is still suffering from the effects of the great disaster of 1931, to excuse the payment of the contributions for that year;

“ Requests the Secretary-General to continue his efforts for the recovery of arrears and to report to the Assembly at its next ordinary session.”

Appendix.

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARREARS.

Geneva, October 6th, 1933.

The Sub-Committee has held five meetings. It has studied with great care the documents placed before it by the Secretary-General and, in particular, the analytical statement of arrears and current contributions shown in Sub-Appendices I and II of the present report.

The Sub-Committee decided to request the Chairman of the Fourth Committee to invite the representatives of the States in arrears to appear before the Sub-Committee.

The delegates of the following States attended in response to this invitation:

Chile	Dominican Republic	Panama
China	Guatemala	Uruguay
Colombia	Haiti	Yugoslavia
Cuba	Nicaragua	

The delegates of the following States did not appear before the Sub-Committee, but made verbal statements to the Chairman of the Sub-Committee:

Bolivia	Hungary
Germany	Paraguay

The delegate of Peru communicated with the Chairman in writing.

The Sub-Committee wishes to express its satisfaction that representatives of so many States responded to the invitation of the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, as it holds the opinion that a frank exchange of views with the States in question is of great value in approaching a solution of the question of arrears.

PART I.

Details regarding each State in arrears will be found in alphabetical order in Sub-Appendix IV of this report.

Generally speaking, the principal reasons put forward by the delegates for the non-payment of their contributions are:

- (1) The impression that the amount of contributions demanded is too high and that the scale of allocations adopted by the 1925 Assembly no longer applies to the present situation;
- (2) The economic crisis and the exchange problems which cause great difficulty in the transmission of foreign remittances.

As regards these reasons, the Sub-Committee is of the opinion that there is no doubt that, since the year 1925, when the present scale of units was adopted by the Assembly, the situation of many Member States has undergone a change justifying perhaps a diminution of the number of units allotted to them. The question of the scale of units is, however, not within the mandate of this Sub-Committee.

It should, nevertheless, be borne in mind that several States, which are regularly paying their contributions in full, are suffering from an economic situation hardly less serious than that afflicting many of the States which are not fulfilling their obligations to the League.

The Sub-Committee wishes specially to point out that, among the cases under review, there is not one State which could not have paid at least a part of its contribution even if it was not capable of paying the full amount. Where a situation arises making it absolutely impossible for a State to fulfil its financial obligations in their entirety towards the League, a payment corresponding to its utmost capacity in this respect ought nevertheless to be made.

It must be presumed that the principal causes for the non-payment of contributions are only of a temporary nature. In appealing, therefore, to the various delegates for their co-operation in obtaining payments from their Governments, the Sub-Committee laid stress on the necessity for concentrating, for the moment, on current contributions, upon which, after all, the satisfactory working of the League depended.

It draws attention to Sub-Appendix II, which indicates that 41 per cent of current contributions have not yet been paid this year. It does not, however, in any way underestimate the importance of the question of arrears, since it requested delegates at the same time to obtain, if possible,

proposals from their Governments for the settlement of arrears by arrangements which could be agreed upon at a later date.

The Sub-Committee wishes to thank the representatives who came before it and who undertook to do their utmost to obtain payment in full or in part from their respective Governments. The Sub-Committee is confident that they will carry out this undertaking.

Analytical Statement of Arrears.

It will be seen from the statement contained in Sub-Appendix I that, of the 21 million francs (in round figures) owing in respect of arrears:

- (i) The sum of 8 millions corresponds to consolidated arrears (China, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Salvador);¹
- (ii) 3 millions is due by Argentine;
- (iii) 1½ million is due by China in respect of regular contributions;
- (iv) 1,700,000 is due by five European States;
- (v) 66,000 by Liberia.

There remains, therefore, the sum of 6 millions due by fourteen Latin-American States. The Sub-Committee believes that a great part of this amount should be recoverable in later years, if not in the near future, if by the exercise of a little goodwill the States in question could be persuaded to accept arrangements for the consolidation and amortisation of their debt.

In addition to the grouping of States effected in the statement contained in Sub-Appendix I, it will also be interesting to note the result of grouping States according to the percentage paid by them of the total contributions requested of them since their entry into the League:

(a) *States which have paid over 75 per cent:*

	%		%
Albania	99.85	Dominican Republic	85.57
Bulgaria	99.19	Hungary	83.45
Yugoslavia	98.82	Liberia	82.60
Salvador	92.75	Chile	79.16
Colombia	91.34	Uruguay	76.10
Germany	89.87	Cuba	75.56
Panama	89.04		

(b) *States which have paid over 50 per cent:*

Guatemala	70.63	Paraguay	55.27
---------------------	-------	--------------------	-------

(c) *States which have paid over 25 per cent:*

China	38.82	Bolivia	29.78
-----------------	-------	-------------------	-------

(d) *States which have paid under 25 per cent:*

Peru	17.51	Honduras	7.68
Nicaragua	17.21		

PART II. — GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE FOURTH COMMITTEE.

The Sub-Committee has reviewed the whole situation which arises out of the non-payment of certain contributions and which no doubt constitutes a very grave problem. It is of the opinion that the conversations it has held with the representatives of the States in arrear have helped to improve the situation and, in fact, have not been without immediate results. At the time of preparing its report, the Sub-Committee learnt that Guatemala had paid part and Haiti the whole of their arrears.

The Sub-Committee discussed the measures which might eventually be taken in respect of States which do not pay their contributions to the League and studied the report on the legal situation of these States which was submitted to the Assembly of 1927 (see document A.10.1927.V). The Indian delegate proposed that the Sub-Committee should recommend:

(i) That nationals of States in default with their contributions should not be appointed to posts in the various organisations of the League;

(ii) That delegates should be invited to refrain from electing the representatives of States in arrear to honorary posts in the Assembly, the Council or Committees.

¹ See Sub-Appendix III.

Since no agreement on this proposal could be reached in the Sub-Committee, the member for India reserved his right to bring the matter before the Fourth Committee.

In view of the very exceptional economic conditions prevailing throughout the world to-day, the majority of the members of the Sub-Committee did not think it advisable to make other proposals of a general character than those indicated below. It expresses the fervent hope that the States in question will render any further measures of a general character unnecessary by their efforts towards the liquidation of arrears during the coming year.

The Sub-Committee submits the following recommendations for the approval of the Fourth Committee:

1. The Sub-Committee is entirely in agreement with the proposal contained in the supplementary report of the Supervisory Commission (document A.5(a).1933.X) under Chapter V, "Collection of Contributions", on the understanding that the new procedure will apply only in cases where the States have signified their agreement. The Sub-Committee is informed that the necessary draft amendments to Article 21 of the Financial Regulations will be submitted by the Supervisory Commission.

2. Under the terms of Article 38a of the Financial Regulations, a surplus obtained at the end of a financial year shall be used to effect a corresponding reduction of the sum to be collected from States for the second year following.

The Sub-Committee ventures to suggest that it is not equitable to distribute the benefits of a surplus among those Member States which have not contributed to it, and therefore recommends that the Supervisory Commission should be invited to study the matter and to propose suitable amendments to Article 38a to the Assembly of 1934.

3. The Sub-Committee recommends that Member States should regularly include in their budgets the provision necessary to pay their contributions to the League.

4. In accordance with precedents, the Sub-Committee proposes that the Government of the Dominican Republic, which was a regular contributor to the League until the year 1930 and has paid its contribution for 1932, should be excused the payment of its contribution for 1931 as a mark of sympathy for the great disaster which overwhelmed the Republic in that year.

5. The Sub-Committee believes that Member States which regularly pay their contributions can do much to improve the present situation of contributions by means of friendly representations.

6. The Sub-Committee proposes that the following draft resolution be submitted to the Assembly:

" The Assembly:

" Notes with regret that, owing to the economic crisis, the amount of unpaid contributions has once more increased this year;

" Appeals to the States in question to make every effort during the coming year to liquidate part, if not the whole, of their arrears and at least to pay their current contributions to the League;

" Decides, as a mark of sympathy for the Dominican Republic, which is still suffering from the effects of the great disaster of 1931, to excuse the payment of the contribution for that year;

" Requests the Secretary-General to continue his efforts for the recovery of arrears and to report to the Assembly at its next ordinary session."

Sub-Appendix I.

ARREARS FOR THE FINANCIAL PERIODS 1920-1932.

Position on October 6th, 1933.

	Amounts due Gold francs
A. <i>Consolidated Arrears:</i> ¹	
China	8,252,579.78
Honduras	55,326.58
Nicaragua	48,061.45
Paraguay	15,370.80
Salvador	6,087.62
	8,377,426.23
B. <i>Argentine Republic.</i>	3,356,241.—
Total	11,733,667.23

¹ See Sub-Appendix III.

C. Other Arrears:		Amounts due Gold francs
<i>I. Latin America:</i>		
Bolivia	1,045,110.83	
Chile	903,663.26	
Colombia	191,631.28	
Cuba	607,717.92	
Dominican Republic	31,161.64	
Guatemala	94,522.34	
Honduras	242,580.58	
Nicaragua	205,161.90	
Panama	62,343.05	
Paraguay	129,932.68	
Peru	2,519,844.93	
Salvador	17,826.07	
Uruguay	522,573.43	
	<hr/>	6,574,069.91
<i>2. Europe:</i>		
Albania	487.52	
Bulgaria	14,923.47	
Germany	1,346,516.44	
Hungary	295,274.86	
Yugoslavia	79,763.18	
	<hr/>	1,736,965.47
<i>3. China</i>		1,491,868.79
<i>4. Liberia</i>		66,771.10
		<hr/>
Total		9,869,675.27
		<hr/>
Grand total		21,603,342.50

Sub-Appendix II.

ANALYTICAL STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS STILL UNPAID IN RESPECT OF THE FIFTEENTH FINANCIAL PERIOD (1933) ONLY.

Position on October 6th, 1933.

<i>I. Latin America:</i>	Amount due Gold francs
Bolivia	132,065.71
Chile	462,229.97
Colombia	198,098.56
Cuba	297,147.84
Dominican Republic	33,016.43
Guatemala	33,016.43
Haiti ¹	25,108.15
Honduras	33,016.43
Nicaragua ¹	15,292.41
Panama ¹	21,210.53
Paraguay	33,016.43
Peru	297,147.84
Salvador ¹	10,209.58
Uruguay ¹	186,932.33
Venezuela ¹	85,866.38
	<hr/>
<i>Argentine Republic.</i>	1,863,375.02
	957,476.37

¹ The sum due by this State corresponds to the balance of its contribution.

	Amount due Gold francs	
2. Europe:		
Albania	33,016.43	
Austria	264,131.41	
Belgium ¹	184,730.68	
United Kingdom ¹	10,277.30	
Bulgaria	165,082.13	
Czechoslovakia ¹	35,684.14	
Estonia ¹	26,746.14	
Finland ¹	185,478.80	
France ¹	656,527.03	
Germany ¹	1,304,122.71	
Greece ¹	173,336.24	
Hungary	264,131.41	
Irish Free State ¹	247,626.18	
Italy ¹	563,342.09	
Latvia ¹	74,249.28	
Lithuania ¹	28,213.27	
Poland ¹	845,070.18	
Roumania ¹	239,164.38	
Yugoslavia	660,328.53	
	<hr/>	5,961,258.33
3. Asia:		
India ¹	1,060,824.89	
Iraq ¹	49,524.28	
Japan	1,980,985.60	
Persia	165,082.13	
	<hr/>	3,256,416.90
China ¹		765,010.46
4. Other States:		
Canada ¹	757,162.03	
Australia ¹	148,573.92	
New Zealand ¹	204,185.12	
Abyssinia ¹	27,926.20	
Liberia	33,016.43	
	<hr/>	1,170,863.70
Total still due in respect of 1933 contributions .		<hr/> 13,974,400.78

Sub-Appendix III.

SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS NOW IN FORCE FOR THE PAYMENT OF ARREARS.

China.

Decision of 1930 Assembly.

Arrears due in respect of the years 1922 to 1930 amounting to 9,708,917.36 francs on December 31st, 1930, payable by twenty annual instalments.

The first three instalments, 1931 to 1933, have been paid, leaving a balance of 8,252,579.78 francs payable in seventeen years.

Honduras.

Decision of 1923 Assembly.

The arrears due for the years 1920 to 1922 were reduced in amount by the Assembly and made payable over a period of years. Honduras has not yet paid under this arrangement, by which the sum of 55,326.58 francs was to be paid in ten annual instalments.

Nicaragua.

Decision of the Assembly as in the case of Honduras.

The reduced amount for the years 1920 to 1922 was also 55,326.58 francs payable in ten annual instalments. Up to the present, the sum of 7,265.13 francs has been paid.

¹ The sum due by this State corresponds to the balance of its contribution.

Paraguay.

Decision of the 1923 Assembly.

The amount due for the years 1920 to 1922 was reduced to 25,618 francs and made payable in five annual instalments. Two instalments have been paid, leaving a balance still due of 15,370.80 francs.

Salvador.

Decision of 1923 Assembly.

The amount due for the years 1920 to 1922 was reduced to 60,850 francs and made payable in ten annual instalments. Nine instalments have been paid, leaving a balance of 6,087.62 francs which was due to be paid in 1932.

Sub-Appendix IV.

POSITION OF EACH STATE REGARDING CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARREARS.

Albania.

Arrears: less than 500 francs.

Germany.

Arrears: one-half of the 1932 contribution.

The Sub-Committee does not doubt that in this case, which involves a question of transfer, the German Government will do its utmost to liquidate the debt. The Chairman of the Sub-Committee has received assurances from the German delegate.

Bolivia.

The arrears cover ten financial periods. The delegate of Bolivia has assured the Chairman of the Sub-Committee that his country would liquidate its debt to the League as soon as it is in a position to do so.

Bulgaria.

Arrears: small balance in respect of 1932.

Chile.

Arrears: 1930 (balance); 1931 and 1932 (full contributions).

The delegate of Chile observed that his country had regularly paid its contributions until 1930 and had contributed the sum of over 3,400,000 gold francs, which represented the highest amount paid by any Latin-American State represented at the present Assembly. Since that date, the Chilean finances had been profoundly affected by the economic crisis and by the protectionist policy of consuming countries. The result was a great shortage of foreign exchange and a very serious difficulty of effecting remittances abroad.

Frankly stating the situation, the delegate of Chile admitted that he did not see an immediate possibility for the payment of arrears, but that his delegation would devote its best efforts to find methods of transfer which would enable his country to make considerable payments in respect of the contributions for the year 1933 or 1934.

China.

The arrears due by this country amount to 9,744,448.57 francs, of which 8,252,579.78 francs are payable in instalments during the next seventeen years. The arrears may therefore be considered to amount to 1,491,868.79 francs, corresponding to the balances due for the regular contributions of 1931 and 1932. (See also Sub-Appendix III.)

The delegate of China informed the Sub-Committee that, when the arrangement was made in 1930 for the payment of China's arrears over a period of twenty years, the Chinese Government had hoped that, if it continued to pay the annual instalments together with one-half of its regular contributions, the Assembly would eventually excuse the payment of the remainder.

Since its entry into the League, China has contributed over 6 million francs, equivalent to 38 per cent of the total amount requested from this country.

Colombia.

Arrears: 1932 (balance).

The delegate of Colombia pointed out that his Government was defraying the entire expenses of the League of Nations Commission which had been sent this year to the territory of Leticia.

He further added that he had received a telegram from his Government announcing that a contribution would be made in the month of October of this year.

Cuba.

Arrears: 1930 (balance); 1931 and 1932 (full contributions).

The delegate of Cuba informed the Sub-Committee that he had received a telegram from his Government undertaking to make a contribution to the League as soon as possible. The situation in Cuba was at the present moment extremely difficult, but he hoped that, as soon as the political question had been solved, the Cuban Government would be able to re-organise its finances and resume its payments to the League.

Dominican Republic.

Arrears: 1931 (full amount).

The Dominican delegate reminded the Sub-Committee that 1931 was the year of the great disaster which caused such havoc in his country. The Assembly of that year had passed a resolution expressing sympathy for the disaster, but it was hoped that this sympathy might take a concrete form, as in the case of other States—namely, by the cancellation of the whole or part of the contribution for that year.

Guatemala.

Arrears: 1929 (balance); 1930, 1931, 1932 (full amounts).

The delegate of Guatemala reminded the Sub-Committee that his Government had always contributed regularly to the League until the year 1929, when it began to suffer from economic difficulties. In 1932, and during this year, however, Guatemala had continued to contribute payments to the League which, though small in amount, demonstrated its goodwill and desire to fulfil its obligations.

Haiti.

By a payment received on October 5th, 1933, this country has entirely liquidated its arrears.

Honduras.

Arrears: in respect of 1920-1932 inclusive (balances in respect of 1928 and 1929). (See also Sub-Appendix III.)

The Sub-Committee was not able to communicate with the delegate of this country, which is not represented at the Assembly. Honduras has, since its entry into the League, only contributed two half-payments in respect of the years 1928 and 1929.

Hungary.

Arrears: 1931 (balance); 1932 (full amount).

The delegate of Hungary assured the Chairman of the Sub-Committee that these arrears are only a result of foreign exchange difficulties, and stated that a contribution would be made before the end of this year.

Liberia.

Arrears: 1930 (balance); 1931 and 1932 (full amounts).

The Sub-Committee notes that Liberia is making efforts to liquidate its arrears by a series of small payments. It will be remembered that the League is examining a scheme for assisting Liberia, following the recommendations of the Commission which was sent to this country in 1931.

Nicaragua.

Arrears:

In respect of 1920-1932, inclusive (balances in respect of 1920-1922, and 1930-1932). (See also Sub-Appendix III.) As the delegate of Nicaragua informed the Sub-Committee, this country has, during the last three years, made an effort to wipe off its arrears by a series of small payments. It will be remembered that the Assemblies of 1931 and 1932 cancelled one-half of the contribution of Nicaragua for the two following years as a mark of its sympathy for the devastation caused by the earthquake of 1931.

Panama.

Arrears: 1931 (balance); 1932 (full amount).

The delegate of Panama assured the Sub-Committee that his country, which had hitherto

been a regular contributor to the League, would make every effort to liquidate its arrears, but, owing to the economic crisis, it was for the moment unable to do so.

Panama has paid one-third of its 1933 contribution.

Paraguay.

Arrears: (1) 1927 (balance), 1929 (balance), 1930 to 1932 (full amounts); (2) three of the five instalments due under the arrangement approved by the 1923 Assembly. (See also Sub-Appendix III.)

The delegate of Paraguay has assured the Chairman of the Sub-Committee that his Government will pay this debt as soon as circumstances permit.

Peru.

Arrears: Twelve financial periods—1920 to 1927 (balances), 1929 (balance) and 1930 to 1932 (full amounts).

The last payment from this Government received by the League was in 1929, when it paid the whole of its 1928 contribution, together with one-tenth of the arrears due at that date.

The Peruvian delegate informed the Sub-Committee in writing that he had telegraphed to his Government and expected that a payment would be made very shortly.

Salvador.

The arrears of this country amount only to the last instalment payable under the arrangement approved by the 1923 Assembly (see also Sub-Appendix III) and to part of its contribution for 1930. Salvador has paid two-thirds of its contribution for 1933.

Uruguay.

Arrears: 1930 (balance), 1931 and 1932 (full amounts).

The delegate of Uruguay assured the Sub-Committee that his country, which had, in fact, made a payment this year, was contributing as much as it could to the League, in spite of serious economic difficulties, which prevented even the regular payment of public officials.

Yugoslavia.

Arrears: 1932 (balance).

The delegate of Yugoslavia informed the Sub-Committee that this amount would be paid by the end of the year, and that a credit for the 1933 contribution had been provided in the budget for this year. This is the first occasion on which this country has been in arrear.

ANNEX 7.

Official No.: A.5(b).1933.X.

SECOND SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT BY THE SUPERVISORY
COMMISSION TO THE ASSEMBLY.

I. APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE MONETARY AND ECONOMIC CONFERENCE
IN THE 1934 BUDGET.

1. By a letter dated October 2nd, 1933, to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, the Chairman of the Second Committee stated that:

“The Committee has been informed that sufficient information is not yet available as to the extent to which the appropriation of 336,000 francs included in the budget of the current year for the Conference (on the assumption of a duration of six weeks) represents an exact estimate of the expenditure which will devolve on the League of Nations. It suggests, however, that it would be desirable to include a similar appropriation in the budget for 1934.”

Under Article 16 (c) of the Financial Regulations, the proposal of the Second Committee¹ is receivable, inasmuch as it involves an increase of an appropriation already included in the

¹ As also that of the Sixth Committee (see Section II below).

budget, and has been communicated to the Supervisory Commission within fifteen days from the opening of the Assembly.

2. In the absence of exact information, the Committee has had considerable difficulty in deciding the question of the appropriations to be made for the Conference in the 1934 budget.

In the first place, the Committee must point out that an appropriation of 100,000 francs for the execution of the decisions of the Conference is already included in the budget.

3. In the first instance, the question of the *place* of the Conference arises.

If it is held in London, the Committee presumes that the conditions under which the 1933 Conference was held will continue in force. It would, however, be convenient if the United Kingdom delegate on the Fourth Committee would confirm that the United Kingdom Government is prepared to continue to bear that proportion of the expenditure which devolves upon it by reason of the Conference not taking place at Geneva.

On the other hand, the Committee has had no information as to the total cost of the first session held in London this summer. The expenditure of the Secretariat, representing mainly removal expenses and subsistence allowances of the officials in London, has been communicated to the Committee—it totals 161,000 francs—but the Committee has no information as to the expenditure incurred by the United Kingdom Government (for printing, English-speaking office staff, etc.).

4. As regards the *duration* of the Conference, the estimates for the current year were based on a period of forty-eight days; and this period may also be taken as a basis for the estimates for the following year.

5. If the place, duration and scope of the Conference and of its various organisations were known, the Committee would be in a position this year, in the light of the experience gained, to make very accurate estimates—at any rate, in the event of the Conference being held at Geneva.

6. In fact, however, complete uncertainty prevails as to the prospects of the future work of the Conference. It is not, therefore, possible to draw up estimates based, as they ought to be based, on definite factors in the shape of actual values. The Committee understands that there are a number of different possibilities, all equally uncertain. The Conference may meet for some time in plenary session, or smaller conferences may be called to deal with special points. Certain important committees, of the Conference—and, in any case, the Bureau—may sit for an indefinite period at more or less frequent intervals. Special committees of experts may be set up. It is also possible that there may be a linking up of all these activities before the Conference reaches its final conclusions.

7. The case of the Monetary and Economic Conference is one of those in which the Committee cannot possibly make accurate estimates based on known factors in the absence of definite information. It would, however, no doubt be dangerous to budget for appropriations which in practice might be found insufficient.

Under these conditions the Committee has before it:

(1) A recommendation by the competent committee recommending the inclusion of an appropriation of 336,000 francs, or 335,900 francs more than the appropriation already included in the budget (the present appropriation in the supplementary budget being a token credit of 100 francs);

(2) The fact that the last Assembly decided to include in the 1933 budget an appropriation of 336,000 francs for a Conference of forty-eight days and of 100,000 francs for the execution of the decisions of the Conference.

In the absence of any new particulars, the Committee considers that the figure included in the 1933 budget should be repeated in the budget for 1934.

II. ARTICLE 25. — INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

8. At its meeting of October 5th, 1933, the Sixth Committee adopted the following resolution:

“ The Sixth Committee, having approved the conclusions of the report of M. Mistler on the Work of the International Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation, and having regard to the special importance of the work of the Committee on Arts and Letters for the purpose of pooling international thought, unanimously requests that this work should be continued.

“ It requests the Fourth Committee to restore for that purpose in the budget of the forthcoming financial period the credits allotted to the Committee on Arts and Letters.”

An appropriation of 10,000 francs for the Committee on Arts and Letters appeared in the original budget as submitted to the Supervisory Commission, but was cut out by the latter in agreement with the Secretary-General.

9. In view, however, of the unanimous recommendation by the competent Committee of the Assembly, on which all delegations are represented, the Supervisory Commission withdraws its opposition and agrees to the inclusion in the budget of the appropriation of 10,000 francs in question.

III. POSITION OF OFFICIALS WHOSE PENSIONABLE EMOLUMENTS ARE PAID IN DEPRECIATED CURRENCIES.

10. In its report to the Assembly, the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund proposed:

“ . . . as a provisional measure, that all annuities and capital sums in lieu of annuities shall be assessed in the currencies in which the officials' pensionable emoluments were payable. All such awards, however, will be considered provisional, and subject to revision as soon as the adoption of a general principle has become possible.”

The Supervisory Commission, to which this question had been referred by the last Assembly, considered the solution proposed by the Administrative Board.

11. After fully examining various alternatives, the Commission agreed that it was necessary to maintain the principle that pensions should be paid in the same currency as salaries.

If this proposal is accepted, the officials of the London Office who are paid in pounds will receive pensions payable in pounds, etc.

No amendment of the Pensions Regulations is required.

IV. COLLECTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

12. To give effect to the proposal made in paragraph 47 of the supplementary report of the Supervisory Commission, (document A.5(a).1933.X) the Supervisory Commission has the honour to propose the following additions and amendments to Article 21 of the Financial Regulations. Amend paragraph (1) to read as follows:

“ (1) As soon as possible after the Assembly has adopted the budget and the total amount voted has been apportioned among the Members of the League in the manner prescribed by the Covenant, the Secretary-General shall transmit all relevant documents to the Members of the League and request them to remit their contributions as soon as possible after the beginning of the financial year for which they are due. The Secretary-General shall, at the same time, request each Member of the League to state which of the following methods it desires to employ for such remittance:

“ (a) By direct remittance to the League either in instalments or in one sum; the dates of payment must be stated;

“ (b) By remittance of negotiable Treasury Bills, payable at such bank as the Government may designate and the Treasurer of the League of Nations may approve; the proportion of the contribution which will be covered by each bill, the dates at which the bills will be remitted and the dates at which they will be payable must be stated;

“ (c) By authorising the Treasurer of the League to draw upon it bills, up to the amount of the contribution, negotiable at such bank or banks as the Government and the Treasurer of the League of Nations may approve. In this case, the Government must indicate the number of bills to be drawn, the dates on which they are to be payable and the proportion of its contribution for which each bill is to be drawn and, if it is necessary under its law that the bills should be stamped, should supply the necessary number of stamped sheets or stamped draft bills or the necessary stamps.

“ The Treasurer is authorised to endorse and to draw bills as above contemplated on behalf of the League of Nations so as to bind the League by such endorsement or drawing of bills.

“ (2) If a Member of the League has not paid its contribution and has not furnished the information requested by the Secretary-General by the first day of April following, the Secretary-General shall repeat his request. He shall again repeat his request at the end of three months and at the end of a further three months, if the information requested has still not been given and if payment of the contribution has not in the meantime been made.

“ (3) If the date or dates proposed for the payment of the contribution of a Member of the League are too late to meet the needs of the League, the Secretary-General shall explain the position to the Member concerned.”

ANNEX 8.

Official No.: A.9.1933.

ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD OF THE STAFF PENSIONS FUND.

THIRD REPORT TO THE ASSEMBLY.

The Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund has held one session in 1933, from May 24th to 27th.

The following members attended the session :

- Mr. HOEL, appointed by the Assembly ;
- M. RAPPARD, appointed by the Assembly ;
- Mr. MCKINNON WOOD, representing the Secretary-General of the League of Nations ;
- M. FLEURY, representing the Director of the International Labour Office ;
- M. HAMMARSKJÖLD, Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice ;
- Mr. JACKLIN, Treasurer of the League of Nations, *ex officio* member of the Board ;
- Mr. NIXON, representing the members of the Fund ;
- M. MATHIEU, representing the members of the Fund ;
- M. LHOEST, representing the members of the Fund.

There were also in attendance :

- Dr. FRIEDLI, Consulting Actuary ;
- Dr. WEBER-BAULER, medical adviser to the Secretariat and the International Labour Office.

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN.

The Board re-elected M. RAPPARD, Chairman.

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1932.

In accordance with Article 22 of the Staff Pensions Regulations, the Board approved the accounts for the financial period ending December 31st, 1932, and took note of the auditor's report thereon. Both the accounts and the auditor's report have already been communicated to the Supervisory Commission, the Council and the Assembly, and to all the Members of the League.

ADMINISTRATIVE RULES.

The Board adopted certain amendments to its Administrative Rules (document A.20.1931, Annex). In accordance with Article 25 of the Staff Pensions Regulations, the amended text of these rules is being communicated to the Supervisory Commission, the Council, the Assembly and the Members of the League, and to the members of the Fund.

ADMISSIONS TO THE FUND.

The Board has admitted eighteen officials to the Fund since the date of its last report to the Assembly. The total number of officials in the service belonging to the Fund is, at the date of this report, 999. Since January 1st, 1931, 1,072 officials have been admitted to the Fund, of whom seventy-three have retired during the period from January 1st, 1931, to May 27th, 1933.

PAYMENT OF BENEFITS.

Since its last report, the Board has approved the award of benefits in twenty-five cases, one of these being a death case and the remainder cases of retirement.

Since the inception of the Fund, the total amount paid out in the form of invalidity, retiring and widows' and orphans' annuities was on May 27th, 1933, 74,967.35 Swiss francs. On May 27th, the date of this report, the annuities payable to invalids, widows and orphans and retired officials amounted to 61,960 Swiss francs per annum.

The following table contains the details of the benefits paid since the inception of the Fund and in 1932 :

	Total amount paid out of the Fund since January 1st, 1931	Amount paid out during the calendar year 1932
	Swiss francs	
Retiring pensions	37,258.80	21,426.95
Invalidity pensions	15,798.90	11,065.85
Widows' and orphans' pensions	21,909.65	14,059.35
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	74,967.35	46,552.15
Refunds of contributions (Article 9, paragraph 5)	424,053.10	223,082.05
Capital value of annuities	668,888.85	350,997.45
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,092,941.95	574,079.50
Grand total	1,167,909.30	620,631.65

The following table shows the number of members of the Fund who have left the service since January 1st, 1931 :

	Number of members who have left the service during the period January 1st, 1931, to May 27th, 1933.	Number of members who have left the service during the calendar year 1932.
Retired owing to invalidity	3	1
Retired with less than three years' service and received no benefit	8	4
Died leaving dependents ¹	4	2
Died without leaving dependents ¹	4	3
Retired after completing more than ten years' service with an annuity	9	2 ²
Retired after completing more than ten years' service with a capital payment in lieu of an annuity	27	9
Retired after completing more than three but less than ten years' service and received a refund of contributions	18	12
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	73	33

AWARD OF INVALIDITY PENSIONS.

While reserving its right to appoint its own medical board, the Administrative Board decided that, when called upon to grant an invalidity pension, it would accept as a general rule the opinion of the doctors who had been called upon by the Administrations to give advice on the question of discharging the official for invalidity.

The Board also settled the form of the medical certificates to be obtained in connection with the revision of invalidity pensions, under Article 10 of the Regulations.

POSITION OF OFFICIALS WHOSE PENSIONABLE EMOLUMENTS ARE PAID IN DEPRECIATED CURRENCIES.

In its report of last year (document A.14.1932), the Board called the Assembly's attention to the question of the benefits payable to those officials whose salaries are borne on the budget of the Secretariat or the International Labour Office and who receive their pensionable emoluments in currencies depreciated in relation to the Swiss franc. The Assembly referred

¹ Dependents in this table means widows and/or orphans.

² One of these pensioners died in 1932 leaving no pensionable dependents.

this question to the Supervisory Commission, which considered that it should in the first instance be further examined by the Board.

In view of the uncertainty at present prevailing in regard to the general currency situation, the Board feels that it would be unwise at the present moment to suggest a final decision on the subject. It has decided, as a provisional measure, that all annuities and capital sums in lieu of annuities shall be assessed in the currencies in which the officials' pensionable emoluments were payable. All such awards, however, will be considered provisional, and subject to revision as soon as the adoption of a general principle has become possible.

INVESTMENTS.

The Board would refer to the observations in its last report (document A.14.1932) in regard to the difficulties of investing the income of the Fund. Since then, the general situation has become still more critical, and the difficulties have therefore increased.

It will be recalled that investments are made on the advice of the Investments Committee, appointed in accordance with Article 3 of the Regulations. During 1932, two members of that Committee, M. ter Meulen and M. Suvich, resigned. The Board wishes to take this opportunity of thanking them for their valuable services. Their places have been taken by Count de Chalendar and Mr. Jamieson.

The administration of the Fund, of which one of the main duties is to follow its investments very closely, is in constant touch with the Investments Committee, which is consulted by letter and by telegram or telephone whenever necessity requires. Owing to the acute difficulties of the situation in the last months, that necessity has arisen very frequently.

The Investments Committee has more than once raised the question of the currency in which the liabilities of the Fund are to be paid. At its last meeting, it put the following question on this matter to the Board :

“The Investments Committee observes once more that it is in practice almost impossible for it to give any advice as to the desirability of any particular investment for the Fund, and still more as to the general policy of the Pensions Fund, without being sure of the nature of the Fund's liabilities in so far as currency is concerned. It has several times drawn attention to the necessity of deciding whether these liabilities are in gold or Swiss francs. It has been informed that, from the legal and statutory point of view, there is at present no doubt that the liabilities are in Swiss francs, but that this undertaking might be changed, and that, in the event of a depreciation of the Swiss franc, the Fund might be called upon to pay its members in a currency closer to gold, or even in gold itself. For this reason, it did, at its last session, recommend the purchase of gold stocks, but it is now faced by the fact that the attitude of certain States makes it impossible to hope that these gold stocks will continue to possess their full contractual value. In view of the above-mentioned uncertainty, it is indispensable for the Investments Committee to receive a clear definition of the currency in which the Fund may be required to meet its liabilities. It is necessary for this question to be definitely settled before the Investments Committee can give that advice which is best calculated to further the interests of the Fund.”

In reply, the Board has recalled that, subject to any decision which the Assembly might take in future, the liabilities of the Fund are at present in Swiss francs, except in the case of those officials (at present numbering twenty-one) whose pension benefits it has provisionally decided to pay in the currencies in which their salaries are paid. The Board has furthermore informed the Investments Committee that it is bringing the matter to the attention of the Assembly. The policy which in general has been followed since the creation of the Fund has been to spread risks by investing in more than one currency, and the present uncertainty of the currency situation would seem to be a reason for continuing this policy.

In view of the fact that the investments policy pursued by the Board is of fundamental importance to the League of Nations, which under Article 13 of the Regulations guarantees the payment of the benefits due under the Regulations, the Assembly may wish to discuss the investments policy which should be followed. Both the Board and the Investments Committee would highly appreciate a pronouncement on the subject by the Assembly.

CASE OF PROBATIONER OFFICIALS WHOSE APPOINTMENTS ARE NOT CONFIRMED.

The Board decided by a majority that it had no power under the Regulations to order a refund of their contributions to probationer officials whose appointments are not confirmed. It requested the Administrations to be good enough to consider the advisability, in drafting letters of appointment, of drawing special attention to the fact that non-confirmation of his appointment would not entitle an official to a refund of his contributions, except in cases where the duration of his service entitled him to benefits.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE LEAGUE UNDER ARTICLE 7, PARAGRAPH (a), OF THE PENSIONS REGULATIONS.

No change in the situation has occurred since the valuation of the Fund last year (see document A.8.1932) which would justify a change in the percentage of the pensionable emoluments of the members of the Fund contributed to the Fund by the League, which has hitherto been 9 per cent. The Board therefore proposes that the Assembly shall fix the percentage at 9 for the year 1934. The necessary credit has been inserted in the League budget.

CONCLUSION.

The Board hopes to obtain from the Assembly a pronouncement on the question of investments.

As regards the other matters in this report, the Board submits the following draft resolution for the consideration of the Assembly :

“ The Assembly ;

“ Takes note of the report of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund for the year 1933 ;

“ Adopts the accounts of the Fund as submitted by the Auditor ;

“ And decides, having regard to Article 7, paragraph (1) (a) of the Staff Pensions Regulations, that the contributions of the League to the Pensions Fund for 1934 shall be 9 per cent of the pensionable emoluments of the members of the Fund.”

ANNEX 9.

Official No.: A.58.1933.X.

FINANCIAL QUESTIONS.

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: Mr. LESTER (Irish Free State).

The work of the Fourth Committee was, as usual, long and arduous. The Assembly will therefore not find in this document a record of all the statements which were made or of all the points of view which were upheld; the aim of this report is rather to give a broad outline of the proceedings, reference being made to the Minutes—which will shortly be available in printed form—for fuller details.

In the general debate, particular stress was laid on four main points:

I. FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE LEAGUE.

Although only 82 per cent of the budget for 1932 was actually received during that year (including payments on account of arrears), the financial period closed with a net surplus of 1,275,000 francs.

With regard to the current financial year, the revenue received on October 6th amounts to 57.8 per cent of the budget. At the same time in 1932, the proportion had been 64.8 per cent. Having regard to various circumstances, it could be assumed that, between 1932 and 1933, the position with regard to revenue had not greatly changed.

While the financial situation was indeed serious and every possible step should be taken to ensure the regular payment of contributions, it was not felt that there was serious cause for alarm as to the financial future of the League; it now seemed that there would not be a deficit in respect

of 1933, as a result of the considerable savings which had been effected, but, even if revenue fell short of expenditure, the working capital fund would afford sufficient safeguard for this year.

2. CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARREARS.

This question is dealt with in a special report of the Fourth Committee, but, in view of its great importance and its direct connection with financial and budgetary matters, attention should be drawn to it in the Committee's general report.

It was generally felt that the present position could not be allowed to continue, for the partial or complete default of certain States indirectly added to the burden of the others. In addition to the serious financial situation thus created, irritation was growing, particularly in the Parliaments of the States hitherto considered as "good payers" and Parliaments often did not understand why steps had not been taken by the Assembly to deal with States which refused to carry out their financial obligations.

While the situation could be regarded as abnormal and partly due to the crisis, it was now becoming generally recognised that its settlement was a matter of justice and that it should be treated without regard to possible susceptibilities.

3. BUDGET FOR 1934.

The general budget of the League for 1934 amounted, when submitted to the Assembly, to 30,643,905 francs, a reduction of 8.3 per cent as compared with the previous year.

The budget of the Secretariat was 15,708,261 francs, a reduction of 9.3 per cent over 1933. In the latter budget, reductions of over a million had been made in the appropriations for the Assembly, Council, conferences and committees.

With regard to staff, the position, as compared with 1933, was as follows:

In 1933, there were 698 posts representing an expenditure on salaries of 9,127,000 francs. In 1934, the number of posts had been decreased to 684, representing an expenditure on salaries of 9,078,000.

The balance between certain increases and reductions of expenditure was as follows:

	Francs
Statutory increments of salaries (195,000 francs) and expenditure on temporary posts	240,000
Suppression of fourteen posts (99,000 francs), reduction in the salaries of new officials or officials newly promoted (115,000 francs) and total reduction proposed by the Secretary-General and accepted by the Supervisory Commission as the first tangible expression of the results of rationalisation (200,000 francs)	419,000
Net reduction	179,000

from which should be deducted the aggregate reduction of 130,000 francs, made by the Assembly at its last ordinary session, to obtain the difference between the salary credits of the two years under consideration.

Several delegates thought that the estimates were still too high; all countries had reduced their budgets and public opinion demanded that the League should accentuate its efforts in this direction, provided that its essential activities were not paralysed.

4. BUDGETARY METHODS.

Several delegates drew attention to what they considered was an undue disparity between the budget and the expenditure.

While the budget actually showed a reduction of 2,780,000 francs, as compared with the estimates for 1933, the estimate for 1934 was 3,353,000 higher than the actual disbursements in 1932.

This considerable margin, and particularly the fact that there was, in 1932 and previous years, a surplus on almost every appropriation, led certain delegates to express the opinion that "over-budgeting" had occurred.

They felt that the estimates should correspond more closely to actual expenditure than was at present the case.

Other members thought that the League's estimates required a certain amount of elasticity, which could probably be given by adding considerably to the items for unforeseen contingencies which could only be drawn upon by special authorisation.

The Secretary-General and the members of the Supervisory Commission explained the peculiar difficulties under which the League had to work. The fact that there was no possibility

of voting supplementary credits during the year greatly complicated the task of the Administration and of the Supervisory Commission. Further, the Assembly had always thought it desirable to provide a reasonable amount for such unforeseen expenses as the Council might have to incur. Moreover, the cost of conferences was extremely difficult to estimate; thus the cost of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments had—for reasons, at the time founded on solid data—been estimated at a total considerably in excess of the expenditure which was actually incurred, and similar difficulties were being experienced in connection with the estimate for the continuation of the work of the Monetary and Economic Conference.

One of the principal reasons for the 1932 surplus was certainly the fact that the administrations, in collaboration with the Supervisory Commission, had enforced economy in all sections and departments; for instance, while in certain years the credit for the travelling expenses of the Secretariat had been found inadequate, a saving of 73 per cent had been effected last year on a reduced amount.

The administrations, in the matter of economies, had endeavoured to adapt expenditure to effective receipts. For 1931 and 1932, the figures had been as follows:

		Francs
1931:	Estimate	31,637,501
	Receipts	28,654,000
	Expenditure	29,087,000
	Surplus expenditure	433,000
1932:	Estimate	33,687,994
	Receipts	28,595,000
	Expenditure	27,290,000
	Surplus receipts	1,305,000
Difference between expenditure of 1931 and 1932: decrease of		1,797,000

At the end of the present year, the expenditure figure would doubtless be still lower, as, in full agreement with the Supervisory Commission, instructions had been given to all services, not only confirming the instructions addressed to them in the same sense in 1932, but also asking for a much more considerable effort.

The result had been that many of the activities of the League had been seriously curtailed.

Non-expended credits represented, in the Secretary-General's view, not over-budgeting, but real decreases in the activities of the League.

As a conclusion to the general discussion, the Secretary-General proposed:

- (1) To examine with the Supervisory Commission, in time for a report to be submitted to the 1934 Assembly, the budgetary methods in force;
- (2) To make a lump sum reduction in the 1934 budget of 150,000 francs, as a token of the continuation of the efforts to be made with a view to further reductions.

* * *

I. AUDITED ACCOUNTS FOR 1932.

The Fourth Committee unanimously recommended that the Assembly adopt the accounts of the League for 1932 in the form submitted.

II. RATIONALISATION.

At the close of the general discussion, the reports of the Supervisory Commission on rationalisation (documents A.10 and A.5(a).1933.X) were examined together, chapter by chapter.

There was general agreement on the recommendations of the Supervisory Commission, and certain delegates thought it essential to link up the recommendations of the Supervisory Commission in the matter of rationalisation to the decisions of the Assembly on the report of the Committee of Thirteen.

Other speakers, referring to decisions of the Assembly, drew attention to the importance of developing the international character of the various administrations.

A long discussion arose on the question of the activities of the League. Certain members stressed the importance of a decision being taken on the rationalisation of the activities of the

League concurrently with those of the *services* of the various administrations and proposed that the relevant passage in the Supervisory Commission's report should be reproduced in the present document.

The majority thought, however, that, while the Supervisory Commission had fulfilled its instructions in drawing the Assembly's attention to the subject, the Fourth Committee was not competent to make recommendations on the question of present activities and that it should warn the Assembly that further extension of the commitments of the League might result in financial difficulties. It was clearly the general desire of the Committee that economies should be made, but that they should be reasonable and should not interfere with the essential work of the League.

With regard to the progression (in the scale) of members of section, the Committee agreed with the Supervisory Commission that any official might reach the maximum salary of his class by annual increments, but was not entitled to his increment unless he had given satisfaction during the past year. The Administration could rightly consider that, in order to give satisfaction, an official must not merely have avoided giving grounds for criticism, but also have increased his efficiency with his experience until he was fit to perform all the duties normally assignable to officials of his class. The strict application of this view of the annual increment would permit the administrations to prevent progression in the scale from becoming automatic.

Since, however, the present system was not entirely satisfactory, the Committee requested the Supervisory Commission to devise a system which would result in grading in accordance with the value of the official and his efficiency.

The Committee adopted the Supervisory Commission's proposals with regard to the re-organisation of the Information Section. While recognising the necessity for reducing the personnel of the Section, stress was laid on the importance of not depriving the Press of effective contact with the Secretariat. It was essential that the very important task of helping journalists should not be hampered by the re-organisation of the Section.

It was also made clear during the discussion that the question of the branch offices was being carefully investigated and that they were not concerned with propaganda.

With regard to the centralisation of clerical work, it was explained by the Secretary-General that it was not proposed to transfer wholesale all the clerical staff employed in sections, but rather to establish a central authority which would follow the work and make such adjustments in the personnel as the amount of work done in the various sections warranted.

After adopting the other chapters of the report on the rationalisation of the Secretariat, the Committee unanimously decided to place on record the expression of its thanks to Mr. Robertson, of the British Treasury, and Mr. Urwick, Director of the Scientific Management Institute, for their co-operation with the Supervisory Commission in certain branches of the work of rationalisation.

The chapters relating to the collaboration between the Secretariat and the other organisations and the rationalisation of the International Labour Office were adopted without discussion.

III. BUDGET OF THE LEAGUE FOR 1934.

I. *Secretariat and Special Organisations.*

Chapter I—"Assembly and Council" was adopted.

When Item 4 (a)—"Salaries, wages and allowances of the Secretariat" came up for discussion, the delegate for India moved the following draft resolution:

"The Assembly decides that the reduction of 10 per cent in rates of pay imposed by the resolution of the Assembly of October 17th, 1932, shall apply with effect from October 15th, 1933, to all officials covered by the terms of that resolution, irrespective of the date of entry into the service of the League, and, in addition, shall apply with effect from the same date to officials who entered the service of the League between September 15th, 1931, and October 15th, 1932, on contracts which permit variation of the rates of pay laid down therein."

He pointed out that, while the saving that would result from the adoption of his resolution was inconsiderable, he felt that, in the present financial situation of the League, and particularly in view of public opinion, salaries should be reduced wherever possible.

Other speakers drew attention to the reductions made in the salaries of the civil servants of their countries and expressed the view that a reduction should be made in the case of all League officials who were not protected by a contract.

On the assurance of the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission that it would study the question before the next ordinary session of the Assembly and that all contracts for new officials would be reduced by 10 per cent, the Indian delegate agreed to withdraw his motion.

In connection with Item 8—"Travelling expenses of the officials of the League", some delegates urged the need for economy, while another emphasised the necessity for League officials to visit countries distant from Geneva, even if it involved the spending of the whole credit.

The delegate for India moved the following draft resolution:

" The Assembly decides:

" (1) That, in Rule 7 (a) of Annex III to the Staff Regulations, for the figure 54 francs, being the rate of daily subsistence allowance admissible to chiefs of section and officials of higher rank, the figure 44 shall be substituted, and that such proportionate reduction shall be made by the Secretary-General, as appears to him appropriate, in the rate applicable to other officials and in the rates prescribed where inclusive passage is paid by the Secretariat;

" (2) That, where subsistence allowance is paid in respect of duty performed in a country, the currency of which has gone off the gold standard, conversion of Swiss francs shall be effected at the gold parity;

" (3) That the rates prescribed under Rule 7 as modified above shall not be admissible for more than twenty-eight days in respect of duty performed in one place and that the rates in respect of duty performed in that place thereafter shall be reduced by 20 per cent;

" (4) In principle, that similar reductions and conditions should be applied to officials of the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice."

It was finally agreed to refer the questions raised in the draft resolution to the Supervisory Commission, which would bear in mind the considerations and suggestions made in the course of the discussion, which are reproduced in the Minutes, and that it will not be necessary to await the next session of the Assembly before putting any reduced rates into operation.

Item 9—"Frais de représentation" gave rise to a lengthy discussion. A motion to reduce this item by 20,851 francs so that it should correspond to the expenditure actually incurred in 1932 was finally withdrawn after it had been explained that the emoluments of the principal officers had been fixed by the 1932 Assembly on the report of the Fourth Committee, which had reduced them considerably as compared with the scale until then in force; and that the reason for the increase as compared with 1932 was the appointment of a second Deputy Secretary-General, as a result of a compromise arrived at last year.

The 1932 Assembly had also reduced to 30,000 francs the amount of the general entertainment fund.

The delegate for India proposed the suppression of the credits entered in the budgets of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office for the Sickness Insurance Associations and moved the following draft resolution:

" The Assembly,

" Having regard to the rates of pay of officials, which it believes to be adequate:

" Considers that there is not sufficient justification for the continuance of a subvention from League funds to the insurance associations against accidents and illness of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office, and accordingly decides to delete the sum of 21,600 francs from Item 13 of Chapter II ("Special staff charges") of the Secretariat budget, and the sum of 21,000 francs from Item 9 of Chapter II ("Special staff charges") of the International Labour Office budget, being the contributions respectively to the associations of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office."

After explanations had been given with regard to the object of the fund, which does not cover the same risks as the Pensions Fund and which benefits chiefly the lower staff, it was agreed that the matter should be referred to the Supervisory Commission, on the understanding that, if the League subvention is continued—a point which is left open—it should be used primarily to aid the employees in receipt of the lower salaries, who found it difficult to meet medical expenses.

Item 17 (c)—"Expenses of the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses" was reduced from 40,550 francs to 28,550 francs on the proposal of the Secretary-General, who explained that he could arrange, by using existing staff, to dispense with a temporary member of section.

Some of the members of the Committee urged the postponement of the preparation of the new scale, in view of the general instability of currencies. They expressed the opinion that, since the crisis was still continuing, it would seem impossible for the Allocation Committee to submit a scientific scale to the next Assembly.

Other members, on the contrary, could not agree to any further delay and asked that the decision of the 1931 Assembly should be adhered to; it was not only the States whose contributions were in arrears which were concerned with the amount of their contribution, but also other States which were paying in full; many States thought they were over-assessed and would like to put their case before the Allocation Committee.

It was finally agreed that the Allocation Committee should continue its work and should endeavour to submit to the 1934 Assembly a temporary scale if, as was feared, present conditions made it impossible to draw up a final scientific scale. For this purpose, it was essential that the

Secretariat should receive the budgets and the accounts of all States from 1929 to 1932; further, States would have the opportunity to forward additional data or to ask to be heard by the Committee.

The other items of Chapters II, III, IV and V were adopted; in some cases, explanations were furnished by the Secretary-General or the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission.

Thus, it was made clear that, in the case of grants from outside sources, paid in U.S. dollars, the League assumed no liability whatsoever, since expenditure would be restricted to the sum received after conversion from U.S. dollars into Swiss francs.

Again, should the Conference for the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments not terminate its work this year, the necessary credit would have to be met by transfer, particularly from the item "Organ to be set up by the Conference", which would not be required until the Conference was concluded.

In conclusion, the Secretary-General expressed his thanks to the members of the Fourth Committee for the extreme frankness with which they had discussed the budget and to the Supervisory Commission for its indefatigable work. He intended to exercise strict control of the expenditure authorised and to examine with the Supervisory Commission, in the light of the observations made during the discussions, the various proposals which had been referred to the Commission.

With regard to the proposal which he had made, to reduce the budget by 150,000 francs, the Secretary-General in consultation with the Supervisory Commission would decide to which items the reductions would apply. This method of reducing the budget should not be regarded as a precedent, but as quite exceptional.

2. *International Labour Organisation.*

In presenting the budget of the International Labour Organisation, the Director stated that the Governing Body had, throughout the previous year, given great attention to the question of economy and re-organisation, as well as to the non-payment of contributions. On this latter point, a discussion had taken place between the representatives of the Governing Body and the Supervisory Commission and the former would be keenly interested in any new system of finance that might be adopted. The net budget—*i.e.*, after deduction of the appropriations in aid—represented a total of 8,257,876 Swiss francs. This was the lowest figure since 1928. The estimated gross expenditure amounted to 8,737,505 Swiss francs, the lowest figure since 1930 and lower than 1921 or 1923. The budget had been stabilised for a number of years past, although the scope and activities of the Organisation had steadily grown. The important economies effected had been accomplished by running two risks—a lessened efficiency in a particularly critical time and the risk of incurring a deficit, unless the steps taken to ensure payment of contributions were effective.

As to the first risk, there had never been a moment since the war when there were so many difficult problems with which the Organisation had to deal. Faith in the self-regulating character of the present economic system had been lost and the whole social fabric depended upon achieving a new balance between production and consumption. Out of the general problem of restoring the unemployed to work, a series of problems had arisen. These problems put greater pressure than ever on the International Labour Office. In order to cope with it, a considerable internal re-organisation had been carried out in the last few months—details of which would be shown in the 1935 budget—and in addition a model establishment had been drawn up which would make it possible gradually to replace a number of higher posts by those of a lower category; a number of higher posts had already disappeared and other permanent posts had been replaced by temporary ones with lower salaries, with the result that considerable economies would be made in the 1934 budget.

Referring to the second risk, he pointed out that, by reducing estimates under practically every head, it would be impossible to achieve in 1934 the same percentage of economies—as compared with the estimates—as had been achieved in 1932 and 1933. Since 1923, close budgeting had resulted in the fact that 97 to 99 per cent of the budget was usually spent, with the result that there had been cash deficits almost every year. He drew the Committee's attention to a recommendation of the Governing Body that an adequate reserve fund should be created, so that emergencies could be met without placing the Organisation in a difficult financial situation.

Before the detailed examination of the budget, a general discussion took place on the question of the "representation" of the various nationalities in the staff. It was recalled that, last year, the report of the Fourth Committee had made it clear that any measures of rationalisation which might be adopted should not have the effect of excluding certain nationalities from service with the Secretariat or the International Labour Office.

Nevertheless, certain States recently admitted to the League and others which had long been Members were not, or were insufficiently, "represented" in the organisations of the League.

The Director explained that, while the right doctrine in the matter of appointments was that efficiency must be the first desideratum and new posts should not be created to be filled by the nationals of any particular State, it was clear that, if vacancies occurred, the nationality factor would receive full consideration.

The Director also explained that one of the objects of the re-organisation was to develop in the Office the knowledge of countries outside Europe, and for that purpose a special " Liaison Section " has been set up with extra-European countries.

The budget was then discussed item by item and adopted in the form in which it had been submitted.

It was pointed out that there was a functional difference between the branch offices of the Secretariat and the correspondents' offices of the International Labour Office which were chiefly concerned with providing the Office with first-hand information as to the social and industrial conditions in the countries in which they were situated and with answering enquiries.

The general question of offices outside Geneva, both for the Secretariat and the International Labour Office, was still under consideration and a report would be submitted to the next Assembly by the Supervisory Commission.

The situation of the International Management Institute and its relations with the Office would be re-examined by the Governing Body at its next session.

3. *Permanent Court of International Justice.*

The Committee noted a statement by the Registrar of the Court to the effect that the Protocol of September 14th, 1929, to which are attached the amendments to the Court's Statute adopted in that year, had been ratified by all States concerned, except Brazil, Abyssinia, Panama and Peru. In three of these States, the question of ratification was, moreover, under consideration and one—Panama—had officially declared that it had no objection to the coming into force of the amendments to the Statute—*i.e.* of the " revised Statute ". Having regard to this situation, the Protocol in question might well come into force at an early date and in any case in 1934.

In these circumstances, the Committee, while approving the Court's budget for 1934 as submitted to it on the basis of the " old " Statute in force since 1921 (budget " A "), decided to recommend to the Assembly, as an exception, to authorise the Registrar to operate transfers in that budget if and when the said Protocol should come into force: namely, in so far as this would be necessary in order to adapt the budget to the requirements of the " revised Statute " —*i.e.*, within the framework of the budget drawn up and submitted on that assumption (budget " B ").

The Committee observed that the total of the Court's budget for 1934 was, practically speaking, the same as its expenditure in 1932 and that this result had been attained in consequence of reductions of an exceptional character which had been effected. The Committee further noted a statement by the Registrar to the effect that, when he had proposed the reductions in question to the Supervisory Commission, the latter had, at his request, assured him that the Court need be under no apprehension as to its financial position, despite the reductions which he had suggested and which the Commission had accepted.

4. *Other Parts of the Budget.*

- IV. Nansen International Office for Refugees;
- V. Buildings at Geneva;
- VI. Pensions.

The subvention to the Nansen International Office and Parts V and VI of the budget were approved.

5. *Supplementary Credits.*¹

The Fourth Committee accepted the proposal of the Second Committee that a supplementary credit of 336,000 francs—involving an addition to the budget of 335,900 francs—should be inserted in the budget for the work of the Monetary and Economic Conference.

The supplementary credit of 10,000 francs proposed by the Sixth Committee for the Committee on Arts and Letters was carried by a majority vote. The minority thought, that notwithstanding the small sum involved, it would be a mistake in the present financial position of the League for the Assembly to grant a credit for work which was not essential. The majority, on the other hand, expressed the opinion that the League should do all in its power to bring together, under its aegis, scientists and men of letters and thus to promote the work of moral disarmament.

6. *Final Budget Figures.*

As submitted to the Assembly, the budget for 1934 is as follows:

	Francs
1. Secretariat and Special Organisations	15,892,161
2. International Labour Organisation	8,257,876
3. Permanent Court of International Justice	2,538,827
4. Nansen International Office for Refugees	300,000
5. Buildings at Geneva	2,000,000
6. Pensions	1,838,941
Total	30,827,805

¹ See Second Supplementary Report of the Supervisory Commission to the Assembly (annex 7).

IV. REPORTS OF THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION.

The reports of the Supervisory Commission on the accounts for 1932, the budget for 1934, the disposal of the surplus of 1932, the construction of the new buildings, the amendments to Article 21 of the Financial Regulations and other miscellaneous questions were adopted (documents A.5., A.5(a) and A.5(b).1933.X).

The Secretariat surplus for 1932, amounting to 2,375,675.76 gold francs, will therefore be allocated as follows:

Refund to the Working Capital Fund of the deficits of the International Labour Office and of the Permanent Court of International Justice in respect of 1932	Francs 1,100,018.70
Net surplus	1,275,657.06
Refund to the Working Capital Fund of the sums withdrawn, as recoverable advances, to meet the cost of construction of the Wireless Station	729,478.60
Creation of exchange depreciation fund	546,178.46
Total	<u>1,275,657.06</u>

V. THIRD REPORT BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD OF THE STAFF PENSIONS FUND.

The Committee examined the third report to the Assembly of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund, and noted the explanations given by its Chairman, M. Rappard, of the manner in which the Fund had been administered during the past year.

The Chairman of the Board laid special emphasis on the great difficulties encountered in investing the income of the Fund, which amounts to some 200,000 Swiss francs per month.

The Investments Committee appointed by the Council, on the recommendation of the Financial Committee, has been constantly consulted, and it has been on their advice that the investments of the Fund have been made. That Committee, as stated in the report of the Administrative Board, is experiencing considerable difficulty, owing to economic instability and to currency fluctuations. The recent devaluation of the dollar has led to a depreciation of the Fund's holdings. This depreciation on September 19th last amounted to about 26 per cent. The Chairman of the Board accordingly addressed an appeal to those States whose Government loans are issued in dollars, with or without the so-called "gold" clause, to pay the interest, in so far as the Pensions Fund was concerned, in dollars at former parity. In making this appeal, the Chairman of the Board referred to the fact that the Fund, by Article 13 of its Regulations, is guaranteed by the League of Nations, of which the States in question are Members. •

Arising out of the report of the Administrative Board, the Fourth Committee was called upon to settle the situation of fifteen officials employed in branch offices who are at the moment receiving their salaries in depreciated currency.

This question had been submitted to the Supervisory Commission for examination by the last Assembly, and the Supervisory Commission asked the views of the Administrative Board of the Pensions Fund upon it.

The Administrative Board thought that, as a provisional measure, all pensions and capital sums paid in lieu of a pension should be calculated in the currency in which pensionable emoluments are paid, but that all such payments should be considered as provisional, and subject to revision as soon as the adoption of a general principle becomes possible.

After having very carefully studied various solutions, the Supervisory Commission took a different view and considered that it was necessary to maintain the principle that pensions should be paid in the same currency as salaries.

By 18 votes to 7, the Fourth Committee adopted the proposal of the Supervisory Commission.

Arising out of this question, the Fourth Committee examined at length the more general question raised in the report of the Administrative Board, at the request of its financial advisers.

The Fourth Committee, despite the urgent request of the Chairman of the Administrative Board, felt unable to give a definite and final reply to this question, which will only arise in future and which is therefore at the moment hypothetical.

The Fourth Committee having been informed that M. Radulesco and Mme. Kluyver were not presenting themselves for re-election, unanimously elected M. FOTITCH, M. HOEL and M. RAPPARD, members, and Mr. LESTER, M. DE MODZELEWSKI and M. PARRA PÉREZ, substitute members of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund for a period of three years from January 1st, 1934.

VI. ROTATION IN MEMBERSHIP OF THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION.

The Fourth Committee, after a secret ballot, proposed to the Assembly the election of the following regular members for the period ending December 31st, 1936:

His Excellency M. Stefan OSUSKY.
M. Jean RÉVEILLAUD.

VII. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS.

Finally, the Fourth Committee has the honour to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolutions:

" 1. The Assembly, in virtue of Article 38 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, finally passes the audited accounts of the League of Nations for the fourteenth financial period, ending on December 31st, 1932.

" 2. The Assembly,

" In virtue of Article 17 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations:

" Passes for the financial period 1934 the budget of the League of Nations to the total sum of 30,827,805 francs;

" And decides that the aforesaid budget shall be published in the *Official Journal*.

" 3. The Assembly, in conformity with the recommendation of the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses, maintains at ten the number of units assigned to Turkey.

" 4. The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the various reports of the Supervisory Commission, submitted for its consideration.

" 5. The Assembly:

" Takes note of the report of the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund for the year 1933;

" Adopts the accounts of the Fund as submitted by the Auditor;

" Decides that the pensions of members of the Fund who contribute to the Fund in currencies depreciated in relation to the Swiss franc, shall be paid in the currency in which they receive their pensionable emoluments;

" And decides, having regard to Article 7, paragraph (1) (a), of the Staff Pensions Regulations, that the contributions of the League to the Pensions Fund for 1934 shall be 9 per cent of the pensionable emoluments of the members of the Fund.

" 6. The Assembly appoints for the period ending on December 31st, 1936, as regular members of the Supervisory Commission:

His Excellency M. Stefan OSUSKÝ,
M. Jean RÉVEILAUD.

" 7. The Assembly appoints for the period ending on December 31st, 1936, to the Administrative Board of the Staff Pensions Fund:

" (1) As regular members:

M. C. FOTTICH,
M. A. HOEL,
M. W. RAPPARD.

" (2) As substitute members:

Mr. Sean LESTER,
M. Jean DE MODZELEWSKI,
M. C. PARRA PÉREZ.

" 8. The Assembly adopts the present report of the Fourth Committee."

INDEX

	Page		Page
Accounts of League		Branch Offices of League Organisations (continued)	
<i>See below</i> Audited accounts of League		Budget estimates, 1934, <i>see under</i> Budget: Labour Org., <i>and below</i> Secretariat	
Activities and Policy, Expenditure and Financial Situation of League		Pensions for staff: position of officials paid in depreciated currency, <i>see</i> Pensions Fund: Pensionable emoluments, etc.	
Development or restriction of activities		Budget of League	
Discussion, general, <i>see that title below</i>		1932 Budget: 14th financial period	
Reports of		Accounts, <i>see</i> Audited accounts, etc.	
4th Committee	164	Discussion, general, and comparison with other financial years . 8-9, 12-14, 15, 18, 24-5, 32, 33, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 123, 163, 164	
Supervisory Comm.		Surplus and question of disposal	
Discussion	38-41	12, 15, 48, 90, 132, 162, 163, 164, 169	
Text	101	1933 Budget: 15th financial period	
Discussion, general		Discussion, general, and comparison with other financial years	
9-14, 14-21, 22-8, 28-34, 35-8, 48-55		8, 12-14, 15, 32, 33, 48, 49, 123*	
Enquiry requested by United Kingdom Govt. (allusion)	9, 15	1934, Budget estimates: 16th financial period	
Essential and secondary functions	22, 36, 39	Adoption	170 (resol.)
Material expenditure: proportion of budget covering; measures to effect reduction		Buildings at Geneva, <i>see below</i>	
49, 51, 111, 111-12		Comparison with preceding budgets . 12-14, 14-15, 18, 24-5, 32, 33, 48-9, 50, 123-4, 163, 164	
Proportion of budget devoted to League activities		Court of Int. Justice, <i>see that title below</i>	
13, 49, 50, 51		Discussion, general . 11-12, 13, 14, 15, 22, 24-5, 31, 32, 33, 36, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55	
Repercussion on League activities of non-payment of contributions, <i>see</i> Contributions: in Arrears: Difficulties, etc.		<i>See also below under the Orgs. concerned</i>	
Report of 4th Committee	162-3, 164-5	Examination by items, question of	53, 54, 55
Report of Supervisory Comm.		Financial situation and activities of League in relation to: discussion, <i>see</i> Activities and policy, etc.	
Discussion	38-41	Labour Org., Int., <i>see that title below</i>	
Text	101	Modifications	131
Resolution of Assembly, Oct. 17, 1932	38, 39, 100 (text)	Nansen Int. Office for Refugees, <i>see below</i>	
Staff, expenditure on, <i>see</i> Salaries, etc.		Refugees, etc.	
Technical concentration of activities, <i>see</i> Rationalisation, etc.		Publication in <i>Official Journal</i>	170 (resol.)
Administrative Commissions and Minorities		Reduction of 150,000 frs. on total budget . 32, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 62, 64, 74 (resol.), 164, 167	
Section of Secretariat		Reports of	
Budget estimates, 1934	71, 126	4th Committee	162-9
Chief of Section: question of maintenance of post	71	Supervisory Comm.	
Administrative Tribunal		Supplementary reports	115-121, 156-8
Secretary, allowance to	58	on Work of 52nd session	
Agricultural Sub-Committee		122-133 (text), 133-6 (appendix)	
Credits, 1934: suspension	127	Resolution of 4th Committee	170
Allocation of Expenses of League		Secretariat and Special Orgs., <i>see that title below</i>	
<i>See under</i> Contributions, etc.		Supplementary credits	
Archives, Registry and Indexing Service of Secretariat		Discussion	71-2, 73, 91-2
Rationalisation: enquiry and recomms.	11, 107	Reports of	
Armaments, Reduction and Limitation		4th Cttee.	168
Budget estimates, 1934	72-3, 167	Supervisory Comm.	118-19, 156-7
Conference, Disarmament		Total estimates	33, 50, 132, 168, 170 (resol.)
Credits, 1934, and expenditure on 1st session		Budgetary methods; questions of receipts and expenditure; over-budgeting . 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 29, 31, 32, 34, 48, 49-50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 87, 163-4 (report)	
9, 12, 16, 18, 24, 32, 36, 51, 72, 73, 133, 164, 167		Buildings at Geneva: estimates, 1934, 16th financial period (Part V)	
Organ to be set up by: credits, 1934	72, 167	Adoption	74
U.S.A. contribution to expenses: procedure <i>see</i>	123	Modifications	131
Arts and Letters, Perm. Committee on		Reports of	
Credits, 1934 (suppl. credit)	73, 91-2, 157, 168	4th Committee	168
Assembly of League		Supervisory Comm.	131
<i>Assembly Journal</i> , reduction in size	125	Total estimates	132, 168
Budget estimates, 1934 (Assembly session) 55-6, 125, 165		Court of Int. Justice, Perm.: estimates, 1934, 16th financial period (Part III)	
Honorary posts in: non-election of representatives of States in arrears with contributions, <i>see</i> Contributions: in Arrears: Measures, etc.		Alternative budgets drafted pending entry into force of 1929 Protocol revising Statute	
Procedure, <i>see</i> Procedure of Ass.		82-3, 129-30, 168	
Audited Accounts of League		Examination and adoption	82-3
1932, 14th financial period: examination and adoption by		Items of expenditure	
4th Committee	8-9, 164, 169, 170 (resol.)	Pensions of judges	83, 130
Supervisory Comm.	90, 119-20, 122-3, 128, 169	Salaries	83, 130
Branch Offices of League Organisations		Sessions of Court (assessors, experts, witnesses)	83, 130
Activities, rationalisation, question of eventual suppression . 11, 24, 37, 46, 75, 81, 104 (report), 118 (report), 125, 165, 168		Unforeseen expenditure	83, 130

	Page
Budget of League (continued)	
Court of Int. Justice, Perm.: estimates, 1934, 16th financial period (Part III) (continued)	
Modifications	131
Reductions	83, 130
Reports of	
4th Committee	168
Supervisory Comm.	129-30
Total estimates	132, 168
Deficit, budget and policy pursued to avoid (economics, suppression of transfers, etc.) 8-9, 12-13, 16, 18, 22, 23, 26, 29, 32, 36, 48-9, 50, 52, 163, 164	
<i>See also</i> Activities and policy, etc. of League: Development or restriction, etc.	
Labour Organisation, Int.	
Estimates, 1934, 16th financial period (Part II)	
Brazil, contribution of	129
Examination and adoption	
Detailed examination	80-2
General discussion	74-5, 76-9
Items of expenditure	
Appropriations-in-aid	82
Branch offices	75, 81, 129, 168
Commissions	75, 80
Enquiries, investigations and external collaboration	80
General services	74, 80
Management Institute, Int.: contri- bution	82
Permanent equipment, etc.	82
Printing	80
Profit and loss on exchange	82
Salaries	114-15, 129
Sessions of Conf. and Governing Body	80
Travelling expenses of officials	75
Unforeseen expenditure of Chaps. I-IV	75, 82
Modifications	131
Reductions	74, 75, 76, 79, 129, 167
Reports of	
4th Committee	167-8
Supervisory Comm.	129
Total estimates	74, 75, 129, 132, 167, 168
Stabilisation	74-5, III (table), 167
National budgets as compared with League budget	16, 17, 23, 29, 31
Over-budgeting, <i>see above</i> Budgetary methods, etc.	
Pensions Fund: estimates, 1934, 16th financial period (Part VI)	
Adoption	74
Modifications	131
Reports of	
4th Committee	168
Supervisory Comm.	131
Total estimates	132, 168
Refugees, Nansen Int. Office for: estimates, 1934, 16th financial period (Part IV)	
Examination and adoption	83-4
Modifications	131
Reports of	
4th Committee	168
Supervisory Comm.	131
Total estimates	132
Secretariat and Special Orgs.: estimates, 1934, 16th financial period (Part I)	
Examination and adoption	25, 55-8, 59-67, 68-74, 83-4
Items of expenditure	
Administrative Comms. and minorities questions	71, 126
Allocation of expenses, Cttee. on	68-70, 166-7
Appropriations-in-aid	71
Armaments, reduction of	72-3, 167
Assembly session (Chap. I)	55-6, 125, 165
Branch offices	59, 125
China, liaison with	73-4, 87
Communications and Transit Org.	72, 127
Council sessions (Chap. I)	55-6, 165
Economic Relations Section	71, 127
European Union, Comm. of Enquiry on	73
Exchange, profit and loss on	74
Financial Section and Economic Intelli- gence Service	71, 118-19, 126-7
Frais de représentation	62-4, 166
Furniture and equipment	74
General office expenses	64, 126
Health Org., Int.	72, 127
Information Section	118
Intell. Co-operation, Int. Bureaux and miscellaneous questions (including suppl. credit)	73, 91-2, 128, 157, 168

	Page
Budget of League (continued)	
Secretariat and Special Orgs.: estimates, 1934, 16th financial period (Part I) (continued)	
Items of expenditure (continued)	
Interest charges	66
Latin America, liaison with	73-4, 87, 128
Library	74, 128
Mandates	72, 127, 128
Monetary and Economic Conf. (suppl. credit)	71-2, 91, 156-7, 168
Opium traffic, supervision and Central Board: entry into force of Manufacture Conv.	72, 127
Property account, maintenance	64, 118, 126
Publication Dept.	64, 80, 126
Salaries, wages and allowances	56, 56-8, 124, 163, 165
Slavery, Int. Conv. on	73
Social questions (traffic in women, pro- tection of children, etc.)	72, 127-8
Special staff charges	58, 65-6
Staff Provident Fund, contribution to	59
Supervision of revenue and expenditure	68-70
Travelling and subsistence allowances of League officials	59-62, 165
Unforeseen expenditure (subject to special Cl. vote)	31-2, 55-6, 125
Unforeseen and miscellaneous expenses of Secretariat	32, 68
Unpaid Liabilities Fund	32, 68
Wireless station, League	74, 128
Modifications	131
Reductions as compared with financial years 1932, 1933	13, 123-4, 163
Reports of	
4th Committee	163, 165-7
Supervisory Comm.	123-8
Suppl. credits, <i>see above under</i> Budget estimates, 1934	
Total estimates	12, 132, 163, 168
Surplus, 1932, Budget, <i>see above</i> 1932 Budget	
Working Capital Fund: estimates, 1934, 16th financial period (Part VII)	132
<i>See also</i> Working Capital Fund	
Budgets, National	
Comparison with League budget	16, 17, 23, 29, 31
Provision in to meet League contributions (pro- posal)	84, 148, 151
Buildings of League	
Budget estimates, 1934, <i>see</i> Budget of League: Buildings, etc.	
Building Fund	
Depreciation of dollar, effect on	120
Position on Aug. 31, 1933	139-40 (memo.)
Construction of new buildings	
Allusions to	17, 33
Arrangement of premises to allow more complete rationalisation of administrative services	107
Expenditure: report of Supervisory Comm.	90, 120 (text), 169
Furnishing account: contribution from sale of flat in Rome purchased by I.L.O., 1923	122
Disarmament Conf. building: taking over by League	126
Loans of buildings between Secretariat and I.L.O.	108
Bureaux, International	
<i>See</i> Intellectual co-operation: Section etc.	
Child Welfare	
Budget estimates, 1934	72, 127-8
China	
Liaison with League: budget estimates, 1934	73-4
Cinematograph	
Film propoganda by Information Section	46, 105
Committee of Thirteen	
Work on reorganisation of League Orgs., <i>see</i> Rationalisation, etc.: Reorganisation, etc.	
Committees of Assembly	
1st Committee: resols. examined by 4th Cttee. 66, 67	
4th Committee	
Agenda	8, 98 (text)
Close of session	97
Convocation before 1st meeting of ordinary session of Ass.: draft resol. of 1st Cttee. Text, Swedish proposal and adoption of both	66, 67

	Page		Page
Committees of Assembly (continued)		Contributions of States to League (continued)	
4th Committee (continued)		Report of 4th Cttee., <i>see above under Arrears</i>	
Procedure for discussing questions on agenda	28, 37	Reports of Supervisory Comm., <i>see above under</i>	
Publicity of meetings	8	Amendments, etc., and Arrears	
Rapporteur, general: appointment	28	by States non-members of League	
Report to Ass. and resols.		to Court of Int. Justice: procedure	130
Examination and adoption with amend-		U. S. A.	
ments	97	Dollar depreciation, exchange losses caused	
Text	162-170	to League by. 121, 122, 167 (<i>reports</i>)	
Vice-Chairman: election	8	to Expenses of Disarmament Conf.: pro-	
Records of meetings: amalgamation of different		cedure <i>re.</i>	123
records; preparation and distribution; ques-			
tion of verbatim records.	125, 134	Council of League	
Reports and resols. submitted by: simplification		Honorary posts in: non-election of representa-	
of procedure <i>re</i>		tives of States in arrears with contributions,	
Draft resol. of 1st Cttee.: discussion and		<i>see Contributions: in Arrears: Measures, etc.</i>	
adoption	66, 66-7	Sessions: credits, 1934	55-6, 165
Contributions of States to League		Court of Int. Justice, Permanent	
Allocation of expenses		Budget estimates, 1934, <i>see Budget of League:</i>	
Committee on allocation of expenses		Court, etc.	
Budget estimates 1934	68-70, 166-7	Pensions for judges: credits, 1934	83, 130
Recommendation <i>re</i> contribution of Turkey	97	Premises, enlargement	130
Scale, revision and question of postponement		Protocol, Sept., 1929, <i>re</i> revision of Statute:	
33, 68-70, 87, 149, 166-7		ratifications and question of entry into	
Turkey, number of units assigned to	97, 170 (<i>resol.</i>)	force.	82, 83, 129, 168
Amendments to Financial Regulations <i>re</i> contri-		Diplomatic Bags	
butions		Unification of system for conveyance between	
Article 21 (collection of contributions)		Geneva and Paris	47, 108
Discussion	87, 90	Distribution Service of Secretariat	
Report of Sub-Cttee. on contributions in		Rationalisation: enquiry and recomms.	11, 106, 107
arrears	151	Documents Service of Secretariat	
Reports of Supervisory Comm. 90, 120-1, 158 (<i>text</i>)		Rationalisation: enquiry and recomms.	11, 106, 107
Article 38 <i>a</i> (distribution of budget surplus		Dollar, Depreciation of	
among Member States)		Exchange losses caused by, <i>see</i>	
Case of States which have failed to contri-		Buildings: Building Fund	
bute: question to be studied by Super-		Contributions, etc.: by U.S.A.	
visory Comm.	151	Dominican Republic	
in Arrears		Contribution to League, <i>see under Contributions,</i>	
Analytical statement of contributions unpaid		etc.	
for 15th financial period (1933)	152-3	Double Taxation	
Causes of delay in payments and situation		Suspension of League work and Rockefeller Grant 71, 126	
of certain countries		Drummond, Sir Eric (Late Secretary-General of	
87, 88, 89, 90, 123, 148, 149, 151, 154-6 (<i>table</i>)		League)	
Difficulties in collecting contributions and		Tribute to work	12
situation resulting from . 13-14, 14-15, 17, 18, 22,		Economic Intelligence Service	
23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 34, 37, 38, 50, 52, 74,		<i>See Financial Section, etc.</i>	
75, 86, 87, 123, 150, 163, 167		Economic Organisation	
for Financial periods 1920-1932 . 150, 151-2 (<i>table</i>)		Economic Consultative Cttee.: suspension of	
List of contributions unpaid for 1st 14 finan-		credits, 1934	127
cial periods and of adjusted and consolidat-		Economic Relations Section	
ed arrears accounts 137-8, 142-4 (<i>table</i>)		Credits, etc., 1934	71, 127
Measures to be taken in order to secure		Entertainment Allowances of League Officials	
payments and sanctions proposed . 26, 27, 84,		Budget estimates, 1934, <i>see Budget: Labour Org.</i>	
85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 148, 150-1		and <i>below Secretariat</i>	
Memo. by Sec.-Gen. and tables illustrating		General Entertainment Fund and adoption of	
137-8, 142-4, 145-6		uniform regulations for use of in Secretariat	
Note by Sec.-Gen.	147	and I.L.O.	62, 132, 166
Percentage of contributions in arrears		Reductions proposed and draft resol. of New	
13-14, 15, 18, 25, 29, 30, 48, 49, 89, 122, 148,		Zealand del.	62-4, 166
149, 150, 162		European Union: Commission of Enquiry	
Publicity to be given to question		Credits, 1934	73
84, 85, 88, 90, 147, 148		Expenditure of League	
Rapporteur to Assembly	90	Financial situation of League and expenditure,	
Report of 4th Cttee. 147-9 (<i>text</i>), 163		<i>see Activities and policy, etc.</i>	
Report to be submitted to next Ass. by		New work involving new expenditure by League	
Sec.-Gen. 89, 149 (<i>resol.</i>), 151 (<i>resol.</i>)		Report by Sec.-Gen. noted by 4th Cttee.	90
Report of Sub-Cttee. of 4th Cttee.		Receipts in relation to expenditure during finan-	
Appendices	151-6	cial years 1931 and 1932	164
Discussion and adoption	84-90	Unforeseen expenditure of League	
Publication, <i>see above Publicity</i>		Budget estimates, 1934, <i>see Budget: Court:</i>	
Report of 4th Cttee.	147-9	Labour Org. and <i>below Secretariat</i>	
Text	149-51	Discussion, general	16, 21, 31-2, 36, 50
Reports of Supervisory Comm.		Finances of League	
90, 120-1, 122, 123, 158		<i>See also Activities, etc., expenditure and financial</i>	
Resolution of 4th Cttee. 148-9 (<i>text</i>), 151		situation of League	
Special provisions in force <i>re</i> payment of		Audited accounts	
contributions in arrears	153-4	Budget of League	
Statement showing arrears collected and due		Contributions, etc.	
(Jan. 1 and Aug. 31, 1933; Sept. 23)		Expenditure of League	
138, 145-6 (<i>table</i>), 147 (<i>memo.</i>)			
Sub-Committee of 4th Cttee.			
Attendance of representatives of States in			
arrears	21, 149		
Constitution, composition, functions, etc.			
14, 15, 18, 21, 50, 147			
Report, <i>see above</i>			
Collection of contributions			
Amendment to Art. 21 of Financial Regul-			
ations, <i>see above Amendments, etc.</i>			
Difficulties, <i>see above under Arrears</i>			
Dominican Republic, exemption from payment,			
1931 149 (<i>resol.</i>), 151, 151 (<i>resol.</i>)			

	Page		Page
Finances of League (continued)		Libraries of League and Labour Office	
<i>See also</i> Supervisory Comm.		Joint Purchasing Cttee.	11, 109
Working Capital Fund		Secretariat: credits, 1934, etc.	74, 128
Financial position of League		Management Institute, Int.	
on Aug. 31, 1933: memo. by Sec.-Gen.		<i>See</i> Scientific Management, etc.	
Annexes	141-6	Mandates	
Noted by 4th Cttee.	90	Budget estimates, 1934	72, 127, 128
Text	137-140	Commission, Perm. Mandates:	
on Sept. 23, 1933: note by Sec.-Gen. 90, 147 (<i>text</i>)		Number of annual sessions	127
Report of 4th Cttee.	162-3	Members of Section	
Loans: position of League as compared with that		<i>See under</i> Officials of League Orgs.	
of States in regard to issue of loans 16, 25, 29, 33		Messengers and Office-Keepers of Secretariat	
Financial Regulations of League		Recommendations with view to rationalisation 11, 107	
Amendments to certain arts., <i>see under</i> Contributions of States		Minorities	
Financial Section and Economic Intelligence Service		Budget estimates, 1934	71, 126
Activities and publications	126	Minutes of Committees	
Budget estimates, 1934, and Rockefeller grant		Assembly Committees, <i>see under</i> Committees of Ass.	
71, 118-19, 126-7		Printing of Minutes of League Cttees.	127, 128, 134
Statistical work, <i>see</i> Statistics: Centralisation of League statistics		Monetary and Economic Conference	
Health Organisation		Appropriations for 2nd session in 1934 budget and expenses of 1st session	
Budget estimates, 1934	72, 127	Discussion	31, 49, 71-2
Health Section		Reports of 4th Cttee. and Supervisory Comm. 91, 156-7, 168	
Activities, rationalisation, reduction of staff	26, 103	National Officials	
Statistical work, changes in, <i>see</i> Statistics: Centralisation, etc.		Salaries and subsistence allowances	22, 61, 165
Indexing Service		Nationalities, Representation of	
<i>See</i> Archives, Registry, etc.		<i>See under</i> Officials, etc.	
Information Section of Secretariat		Office-keepers	
Budget estimates, 1934	118	<i>See</i> Messengers and office-keepers	
Functions, activities, rationalisation, reduction of staff . 10, 11, 12, 20, 23-4, 24, 31, 37, 45-6, 104-5 (<i>report</i>), 117-18, 125 (<i>report</i>), 165 (<i>report</i>)		Officials of League Organisations	
Insurance of League Officials		Administrative Tribunal, <i>see that title</i>	
Contracts, insurance; establishment of joint contracts and extension to Court officials	108	Chiefs of Section; question of suppressing one post; perm. posts replaced by temp.; salaries	16, 71, 75, 76, 113
Insurance scheme against accidents and illness: question of abolishing League contribution		Clerical staff: rationalisation as applied to in I. L. O.	110, 112, 113, 114
Draft resol. of Indian del. 65 (<i>text</i>), 65-6, 166 (<i>text</i>)		in Secretariat, <i>see the sections concerned</i>	
Intellectual Co-operation		Comparison between staffs of I. L. O. and Secretariat	114
Organisation: Budget estimates, 1934 73, 128, 157, 168		Contracts, <i>see below</i> Recruitment, etc.	
Section of Intell. Co-operation and Int. Bureaux		Entertainment allowances, etc., <i>see that title</i>	
Functions	104	Insurance, <i>see</i> Insurance of League officials	
Labour Office, International		Loan of staff and collaboration between Secretariat and I. L. O.	109
Central Services: rationalisation; working	110	Members of section: position from point of view of rationalisation (categories A and B; salaries; annual increments; temp. and perm. posts, etc.)	
Collaboration with Secretariat, <i>see under</i> Rationalisation, etc.		Discussion 10, 20, 22, 24, 28, 30-1, 34, 35, 36-7, 42-5	
Deputy Director, <i>see under</i> Principal Officers		Report of 4th Cttee.	165
Establishment Service: creation proposed	112	Report of Establishments Cttee. of I. L. O. 112-15 (<i>passim</i>)	
Liaison Section with extra-European countries and Latin-American officials for liaison work		Reports of Supervisory Comm. 102-3, 110-11, 115-17	
77, 78, 168		Nationalities, representation and difficulties connected with; vacant posts in relation to 9, 19, 24, 34, 36, 43, 76-9, 101, 104, 129, 164, 167-8	
Library, <i>see</i> Libraries, etc.		New establishment, institution by I. L. O., <i>see</i> Rationalisation, etc.: Measures taken by I. L. O.	
Rationalisation, <i>see that title and under the questions concerned</i>		Principal Officers, <i>see that title</i>	
Staff, <i>see</i> Officials of League Orgs.		Promotion, <i>see</i> Recruitment and promotion	
Technical sections: collaboration with those of Secretariat	11, 109-10	Recruitment and promotion; type of contract	
Work in relation to financial restrictions	74-5	Contributions in arrears as factor in recruitment, <i>see</i> Contributions: in Arrears: Measures, etc.	
Labour Organisation, Int.		Discussion and work of Supervisory Comm. 27, 34, 35, 37, 44, 129, 133	
Budget estimates, 1934, <i>see</i> Budget of League: Labour Org., Int.		<i>See also above</i> Nationalities, representation of, and elsewhere Salaries, etc.: Reduction 10%, etc.	
Conference, Int.: credits 1934	80	Reductions in number of staff; changes in composition; suppression of posts and economies due to	
Governing Body		Discussion 10, 11-12, 13, 16, 20, 27, 35, 49, 57, 71, 75, 76, 83	
Relations with Supervisory Comm.	79	Report of 4th Cttee.	163
Sessions: credits, 1934	80	Report of Establishment Cttee. of I. L. O. 111-15 (<i>passim</i>)	
Labour Office, Int., <i>see that title</i>		Reports of Supervisory Comm. 101, 103, 104, 106, 107, 110-11, 118, 124	
Latin America, Liaison with			
Budget estimates, 1934	73-4, 128		
Liaison with I. L. O. proposed	77, 78, 168		
League of Nations			
Activities, <i>see</i> Activities and policy, etc.			
Organisations, <i>see</i> Orgs. of League			
Representatives; travelling facilities for; report of Supervisory Comm.	121		
Utility, views of States on; League crisis 23, 26, 27, 29, 49			

	Page
Officials of League Organisations (continued)	
Salaries, <i>see</i> Salaries, etc.	
Staff Pensions Fund, <i>see</i> Pensions Fund	
Staff Provident Fund, <i>see that title</i>	
Staff Regulations: Art. 54	
Report of Supervisory Comm.	132-3
Suppression of posts, <i>see above</i> Reductions in number, etc.	
Temporary and perm. posts, <i>see above</i> Chiefs of Section and Members of Section	
Travelling expenses, <i>see that title</i>	
Travelling facilities for: report of Supervisory Comm.	121
Vacant posts, <i>see above</i> Nationalities, etc.: Recruitment, etc., and Reduction of number, etc.	
Opium and other Dangerous Drugs	
Budget estimates, 1934 (Supervision of traffic; Central Board; entry into force of Manufacture Conv.).	72, 127
Organisations of League	
International character, <i>see</i> Officials: Nationalities, Representation of	
Nationalities, representation in, <i>see under</i> Officials, etc.	
Officials, <i>see</i> Officials, etc.	
Principal Officers, <i>see that title</i>	
Rationalisation, <i>see that title</i>	
Stability of int. orgs., principle of	19, 29
Pensions Fund for Staff of League Organisations	
Administrative Board	
Chairman	159
Members	
Election of three regular and three subst. members	97, 169, 170 (resol.)
List of members attending May session, 1933	159
Report to Assembly, <i>see below</i>	
Administrative Rules: amendments adopted by Administrative Board	159
Admissions to Fund.	92, 159
Audited accounts, 1932	123, 159
Budget estimates, 1934, <i>see</i> Budget of League: Pensions Fund	
Contribution of officials and League to Fund	
Case of officials on probation whose appointments are not confirmed	161
Case of officials whose salary is paid in depreciated currency, <i>see below</i> Pensionable emoluments paid in depreciated currencies	
League contributions: total	162 (report and resol.), 170 (resol.)
Invalidity pensions	160
Investments and depreciation question	93, 94, 95, 96, 123, 161, 169,
Payment of benefits	92, 160
Pensionable emoluments paid in depreciated currencies: position of certain officials	
Discussion	92-7
Reports of	
Administrative Board	160-1
4th Cttee. and resol.	169, 170
Supervisory Comm.	169, 170
Reports of	
Administrative Board	
Discussion and adoption	92-7
Text	159-162
4th Committee	
Drafting Sub-Cttee.: appointment and composition	97
Text	169
Supervisory Comm.	158
Resolution of Assembly	
Text adopted by 4th Cttee.	170
Text submitted by Administrative Board	162
Photographs	
Propaganda by Information Section by means of	46, 105
Political Section of Secretariat	
Functions	104
Press	
Relations with Information Section, <i>see</i> Information Section: Functions, etc.	
Principal Officers	
Changes and reductions effected by Establishment Cttee. in I.L.O.	75, 112, 113, 114, 115
Deputy Director of I.L.O.: suppression of post	75, 112-13

	Page
Principal Officers (continued)	
Entertainment allowances, <i>see that title</i>	
New section for use of Principal offices: composition, functions, etc.	10, 24, 37, 103-4 (report)
Salaries, <i>see under</i> Salaries, etc.	
Secretariats: composition, functions, etc.	10, 24, 103 (report)
Work of 13th Assembly, 1932	9, 10
Procedure of Assembly	
Simplification with view to shortening sessions: draft resol. of 1st Committee	
Discussion and adoption subject to Swedish proposal	66-7
Text.	66
Public Works and National Equipment	27
Publications of League	
Budget estimates, 1934	64, 80, 126
Document Service, <i>see that title</i>	
Labour Office, Int.	47-8, 80
List of publications edited and reprinted 1931 and 1932.	136
Official Journal	64
Overlapping between publications of Court and I.L.O.: avoidance	108
Printing-paper, purchase	109
Report, sixth annual, of Publications Cttee.	132, 133-6 (text)
of Sections of Secretariat, <i>see the sections concerned</i>	
Treaty Series	64
Rationalisation and Reorganisation of Secretariat and International Labour Office	
Application of recomms. of Supervisory Comm.: control by officer trained in administrative matters	11, 107-8
Committee appointed by Supervisory Comm. Activities	11
Creation, composition, functions	105-6
Co-operation between Secretariat and I.L.O. (Joint Cttees., collaboration between technical services) 11, 21, 24, 47, 108-10 (report), 105	
Discussion	9-14, 14-21, 22-8, 28-34, 35-8, 48-55, 57, 75, 76-9
Enquiries and recomms. of Int. Management Institute and of British expert (Mr. Robertson) and tribute to work	11, 28, 35, 37, 47, 106, 107, 108, 110, 113, 115, 165
General considerations on rationalisation	41-2, 101
Measures taken and future plans of I.L.O.	
Application of Ass. decisions (1930): arrangements made by Cl., April 1931, <i>see below</i> Report of Establishment Cttee.	
Discussion	11, 23, 24, 32, 47-8, 75, 76-9
Reports of	
4th Committee	167, 168
Establishment Cttee. (approved by Governing Body of I.L.O.)	111-15
Supervisory Comm.	110-11, 129
Reorganisation: work of Cttee. of Thirteen	11, 19, 24, 28-9, 34, 35, 43, 44, 45, 100, 102, 113, 164
Report of 4th Cttee.	164-5, 167, 168
Reports of Supervisory Comm.	
Annex: report of Establishment Cttee.	111-15
Discussion, general, <i>see above</i>	
Discussion chapter by chapter	38-45, 45-8
Texts	99-111, 115-18, 124, 125
Resolution of Ass., Oct. 17, 1932	38, 39, 100 (text)
Scientific Management Institute, <i>see that title</i>	
Refugees, Nansen Int. Office for	
Auditor's report for financial year, 1932: examination	119-20
Budget estimates, 1934, <i>see</i> Budget of League: Refugees, etc.	
Registry of Secretariat	
<i>See</i> Archives, etc.	
Representatives of League	
Travelling facilities for: report of Supervisory Comm.	121
Rockefeller Foundation	
Grants for work on financial question	71, 118-19, 126

	Page	Page
Renee Service of Secretariat		
Rationalisation: enquiry and recomms.	11, 106, 107	
Salaries of Officials of League Organisations		
Annual increments of Members of Section, <i>see</i>		
Officials: Members of Section		
Budget estimates, 1934, <i>see</i> Budget of League		
<i>under the Orgs. concerned</i>		
of Clerical and general staff	105	
Discussion 9, 13, 22, 30, 31, 35, 41, 44, 45, 49, 51, 56-8,	63, 64	
Entertainment allowances as part of, <i>see</i> Enter-		
tainment allowances		
Increase as result of Assembly decisions, 1930	112, 113	
of Members of Section, <i>see</i> Officials: Members of		
Section		
of Principal Officers: reductions	58, 63, 64	
Reduction of existing salaries, question of 57-8, 63, 165		
Reduction (10%) of salaries of new or newly pro-		
moted officials		
Discussion	13, 56-8, 63	
Draft resol. of Indian del. <i>re</i> application and		
dates relating to, of Ass. resol., 1932; with-		
drawal	56 (<i>text</i>), 56-8, 165 (<i>text</i>)	
Reports of		
4th Cttee.	163	
Supervisory Comm.	111, 124, 133	
Reports of		
4th Cttee.	163, 165	
Establishment Cttee.	111-15 (<i>passim</i>)	
Supervisory Comm.	102, 105, 111, 124, 133	
Total expenditure, 1921-1934	111	
Scientific Management, Int. Institute for		
Auditor's report for financial year 1932: exami-		
nation	119-20	
Contribution of I.L.O. towards expenses and		
question of future of Institute	82, 168	
Rationalisation work, <i>see</i> Rationalisation: En-		
quiries, etc.		
Secretariat of League		
Administrative work of sections: recomms. of		
Supervisory Comm.	106	
Budget estimates, 1934, <i>see</i> Budget of League:		
Secretariat, etc.		
Central and administrative services, rationalisa-		
tion, <i>see under</i> Rationalisation, etc., and the		
sections concerned		
Collaboration with I.L.O., <i>see</i> Rationalisation:		
Co-operation, etc.		
Constitution, functions, history	38, 100 (<i>text</i>)	
Library, <i>see</i> Libraries, etc.		
Officials, <i>see that title</i>		
Rationalisation, <i>see that title and under the various</i>		
questions		
Sections and services, <i>see the titles concerned</i>		
Technical sections, collaboration with those of		
I.L.O.	11, 109-10	
Slavery		
Advisory Committee of Experts		
Budget estimates, 1934	128	
Budget estimates, 1934 (Int. Slavery Conv.)	73, 128	
Staff of League Organisations		
<i>See</i> Officials, etc.		
Staff Pensions Fund		
<i>See</i> Pensions Fund, etc.		
Staff Provident Fund		
League contribution to (1934)	59	
Statistical Services of League Organisations		
Functions and question of centralisation 11, 105 (<i>report</i>)		
Stenographic Service of Secretariat		
Rationalisation: enquiry and recomms. 11, 28, 37, 47, 106		
Subsistence Allowances		
<i>See</i> Travelling and subsistence allowances, etc.		
Supervisory Commission		
Members		
Attending 52nd session	122	
Election of M. Osusky and M. Reveillaud		
97, 169, 170 (<i>resol.</i>)		
Relations with Governing Body of Labour Office	79	
Reports on work		
Adoption of conclusions by 4th Cttee.	170 (<i>resol.</i>)	
of 52nd Session		
Examination and adoption	96	
Text and Appendix	122-33, 133-6	
1st Suppl. report (54th session)		
Examination and adoption	90	
Text	115-21	
2nd Suppl. report		
Examination and adoption	91-2	
Text	156-8	
on Technical concentration of League acti-		
vities and rationalisation of services of		
Secretariat and I.L.O.		
Appendix: report of Establishment Cttee.		
approved by Governing Body of I.L.O.	111-15	
Text	99-111, 115-18	
Secretary, allowance to	58	
Statement of Chairman of 4th Cttee.	9-12	
Tributes to work	14, 19, 28, 29, 34	
Traffic in Women and Children		
Budget estimates, 1934	72, 127-8	
Transit and Communications		
Organisation: budget estimates, 1934	72, 127	
Travelling and Subsistence Allowances for		
Staff of League Organisations		
Budget estimates, 1934		
Labour Org.	75	
Secretariat, etc.	59-62, 165	
Extension of leave journey privileges' families	61-2, 132-3 (<i>report</i>)	
Subsistence allowances		
Principal Officers	60	
Reduction proposed by Indian del. in draft		
resol.	57, 59 (<i>text</i>), 60, 61, 166 (<i>text</i>)	
Turkey		
Contribution to League, <i>see under</i> Contributions:		
Allocation, etc.		
Representation in League Orgs.	76, 77	
Unemployment		
Campaign against, <i>see</i> Public works		
United States of America		
Contribution to expenses of Disarmament Conf.	123	
Dollar depreciation, exchange losses caused to		
League by	121, 122, 167 (<i>reports</i>)	
Wireless Station, League		
Auditor's report for financial year 1932: exami-		
nation and adoption	90, 119	
Budget estimates, 1934	74, 128	
Repayment to Working Capital Fund of sums		
drawn for expenses of station	33, 132, 169	
Working Capital Fund		
Budget estimates, 1934	132	
Discussion, general	16-17, 25, 26, 33, 50	
Position, Aug. 31, 1933	33, 123, 138	
Repayments to Fund from budget surplus, 1932		
33, 90, 132, 169		
Voluntary contributions to	139	

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Official Journal

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT No. 119

RECORDS

OF THE

FOURTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION

OF THE

ASSEMBLY

MEETINGS OF THE COMMITTEES

MINUTES

OF THE

FIFTH COMMITTEE

(HUMANITARIAN AND GENERAL QUESTIONS)

GENEVA, 1933

	Page
ELEVENTH MEETING, October 9th, 1933, at 4.30 p.m. :	
15. Traffic in Women and Children : Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly : Discussion and Adoption.....	28
16. Child Welfare : Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly : Discussion and Adoption.....	28
TWELFTH MEETING, October 10th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m. :	
17. Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs : Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly : Discussion and Adoption.....	28
18. Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs : Request from the Supervisory Body set up under the Limitation Convention.....	29
19. Re-organisation of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People : Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly : Discussion and Adoption.....	29

LIST OF ANNEXES.

1. Penal and Penitentiary Questions :	
Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners : Activities of the Technical Organisations : Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly	30
2. Traffic in Women and Children :	
A. Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly.....	33
B. Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age : Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly.....	33
C. Diplomatic Conference on the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age : Letter from the President of the Conference to the President of the Assembly.....	34
3. Child Welfare : Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly.....	35
4. Re-organisation of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People : Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly.....	36
5. Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs :	
A. Statement by the Rapporteur on the Principal Questions connected with the Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs	39
B. Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly.....	41

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Chairman : Mlle. Kerstin HESSELGREN (Sweden).
Vice-Chairman : Mr. Walter A. RIDDELL, M.A., Ph.D. (Canada).

- Abyssinia* :
- Union of South Africa* : M. W. C. NAUDÉ.
- Albania* :
- Argentine* :
- Australia* : Lieutenant-General Sir Talbot HOBBS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., V.D.;
Rabbi D. I. FREEDMAN, V.D. (Substitute);
Mrs. Mary Jamieson WILLIAMS, J.P. (Substitute).
- Austria* : Dr. E. SCHIFFNER;
Dr. Franz MATSCH (Substitute).
- Belgium* : Viscount POULLET;
His Excellency Count CARTON DE WIART.
His Excellency M. Adolfe COSTA DU REIS.
- Bolivia* : His Excellency M. Adolfe COSTA DU REIS.
- United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland* : Miss F. HORSBRUGH, M.P.
- Bulgaria* : M. D. MIKOFF.
- Canada* : Mr. Jean DÉSY, K.C.;
Mr. Walter A. RIDDELL, M.A., Ph.D. (Substitute).
- Chile* : M. Enrique GAJARDO.
- China* : His Excellency M. QUO Tai-chi;
His Excellency Dr. V. HOO Chi-tsai (Substitute);
M. CHEN Ting (Substitute);
M. LIU Chieh (Substitute).
- Colombia* : Dr. Julio. E. RUEDA.
- Cuba* : His Excellency M. Carlos DE ARMENTEROS Y DE CARDENAS;
M. Emiliano DUSSAQ Y FISCHER (Substitute).
- Czechoslovakia* : His Excellency M. Rudolf KÜNZL-JIZERSKÝ.
- Denmark* : Pastor Th. POVLSEN;
Mlle. Henni FORCHHAMMER.
- Dominican Republic* :
- Estonia* : His Excellency M. Auguste SCHMIDT;
M. J. KÓDAR (Substitute).
- Finland* : His Excellency Dr. Rudolf HOLSTI;
M. P. K. TARJANNE (Substitute).
- France* : M. Marcel PLAISANT;
M. Paul BASTID;
M. Jules GAUTIER;
Mme. MALATERRE-SELLIER.
- Germany* : Herr Dr. WOERMANN;
Dr. KRAUEL;
Fräulein Dr. UNGER;
Frau VON TILING.
- Greece* : M. B. P. PAPADAKIS;
M. A. CONTOUMAS (Substitute).
- Guatemala* :
- Haiti* : His Excellency M. Constantin MAYARD;
His Excellency M. A. F. FRANGULIS (Substitute).
- Honduras* :
- Hungary* : Countess Albert APPONYI;
M. Paul DE HEVESY (Substitute);
M. Béla DE SZENT-ISTVÁNY (Substitute).

FIRST MEETING

Held on Tuesday, September 26th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman : Mlle. HESSELGREN (Sweden).

1. Election of Vice-Chairman.

The Committee appointed Mr. RIDDELL (Canada) Vice-Chairman.

2. Adoption of Agenda.

The Committee adopted its Agenda—namely :

- (1) Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs;
- (2) Traffic in Women and Children;
- (3) Penal and Penitentiary Questions;
- (4) Child Welfare.
- (5) Re-organisation of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People.

3. Appointment of Rapporteurs. •

The Committee appointed as its Rapporteurs for the respective questions on its Agenda :

- M. DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal) : Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs;
Miss HORSBRUGH (United Kingdom) : Traffic in Women and Children;
M. PELLA (Roumania) : Penal and Penitentiary Questions;
Mme. HUBICKA (Poland) : Child Welfare;
M. GAJARDO (Chile) : Re-organisation of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People.

4. Publicity of Meetings.

The Committee decided that, in principle, its meetings should be public.

It decided to invite M. SIMON VAN DER AA, General Secretary of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, to be present at its discussions on penal and penitentiary questions.

SECOND MEETING

Held on Wednesday, September 27th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman : Mlle. HESSELGREN (Sweden).

5. Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs: Statement by the Rapporteur on the Principal Questions connected with the Traffic (Annex 5, A): General Discussion.

M. DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal), Rapporteur, submitted to the Committee and commented on the statement he had prepared on the principal questions connected with the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs.

He observed in the first place that he was able to announce the ratification of the Bangkok Agreement by Portugal. He noted the progress of ratifications of the 1931 Convention for limiting the manufacture and regulating the distribution of narcotic drugs,¹ the number of ratifications being now thirty-nine. The Convention had been in force since July 9th, 1933.

The model administrative Code for enforcing the 1931 Convention was, he felt, an achievement without parallel in the work of the League. It provided solidarity of action, which gave it strength, and every Government should therefore be urged to apply it.

The Supervisory Body set up for control under Article 5, paragraph 6, of the 1931 Convention had been definitely constituted, and had begun the examination of the estimates received from various Governments and to prepare estimates for the countries or territories which had not provided an estimate. Thirteen countries had supplied information. It was essential that all should duly forward the necessary data to the Supervisory Body.

¹ Document C.455.M.193.1931.XI.

The very appreciable reduction in the output of drugs shown in the report of the sixteenth session of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs¹ was evidence of the success of the League and of the Governments which were applying the Convention.

Clandestine manufacture, which was developing in certain countries, could be eradicated only by the infliction of severer penalties, including the assimilation of the illicit traffic to international crimes, such as counterfeiting currency and piracy, and long terms of imprisonment in addition to fines, which in themselves were inadequate. In Turkey and Bulgaria, praiseworthy action had been taken against the traffickers. Persia had ratified the Limitation Convention. In China, despite the Government's efforts, the situation was disturbing and supervision was proving difficult. Unless rigorous measures were taken, China might become a dangerous source of illicit production and traffic. The Committee, like the Council, would note with much satisfaction the appointment of the standing sub-committee to consider the means of promoting close collaboration between the Chinese authorities and the authorities of the Powers concerned, with a view both to suppressing the abuse of narcotics and to combating the use of prepared opium.

Much could be done by the supervision of the cultivation of the opium poppy, which required special care and could hardly be concealed. The soundest plan undoubtedly was to restrict supplies of the raw material, though that remedy was useless in the case of the coca leaf. Control of cultivation was practically impossible in the remote forests from which part of the coca leaf crop was obtained. Efforts must be directed mainly towards controlling the factories.

A limited agreement among the three principal producing countries concerned—Persia, Turkey and Yugoslavia—would constitute a first and most important step towards limiting the production of raw opium, pending the preparation of a more general agreement.

Lastly, the Disarmament Conference had judged from the results obtained that the control of the manufacture of and traffic in dangerous drugs might serve as a model for the supervision of the manufacture of and trade in arms.

THIRD MEETING

Held on Thursday, September 28th, 1933, at 4.30 p.m.

Chairman: Mlle. HESSELGREN (Sweden).

6. Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs: Statement by the Rapporteur on the Principal Questions connected with the Traffic (Annex 5, A) : General Discussion (continued).

M. Quo Tai-chi (China) regarded the report of the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs on the work of its sixteenth session as striking evidence of the value of international co-operation in the campaign against drugs. China welcomed the large number of ratifications of the Limitation Convention, and the Chinese Government had decided to accede to it as soon as certain statutory time-limits had expired.

A word of warning was needed against the over-optimistic belief that the sources of supply for the illicit traffic in Western Europe appeared to be rapidly drying up. Two large seizures of morphine and one of heroin had been reported in the United States about the time when the report was drafted, and in each case the drugs had come from Western Europe.

The penalties inflicted on convicted traffickers were in many cases admittedly too light. The Chinese Government attached great importance to that question, and the laws in China concerning traffickers were very severe; but efforts to combat the illicit traffic were useless in the case of traffickers who, being aliens in China, did not come under Chinese jurisdiction. He quoted the statement by the Permanent Central Opium Board that "the presence of foreign concessions, settlements and leased territories complicates a difficult situation in China".²

The National Government's determined fight against the traffic in drugs could not succeed unless the Powers concerned afforded it all the assistance which it was entitled to expect. It would be practically useless if enormous quantities continued to pour into China from foreign sources or from Chinese territories under the control of foreign authorities.

¹ Document C.385.M.193.1933.XI.

² Document C.495.M.250.1933.XI, page 10.

The policy followed in Manchuria gave rise to the gravest fears, and the question of the validity of drug import certificates issued there was intimately bound up with the application of the principle of supervision embodied in the international Conventions.

According to the Supplementary Report on the Work of the League since the Thirteenth Session of the Assembly,¹ China had been chosen as a new centre for the operations of clandestine manufacturers. M. Quo declared that there was no authoritative evidence to that effect. The official documents mentioned only two seizures—admittedly very considerable—of morphine, believed to have been manufactured in Chinese territory. He knew of no case in which Chinese morphine had been seized abroad.

The forwarding by certain foreign concessions in China of annual reports on which the Chinese Government had already expressed its opinion in the Advisory Committee was one step further towards collaboration between China and foreign Powers, and that co-operation would, he hoped, be facilitated by the recent creation of a permanent Sub-Committee on China of the Advisory Committee. Satisfaction had been felt in China at the Portuguese Government's intention to abolish the opium monopoly in Macao.

As regards the preparatory work for the limitation of poppy cultivation, M. Quo urged that the proposed agreement between the three principal producing countries should not be allowed to delay the convening of the Conference.

The CHAIRMAN expressed the satisfaction felt by the Committee on learning of China's accession to the Limitation Convention. The number of ratifications of the Convention already received afforded tangible evidence of the need it met.

M. DE CASTRO (Uruguay) noted the satisfactory progress achieved in the regulation of the traffic in narcotics. The Conference which resulted in the conclusion of the 1931 Convention had been on a universal basis. Governments which had not already ratified that instrument were now morally bound to do so. Public opinion had been roused, and the campaign against the illicit traffic had been transferred from the national to the international plane.

Uruguay had adopted regulations based on the Model Code for the application of the Limitation Convention. A Commission consisting of thirty members had been set up to secure liaison between the various public authorities in Uruguay; their efforts had brought to light much contraband material and had led to the detection of bands, consisting mostly of foreigners, engaged in the illicit traffic. The Government hoped that the regulation adopted would yield equally satisfactory results in other countries, especially in those from which drugs were consigned to Uruguay.

M. DE PEPPA (Italy) stressed the importance of the collaboration, provided for in Article 5, paragraph 6, of the Limitation Convention, between the Secretariat of the Supervisory Body and the Permanent Central Opium Board. The Italian delegation attached the greatest importance to the organisation of that collaboration on practical and permanent bases.

M. GAJARDO (Chile) observed that Chile attached great importance to the League's efforts in the campaign against narcotic drugs; she was already a party to the 1925 and 1931 Conventions and had just ratified the Protocol of Signature of the latter instrument. The competent authorities were studying the Model Code, with a view to the administrative application of the provisions of the Limitation Convention.

M. MORESCO (Netherlands) thought that the results of the drug campaign might be regarded as satisfactory. He emphasised and endorsed the following passage in the Advisory Committee's report to the Council:

“What has been done in Western Europe can be done in other parts of the world, given adequate laws and, above all, efficient administration.”²

He was glad to find that the fear expressed that the increase in the number of members of the Advisory Committee would make the Committee's work less effective had proved groundless. The division of work among sub-committees, which was rendered possible by the increase, had shortened the sessions and reduced expenditure.

Referring to the Conference on the Limitation of Raw Materials, he urged the importance of sound preparation and drew attention to the difficulties mentioned by M. de Vasconcellos with regard to the limitation of coca-leaf production. The Netherlands Government regarded the proposed gradual abolition of the Macao monopoly as a particularly instructive experiment.

Alluding to the Bangkok Agreement, the speaker stated that the legislation in the Netherlands East Indies had already been brought into line with its provisions, although the Agreement had not yet come into force.

M. SIENRA (Uruguay) asked that the Secretary-General's attention might be directed to the essential desirability of ensuring proper correlation between the several bodies concerned with the application of the Limitation Convention.

¹ Document A.6(a).1933, page 49.

² Document C.385.M.193.1933.XI, page 4.

Countess APPONYI (Hungary) stated that the Hungarian authorities were preparing rules for the application of the Convention and that provision was being made for a Commission to enforce it. Special attention should be drawn to the Advisory Committee's success in bringing about the Limitation Convention; it augured well for the preparations for the Conference on the limitation of the opium poppy and coca leaf.

Sir Talbot HOBBS (Australia) explained that Australia had not yet acceded to the Limitation Convention because the sale and distribution of narcotic drugs was under the control of the Australian States and not of the Commonwealth. Negotiations with the States were proceeding and favourable results might be expected.

FOURTH MEETING

Held on Friday, September 29th, 1933, at 4.30 p.m.

Chairman: Mlle. HESSELGREN (Sweden).

7. Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs: Statement by the Rapporteur on the Principal Questions connected with the Traffic (Annex 5, A): General Discussion (continued).

Miss HORSBRUGH (United Kingdom) felt that the success of the Limitation Convention would depend on the care taken by Governments in estimating their requirements of drugs for medical and scientific purposes.

Contrary to what the Italian representative seemed to believe, the Secretariat of the Supervisory Body established under that Convention had already been permanently constituted, and its collaboration with the Central Board had been satisfactorily arranged.

The lack of universality of the Convention would provide a loophole for illicit traffic.— It was important to avoid the establishment of illicit factories in producing countries, and that could effectually be done only by the exercise of complete Government control over opium production and distribution. The danger of manufacture for illicit uses was still acute in certain countries. The Advisory Committee had made a special effort that year to give in its report a comprehensive review of the present position as regards the illicit traffic, and it would be useful for the Fifth Committee to know what steps had been taken by the Secretariat to secure suitable publicity for the facts set forth in the Advisory Committee's report.

The United Kingdom Government was in sympathy with the suggestion to convene a Conference on the Limitation of Raw Materials. In view of the difficulties in the way of limiting the growing of opium, the Committee had made an important suggestion that, without awaiting the general Conference, an agreement might be sought between the exporting countries. Persia and China had ratified the 1931 Convention; it was to be hoped that they might ratify the 1925 Convention and thus complete the machinery essential for full control.

The setting-up of a Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committee to facilitate collaboration with the Chinese authorities would seem calculated to help the latter to exercise stricter control.

In reply to the observations of the Chinese delegate at the previous meeting regarding the hindrance to the efforts of the Chinese authorities caused by the existence of foreign concessions, Miss Horsbrugh felt bound to direct the Fifth Committee's attention to the Report on the British Municipal Area at Tientsin,¹ and, in particular, to Case No. 25 quoted therein, concerning the discovery of a plant for the manufacture of morphine and heroin, in which certain Chinese were found to be implicated and were handed over to the Chinese authorities. No official information had been received from the Chinese authorities as to the action taken, but it was alleged that the principal Chinese offender had been released without a trial, on payment of a small fine. In case after case, when reports had been made to the Chinese authorities, no information had been received from them by the concession authorities.

As a supplement to the statements already made regarding the control of opium for smoking in the Far East, Miss Horsbrugh stated that a system of registration and rationing had now been introduced by the authorities of Malaya, in conformity with the recommendations of the Bangkok Conference.

M. EKSTRAND, Director of the Opium Traffic and Social Questions Section, stated that the attention of the Press had been directed to the contents of the Advisory Committee's report when it came before the Council for discussion. Daily *communiqués* were also issued during the sessions of the Advisory Committee.

M. BASTID (France) associated the French Government with the general satisfaction expressed at the very appreciable results of the League's anti-narcotic activities.

¹ Document O.C./A.R.1932/22.

Looking to the future, special importance attached to the text, to be found in Annex 3¹ of the Advisory Committee's report, of draft articles for an international Convention for the Suppression of the Illicit Traffic in Dangerous Drugs. That text, which was due to Portuguese initiative, strengthened the provisions of the 1925 Convention. It followed the lines of the Convention for the Suppression of Counterfeiting Currency and represented further progress in the internationalisation of law.

The urgency of the question would justify a simplification of the usual procedure for the conclusion of Conventions under the auspices of the League. If the Assembly were prepared to delegate its powers to the Council, the decision to convene the conference might be taken without waiting for the meeting of the fifteenth Assembly.

Mr. DÉSY (Canada) pointed out that Canada, with her immense frontiers, was greatly exposed to the dangers of illicit traffic. The Government had, however, been able to take effective measures to combat that traffic and to establish close co-operation with other countries and, in particular, with the United States of America; the Extradition Treaty with the latter country was regarded as a model treaty. The 1931 Convention represented marked progress over that of 1925. Now that the import and export of drugs were controlled and manufacture limited, it might be possible to limit the production of the raw materials for narcotics. The Canadian Government would be prepared, as in the past, to second the League's efforts in this direction.

M. PLOY (Yugoslavia) stated that his Government was watching sympathetically the League's campaign against the illicit traffic. Yugoslavia had made her contribution by ratifying the 1925 Convention, notwithstanding the economic and social importance of the opium question in a country where the producers were mostly small farmers. Yugoslavia had amplified her national legislation on opium and extended the supervision laid down in the 1925 Convention to the drugs mentioned in Article I, paragraph 2, groups I and II, of the Limitation Convention.² She could not ratify the 1931 Convention as long as the relationship between production and distribution remained unsettled. The area under poppy cultivation had, however, been reduced from 8,000 to 4,000 hectares in 1931-32. The Yugoslav Government had been most scrupulous in forwarding the necessary statistics, and, in that connection, M. Ploy was anxious to correct an error which had slipped into the Report on the Work of the League since the Thirteenth Session of the Assembly, which stated that the Permanent Central Opium Board had noted that Yugoslavia among other countries had failed to report on the consumption of narcotics during 1931.³

Don Ugo THEODOLI, Secretary of the Permanent Central Opium Board, stated that the passage in the Report on the Work of the League since the Thirteenth Session of the Assembly to which the Yugoslav delegate objected would be rectified, as Yugoslavia had, in fact, sent in her statistics for 1931.

M. MORSTIN (Poland) observed that Poland had ratified the 1931 Convention in April 1933. He hoped that room might be found on the Advisory Committee for the representatives of countries to which the narcotics question was of special interest. The proposal for an International Convention for the Suppression of the Illicit Traffic would be welcomed by the Polish Government.

Mme. DE PALENCIA (Spain) stated that the establishment of a narcotics monopoly in Spain, though not yet complete, was progressing. The Spanish delegation agreed with the United Kingdom delegation that the general situation, though far from discouraging, called for united and energetic action in the tracking-down of traffickers, and every member of the Fifth Committee had a personal responsibility in that respect. Spain would make every effort to co-operate in any international action with that object.

M. Hoo Chi-tsai (China) said that, while agreeing in the main with the statements made by the United Kingdom delegate, he would like to clear up certain points in her speech. When he had referred at the previous meeting to the light penalties imposed for drug-traffic offences, he had had in mind certain countries only. While not discussing the question whether the Permanent Central Opium Board was competent to make the statement referred to by Miss Horsbrugh, he would merely point out that the Board was composed of persons belonging to countries which had concessions, and that it did not include a Chinese member. It would be found that the report on the British Concession at Tientsin⁴ mentioned by the United Kingdom delegate stated that the head of the gang arrested was a Japanese, who, however, could not be traced. The five Chinese concerned had thus played only a secondary part; naturally, therefore, their penalties would be relatively light; but it was not even proved that those penalties had been light, since the allegation in the report—and it was a mere allegation—that the principal Chinese was released without trial on payment of a small fine would hardly justify the prominence given to the matter by the Fifth Committee. He too could, if he liked, quote allegations anything but favourable to the foreign Powers. The case in question was discovered on January 21st, 1932.

¹ Document C.385.M.193.1933.XI, page 31.

² Document C.509.M.214.1931.XI, page 369.

³ Document A.6.1933, page 104.

⁴ Document O.C./A.R.1932/22.

On January 28th, the Japanese attacked Shanghai, and all through January the situation at Tientsin had been very critical.

The fact that the authorities of the foreign concessions had not always been informed by the Chinese authorities of the penalties imposed did not necessarily imply that the guilty parties escaped punishment. The concession authorities not only did not always report cases of illicit traffic to the Chinese authorities when certain foreigners were implicated, but they even considered that those cases were not important enough to be reported to the League.

On the other hand, to quote the official reports themselves received by the Secretariat from foreign concessions, the report of the Municipal Council of the Shanghai International Settlement for the year 1932¹ contained adequate proof of drastic action by the Chinese authorities. In May 1932, as the result of a raid on a morphine and heroin factory, ten Chinese and one Japanese had been arrested. Of the ten Chinese, one was sentenced to four years' imprisonment and fined 5,000 dollars; six were sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment and fined 3,000 dollars; two to one year's imprisonment and a fine of 2,000 dollars. The Japanese was ordered by the Japanese Consular Court to pay a fine of 50 yen. Other cases of similar penalties imposed by the Chinese courts were to be found in the same report. The penalties in China might be considered sufficiently severe—decapitation was one of them. Obviously, China did not claim that the existence of the concessions lay at the root of the whole evil, but it was not unfair to take the view, as did the Permanent Central Board, that their existence complicated an already difficult situation. Even with close collaboration between the concession authorities and the Chinese authorities, those complications would subsist, from the mere fact of there being those two different authorities in existence. Ex-territoriality greatly added to the complications of the situation. The report for 1932² of the Municipal Council of the Kulangsu International Settlement stated that, for safety, many opium dealers—in Amoy, for example—kept their stocks of opium on the neighbouring mainland, on premises belonging to persons of Chinese race who by birth were the subjects of a foreign Power and as such enjoyed the privileges of extraterritoriality.

The speaker expressed his complete agreement with the United Kingdom delegate as to the need for effective collaboration between China and the treaty Powers. He hoped for great things from the Advisory Committee's Sub-Committee on China, though they must not expect to work miracles.

Phya Subarn SOMPATI (Siam) said that the Siamese Government was fully determined to suppress as soon as possible the use of opium for smoking. Allowance must be made for the necessity of finding other sources of revenue to take the place of the monopoly receipts. The solution of the opium problem was not simply a national matter, but called for international action. The abandonment of the monopoly would not necessarily imply that smokers would give up the drug; smuggling would immediately become rife in order to meet the demand. A Convention for the Limitation of Poppy-growing would attack the evil at its source. The League could be assured of the fullest support from the Siamese Government in its campaign against the drug traffic.

M. WOERMANN (Germany) said that the new German Government had lost no time in ratifying the 1931 Convention. Germany would continue to lend the League her full support in that field.

M. DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal), Rapporteur, felt that the promises of ratification of the 1931 Convention augured well for the future of the anti-narcotics campaign.

In answer to the criticisms that had been made, he must state that the collaboration between the Supervisory Body and the Permanent Central Board was provided for quite satisfactorily, to judge from the letters from the Presidents of the two bodies.

He was glad to hear the opinion expressed that the increase in the number of members of the Advisory Committee had been justified by the results obtained. As regards the campaign against the use of drugs in the Far East, it had not been possible to contemplate the radical suppression of opium for smoking in Macao, but the Portuguese Government hoped to obtain its gradual abolition.

The question of clandestine manufacture did not seem to him so critical as some appeared to think. Recent seizures of drugs from Western Europe were small compared with former seizures. Only a small quantity of drugs from licensed factories were found in the illicit traffic.

The difficulties in the way of repressive measures, due to the existence of foreign concessions in China, would, he thought, be lessened if China and the concessionary Powers would ratify the draft International Convention for the Suppression of the Illicit Traffic. The penalties would then become uniform and repression would become more effective.

In conclusion, he appealed for the general collaboration of the Governments, which alone, with the support of public opinion, could destroy the illicit traffic.

¹ Document O.C./A.R.1932/5.

² Document O.C./A.R.1932/4.

FIFTH MEETING

Held on Saturday, September 30th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m.

Chairman: Mlle. HESSELGREN (Sweden).

8. Penal and Penitentiary Questions: Statement by the Rapporteur:¹ Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, drawn up and revised by the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, and Explanatory Memorandum relating to the Rules:² General Discussion.

The CHAIRMAN extended a welcome to M. Simon van der Aa, General Secretary of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, and expressed the Committee's appreciation of the important work that organisation had done, which had resulted in the framing of the Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners.

M. PELLA (Roumania), Rapporteur, gave a brief account of the situation. Rules for the treatment of prisoners had been drawn up in 1929 by the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission. Those Rules, revised as the outcome of Assembly deliberations, Government consultations and the observations of bodies conversant with the subject, were now submitted to the Fifth Committee. Those Rules might be considered readily adaptable to the varied conditions obtaining in the different countries. They might be submitted at once to the Assembly for a discussion on their substance; or they might be forwarded to States Members and non-members of the League, who would be asked to say whether they were prepared to adapt their laws and regulations to them in principle. The Rapporteur was in favour of the second alternative; Governments had not yet had time to examine the revised Rules, or to give their delegates instructions regarding them. It would be for the next Assembly to make a recommendation and ask Governments whether they considered an international Convention on the treatment of prisoners desirable to give effect to the proposals put forward by the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission.

Other points arising out of the replies from Governments and the various organisations were under consideration by the Penal and Penitentiary Commission, which would submit to the League in due course the conclusions it reached. These questions included primarily researches and enquiries into criminal biology, the organisation of international penal and penitentiary statistics, certain international aspects of the problem of assistance to convicts, compulsory after-care and its extension to prisoners who have been finally discharged, the general and international regulation of prison labour, the placing of discharged prisoners in free industry by means of legislation, and the systematic collaboration of representatives of Governments, industry and labour, with a view to obviating the drawbacks of the possible competition of prison labour in the open market.

The suggestion had been made in 1931 that it might be necessary to create a special League body to deal with penal and penitentiary questions. Experience had shown, however, that certain technical organisations were prepared to offer most competent collaboration, and to create a special organisation under the League would, in the Rapporteur's view, be quite superfluous.

M. Pella next proceeded to survey the work of the seven international organisations specially concerned with penal and penitentiary questions. Their activities, he reminded the Committee, formed the subject of an annual report³ by the Secretary-General.

The International Penal Law Association had organised, at Palermo in April 1933, the third International Penal Law Congress, which had laid down, *inter alia*, the principle of universal jurisdiction in regard to international offences, emphasised the necessity of the penal judge's and even the counsel's possessing special qualifications, and admitted the existence of a penitentiary law placing the convicted person under the ægis of the law and protecting his civic rights.

The International Bureau for the Unification of Penal Law, whose membership included, in addition to twenty-two States, six important organisations, was carrying out researches with a view to the standardisation of penal law in matters where discrepancies hamper international co-operation in the campaign against crime.

The International Penal and Penitentiary Commission included among its members a large number of States, and it was to be hoped that its membership might be increased, especially among States Members of the League. The Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners were the outcome of its efforts.

The International Criminal Police Commission had discussed a draft international Convention concerning international co-operation between police authorities and the establishment of an

¹ See report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly (Annex 1, B).

² Document A.26.1933.IV. Annex.

³ Report by the Secretary-General on the Activities of Seven Private International Organisations (document A.23.1933.IV).

International Police Information Bureau; it was clear that, at present, too many diplomatic and administrative formalities stood in the way of the extradition of delinquents. The Commission had also taken the initiative in framing a preliminary draft for the suppression of the illicit traffic in dangerous drugs. That draft had been based on the model of the Convention for the Suppression of Counterfeiting Currency. The Rapporteur agreed with M. Bastid that the procedure for the conclusion of the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Dangerous Drugs might be expedited.

The Howard League for Penal Reform was a humanitarian organisation, which, in the words of the resolution submitted by it to the Secretary-General of the League in favour of international action in penal and penitentiary matters, emphasised the necessity "for an agreed standard of justice, humanity and efficiency in the treatment of all those under arrest or detention, whether convicted or unconvicted, in police cells or prisons".¹

The International Law Association, among its various activities, had drafted a model Convention on extradition.

The International Penal Law Union had been dealing, *inter alia*, with international co-operation in the field of penal law, and the continuation of the reform of penal law.

The valuable assistance afforded by those various organisations in the penal and penitentiary questions before the League deserved to be expressly noted by the Fifth Committee. He hoped that the work of the Fifth Committee and of the First Committee concerning the unification of penal law and the co-operation of States in the prevention and suppression of crime would form a harmonious whole. As regards the treatment of prisoners, their efforts must be based on the desire that a spirit of humanity should govern the relations between the State and the prisoner, who was entitled to be safeguarded from certain abuses contrary to the most elementary conceptions of the physical and moral protection of mankind.

Mr. HACKING (United Kingdom) stated that the United Kingdom Government approved in principle the Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, but desired to point out that, in some respects, they still fell behind the existing practice in the United Kingdom, even as regards corporal punishment, which the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission seemed to dislike. In the United Kingdom, the use of corporal punishment was strictly limited to the Prison Act 1898, sub-section 5, which laid down clearly the cases in which corporal punishment could be inflicted, the nature of the punishment and the conditions, including the medical conditions, under which it could be inflicted. The punishment had to be ordered by an independent board of magistrates, their decision had to be approved by the Home Secretary, and the punishment was inflicted in the presence of the prison governor and medical officer alone. Corporal punishment, though regarded as a necessary instrument in prison administration, was sparingly used and, according to the last statistics, had been applied only in the case of fifteen of the annual prison population of some 50,000 persons.

The speaker then reviewed the various possible alternatives to corporal punishment and the objections to those alternatives. First, confinement in rigorous seclusion: that was considered by the British Government to be injurious to the physical and moral health of the prisoner. Secondly, mechanical restraint: in the United Kingdom neither chains nor fetters were employed. Thirdly, confinement in a dark cell: cells in the United Kingdom were well lighted and ventilated. Lastly, loss of remission of sentence: in the United Kingdom, subject to good behaviour, a prisoner with a twelve years' sentence could expect three years' remission. Loss of remission was an ineffective punishment if administered in the early stages of the sentence, but the effect would endure throughout the remainder of the period, making the prisoner permanently dissatisfied, and destroying the incentive to good behaviour which secures such remission. Those various alternatives, the British Government maintained, were not as humane as corporal punishment administered under proper guarantees.

Mr. Hacking agreed with the Rapporteur that the relations between the State and the prisoner should be governed by a spirit of humanity. In the United Kingdom, the choice of prison officials, health regulations and the appointment of visiting commissions with freedom of access to prisoners ensured fair and proper treatment. He agreed with the Rapporteur's suggestion that the revised Rules be sent to Governments and that the latter be asked whether they were prepared to apply them in their national penitentiary administration.

He agreed with the Rapporteur that to set up a League organ to deal with penal and penitentiary questions was unnecessary, when such questions were being so efficiently dealt with by the experts on the Penal and Penitentiary Commission.

In its memorandum, that Commission stated that it had received communications urging a general limitation of the duration of the detention of untried prisoners or a prohibition of any extortions of declarations or confessions during the preliminary proceedings. The United Kingdom was among those nations whose practice it was to see that the interval between arrest and trial was as short as possible. The judicial authorities discountenanced statements made under compulsion. A person under arrest was cautioned that he need not say anything, and that,

¹ See document A.23.1933.IV, Section V, 3.

if he did, it might be used as evidence against him. That point was important in the administration of justice. If public confidence in the impartiality of justice ever waned, the very foundations of ordered civilisation would be undermined.

Mr. Hacking assured the Rapporteur of the United Kingdom's generous support for his proposals.

M. FABBRI (Italy) said that the Italian delegation was in full agreement with the Rapporteur. He recalled the contribution of Italian learning to the progress of penal law and the solution of penitentiary questions, more especially during the last ten years. The new Italian Criminal Code of 1931 was a compromise between two schools of thought—the traditional and the realist schools. It was conceived on realistic lines; it had in view the moral regeneration of the criminal and the prevention of crime, and never lost sight of the principle of moral responsibility. Solitary confinement had been abolished. New regulations had been introduced governing prison labour, which was paid and was carried on under hygienic conditions, the main purpose being the re-adaptation of the prisoner. The new Italian penal and penitentiary provisions had thus already taken largely into account the principle of the safeguarding of human dignity and the fundamental ideas embodied in the texts drawn up under League auspices.

Italy approved in principle the League's efforts with a view to the unification of penal law and the institution of effective collaboration between States in the suppression of crime. It must not be forgotten, however, that the right of punishment was closely bound up with the political and social policy of the States, particularly in the case of the execution of the penalty; States, then, could not be asked to adopt certain formulæ which might be deemed prejudicial to their inviolable rights of sovereignty. There existed, however, certain fundamental principles which could not be denied without denying the very foundations of civilisation.

The Italian delegation considered that the new Rules should be communicated to the States Members and non-members of the League, with an enquiry whether they considered their application feasible.

COUNT DE PENHA GARCIA (Portugal), while approving the statement of the United Kingdom delegation, wished to submit a reservation on the subject of corporal punishment.

He paid a tribute to the Italian criminologists and the remarkable penal legislation now being applied in Italy.

The League's competence in penal and penitentiary questions arose from the fact that crime and punishment had now become of universal import. But the League's activities in that field must be exercised, not through the intermediary of a new body, but by constant co-operation between the League and the seven existing technical organisations. There were both practical and financial reasons for such a conclusion.

He supported the Rapporteur's suggestion that Governments should first be consulted on the Rules before the question of framing a recommendation to draw up an international Convention could be considered.

Recent years had seen the development of the political offence or crime, which sometimes was at the same time an offence or crime at ordinary law, and the two cases must not be confused. Every criminal case must be judged both as the act of an individual and by its social repercussions. The old doctrine of expiation had evolved under the influence of the modern German and especially the Italian schools of thought. The new conception of crime and the criminal favoured League intervention; without entirely abandoning the old conception, an endeavour was now made to re-educate the offender and to create in him a new state of mind, to restore his self-respect as a man and a normal citizen.

M. MORSTIN (Poland) said that the Polish Government entirely approved the Rules before the Committee, and that it was prepared to embody those Rules in its legislation as soon as they had been more fully developed. The Polish delegation approved the Rapporteur's statement. It was in favour of a consultation of Governments.

SIXTH MEETING

Held on Tuesday, October 3rd, 1933, at 3.30 p.m.

Chairman: Mlle. HESSELGREN (Sweden).

9. Traffic in Women and Children: General Discussion: Adoption of Resolution recommending the Assembly to submit to a Diplomatic Conference the Protocol for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age: Appointment of Sub-Committee.

Miss HORSBRUGH (United Kingdom), Rapporteur, expressed her satisfaction that forty-five countries had ratified the 1921 Convention, and emphasised the value of the annual reports sent in by Governments and by the international voluntary associations. Great importance also attached to the question of publicity. It was essential to reach the public ear, particularly

with a view to the consideration of the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Traffic in Women and Children in the East at the next session of the Advisory Committee. She noted that the Commission was unanimously in favour of abolishing the licensed-house system as a cause of the international traffic. Special thanks were due to the New York Bureau of Social Hygiene, which had supplied funds for the enquiry, and to the Travelling Commission which had carried it out.

The most urgent question before the Committee was the consideration of the draft Protocol for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age.¹ The French Government, to whose initiative the Protocol was due, had asked that agreement should be reached with as little delay as possible, in order that the Protocol might be signed during the 1933 Assembly. Some misapprehension appeared to exist as regards the significance of the words "in another country" in Article 1, and it seemed desirable to make it clear that those words were intended to include cases where victims of the traffic were to be transferred from any country to the colonies, protectorates or mandated territories under its jurisdiction. The Committee had before it a summary² of the replies of twenty-four Governments to the enquiry addressed to them under the Council decision of May 1933, and those replies showed that there was wide support for the principles embodied in Article 1 of the Protocol. The Rapporteur suggested that the Committee should first discuss the principle of the abolition of the age-limit, and that it should then entrust to a sub-committee the task of revising the text in the light of the suggestions on points of detail that had been sent in by Governments. A draft resolution had been submitted to the Committee.

M. EKSTRAND, Director of the Opium Traffic and Social Questions Section, said that an abridged edition of the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Traffic in Women and Children in the East³ was to appear as soon as the question of finance had been settled. It was further proposed to distribute the full report gratis to libraries, associations and certain other interested communities, in order to ensure it the widest possible publicity.

Mme. HUBICKA (Poland), while recognising the importance of the draft Protocol for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age, pointed out that the text of that instrument was far from satisfying the Polish Government's views. The Polish delegation regarded it, however, as a real step forward and attached particular importance to the retention in Article 1 of the words "in another country", which made the offence punishable in colonies.

Mme. DE PALENCIA (Spain) paid a tribute to the voluntary associations, which had educated public opinion and had inspired League action in social matters. Though complete abolition was not yet in force in Spain, it was expected, in view of the law now in preparation, that it soon would be. *Souteneurs* were classed by law as vagrants. The Spanish Government supported the draft Protocol and favoured the abolition of the age-limit.

M. GAUTIER (France) explained the French Government's reasons for initiating the recommendation for the abolition of the age-limit. Subject to drafting amendments, it was prepared at once to sign the draft Protocol for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age. It desired to state explicitly that it interpreted the expression "in another country" in Article 1 as meaning any country outside the territorial frontiers of the mother country.

M. FABRI (Italy) observed that, ever since the institution of a League Commission to give effect to Article 23(c) of the Covenant, Italy had devoted special attention to the solution of the problem of the traffic, considered both from an international and from a national standpoint. Italy was a signatory to the Conventions of 1904, 1910 and 1921 and had embodied in her own domestic legislation the various recommendations of the Advisory Committee. The Italian Criminal Code of 1931 boldly attacked the problem of prostitution. Severe penalties were enacted against *souteneurs*, amounting in certain cases to as much as ten years' rigorous imprisonment. Italian criminal law punished not only any person who, in order to gratify the passions of another, has procured, enticed or led away a woman or girl of full age, but any person living upon the immoral earnings of a prostitute. The law was explicit in its severity against the traffic in women, whether minors or of full age, and whether the crime had been committed in Italy or in another country. The Criminal Code provided also for "measures of security" applicable to persons who were deemed to be a danger to society; those measures, which related to reformatory treatment and labour, were specified by the judge when giving sentence. Provision was also made for assisting women victims of the traffic to earn an honest livelihood. There was, lastly, at the Ministry of the Interior a Central Italian Bureau for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, which centralised all information relating to prostitution in Italy and concerned itself more particularly with the repatriation of foreign prostitutes and in general with measures to ensure the suppression of the traffic in accordance with the national laws and international Conventions. The Italian law was thus in complete harmony with the objects of the 1910 and 1921 Conventions and even went beyond them in certain respects.

¹ Document A.24.1933.IV, Annex I.

² Documents A.24.1933.IV, Annex II, and A.24(a).1933.IV.

³ Document C.849.M.393.1932.IV.

The Italian delegation desired to express its appreciation of the work of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Children, and declared itself in principle in favour of the abolition of the age-limit in the traffic Conventions. It was not wholly satisfied, however, with the form in which it was proposed to give effect to that principle; Italy already possessed a complete and harmonious system of laws on the subject, and would perhaps find it more difficult than other countries to modify the existing legislation.

The Italian Government was of opinion that the complexity of the problem of the suppression of the traffic in women of full age necessitated a more exhaustive examination, which might perhaps reveal the expediency of co-ordinating the provisions of the draft Protocol in an organic body of measures relating to the whole problem under consideration. Opinion was unanimous on the principle embodied in the Protocol, but the Italian Government felt that there were practical objections to entrusting the conclusion of an international agreement to such a Conference as had been proposed and to adopting the simplified procedure suggested by the Rapporteur. The League brought an element of continuity in co-ordinating the various national activities for the solution of the problems of civilisation, and might, on examining the problem more fully, find some surer and more comprehensive proposals, which could more readily be given practical application by the different countries.

Mme. VON TILING (Germany) said that the German delegation shared the Rapporteur's view of the draft Protocol, which was in accordance with the new German draft laws.

The question of the abolition of the age-limit had been under discussion for years, and action was now called for. Germany was prepared to sign the Protocol, and the delegation, while insisting that no fundamental change be made in that act, agreed that the technical side of the question should be entrusted to a drafting committee.

Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium) expressed his appreciation of the efforts of the League and of the voluntary associations to suppress the international traffic so rightly described as an international scourge. Certain associations had found that the Protocol did not go far enough; it was necessary, however, to take into account those countries which had not yet abolished licensed houses. The Protocol represented a further stage and a real advance on the 1910 and 1921 Conventions. The Belgian Government hoped that it would be adopted during the present session of the Assembly.

Some of the Governments' replies contained reservations that seemed likely to delay accession to the Protocol. In particular, they asked that it should be carefully studied, possibly by a sub-committee. Count Carton de Wiart shared that view.

M. VOUGR (Sweden) said that his Government was in full agreement with the principle of the Protocol, which would not necessitate any amendment in Swedish law. He supported the proposal to appoint a sub-committee.

M. KÜNZL-JIZERSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) said that the Czechoslovak laws already went farther than the provisions of the Protocol. The Czechoslovak delegation would vote for the draft resolution.

Mlle. VACARESCO (Roumania) stated that the Roumanian Government agreed in principle to the abolition of the age-limit, but asked that the substance of the question should be carefully examined.

M. LIU Chieh (China) expressed his satisfaction with the draft Protocol. He would like to see it applied to all overseas territories, for it was precisely there that the most flagrant cases of the traffic occurred. As the report of the Commission of Enquiry revealed, there was a considerable stream of traffic in Chinese women to the colonial territories in the East. The necessary provisions should be inserted in order to make the Protocol a really effective instrument.

M. GAUTIER (France) observed that the question had been under consideration for four years. It was most important that the Protocol, which had been framed by a body of jurists, should be submitted without delay to a diplomatic conference. The differences of opinion were not essential. Moreover, two ratifications or accessions were sufficient for the entry into force of the Protocol. At least eighteen countries were prepared to support it.

After an exchange of views, the Committee adopted the draft resolution on the draft Protocol for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age, with the final paragraph worded as follows :

" Recommends to the Assembly to convoke this Diplomatic Conference during the present session."

The Committee appointed a sub-committee consisting of Countess APPONYI (Hungary), M. LIU Chieh (China), M. FABBRI (Italy), M. JULES GAUTIER (France), Miss HORSBRUGH (United Kingdom) (Rapporteur), Mme. HUBICKA (Poland), M. MORESCO (Netherlands) and M. PELLA (Roumania) to revise the draft Protocol in order to enable it to be accepted by as many delegations as possible.

SEVENTH MEETING.

Held on Wednesday, October 4th, 1933, at 4.30 p.m.

Chairman : Mlle. HESSELGREN (Sweden).

10. Penal and Penitentiary Questions: Communication from the "Prisoners' Friends": Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly (Annex 1, B): Discussion and Adoption.

The CHAIRMAN read a communication from the "Prisoners' Friends", a group affiliated to the Howard League for Penal Reform, suggesting that a permanent committee should be established under the auspices of the League of Nations, in order to ensure the observation, in all the European countries Members of the League of Nations, of the Minimum Rules framed by the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission.

M. DE SZENT-ISTVÁNY (Hungary) pointed out that the Hungarian Government had already given its assent to the Standard Minimum Rules framed in 1929 by the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, the principles of which had been embodied for some years already in Hungarian legislation, which even went beyond them in certain respects. The Hungarian Government would greatly value the work of revision carried out by the International Commission, and hoped that its model rules would soon be put into effect.

Mme. DE PALENCIA (Spain) said that the principles embodied in the Rules drawn up by the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission were now incorporated in Spanish law, which provided for the separation of prisoners by category and sex and applied to prison labour the conditions applicable to free labour. Corporal punishment had always been contrary to Spanish custom and was now contrary to law. Confinement in chains was forbidden, except in cases in which the prisoner's mental condition called for special restraint. The prison staff, including a special staff of women, was carefully selected, and education was provided for. Assistance to discharged prisoners was still in the early stages. The Spanish Government accepted the Minimum Rules and was prepared to agree to a further consultation of Governments, if that were considered desirable.

M. WOERMANN (Germany) said that the German Government had taken a keen interest in the question of penal reform. It approved the principles under discussion, and asked that the Rules be submitted to Governments with a view to further action at the next Assembly.

Mr. HACKING (United Kingdom) was afraid that an International Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners might result in a levelling-down of the Rules to the conditions existing in the most backward countries, and asked that, as an alternative, the hope should be expressed that States would try to establish, if they had not already done so, the minimum conditions required by the Rules.

M. KÜNZL-JIZERSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) stated that the Czechoslovak Government supported the proposal to refer the revised Rules to Governments, but that it was not in favour of setting up a special League organ for penal and penitentiary questions. The Czechoslovak Government had always regarded the prison problem primarily as a national one. Recent laws in Czechoslovakia for the treatment of political prisoners had been on progressive lines, and special importance attached to the institution of independent civilian inspectors, who visited the prisons regularly and sent their reports direct to the Ministry of Justice.

M. SIMON VAN DER AA, General Secretary of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, pointed out that the Rules constituted a work of an essentially technical and international character and that the Penal and Penitentiary Commission—a body set up some fifty years previously, consisting of experts from most European and a number of non-European countries—had aimed at producing, not an ideal code, but a practical body of rules that could be generally applied. It had accordingly had to take carefully into account the existing legislation, the social and economic conditions and the general conception that prevailed in the different countries. On some points, it had been difficult to secure a general formula. Corporal punishment was a case in point; some countries rejected it, while others retained the possibility of applying it in exceptional cases, subject to proper guarantees. Both those cases were provided for in the text of the draft Rules. Certain countries fell below the minimum standard, while others were already in advance of it. It was important, when Governments came to examine the Rules, to remember that the latter were specifically international and designed to serve a general and universal purpose.

M. PELLA (Roumania), Rapporteur, speaking on behalf of the Roumanian Government, said that, when the Minimum Rules had first been submitted to Governments, the Roumanian Government had declared itself opposed to corporal punishment, the abolition of which it regarded as the first step in any humanitarian and rational conception of rules for the treatment of prisoners. Roumania had abolished the death penalty in 1864, and thought it proper that a proposals should now be put forward for the abolition of corporal punishment even as a disciplinary measure.

Sir Talbot HOBBS (Australia) said that the prison regulations in the several States of the Commonwealth were, generally speaking, in line with the Minimum Rules and in many respects went beyond them. In five out of the six States corporal punishment still existed, though it was sparingly used, the conditions of application being much the same as in the United Kingdom. A system was in force whereby prisoners undergoing hard labour might, subject to good behaviour, be employed on farm work outside the prison. Vocational training existed in the prisons, and provision was made for assisting discharged prisoners. Juvenile offenders were dealt with in special courts, and every endeavour was made to keep children out of court and out of prison. The Australian delegation shared the views of the United Kingdom delegation as regards the proposed international Convention on the treatment of prisoners.

The Committee proceeded to examine the draft report to the Assembly.

After an exchange of views, it adopted the report and the accompanying resolution.

EIGHTH MEETING

Held on Thursday, October 5th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m.

Chairman: Mlle. HESSELGREN (Sweden).

11. Traffic in Women and Children: Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age (Text drawn up by the Special Sub-Committee¹): Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly (Annex 2, B): Discussion and Adoption.

Miss HORSBRUGH (United Kingdom), Rapporteur, submitted the draft Convention prepared by the Sub-Committee and the draft report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly. She observed that the Sub-Committee had agreed upon a clause in Article I defining the term "another country", in accordance with the interpretation of the French and other delegations; the meaning was made doubly secure by the reference to Article II of the draft Convention.

The Committee approved the draft Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age submitted to it by its Sub-Committee.

It approved the report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly (Annex 2, B) and the recommendation contained therein to transmit the draft to a Diplomatic Conference.

12. Child Welfare: Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly (Annex 3): Discussion.

Mme. HUBICKA (Poland), Rapporteur, gave a brief account of the main lines of the report. She pointed out that the problem of desertion of the family formed the subject of a report by the Roumanian delegation and would appear on the Child Welfare Committee's next agenda. Lastly, she urged that the Fifth Committee should concentrate on the urgent problem of the needs of youth and the perils that beset it, particularly at times of economic crisis.

The CHAIRMAN read the following suggestions submitted by the French delegation regarding the future work of the child welfare organisations:

"The problem of child welfare is to-day one of primary importance, since children who are not protected are bound to become victims of the crises through which the world is passing.

"The moment therefore appears opportune for asking the Child Welfare Committee, which has for nine years past been exploring the field of child welfare, to fulfil the high hopes that were placed in it when it was first set up. In the report which he submitted to the 1924

¹ For text of the Convention, see document C.590.M.276.1933.IV.

Assembly on the establishment of the Committee, M. de Brouckère defined the rôle of the League's new organ as having to deal with all questions relating to the protection of children from the legal, health, educational and moral points of view.

"He also added: 'A vast undertaking of this nature cannot obviously be successful unless the administrative institution in charge of it is in close touch with the official and private associations which have assumed the responsibility of watching over children and of assuring them, materially and morally, all necessary protection.'¹

"Moreover, the enquiry undertaken by the Committee at the request of the Council regarding the re-organisation of its work has shown that its activities take a threefold form.

"The Committee is called upon to be:

"(1) *A centre of documentation and information*, the Secretariat of the League being the principal agent;

"(2) *A centre of studies*, to be made by individual experts specially appointed for each question;

"(3) *A centre of action* organising:

"(a) The co-operation of Governments between themselves (preparation of conventions, agreements, international conferences, etc.);

"(b) The co-operation of private organisations (liaison or unification of institutions in one and the same country or in different countries).

"The experience acquired in the course of eight sessions has shown that the rôle best adapted to the conditions in which the Committee works 'is that of a centre of documentation and information on a worldwide scale' and covering all questions relating to childhood. It is the only group dealing with child welfare which is of a *permanent* character and consisting of *Government representatives* speaking on behalf of their Governments and acting in contact with the manifold administrations concerned with the problem of child welfare in each country. Moreover, the Committee, as an organ of the League of Nations, has the advantage of the wide sphere of influence of the League and the authority attaching to it. It is thus better fitted than any other institution to centralise and distribute information and documentation, which, in view of its official and international character, it is able to obtain from every country in the world.

"It would seem that the Committee is to-day in a position to carry out the noble task entrusted to it by the peoples at the time of its establishment and, by safeguarding the welfare of children and young people, to guide the future of the world towards greater peace and mutual understanding.

"It is impossible, of course, to ignore the difficulties of the moment which may delay the fulfilment of the whole of the Committee's programme. This most important work will doubtless have to be developed gradually, and, in particular, proportionately to the resources available. But the time seems to have come to raise the problem in all its bearings before the Assembly.

"Accordingly, the French delegation requests the Fifth Committee to propose the following resolution for adoption by the Assembly:

" 'The Fifth Committee,

" 'Referring to the programme drawn up by the Child Welfare Committee at the time of its creation;

" 'Having taken note of the report presented to it by the Child Welfare Committee:

" 'Approves the conclusions of the said report, and requests the Assembly to ask the Child Welfare Committee to submit to it, in the course of its next session, particularly in connection with its rôle as a "centre of documentation and information", a plan of work enabling it to carry out to the full extent the task conceived by its founders.' "

Mme. MALATERRE-SELLIER (France) observed that prompt action was called for if the unprotected child was not to fall an early victim to the economic crisis. The child held in its hands the future of the world, and that future was what the present generation might choose to make it.

Mlle. VACARESCO (Roumania) observed that, despite delays and shortage of funds, the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People was doing fruitful work.

She drew attention to a new provision of the Roumanian Criminal Code, which made desertion of the family an international offence, or, in other words, made that act punishable in Roumanian territory, irrespective of the country in which it was committed and the nationality of the delinquent. On the proposal of the Roumanian delegation, supported by the Belgian delegation, the Child Welfare Committee had decided to place that question on its agenda.

The cinematograph, which might prove, in the education of the child and, above all, of the adolescent, a weapon of destruction or an instrument of salvation, raised the problem of satisfying the aspirations of youth, which was being studied by the International Educational Cinematographic Institute in Rome. States would one day make the inclusion of films fulfilling the psychological needs of youth compulsory at all cinematograph performances. Those needs would have to be carefully studied.

¹ *Records of the Fifth Assembly (1924)*, plenary meetings, page 461.

An enquiry carried out in Roumania by Mme. Romnicioano regarding the institutional treatment of erring or delinquent minors had revealed the great solicitude with which the problem of youth and its needs was studied in that country.

The economic crisis should not be allowed, through lack of financial resources, to cripple the future of the cause of youth.

M. FABBRI (Italy) approved the report. The proposals it contained might, he thought, be divided into three categories: those preparing the ground for the future; those regarding immediate assistance to children and young people affected by the economic crisis; and the proposals designed to provide the Social Section of the League and the Child Welfare Committee and Advisory Commission with the necessary funds.

The first category appeared to promise the most immediate results. By collecting, co-ordinating and publishing information from all States as to what they were doing for the moral and material welfare of children, the Child Welfare Committee would be doing most useful work which would enable many countries to improve their own institutions.

The second category of proposals offered less possibilities: the suggestion of organising concentration camps for adolescents in the interests of international solidarity was an excellent one, but the remedy seemed hardly adequate to cope with the evil. The general problem, after all, lay somewhat outside the scope of the Commission, in that it required a radical change of mentality to enable the practical value of international solidarity to be realised. Nevertheless, the Italian delegation was prepared to give, and, indeed, had already given, practical effect to this category of proposals. The Italian Government had recently offered hospitality to 300 Austrian adolescents in Rome and had demonstrated the possibility of exchanges for welfare purposes.

The third category—the financial proposals—constituted a *sine qua non* for the rest. The Italian delegation accordingly seconded the Rapporteur's proposal and would request the Italian delegate on the Fourth Committee to support it.

COUNT CARTON DE WIART (Belgium) supported the French delegation's proposal. He felt that the primary function of the Child Welfare Committee was to act as a centre of documentary information. The thirteenth Assembly had directed the special attention of the Child Welfare Committee to the importance of making desertion of the family an offence under the national laws.¹

He was glad that the Rapporteur had drawn attention to the urgent problem of the effects of the economic depression on young people. The Child Welfare Committee had asked the voluntary associations to inform it of the results of any enquiries into the effects of the unemployment of parents on children and of the means employed or required to remedy the situation. The thirteenth Assembly had passed a resolution¹ urging all States Members to redouble their efforts to assist, both through their public authorities and through private associations, those children who are suffering most from the effects of the economic crisis. A study of the means employed in the big industrial countries would be useful.

In Belgium, there were 350,000 unemployed and one-third of the young people were unable, owing to the economic conditions, to find work. An enquiry carried out by the "Jeunesse ouvrière chrétienne" revealed the moral, physical and economic aspects of the disastrous situation of the majority of young people in industrial countries. Without encroaching upon the province of the International Labour Office, the Committee might recommend the further extension of remedies already employed in certain countries. The provision of work by the State, though of course a desirable solution, was not always possible and might be open to objections. On the other hand, the compulsory school age, which was 14 years in many countries, might be raised to 16. In Belgium, efforts had been made to develop the system of courses—often compulsory—for young unemployed. These courses were already compulsory in many communes. Encouragement should also be given to remedies which aimed in particular at avoiding demoralisation, such as visits to factories, the opening of popular libraries, lectures and the development of games. Allotment gardens had also proved an excellent means of checking the harmful effects of unemployment. In the year 1932, the Belgian Allotment Gardens League had allotted 10,350 gardens which had produced a considerable yield. On the other hand, there was one serious danger to be avoided: the young unemployed must not, by an ill-advised utilisation of their leisure, be turned into a privileged class as compared with those in work; the result might be to create permanent unemployment among the latter. Occupation should be found for the unemployed, to maintain their energies while preparing them for a return to normal life.

Mme. DE PALENCIA (Spain) paid a tribute to the efforts of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, which, at a congress held in Rome in 1923, had passed a resolution for the punishment of the offence of desertion of family. An international agreement was essential, since it was inadmissible that offenders should evade the law merely by crossing the frontier.

Mme. de Palencia urged the cause of blind children. As regards illegitimate children, the Spanish Constitution provided that parents had the same duties towards these as towards their legitimate children, that paternity must be acknowledged and that no mention of affiliation should be made in official documents.

¹ See Records of the Thirteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, plenary meetings, page 137.

Unemployment was now becoming serious in Spain, and the authorities were dealing, *inter alia*, with its moral effects. She endorsed Count Carton de Wiart's remarks regarding the value of allotment gardens, which would also be of benefit to Spain.

It would be difficult to raise the school age in Spain. Since the establishment of the Republic, 7,000 schools had been opened, but the premises were still insufficient. On the other hand, the idea of special courses for young unemployed in Spain was worthy of consideration.

One of the means of giving work to young unemployed would be to make workmen's pensions payable at an earlier age.

Mme. de Palencia was in favour of a system of recreation which would prevent the demoralisation of young unemployed; but attention should be given to the instructive nature of such recreation.

Mr. RIDDELL (Canada) said that the problem of the protection of the young from the effects of unemployment due to the depression was attracting great attention in Canada, and the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare had just prepared a valuable report on the question.

NINTH MEETING

Held on Friday, October 6th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m.

Chairman : Mlle. HESSELGREN (Sweden).

13. Child Welfare: Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly (Annex 3): General Discussion.

Mme. HUBICKA (Poland), Rapporteur, reviewed various points arising out of the previous day's discussion. The difficulties mentioned by the Italian delegate regarding the organisation of international education camps for young people were not insuperable. To save travelling expenses, camps might first be instituted between neighbouring countries; the expense would be borne half by the country offering hospitality and half by the country from which the children were received. A League official might visit the camp and report, with a view to the organisation of similar camps in other countries.

In some States the school age had been raised as a remedy for enforced idleness due to unemployment, though such a measure, if it involved a charge on the budget, would of course necessarily present a difficulty to impoverished States.

The system of market-garden allotments had been widely applied in Germany, and it would be interesting to know the results obtained there.

Turning to the means of adequately financing the work of assisting youth, Mme. Hubicka considered the possibility of effecting transfers within the existing budget of the Social Section to provide the comparatively small sum required, and advantage might be taken of the current re-organisation of the Secretariat to obtain the services of extra officials; 10,000 francs would be wanted for publications to begin with.

COUNT DE PENHA GARCIA (Portugal) expressed the hope that the Fourth Committee might be induced to increase the budget for Child Welfare. The Advisory Commission had not as yet achieved results in proportion to its efforts, and the fact had to be faced that the public as a whole did not take as deep an interest in the question as it merited. Advantage should perhaps be taken of the contemplated re-organisation of the Advisory Commission to change the previous policy in the matter of child welfare. The present programme of the Child Welfare Committee was, in the speaker's opinion, too ambitious.

It was questionable whether all its activities could lead to international action. The subject of blind children, for instance, did not seem to be one that could ever be summed up in the terms of an international Convention. The Child Welfare Committee's chief function should be to collect data and to act as a centre of co-ordination and liaison. The composition of the Committee was not entirely satisfactory from the standpoint either of technical studies or of publicity or of executive work. The speaker was in favour of increasing the number of Government representatives and reducing their period of service, in order that a large number of States might eventually participate. The international organisations might select their assessors according to the particular items on the agenda. The whole aim must be to adapt the procedure of the Child Welfare Committee to the realities with which it was intended to deal.

Special attention had been directed to the requirements of youth arising out of the economic depression. It seemed difficult, however, to separate the question of the unemployment of young people from that of unemployment in general. Portugal had endeavoured to assist young people leaving school by instituting liaison with prospective employers. Efforts had been made to assist big families and provision had been made for soup kitchens and similar measures, but as yet with meagre results. No big remedy had been found that could be offered as an example

to other countries. That aspect of child welfare must vary in every country. Not the least difficult task was to make young people realise that present-day difficulties called for an effort of endurance on their part.

Mrs. WILLIAMS (Australia) gave an account of the Commonwealth scheme of assistance, which started at the beginning of infant life. It was based on the same principles as the report now before the Committee. The mother received a bonus of £5 on the birth of the child, which was subject to an income limit and was granted whether the child was illegitimate or not. There was at her disposal a system of baby clinics, staffed by trained nurses. Medical and dental treatment at school was provided, paid for in most cases, though it could be free. Outlying districts were served by travelling doctors, dentists and nurses. Parents earning less than a specified wage received family allowances. A more or less complete system of education for blind, deaf and dumb, and defective children existed in all the States. There were also non-State organisations such as the Far West Children's Scheme, under which sick children were brought to the city and given free medical attention. Open-air playgrounds had been instituted under supervision, and there was a regular system in the hospitals for story-telling and such lessons as the children's condition permitted. Land and schools were established under either State or private management, for training boys and girls for agriculture.

The Boy Scout movement was encouraged, and eighty boys had attended the Budapest gathering — a tangible proof of the importance attached to international solidarity at a time of economic depression. The labour laws provided explicitly that no boy under 14 and no girl under 15 might be engaged in a wage-earning occupation. Provision was made for children's courts and after-care. The State Welfare Department followed up cases of poverty and hardship, and destitute children were placed in individual homes in preference to institutions; such institutions as did exist were conducted on a home-life and not a regimental system.

Australia was recovering from the economic depression, but not at the expense of the children, and the results of her various efforts in the matter of child welfare had proved that it paid any country not to spare money on the children.

M. MORSTIN (Poland) briefly explained the methods adopted in Poland to combat the consequences of the crisis among young people, both before entering and after leaving school. For children of pre-school and school age there was an organisation for the "Feeding of the Young", aided by committees of parents and working in connection with all primary and secondary schools. With the help of those committees and with substantial assistance from the Government, social institutions organised holiday colonies both in summer and winter.

Measures were taken to ensure that as many children as possible leaving primary schools should enter vocational schools. Steps were being taken to develop scouting and athletic clubs, including working-men's clubs. There had been a great development in camps for young people. The camps were organised on national lines. The young campers were lodged and fed and received vocational training. The produce of their work was handed over to social institutions which did not possess the necessary funds to obtain supplies at market price. The camps received many thousands of young people, and the movement was growing.

Working-men's allotments, mainly intended for the adult unemployed, were widely developed in Poland. The idea of allotments for young people also merited attention.

M. FABBRI (Italy) observed that Italy, which was both an agricultural and an industrial country, was suffering from distress and unemployment like all other countries. Nevertheless, thanks to the corporative system, which tended mainly, in the form of relief, to provide work for unemployed on public works, thanks also to the mutual good understanding between the various classes of the population which was fostered by the Government, present economic conditions did not cause any serious anxiety, though they needed to be vigilantly watched.

Italy had adopted a number of direct or indirect measures. In industry, employers and labour unions had concluded agreements providing for the distribution of labour in such a way that the greatest possible number of work-people might be employed in the same occupation without any diminution of wages. In agricultural undertakings, owners were bound to employ a minimum number of workers. That represented the application of an anti-economic principle necessitated by the seriousness of the general situation. Finally, the State, provinces, urban councils and other public institutions were bound each year to establish a programme of major works of public interest providing employment for the greatest possible number of workers, particularly in the winter months. These works were not always of immediate utility, but aimed at the future development of agriculture, trade, the tourist traffic and so forth. The domestic indebtedness thus occasioned caused no great qualms, being purely a matter of internal circulation.

One of the indirect remedies for the present situation was to send children to the country, where they did light work. In towns, study was used as a remedy for the consequences of the economic depression amongst young people. Children now had to attend school up to the age of 14 years.

In public and private enterprises, superannuation and the retirement of women other than heads of families had enabled employment to be provided for young people.

The means employed to assist children and young people were of two kinds—direct and indirect. The National Association for Mothers' and Children's Welfare, for example, which had ninety-two provincial federations and 5,000 charitable institutions and gave moral and material aid to young persons up to 18 years of age, provided direct assistance. The charitable institutions which possessed their own funds spent some 150 million lire annually on infant welfare, assisting children under school age and children in homes. By the end of the first half of 1933, the National Association had assisted upwards of 300,000 children. During the school year, the national "Balilla" Association provided for the physical education and material assistance of children in "patronages" and organisations for young persons who had left school. It organised summer and winter camps attended by several hundred thousand children.

Italy also possessed a social relief organisation operating under the auspices of the National Fascist Party. It relied for its funds on donations. In 1932 it had relieved upwards of 300,000 unemployed, and had received in its "colonies" some 450,000 children. The Red Cross also took active steps to promote child welfare.

The Italian delegate emphasised the necessity of careful supervision of social relief, in order to guard against the creation of a class of unemployed living on public funds.

Miss HORSBRUGH (United Kingdom), reviewing the various questions raised, observed that the health services of schools in the United Kingdom received careful attention by the authorities.

With regard to the cinema, it was as important to provide children with films suitable for them as to censor unsuitable films.

The question of the issue of abridged birth certificates was being considered by the British registration authorities.

The important problem of the effects of unemployment on children and young people was a psychological as well as a health problem, as regards not merely the children, but also the whole family. On the other hand, it was a very serious matter when young people began to feel that they were of no use to the community. The only way to combat that feeling and its attendant demoralisation was to provide them with useful occupations.

The Child Welfare Committee should, for the present, concentrate on important and definite subjects, and, in particular, it should act as a centre of information.

Miss Horsbrugh did not think it possible for the Child Welfare Committee to ask for more money than had been allocated to it. The Committee had been granted an increase of 9,000 francs, and its need had thus been recognised. The speaker was not in favour of a transfer to the Child Welfare Committee from the funds allotted to the Social Section under other heads.

M. WOERMANN (Germany) endorsed the United Kingdom delegate's remarks. He did not think that an increase in the present credits should be asked for. He had no real objection to the point in the draft resolution relating to publications and measures to cope with the consequences of unemployment, but felt that the organisation of camps for the young unemployed should be left to the national organisations and Governments. The whole problem of unemployment appeared to him to come within the province of the International Labour Office. For the measures taken in Germany to attenuate the effects of unemployment, he would refer the Committee to a German pamphlet entitled "Children, Young People and Unemployment", while pointing out that it did not include the measures taken by the present Government. The voluntary labour service organised in Germany, which was gradually being converted into a compulsory service, was found to foster the spirit of comradeship among young people and to effect a gradual reduction in unemployment.

Child welfare work was not a new institution in Germany, since even the Industrial Code (*Gewerbeordnung*) referred to it, and legal measures on the subject existed as far back as 1903. An important law had also been passed in 1925. Germany had also acceded to a number of the Conventions drawn up by the International Labour Conference and possessed many institutions dealing with the question.

The speaker agreed that the Child Welfare Committee should concentrate on selected problems and would vote for the resolution at the end of the French delegation's note.

Sir Talbot HOBBS (Australia) warmly supported the United Kingdom delegate's remarks, particularly as to the inexpediency of asking for further credits.

Countess APPONYI (Hungary) also supported the United Kingdom delegate's remarks with reference more especially to concentration. Without asking that year for an extension of the credits granted, the Committee might, she thought, state that it regarded the increase as simply a step in an increase up to the figures of the Child Welfare Organisation's budget for 1930.

The Child Welfare Committee and its secretariat should, in the Hungarian delegation's view, constitute both a centre of information and a centre of action.

Mme. HUBICKA (Poland), Rapporteur, felt that, even if the Child Welfare Committee had to give up all idea of action and to act solely as an information centre, it would still be necessary to ask for credits higher than those at present allocated.

Mme. MALATERRE-SELLIER (France) proposed, in view of the observations made, to redraft point 4 of the French delegation's resolution as follows:

"The Fifth Committee, having regard to the various means of assisting young people who are suffering from the effects of unemployment, considers it desirable to study the experiments carried out in the different countries."

Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium) supported the French proposal.

The Committee decided to appoint a drafting committee consisting of the delegates of Belgium, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Hungary and Italy, together with the Rapporteur, to prepare the final text of the resolution on child welfare.

TENTH MEETING

Held on Saturday, October 7th, 1933, at 10 a.m.

Chairman: Mlle. HESSELGREN (Sweden).

14. Re-organisation of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People: General Discussion: Examination of the Note and Draft Resolution submitted by the French Delegation.¹

M. GAJARDO (Chile), Rapporteur, commenting on the note and draft resolution submitted by the French delegation containing proposals for the re-organisation of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People, observed that the Council, which had approved the proposal of the special Committee appointed by the thirteenth Assembly to increase the membership of the Advisory Commission from twelve to fifteen would doubtless consider the recommendation that extra-European countries should be more fully represented. The functions of the Committee on Traffic in Women and Children were clear from its title, while the Child Welfare Committee, whose position was much less clearly defined, should fundamentally be a centre of action, study and documentation.

Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium) said that the special Committee had considered the creation, in addition to the Traffic and Child Welfare Committees, of a new Committee to deal with assistance, a question to which difficulties sometimes attached from an international standpoint. That suggestion had been deferred, but not, he hoped, rejected. He agreed that the functions of the Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children were clear, but the Child Welfare Committee had an almost unlimited field, comprising a whole range of legal and administrative issues. As regards the Advisory Commission, the special Committee, realising the danger of the Commission's becoming crystallised, recommended an increase in the number of its members from twelve to fifteen, the members being appointed for five years on a system of rotation. One feature peculiar to the Traffic and the Child Welfare Committees was the fruitful participation of assessors appointed by the voluntary associations, whose independent position and contact with realities ensured the necessary publicity and outside action. The Advisory Commission would play an important part as a centre of action, study and documentation. It had also been a means of *rapprochement* between Governments, inducing some States to embody in their domestic legislation provisions already existing in the laws of other countries.

As regards methods, the Commission would obtain better results by concentrating on particular subjects rather than by embracing a wide range of new problems at each session; it might confine itself each year to the study of one legal and one psychological aspect of child welfare. In that field, great benefit would be derived from the temporary help of persons conversant with the special subjects under discussion. The financial question was always an essential one; the Fourth Committee and the Council should not underestimate the value of child welfare work.

Mme. HUBICKA (Poland) thought that the work of collecting information could best be entrusted to the Social Section of the League Secretariat, rather than to the Child Welfare Committee, which was fully occupied during its brief sessions in keeping in touch with Governments. It should be made quite clear in the Fifth Committee's report to the Assembly that all the members

¹ See the Minutes of the eighth meeting of the Committee.

of the Advisory Commission, and not simply the new members, were to be appointed for a five-year period which would be subject to renewal. The Polish delegation supported the proposal that non-European States should be represented.

M. LIU Chieh (China) expressed the Chinese delegation's appreciation of the valuable suggestions for re-organisation contained in the draft report to the Assembly. At the seventieth session of the Council, the representative of China had urged, when the report of the Commission of Enquiry into Traffic in Women and Children in the East had been laid before the Council, that it was highly desirable that a Chinese member should be appointed to the Advisory Commission.¹ The report had revealed the existence of a considerable stream of Chinese women in the traffic in the Far East, and the existence of foreign concessions complicated the position. As the Commission of Enquiry had advised, a central authority, the Chinese Ministry of the Interior, had been appointed to co-operate in traffic questions. Its efforts would be greatly facilitated if a Chinese member were appointed to the Advisory Commission to exchange information and ideas with the other Government representatives and to help them to understand Chinese social and legal institutions.

Mlle. VACARESCO (Roumania), Mme. DE PALENCIA (Spain), Mlle. FORCHHAMMER (Denmark), Countess APPONYI (Hungary) and M. KÜNZL-JIZERSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) thought that the Committee should strongly recommend the adequate representation of non-European countries on the Advisory Commission and supported the proposal for the appointment of members by rotation.

Miss HORSBRUGH (United Kingdom) drew attention to the reasons why non-European countries should be represented on the Advisory Commission. If the League was to be a really vital institution, it must be conversant with varying interests and points of view and must have a wide basis of information. She felt that the full value of the first-hand knowledge possessed by the international voluntary organisations would not be obtained unless the number of such organisations serving at one time were decreased by the adoption of some system of rotation for assessors. She agreed with M. Carton de Wiart that the Child Welfare Committee must concentrate on clearly defined problems. She compared the French delegation's note on child welfare with M. de Brouckère's report to the 1924 Assembly² defining the role of that Committee. Miracles had not been performed, but what had been accomplished by the Child Welfare Committee entitled it to every encouragement for the future.

M. FABBRI (Italy) was not in favour of reducing the number of assessors, whose experience he regarded as most valuable. It would be difficult, he felt, to limit the number of voluntary organisations represented on the Advisory Committee. The assessors must, in his opinion, be mainly appointed by the international associations.

M. GAJARDO (Chile), Rapporteur, recalled the terms of the report of the Joint Session of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee and the Child Welfare Committee in 1933,³ at which the Advisory Commission had felt that there was a real need to strengthen the official element and make it more universal in character. The French proposal fulfilled those desiderata and he therefore supported it.

Mme. MALATERRE-SELLIER (France) approved the suggestion that representatives of non-European countries be appointed to the Advisory Commission. The experience of eight sessions had shown that, in view of the conditions under which it was working, the role best suited to the Child Welfare Committee was that of a world centre of documentation and information for all child welfare questions. It should be first a world centre of information, with the Secretariat as its principal agent; secondly, a centre for study under the direction of experts; and, thirdly, a centre for action. M. de Brouckère, in defining its purpose, had thought of it as having very comprehensive functions, since its duties embraced the wide field of child welfare from a legal, educational, moral and health standpoint. That vast programme seemed inconsistent with the existing situation, particularly the financial situation.

It was necessary to define the Committee's precise duties as a centre of information. It would never be required itself to carry out technical investigations; it would centralise and record the results obtained. The technical work would be carried out under its initiative by competent persons or organisations, but lack of resources precluded for the present the possibility of carrying out extensive work such as that relating to illegitimate children, child labour and so on.

The Advisory Commission might be requested to frame the following year a programme taking fully into account the part that should be played by the Child Welfare Committee, to which greater attention should be paid in the future.

¹ See Minutes of the Seventieth Session of the Council, page 249.

² See *Records of the Fifth Assembly* (1924) : plenary meetings, pages 458 and 459.

³ Document C.247.M.129.1933.IV.

Countess APPONYI (Hungary) and M. PAPADAKIS (Greece) supported the French delegation's proposals.

Mlle. VACARESCO (Roumania) and Mme. HUBICKA (Poland) thought that the draft resolution should express the Fifth Committee's appreciation of the work done by the Child Welfare Committee.

The Committee decided to appoint a drafting committee consisting of Mme. MALATERRE-SELLIER (France), M. FABBRI (Italy), Mme. HUBICKA (Poland), Miss HORSBRUGH (United Kingdom) and M. GAJARDO (Chile), Rapporteur, to modify the resolution in accordance with the views expressed during the discussion.

ELEVENTH MEETING

Held on Monday, October 9th, 1933, at 4.30 p.m.

Chairman : Mlle. HESSELGREN (Sweden).

15. Traffic in Women and Children: Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly (Annex 2, A): Discussion and Adoption.

After an exchange of views, the Committee adopted its report to the Assembly on the Traffic in Women and Children, and the accompanying resolution.

It rejected the proposal submitted by M. LIU Chieh (China), supported by Mme. HUBICKA (Poland), to state in the third paragraph of the draft resolution that the appeal to the Governments to sign or ratify the Conventions on the traffic should comprise both the countries themselves and their colonies, protectorates and mandated territories.

The Committee appointed Miss HORSBRUGH (United Kingdom) its Rapporteur to the Assembly for the question of the traffic in women and children.

16. Child Welfare: Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly (Annex 3): Discussion and Adoption.

The Committee proceeded to examine the text of the resolution submitted to it by the Drafting Committee.

After an exchange of views, it adopted the draft resolution with various drafting amendments.

It adopted its report to the Assembly on Child Welfare.

It appointed Mme. HUBICKA (Poland) its Rapporteur to the Assembly for the question of child welfare.

TWELFTH MEETING

Held on Tuesday, October 10th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m.

Chairman : Mlle. HESSELGREN (Sweden).

17. Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs: Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly (Annex 5, B): Discussion and Adoption.

The Committee examined the draft report to the Assembly and the accompanying draft resolution, submitted by M. DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal), Rapporteur.

Sahebzada ABDUSSAMAD Khan (India) informed the Committee that the Bangkok Agreement would be ratified on behalf of India as soon as the necessary legislation, which would shortly be placed before the Burma Legislative Council, had been passed.

M. Phya Subarn SOMPATI (Siam) announced that ratification of the Bangkok Agreement by his Government was pending with the National Assembly of Siam and that Siam's accession to the Agreement might soon be expected.

He added that the gradual suppression of the opium traffic had been a policy of the Siamese Government for some years, and, given effective international co-operation, hopes were entertained by the Siamese Government of its ultimate success.

M. Hoo Chi-tsai (China) hoped that the report would draw attention to the gravity of the situation in China arising from the invasion of China by drugs originating abroad or in Chinese territories not under Chinese jurisdiction, and that it would emphasise the necessity for steps to be taken to prevent such invasion and also to prevent China from becoming a new centre of operation for clandestine manufacturers.

After an exchange of views, the Committee adopted its report to the Assembly on the Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs and the accompanying resolution.

It appointed M. DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal) its Rapporteur to the Assembly for this question.

18. Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs: Request from the Supervisory Body set up under the Limitation Convention.

The CHAIRMAN stated that the Supervisory Body set up under the Limitation Convention of 1931, then in session, wished to draw the attention of delegates on the Fifth Committee to the fact that, as a number of countries had not forwarded to the Secretariat the estimates of their drug requirements for 1934 as provided in the Convention, the Supervisory Body would have itself to frame estimates for those countries. Estimates for 1934 must be received before October 16th. The following Members of the League of Nations had not sent in their estimates: Albania, Bolivia, China, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, India, Italy, Liberia, Lithuania, Mexico, Norway, New Zealand, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Venezuela, Yugoslavia. The Chairman pressed the delegations of those countries to make an urgent appeal to their Governments in the matter.

19. Re-organisation of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People: Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly (Annex 4): Discussion and Adoption.

The Committee proceeded to examine the draft report and resolution submitted by M. GAJARDO (Chile), Rapporteur.

After an exchange of views, the Committee adopted its report to the Assembly on the re-organisation of the Advisory Commission for the Welfare and Protection of Children and Young People, and the accompanying resolution.

It appointed M. GAJARDO (Chile) its Rapporteur to the Assembly for this question.

The CHAIRMAN declared the proceedings of the Fifth Committee closed.

ANNEX 1.

A.44.1933.IV.

PENAL AND PENITENTIARY QUESTIONS.

STANDARD MINIMUM RULES FOR THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS :
ACTIVITIES OF THE TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : M. PELLA (Roumania).

I.

In 1929, the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission drew up a set of Standard Minimum Rules for the treatment of prisoners.

These rules embodied the minimum requirements for all countries, for the humanitarian and rational treatment of prisoners and the possible social re-adaptation of the convict.

In 1930, the Standard Rules were brought before the Assembly, which requested the Council to communicate them for examination to the Governments of Member and non-member States, at the same time asking them to make known their observations on this subject in due course. The rules were also submitted for examination by certain League organisations and various international bodies specially conversant with the subject.

As the result of this consultation, forty-one Governments sent replies, and opinions were also received from the various organisations and institutions consulted.

A large number of these observations were summarised in documents A.25.1931.IV and A.25(a).1931.IV.

In 1931, the Assembly decided to refer all the observations of the Governments and of the various organisations, together with those formulated by the Fifth Committee of the Assembly (document A.70.1931.IV), to the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, with a request that it might re-examine the rules in the light of the above-mentioned replies and observations.

On this occasion, the Fifth Committee of the 1931 Assembly recognised the importance of certain other cognate problems, more especially those relating to the after-care and repatriation of foreign prisoners on discharge. The Fifth Committee was, however, unable to undertake a thorough examination of these questions, which consequently remain open for further consideration.

Realising, however, the complex character of international policy in criminal matters, the Fifth Committee of the 1931 Assembly also considered the problems of the gradual unification of criminal law and the co-operation of States in the campaign against crime.

In 1932, the Assembly was informed that the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission had agreed to proceed to a revision of the Standard Rules, and that it had set up a special Committee for the purpose. The Fifth Committee of the last Assembly expressed the hope that the revision of the rules might be completed by this year. At the same time, it took note of a suggestion from the Howard League for Penal Reform for the conclusion of an international convention for the improvement of penal administration—a suggestion which was supported by the Czechoslovak delegation. The Fifth Committee, however, expressed the opinion that it would be premature to discuss this question before the revision of the Standard Rules was completed, and decided to leave the question open (document A.58.1932.IV).

A further question referred to the Fifth Committee for its consideration was whether there was any need to set up a special League body to deal with penal and penitentiary questions.

In this connection, the seven organisations consulted by the League of Nations—viz., the International Penal Law Association, the International Bureau for the Unification of Criminal Law, the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, the International Criminal Police Commission, the Howard League for Penal Reform, the International Law Association and the International Penal Law Union—were unanimously of opinion that such a step was unnecessary. The Fifth Committee nevertheless decided to reserve the question.

With a view, lastly, to promoting the scientific and wholly objective examination of penal and penitentiary questions by the seven above-mentioned organisations, the 1932 Assembly instructed the Secretary-General to submit annually to the Council and Assembly a report on the activities of those organisations and on the current work of the various League organisations dealing with the same questions.

During the year, the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission completed its revision of the rules regarding the treatment of prisoners, in the light of the observations of Governments and the institutions and organisations consulted. These observations have been transmitted by the League to the Commission during last year and the first months of this year.

II.

The Fifth Committee of this Assembly is asked to consider the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, together with an explanatory memorandum (documents A.26.1933.IV and A.26.1933.IV.Annex), and the Secretary-General's report on the activities of the seven technical organisations concerned with penal and penitentiary questions in the international field (document A.23.1933.IV).

The representative of Roumania, who was appointed by the Fifth Committee to report on penal and penitentiary questions, expressed the opinion that, on comparison of the Standard Rules as submitted to the Assembly in 1930 with those recently revised by the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, it would at once be seen that the Commission had taken largely into account the observations submitted by the Governments and the various organisations consulted. In particular, the provisions relating to the distribution and separation of prisoners, their treatment and discipline, could easily be adapted to the local situation and to the special circumstances of each country.

The representative of Roumania also made some remarks on the activities of the seven international organisations, as surveyed in document A.23.1933.IV, emphasising the importance of those activities to the social and humanitarian work of the League. Lastly, he put forward proposals for the procedure to be followed in dealing with the penal and penitentiary problems which the Fifth Committee has to discuss.

The representative of the United Kingdom said that his Government agreed in principle with the standard minimum rules. He expressed the opinion that corporal punishment in exceptional cases was an effective form of discipline, subject to all requisite legal and administrative guarantees for the avoidance of abuses. He referred also to the humanitarian character of prison administration in the United Kingdom, and cited as examples the great care taken in the selection of prison officials and the stringent regulations made to safeguard the health and diet of prisoners. He deprecated the practice of extorting confessions by pressure of any kind from prisoners between arrest and trial, and made it clear that such practices are not countenanced by the police and judicial authorities in his country. He expressed his agreement with the Rapporteur's proposal to refer the Standard Minimum Rules to the Governments and not to establish a special organisation of the League for penal and penitentiary questions.

The Italian representative raised the question of the right to inflict punishment and its connection with the political and social principles which are an attribute of the sovereignty of all States. He referred to the progress made by Italian legislation in the penal and penitentiary sphere, and added that Italy could, in principle, not fail to approve every effort by the League of Nations for the unification of penal law and the establishment of effective collaboration between States in the struggle against crime.

The Portuguese and Polish representatives referred to the universal character of crime and the primary interest of all States in taking action against it. It was essential that the League should deal with penal and penitentiary questions. They emphasised the value of the activities of the technical organisations with special reference to the Secretary-General's report on the latter. The Portuguese representative further announced his agreement with the Rapporteur's proposals in the sense of the absence of any necessity for the establishment of a special organisation of the League for penal and penitentiary questions, given permanent collaboration between the League and the technical organisations.

The representatives of Spain and Roumania protested against corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure. The Spanish delegate also stated that her Government accepted the Standard Rules. She described the conditions of labour in the Spanish prisons, this labour being adapted to the physical and intellectual powers of the prisoner. The latter was also placed under the protection provided by the laws on free labour, particularly as regards accidents, the limitation of hours of work, and wages.

Full support was given to the Standard Rules by the Hungarian delegate, that country having laws and regulations entirely in conformity with the said rules. In certain cases, Hungary's regulations went even beyond the minimum recommended by the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission.

The German delegate signified that his Government acceded, in principle, to the Standard Rules for the treatment of prisoners, and he emphasised the great interest which Germany took in the work of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission.

The Czechoslovak delegate supported, on behalf of his Government, the proposal to refer the revised text of the Standard Rules to the Governments for their opinion, and not to create a special organ of the League of Nations for penal and penitentiary questions. He recalled certain rules as regards the treatment of prisoners in force in his country, and particularly emphasised the institution of independent civil inspectors who regularly visited prisons and sent their reports direct to the Ministry of Justice.

The Secretary-General of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission thanked the Fifth Committee for the kind reception which it had given to his Commission's Standard Rules. He drew attention to the specifically international character of this work. The International Penal and Penitentiary Commission had been careful to take account of the existing customs in the various countries and of what appeared practicable in relation to the legislative and social conditions therein.

III.

The Fifth Committee, being called upon to give an opinion as to the procedure to be followed in regard to the Standard Minimum Rules for the treatment of prisoners, considers, in view of the fact that it has to deal with a number of new regulations, that the Assembly should be invited to instruct the Secretary-General *to refer the revised rules to the Governments of States Members or non-members of the League, requesting them to state whether, in view of their existing or proposed laws and regulations, they are in a position to consider the approval and the practical application of these rules in whole or in part.*

The Secretary-General to be asked at the same time to communicate the Governments' replies to the next Assembly, together with the opinion of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission on those replies, so far as they have reached him in time.

The next Assembly will thus be in a position to decide whether it is possible to recommend the Governments of Member States to adopt the rules in question.

The next Assembly will also have to examine whether it is advisable to consult the Governments as to the necessity for an international convention on the treatment of prisoners, or whether the Rules should be approved by the League and circulated to all Governments in the hope that they will aim at, if they have not already attained, the standard which the rules require.

Moreover, in view of the observations and proposals made by various Governments or certain organisations which have been consulted as to the Standard Minimum Rules, the Fifth Committee learns that the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission has decided to devote further study to a number of very important questions raised by the Governments or organisations in question.

As was pointed out by the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission in its memorandum, these questions primarily include researches and enquiries into criminal biology, the organisation of international penal and penitentiary statistics, the general limitation of the period of detention pending trial, certain international aspects of the problem of assistance to convicts, compulsory after-care and its extension to prisoners who have been finally discharged, the general and international regulation of prison labour, the placing of discharged prisoners in free industry by means of legislation, and the systematic collaboration of representatives of Governments, industry and labour, with a view to obviating the drawbacks of the possible competition of prison labour in the open market.

Without expressing an opinion on the substance of this question, the Fifth Committee proposes that the Assembly should invite the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission to continue its work and should instruct the Secretary-General, as soon as the Commission has communicated to him the results of its investigations into one or other of these questions, to submit them to the Assembly. As regards the questions concerning prison labour, the Secretary-General is asked to invite the International Labour Office to continue its studies and to consult the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission if it thinks that a given question should be made the object of international regulation. In the case of problems on which some of the organisations referred to in the 1931 resolution of the Assembly (document A.70.1931.IV) may be in a position to give an opinion within the limits of their competence, the Secretary-General will be entitled to consult these organisations also and to submit their opinion to the Assembly.

Consequently, in view of the fact that the most competent organisations are able to collaborate with the League in regard to penal and penitentiary questions, and that such collaboration may take different forms—for example, the invitation to certain organisations to undertake preparatory enquiries by requesting them to give their opinion on particular penal or penitentiary problems, or, as the case may be, by inviting their representatives to take part in discussions dealing with such problems—the Fifth Committee considers that it is not necessary to set up a special organisation of the League to deal with penal and penitentiary questions. The Fifth Committee has, indeed, thought well to embark at once on such co-operation with the technical organisations, by requesting the Secretary-General of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission to take part in its work in the matter of the Standard Minimum Rules for the treatment of prisoners.

As regards the report on the activities of the seven technical organisations and on those of the various organisations of the League dealing with penal and penitentiary questions (document A.23.1933.IV), the Fifth Committee, having no special observations to make for the moment, expresses its satisfaction at the valuable work done.

On behalf of the Fifth Committee, I have the honour to submit to the Assembly the following resolution :

“ The Assembly adopts the report of the Fifth Committee on penal and penitentiary questions.”

ANNEX 2.

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

A.50.1933.IV.

A. REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : Miss HORSBRUGH (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

The year that has passed has been an important one in the history of the League's work on the subject of the traffic in women and children.

There has been already presented to the Assembly the draft of a new Convention supplementing the existing Conventions on an important point, and a Diplomatic Conference has been convened for the purpose of its adoption.

The Fifth Committee records with satisfaction that the ratifications of the 1921 Convention by Brazil and Persia have been received since the last meeting of the Assembly. The number, therefore, of ratifications has been increased to forty-five, and, as the Turkish Government has appointed a special Commission to consider the introduction of new legislation on the subject, it is hoped that this will lead to early ratification by Turkey and fuller co-operation in the work of bringing to an end this traffic, which is a foul blot on civilisation.

As in previous years, information as to existing conditions has been supplied to the Advisory Commission in the reports received from Governments and from international voluntary associations. It is unnecessary to emphasise the importance of the reports to the work of the Commission.

During the year, the report was also received of the Special Commission of Enquiry on Traffic in Women and Children in the East. This report, consisting of over 500 pages of closely-packed information, possesses an interest and importance that cannot be exaggerated. A brief preliminary discussion of the report was all that was possible at the last session of the Advisory Commission, but it is to be fully considered at the next meeting. In the interval, steps are being taken to obtain the views of international and national societies on the report as well as that of the Governments. At the request of the Council, the Secretary-General is preparing a document giving the latest developments in regard to the licensed-house system and the results of the closing of such houses in the countries where the system has been abolished, as the Commission of Enquiry emphasises in the report that licensed houses are a cause of the traffic.

The Fifth Committee, while deciding to defer any discussion on the report until its meeting next year, expressed its gratitude to the New York Bureau of Social Hygiene, which supplied the funds, and to the Travelling Commission which carried out the investigation over a period lasting from November 1930 to March 1932.

In the introduction to the report, the Chairman of the Commission made a plea for giving to the report the widest publicity both in the East and the West, and the Fifth Committee considers it to be a matter of urgent importance that, for this purpose, an abridged edition of the report should be provided.

On behalf of the Fifth Committee, I have the honour to submit to the Assembly for approval the following resolution :

" The Assembly :

" Wishes again to place on record its recognition of the importance of the campaign against the traffic in women and children and its appreciation of the services rendered by the Advisory Commission dealing with this work;

" Draws the attention of the Governments concerned to the report of the Commission of Enquiry on Traffic in Women and Children in the East and expresses its gratitude to the New York Bureau of Social Hygiene, which supplied the funds necessary to the investigation;

" Welcomes the decision that has been taken to hold a special conference for the adoption of the draft Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age procured in one country, even with their consent, for immoral purposes to be carried out in another country;

" Invites the Governments to continue their efforts for the suppression of the traffic in women and children."

A.47.1933.

B. SUPPRESSION OF TRAFFIC IN WOMEN OF FULL AGE: REPORT
OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

The Fifth Committee has adopted the following resolution :

" The Fifth Committee,

" Having taken note of the answers of the Governments on the draft Protocol for the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age contained in documents A.24.1933.IV and A.24(a).1933.IV, and having heard the statements on the Protocol of delegates in the Fifth Committee;

“ Considering that the great majority of Governments which have submitted observations on the draft Protocol are in favour of holding, during the present session of the Assembly, a Diplomatic Conference for the purpose of drawing up for signature the final text of the Protocol for the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age :

“ Recommends to the Assembly to convoke this Diplomatic Conference during its present session.”¹

The Fifth Committee has also adopted a recommendation to the Assembly asking that it should transmit to the Diplomatic Conference the revised draft of the Protocol which has been prepared by the Fifth Committee after consideration of observations submitted by the Governments. As rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, I have the honour to propose that the Assembly adopt the resolution and recommendations of the Fifth Committee.

I have not had the opportunity of consulting my colleagues in the Assembly as to the date on which it would be convenient for the Conference to meet, but, as the Assembly is drawing to a close, I venture to suggest that it should be convoked from Monday next, October 9th, at 10 a.m. at the Secretariat of the League. To save time, the Assembly will perhaps agree that the convocation should be announced in the *Assembly Journal*, so far as concerns countries represented on the Assembly. The convocation might also be addressed by the Secretary-General to the States non-members of the League which have shown a special interest in the matter.

C. DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF TRAFFIC IN WOMEN OF FULL AGE.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY.

Geneva, October 11th, 1933.

On October 7th, 1933, the fourteenth Assembly adopted a report by the Fifth Committee regarding the holding of a Diplomatic Conference to establish the final text of the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age (see document A.47.1933.IV).

The Conference was held at the Secretariat of the League of Nations from October 9th to October 11th, 1933, and I was honoured by being elected President. The Conference instructed me to convey to you the following information :

1. The Governments of the under-mentioned countries were represented at the Conference Australia, Austria, Belgium, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, China, Czechoslovakia, Free City of Danzig, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the Union of South Africa and Yugoslavia.

• The Danish Government was represented by an observer.

2. The Conference unanimously adopted the text of the attached Convention regarding the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age.

At the final meeting of the Conference, the Convention was signed by the following countries : Austria, Belgium, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Czechoslovakia, Free City of Danzig, France, Germany, Greece, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain and Sweden.

The delegates of Australia, Hungary, Switzerland, the Union of South Africa, and Yugoslavia stated that their Governments would shortly sign the Convention.

3. Before adopting the Convention, the Conference passed the following resolution, which it requested me to convey to you :

“ The Conference expresses the view that the Convention on the Traffic in Women of Full Age signed on October 11th, 1933, should be completed by a provision dealing with extradition in the case of the offence referred to in Article I.

“ The Conference suggests that the Council might invite the Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children to make proposals for submission to the Governments with a view to the signature, at as early a date as possible, of an additional provision dealing with this subject.”

C. T. te Water, Esq.,
President of the Fourteenth Assembly
of the League of Nations,
Geneva.

(Signed) J. LIMBURG,
President.

¹ The Diplomatic Conference on Traffic in Women of Full Age met from October 9th to 11th, 1933, the following Governments being represented : Union of South Africa, Australia, Austria, Belgium, United Kingdom, China, Czechoslovakia, Free City of Danzig, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Yugoslavia.

The Government of Denmark was represented by an observer.

The Convention was adopted and signed by the delegates of the Union of South Africa, Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, United Kingdom, China, Czechoslovakia, Free City of Danzig, France, Germany, Greece, Lithuania, Netherlands, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden.

ANNEX 3.

A.54.1933.IV.

CHILD WELFARE.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : Mme. HUBICKA (Poland).

The Secretary-General's report (document A.6.1933) and that of the Child Welfare Committee on the work of its ninth session (document C.247.M.129.1933.IV) set forth the questions dealt with in this connection by the League of Nations since the thirteenth Assembly.

According to these documents, the Committee's attention has been focused on the following questions :

- (1) Blind children;
- (2) Official documents not divulging illegitimacy;
- (3) Effects of the economic crisis and unemployment on children and young people.

The Fifth Committee has not discussed in detail the views expressed by the Child Welfare Committee concerning the protection and education of blind children, as this is a purely technical question. It expressed its satisfaction, however, at hearing that twenty-one Governments to which these considerations had been submitted in June last had already responded by an expression of opinion.

Regarding the question of illegitimate children, in so far as it was discussed by the Committee, the Fifth Committee noted a resolution inserted on page 10 of the Child Welfare Committee's report, dealing with the possibility of authorising the issue of abridged birth-certificates and other official documents which make no reference to illegitimacy, and which would be regarded as adequate in all cases where information regarding parentage is not necessary.

This recommendation constitutes an appreciable advance, and the Fifth Committee has been glad to note that sixteen of the Governments to which this resolution was transmitted, at the beginning of June last, by order of the Council have already sent their observations on the subject.

This question of abridged birth-certificates and other official documents is, as is well known, one of the aspects of a comprehensive enquiry into the status of the illegitimate child which the Child Welfare Committee has for some years been pursuing. Obviously, the manner in which the question of illegitimacy is dealt with varies considerably from one country to another, and it was not the object of the Child Welfare Committee to induce all countries to amend their laws on this subject. It only wished to stimulate serious consideration of the possibility of introducing such amendments.

The Fifth Committee's discussions centred more particularly, however, on the third of the questions to which the Child Welfare Committee devoted attention at its ninth session—namely, the effects of the economic crisis and unemployment on children and young people.

As you are aware, the immediate result of the introduction of this question by the Turkish delegation, seconded by the French delegation, at one of the meetings of the Fifth Committee of the thirteenth Assembly, was an Assembly resolution whereby Governments were strongly urged to redouble their efforts to assist, both through their public authorities and through private associations, those children who are suffering most from the effects of the economic crisis.

This problem was brought before the Committee by the Polish delegation, and, after discussion, a further resolution was adopted, the text of which appears on page 7 of the Committee's report. This resolution refers to the essential information to be obtained, both from Governments and from voluntary organisations, regarding the effects produced on children by the unemployment of their parents and the special measures which are, or should be, applied in order to remedy this state of affairs. It also mentions the question of collaboration with the International Labour Office, which has been asked to submit a report on its efforts in this connection before the Committee's next session.

According to the information supplied by the International Labour Office, this report, which is now being drawn up, will contain only data concerning unemployed young persons, as the International Labour Office is only competent to deal with this category of young people. It is also known that the International Labour Office has proposed to the Governing Body that the question of the measures to be taken to remedy the consequences of unemployment among young people should be placed on the agenda of a subsequent Labour Conference, as it has not been included in the agenda of the 1934 Conference.

However, at its last session, the Child Welfare Committee made an urgent appeal to voluntary organisations to send to the Secretariat, at the earliest possible date, the results of all the enquiries which they have conducted with regard to the effects produced on children by the unemployment of their parents, and also the special measures which are, or should be, applied in order to remedy

this state of affairs. The Child Welfare Committee further requested the International Labour Office to send it, before the Committee's next session, a report on its work in this connection. All this documentary material will serve as a basis for the Committee's discussions, but the Fifth Committee considers that it would be incomplete, since Governments have also taken up this problem, and many of them have adopted measures which it would be helpful to ascertain.

In order to complete so far as possible the data given in the Rapporteur's report, the Fifth Committee has asked members of delegations to give it any information they might be able to furnish on :

- (1) The special measures considered to be particularly urgent to protect children and young persons from the consequences of the economic crisis and unemployment;
- (2) The categories of children or young persons to which these measures have been applied;
- (3) The special measures contemplated or adopted to help youths or girls above school age who, owing to the crisis, have not yet been able to obtain employment.

Several delegates have given a brief description of the methods employed in their countries and the results obtained.

On the basis of the information obtained, the Fifth Committee has thought it desirable to request the Child Welfare Committee to examine certain of the measures in force in the various countries.

The Fifth Committee considers that, so far, the Child Welfare Committee and its Secretariat have proved most useful as an information bureau.

While not proposing to enter upon a detailed discussion of the role of the Committee as an information bureau—a question which falls rather within the sphere of the re-organisation of the Advisory Commission and its methods of work—the Committee wishes to take this opportunity of emphasising the importance of this form of activity, and has expressed its views in a resolution that will be found at the close of this report (II).

It has become clear, in the course of the discussion, that the funds at present allotted to child welfare work are inadequate for the execution of the Advisory Commission's programme of work, approved by the Fifth Committee.

In view of the financial difficulties, however, the Committee does not at present see its way to propose any extension of that programme or to ask for an increased credit.

The three resolutions are worded as follows :

I.

“ The Assembly,

“ Desiring to emphasise the importance of efforts to protect children and young people from the consequences of the economic depression and unemployment, considers that it would be desirable, with a view to future practical action, for the Child Welfare Committee to study, in conjunction with the International Labour Office, and bearing in mind the statements made in the course of the discussion, the experiments made by certain countries;”

II.

“ Recognising the need of centralising information relating to the various aspects of child welfare, recommends that the social work of the League in this field should be facilitated;”

III.

“ In view of the exceptional importance of the questions submitted to the Child Welfare Committee, recommends that, as soon as circumstances permit, that Committee should be provided with the funds it requires in order to develop its activities.”

ANNEX 4.

A.57.1933.IV.

RE-ORGANISATION OF THE ADVISORY COMMISSION FOR
THE PROTECTION AND WELFARE OF CHILDREN AND
YOUNG PEOPLE.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : M. GAJARDO (Chile).

At its thirteenth session, the League Assembly approved the proposal of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People to appoint a sub-committee to enquire into the constitution and working of that Commission. This Sub-Committee met in January 1933 and had before it the observations and suggestions made by the Government representatives and the assessors of the Commission. Its report was approved by the Commission at its session in April 1933 and was submitted to the Council on May 22nd, 1933.

Many aspects of the re-organisation of the Commission are internal questions affecting the Commission alone, and the latter is, of course, in a better position than the Assembly to realise the drawbacks and advantages of its original constitution. However, certain recommendations deserve attention.

The Commission endeavoured to give some account of its *functions* in both its branches of work : traffic in women and children, and child welfare. The task is not difficult in the former case, for the problem in question is clearly defined, but it has not been so easy to find a reply in the case of child welfare. The field open for the activities of the Child Welfare Committee is a vast one, and it has been able, during the nine years of its existence, to make many experiments from which lessons should be drawn.

The French delegation pointed out that in 1924, when the Committee was set up, M. de Brouckère had explained to the Fifth Committee that this new organisation of the League was to deal with any question relating to child welfare from the legal, health, educational and moral points of view.

The 1924 Assembly unanimously adopted a recommendation outlining in the following terms the activities of the Child Welfare Committee :

“
“ 3. The Assembly considers that the subjects to be dealt with and the methods of dealing with them should be such as may be approved by the Council on the advice of the Advisory Committee; and considers that in this matter the League can most usefully concern itself with the study of those problems on which the comparison of the methods and experiences of different countries, consultation and interchange of views between the officials and experts of different countries and international co-operation may be likely to assist the Governments in dealing with such problems.

“ 4. The Assembly takes note of the fact that the protection of children in certain respects already falls within the scope of the work of existing organisations of the League—as, for example, protection, from the hygienic point of view, falls within the sphere of the Health Organisation of the League—and the regulation of the conditions of employment of children within that of the International Labour Organisation; and considers that, in carrying out any new duties entrusted to it, care should be taken to prevent any duplication of work.”

There are therefore three aspects of the work of the Committee. It should be a centre of *information*, a centre of *studies* and a centre of *action*.

As was pointed out by the Polish delegate, supported by the delegates of Germany and Italy, the Social Questions Section of the Secretariat of the League should be regarded as the most important body for dealing with the first task mentioned above. Its duty is to receive and centralise information regarding childhood and youth. It should record all progress made, all new methods introduced, all results achieved, and should make them available to all countries.

The Committee itself would be the centre of studies and of action. The studies would no doubt, in many cases, be carried out by temporary experts specially nominated for each question. The technical work would be performed outside the League under the direction, or in some cases at the instance, of the Committee, by specially qualified individuals or institutions, different ones being selected to deal with each of the problems dealt with. This was the proposal put forward by the French delegation.

Such a scheme can, however, only be carried into effect if a close contact is established with the various private associations, official or administrative, which are concerned with the material and moral welfare of children. Such contact would be provided for by the co-operation of Governments with each other (preparation of conventions, agreements and international conferences), and by that of the private bodies (liaison, unification of institutions) either in one or in several countries. The problems connected with child welfare are already being dealt with by existing bodies : the Health Organisation of the League, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, the International Institute of Educational Cinematography, the Institute for the Unification of Private Law and the International Labour Organisation. They are also dealt with by numerous international and national bodies and groups, with all of which the Committee should remain in close touch.

Consideration was given to the question of the membership of the Advisory Commission. It was suggested by a large number of delegations that it would be an advantage to appoint the proposed three new members from among non-European countries. This would enlarge the sphere of action of the Commission and would allow of the expression of fresh points of view. The delegate of the Netherlands accepted this, subject to the reservation that the expression “ non-European countries ” should be interpreted as meaning countries entirely or partly outside Europe. Several delegations opposed that interpretation.

The Chinese delegation expressed the hope that a Chinese national would be appointed on the Advisory Commission when the three new members were elected, for China had a very large population and a social and legal structure different from that of other countries.

The Commission considered it would be advisable to introduce a system of rotation in the representation of countries, and suggested that, when inviting three new countries to be represented, the Council should limit its invitation to a period of five years. At the end of this period, the question as to what changes should be made in the whole membership would be reconsidered. The Fifth Committee fully supported this proposal and took note of the desire expressed that the term of office of the selected countries should be renewable.

The Fifth Committee pronounced in favour of keeping assessors. The Italian, Danish and Belgian delegates expressed the opinion that their number ought not to be reduced. The United Kingdom delegation was unable to agree fully with this view. It holds that too many assessors might affect the efficiency of the work. Since their assistance is, however, essential, it thinks that the Committee might usefully consider the possibility of instituting a system of rotation among the assessors, such a system having similarly been contemplated for the Governments. Furthermore, it stressed the need for concentrating the whole of the Committee's work.

The Belgian delegate strongly supported the suggestions of the French delegation. He pointed out that a third committee, a committee on assistance, might prove a useful supplement to the present Committee. The Child Welfare Committee had frequently been confronted with problems of assistance. It would not be possible to set up such a committee forthwith, but the idea should be borne in mind.

The United Kingdom delegate pointed out that, despite great difficulties, the Advisory Commission was doing work of high value, and paid a tribute to that work. The Roumanian delegate concurred with this view.

The French delegation felt that the Child Welfare Committee was to-day in a position to carry out the task entrusted to it by the nations of the world at the time when it was set up, and, by protecting children and young people, to guide the future of the world towards a fuller measure of peace and mutual understanding.

It is essential that its work should be clearly defined.

Accordingly, the French delegation, supported by other delegations, asked the Fifth Committee, in a resolution which that Committee endorsed, to propose to the Assembly that it should invite the Child Welfare Committee to submit to it a plan of work based upon practical and moral considerations. It noted that on these lines agreement should be easy, and, as for the results, they might be immense.

The Fifth Committee was unanimous in considering that the means afforded the Advisory Commission and its secretariat were not commensurate with their needs and did not enable them to deal adequately with their work. In view of the present economic position, it has made no definite proposals, but would urge the need for increasing the Social Section's budget as soon as this is possible.

The prevailing difficulties are great. They may, unfortunately, delay the immediate and full achievement of the work of child welfare, but they must not make it impossible. The child should be the object of the constant care of Governments. The characteristic feature of this League activity should be international solidarity. It should have no other aim than that of the welfare of the child, to the exclusion of all considerations of race, nationality or creed.

I have the honour to propose to the Assembly, on behalf of the Fifth Committee, the following resolutions :

I.

“ The Assembly,

“ Referring to the programme drawn up by the Child Welfare Committee at the time of its creation, and adopted by the 1924 Assembly;

“ Having taken note of the report presented to it by the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People, and fully appreciating the work already performed :

“ Approves the conclusions of the said report, and asks the Child Welfare Committee to submit to it, if possible during its next session, more particularly in regard to the work of its secretariat as a ‘ documentation centre ’, a plan of work which will enable it to continue to the fullest extent the task contemplated at the time of its foundation.”

II.

“ The Assembly considers that the budget of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People is not sufficient to enable that important body to deal with the duties devolving upon it in the present difficult circumstances which entail the gravest dangers for children, and recognises the need for increased funds as soon as this may be possible.”

ANNEX 5.

TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS.

A.V.4.1933.

A. STATEMENT BY THE RAPPORTEUR ON THE PRINCIPAL QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS.

Rapporteur : M. DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal).

I. RATIFICATION OF CONVENTIONS.

1. *Convention for limiting the Manufacture and regulating the Distribution of Narcotic Drugs of 1931.*

The Convention for limiting the Manufacture and regulating the Distribution of Narcotic Drugs had obtained by April 10th, 1933, twenty-eight ratifications or accessions (including those of six out of the eight manufacturing countries specially mentioned in Article 30) and had consequently exceeded by that date the number necessary for its entry into force, so that it became applicable in accordance with Article 30, ninety days after April 10th, 1933—*i.e.*, on July 9th, 1933. The number of ratifications or accessions is at present thirty-nine. The following is a list of these countries by continents :

Africa : Egypt, Sudan.

America : Brazil, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Salvador, United States, Uruguay.

Asia : India, Persia.

Europe : Belgium, United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Free City of Danzig, France, Germany, Hungary, Irish Free State, Italy, Lithuania, Monaco, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey.

Ecuador has acceded subject to ratification by Parliament.

The Advisory Committee at its last session again stressed the importance of the universal application of the Convention and requested the Council to draw the attention of Governments which have not yet ratified or acceded to the Convention to the desirability of their taking this step as soon as possible. The Council at its seventy-sixth session instructed the Secretary-General to send a circular letter to all States recommending universal ratification.

2. *Bangkok Agreement.*

The United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands have ratified the Bangkok Agreement, and the Council at its last session expressed the hope that the other signatory Powers would shortly send in their ratifications.

II. EXAMINATION OF THE ANNUAL REPORTS OF GOVERNMENTS.

The examination of the annual reports of Governments shows an improvement in the situation which takes the form of a reduction in manufacture attributable to the tightening of the supervision imposed by the Conventions. This reduction is brought out by the "synoptical statistical table showing the manufacture of morphine, diacetylmorphine and cocaine in the principal manufacturing countries during the period 1927-1932", a table which is to be found on page 3 of the report to the Council on the work of the Committee's sixteenth session (document C.385.M.193.1933.XI). It is also brought out in the last report to the Council of the Permanent Central Opium Board (see document C.495.M.250.1933.XI., pages 5 and following).

III. QUESTIONS ARISING OUT OF THE APPLICATION OF THE 1931 LIMITATION CONVENTION.

1. *Supervisory Body.*

The Supervisory Body set up under paragraph 6 of Article 5 of the 1931 Convention for the purpose of examining the estimates of world requirements in narcotics has been definitely constituted, the four bodies which are entitled to appoint a member having each elected their own representative—namely :

The advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs : Sir Malcolm DELEIVINGNE; the Permanent Central Opium Board : M. MAY; the Health Committee of the League of Nations : Professor TIFFENEAU; the Office international d'Hygiène publique at Paris : Dr. CARRIÈRE.

This Body elected Sir Malcolm Delevingne as Chairman and held a first meeting from August 28th to September 2nd, 1933, during which it began the examination of the estimates received from Governments.

This Supervisory Body is to hold a further meeting in October in order to continue the examination of the estimates received from Governments and to prepare estimates for all the countries or territories which have not provided any estimates themselves.

2. *Model Administrative Code for applying the Convention of 1931.*

The Secretary-General, in pursuance of a decision of the Council dated November 28th, 1932, communicated to the Governments the Model Code for applying the 1931 Convention, prepared by a Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs, with the help of the representative of the Permanent Central Opium Board. The Secretary-General in his Circular Letter No. 185.1932.XI, of December 16th, 1932, referred to the Council's recommendation requesting Governments, in drafting the legislative and administrative measures necessary for the application of the Convention in their territories, to take into consideration as far as possible the suggestions embodied in the Model Code.

IV. QUESTIONS ARISING OUT OF THE BANGKOK AGREEMENT AND THE FINAL ACT
IN REGARD TO THE CONTROL OF OPIUM SMOKING IN THE FAR EAST.

1. *Recommendation X in regard to Scientific Research on the Subject of Drug Addiction.*

The Secretary-General sent a Circular Letter (No. 143.1932.XI., dated September 29th, 1932) to the Governments which took part in the Bangkok Conference and to China, which had been invited to the said Conference, to ask them for their opinion on the desirability of the investigations recommended and on the facilities of all kinds which they might be able to provide in their territories at home or in the Far East in order to assist in the practical execution of this enquiry. The Governments of the United Kingdom, China, France, India and Japan have declared their readiness to give every assistance, and the Advisory Committee is engaged in drawing up a definite and co-ordinated programme of research.

This question is connected with that of the general enquiry on drug addiction, the initiative of which was taken by the Fifth Committee in a resolution adopted in September 1930 and regarding which the Advisory Committee on the one hand, and the Health Committee on the other, are engaged in collecting technical documentation.

2. *Recommendation XI. Form of Annual Report on Prepared Opium.*

The Council has approved the despatch to Governments of the form of annual report on prepared opium drawn up by the Advisory Committee for the use of the Governments of the territories where its use is temporarily authorised. The Committee will henceforward be in a position to obtain the essential documentation on all questions connected with prepared opium.

V. ILLICIT TRAFFIC.

1. *General Situation.*

The situation in regard to the illicit traffic is characterised, on the one hand, by an improvement due to the more and more effective tightening up of international supervision, and, on the other, by a further effort on the part of traffickers to transfer the centre of their operations, when these have been endangered, to other countries.

The available information shows that the sources of supply of the illicit traffic in Western Europe appear to be rapidly drying up as a result of close control (see the Advisory Committee's report, page 8, and the report of the Central Board, page 12). This result, and particularly the improvement of the situation in Egypt, is also largely due to the action taken by the Turkish Government in closing the Istanbul factories. Nevertheless, clandestine manufacture still exists, several clandestine factories having been discovered in Turkey and other countries.

Moreover, the establishment of factories in Bulgaria and, outside Europe, in China has caused the Committee grave anxiety. The Bulgarian Government has been obliged to take steps to close the Radomir factory. This question is also dealt with in the report of the Permanent Central Opium Board to the Council (see document C.495.M.250.1933.XI, page 3).

(The situation in China is dealt with under Head VII.)

2. *Question of Indian Hemp (Hashish, Charas).*

The discussions of the Advisory Committee and the information in the Committee's possession have revealed the importance of the international illicit traffic in Indian hemp (see report of the Advisory Committee to the Council, document C.385.M.193.1933.XI, page 13).

The Secretariat has sent a letter on this matter to the Governments concerned with a view to collecting information as to the relevant legislation.

3. *Co-operation with the International Criminal Police: Draft International Convention for the Suppression of the Illicit Traffic in Dangerous Drugs.*

The Fifth Committee will find in Annex 3 of the report of the Advisory Committee to the Council a draft Convention on this subject accompanied by an explanatory memorandum. This memorandum draws the urgent attention of Governments to the importance of the speedy adoption

of this draft Convention, which was transmitted to them by Circular Letter No. 159.1933.XI, dated August 29th, 1933, in accordance with the Council's decision, with the request that they should state their views on this draft.

VI. SITUATION IN THE NEAR EAST.

1. *Persia.*

The Advisory Committee and the Council expressed their satisfaction at the ratification by Persia of the Convention for limiting Manufacture. They expressed their earnest desire to see Persia also ratify the Hague Convention of 1912 and the Geneva Convention of 1925. In the Advisory Committee's opinion, this is the only means by which Persia will be able to collaborate effectively with the League in this domain and to exercise strict supervision over her exports.

2. *Turkey.*

The Advisory Committee and the Council expressed their great satisfaction at Turkey's accession to the 1912, 1925 and 1931 Conventions, and were also gratified to note that she had taken vigorous action to deal with the traffic in narcotics. The report of the Permanent Central Opium Board also refers to this question (page 3).

VII. SITUATION IN CHINA AS REGARDS MANUFACTURED DRUGS AND OPIUM.

The Advisory Committee noted with deep concern the establishment by traffickers of clandestine factories in China, and the Chinese Government was greatly preoccupied by this new danger, which aggravates the national situation in regard to drugs. The latter stated that it intended to continue the policy of endeavouring to suppress the cultivation of the poppy and the abuse of opium and narcotic drugs, notwithstanding the considerable difficulties which will have to be overcome. It added that it would carry out an enquiry both into the question of manufacture and into the illicit traffic in opium and manufactured drugs, with a view to the more effective application of national legislation (see also the report of the Permanent Central Opium Board, page 10).

The Council noted with satisfaction the appointment of a standing Sub-Committee to consider the means of promoting close collaboration between the Chinese authorities and the authorities of the Powers concerned, both in the campaign against the abuse of narcotics and for the purpose of combating the use of prepared opium, in accordance with Chapter IV of the Hague Convention.

VIII. PREPARATORY WORK FOR A CONFERENCE TO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF LIMITING AND CONTROLLING THE CULTIVATION OF THE OPIUM POPPY AND THE CULTIVATION AND HARVESTING OF THE COCA LEAF.

At its last session, the Council approved the transmission to Governments of two questionnaires, one on opium and the other on the coca leaf, which have been drawn up with a view to obtaining information for the proposed Conference.

The Council's attention was specially drawn by the Advisory Committee to the important changes which have recently taken place in regard to the production of raw opium. In this connection, the Council stated that, as suggested by the Advisory Committee, it would be glad to see the three producing countries concerned—Persia, Turkey and Yugoslavia—consider the possibility of reaching a partial agreement for limiting production, pending the preparation of a more general agreement.

A.55 1933.XI.

B. REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : M. DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal).

The work done by the League of Nations in the campaign against narcotic drugs brings out clearly the steady success of the effort made to raise a problem from a national to an international level, and to apply finally to a whole branch of production, manufacture and consumption an administrative system of worldwide scope. This advance towards internationalisation on an ever wider scale is being achieved step by step by means of successive Conventions, the scope of which becomes more and more comprehensive and the field of application more and more wide; whereas the 1912 Hague Convention only set up supervision purely national in character over the manufacture of, and domestic trade in, narcotic drugs and provided no machinery for supervising foreign trade, the 1925 Geneva Convention extended this supervision to the international trade, subjecting it to a system of import and export authorisations and creating the necessary machinery. The network formed by these Conventions is being constantly extended over the world to such an extent that the Hague Convention has now obtained fifty-six ratifications or accessions and the Geneva Convention fifty, thus achieving a record among all the League Conventions.

Progressing further and beyond the trade in the drugs, the 1931 Limitation Convention now directly limits manufacture itself, and provides the mechanism necessary to complete the whole system created for the supervision of manufactured drugs. This new Convention not only binds States by reciprocal obligations, but sets up a real international administration regulating and supervising the relations of the contracting parties in respect of narcotic drugs. The fact cannot be overlooked that, although the field is a limited one, this Convention is the first and only instance of an organisation worldwide in scope which covers every stage from the raw material to the consumption of the manufactured article. For the first time, an attempt has thus been made (and has succeeded) to place production in a particular industry on a universal scale—a possibility which had hitherto been regarded as remote. The future will prove this to be a precedent of some importance, and it will be of great interest to follow the development of this system.

It is also of interest to note that the Disarmament Conference itself has shown a keen interest in this experiment, and has been struck by the fact that there exist several analogies between the problems of the drug traffic and the trade in and manufacture of arms, as shown by a memorandum of the Secretary-General on this subject. The Conference is therefore considering the possibility of following this precedent and of applying the measures in force for drug supervision to the supervision of arms.

The fact that, in spite of the very large number of initial ratifications required, this Convention came into force on the date proposed shows the interest which Governments attach to it and their desire to co-operate energetically in the League's work in this field.

These efforts to vanquish the scourge of narcotic drugs by constantly tightening and extending a network of Conventions have led to tangible results, which the Fifth Committee is glad to place on record—viz., a decrease of the legal manufacture of narcotics, and consequently of the large amounts derived from this source which, in the past, supplied the illicit traffic. The Fifth Committee was gratified to note the statement of the Advisory Committee that, for the first time since the latter was instituted, in 1931, the amounts manufactured by firms holding licences closely approximate to, or are even below, the amounts that appear to be required for legitimate consumption; moreover, in 1932, the figures of the authorised manufacture of morphine and cocaine are again, according to the data supplied to the Central Board, on the decrease.

In spite of these well-known signs, the Fifth Committee is fully aware of the existing serious dangers and of new difficulties which threaten. Like the Advisory Committee, it is deeply concerned with the growing menace resulting from the intense efforts on the part of drug traffickers to increase clandestine manufacture at the very moment when the situation in regard to lawful manufacture seems to be cleared up.

The Committee's discussions covered the following special points :

I. RATIFICATION OF CONVENTIONS : APPLICATION OF THE CONVENTION FOR LIMITING THE MANUFACTURE AND REGULATING THE DISTRIBUTION OF NARCOTIC DRUGS : NEW LEGISLATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES.

I. Ratification of Conventions.

Limitation Convention.—The Committee noted with great satisfaction that the 1931 Convention for limiting the Manufacture and regulating the Distribution of Narcotic Drugs had obtained, by April 1933, twenty-eight ratifications or accessions, with the result that it came into force on July 9th, 1933, and that the number of ratifications or accessions had now reached thirty-nine.

The Committee wishes to congratulate Turkey on having ratified the 1912, 1925 and 1931 Conventions, and Persia on having ratified the 1931 Convention; it trusts that Persia will shortly be able to ratify the earlier Conventions.

The delegate of China stated that his Government had decided to accede to the 1931 Convention on Limitation. China's accession is therefore only a question of the time necessary to complete the required formalities. The Committee expressed keen appreciation of the accession of China.

The Australian delegate explained that the reason why his country had not yet acceded to the Limitation Convention was that the sale and distribution of narcotic drugs were under the control of the States and not of the Commonwealth; he intimated that a favourable issue to the negotiations at present proceeding might be expected.

The delegate of Yugoslavia informed the Committee that Yugoslavia, which had already made considerable sacrifices to further the campaign against narcotics by ratifying the 1925 Convention, could not contemplate ratifying the 1931 Convention so long as the relations between production and distribution were not equitably regulated.

The Committee makes an urgent appeal to Governments not yet parties to the Convention to ratify it or accede to it as soon as possible. Only when the Convention becomes universal will it be able to exercise its full effect.

Bangkok Agreement.—The Committee was glad to note that the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands had ratified the Bangkok Agreement on the Control of Opium-Smoking in the Far East. The Portuguese delegate announced his country's ratification, and the Netherlands delegate stated that the legislation of the Netherlands Indies had already been brought into conformity with the Bangkok Agreement.

The Indian delegate stated that, in the case of India, legislation on certain points was necessary, and he informed the Committee that the Agreement would be ratified on behalf of India as soon as this legislation—which would shortly be placed before the Burma Legislative Council—had been passed.

The Siamese delegate announced that ratification by his Government was pending with the National Assembly of Siam, and that Siam's adhesion to the Agreement might soon be expected.

The Committee desires to draw the attention of the other signatory Powers of the Bangkok Agreement—India, Japan and Siam—to the great importance of their ratifying the Agreement as soon as possible, as it cannot come into force without the ratification of all the signatory Powers.

2. *Application of the Limitation Convention and New Legislative and Administrative Measures.*

As regards the new measures taken to apply the Convention of 1931, the Committee was glad to learn that the Supervisory Body had begun its work and that, at the present time, estimates had been received for about fifty countries or territories. The Committee desires to express the earnest hope that the delegates present at the Assembly would do their utmost in order that their Governments should supply the estimates for their respective countries (including all colonies, mandated territories, etc.) in time to enable them to be considered by the Supervisory Body, which is now in session.

The Fifth Committee also desires to urge upon all Governments the necessity of supplying their estimates every year by the appointed date, August 1st, and to point out that the success of the Convention will be largely proportionate to the care taken by the Governments in the preparation of their estimates, otherwise the effective operation of the Convention would be seriously impeded.

The delegate of Italy, supported by the delegate of Uruguay, expressed the hope that the Secretary-General, when constituting the secretariat of the Supervisory Body, would take into account the desiderata formulated at the time of the Conference on Limitation, and incorporated in Article 5, paragraph 6, of the Convention, regarding collaboration between the secretariat of that body and the Permanent Central Opium Board. The United Kingdom delegate observed that the secretariat of the Supervisory Body had already been constituted, and arrangements had been made with the Central Board for their collaboration; these arrangements are working satisfactorily. The Portuguese delegate, the Rapporteur, noted that provisional arrangements for this collaboration had been made by agreement between the Chairmen of the two bodies. These arrangements are working satisfactorily and are such that this collaboration will soon, in the light of experience, be placed on a permanent basis by an agreement between the organisations concerned, thanks to their goodwill and keen desire to work together.

With a view to facilitating the application of the Limitation Convention, the Fifth Committee associated itself with the appeal of its Rapporteur, the Portuguese delegate, to all Governments to ensure the application of the Model Administrative Code, which represents an outstanding achievement in the League's technical work. The delegates of Chile and Hungary announced that their respective competent authorities were now studying the Model Code with a view to giving effect to it. In Hungary, arrangements are being made for the institution of a commission to put the Convention of 1931 into force. In Uruguay, special regulations have been introduced on the basis of the Code. The very detailed order issued by the Ministry of Public Health provides for action to be taken, both to combat the drug traffic within the country and to co-operate with other nations. Under these regulations, a Commission has been instituted which is co-ordinating the work of the various branches of the administration. It is composed of thirty members, who are doctors, lawyers and officials in the various services concerned. The activities of this Commission have led to the discovery of a large quantity of contraband material and to the detection of certain groups engaged in the illicit traffic. The hope was expressed that similar satisfactory results would be obtained in other countries of South and Central America in respect of which information is at present largely lacking.

The delegate of Yugoslavia drew special attention to the important reform carried out in his country through the application of the new law of 1931, which reinforced the measures of internal and external control. He further announced that Yugoslavia had already reduced the area under poppy cultivation, which decreased from 8,000 hectares in 1930-31 to 4,800 hectares in 1931-32. The delegate of Spain informed the Committee that her country had not yet been able to establish its drug monopoly, but was making steady progress towards that end.

II. ILLICIT TRAFFIC.

The Advisory Committee, in its report this year to the Council, has given a detailed survey of the existing situation in regard to the illicit traffic, in which it indicates the outstanding points during the past year, the chief channels of illicit traffic, the operations of some of the most important gangs of illicit traffickers and an analysis of the situation in the United States of America. It seems to the Fifth Committee important that the widest publicity possible should be given to this survey.

The Committee noted with the keenest satisfaction that there had been a considerable falling-off in the illicit traffic from authorised factories in Western Europe. The delegate of China thought it necessary to warn the Committee against undue optimism, since, in the case of two large seizures of morphine and one of heroin in the United States in March and July, the drugs had been sent from Western Europe, and at least part certainly came from the lawful trade. None the less, while the Committee fully realises that governmental and police vigilance cannot

be relaxed, it is bound to place on record the fact that the quantities seized as coming from Europe have been very small, compared with the very large seizures effected in recent years.

On the other hand, the development of secret manufacture, mentioned in the Advisory Committee's report, in Bulgaria, Turkey and China, makes it clear that, when deprived of their previous sources of supply, traffickers do not abandon their business, but endeavour to develop new ones. The Committee trusts that the energetic control measures already taken by the Bulgarian and Turkish Governments will soon produce its full effects. It unanimously agrees that, as was stated by the delegates of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, the efficacy of the measures for preventing the new sources of supply must depend primarily on the severity of the control and the efficiency of the national administrations; the illicit traffic will develop wherever control is loose and inefficient, especially in countries which produce raw materials.

To facilitate such control, the Committee would particularly call the attention of Governments to the draft international Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Illicit Traffic (Annex 3 to the Advisory Committee's report to the Council), the fundamental importance of which has been emphasised by the delegates of France, Poland and Portugal. This draft, which is based on the Convention on counterfeiting Currency, will mark a highly important advance in the direction of prevention and punishment, and a new development both in international law and in the campaign against drugs. It establishes the component factors of a new international offence, which is punishable even if the constituent acts are not all committed in the same territory; it strengthens the penalties; it makes attempts to commit the offence equally punishable, and it facilitates extradition.

The earlier Opium Conventions deal with the prevention and punishment of the illicit traffic by measures primarily intended to prevent leakages from the legitimate channels. Since, however, the illicit traffic is now efficiently organised on international lines, new weapons are required to fight it. The proposed Convention will make it possible to combat an international organisation of traffickers by concerted, and likewise international, repressive measures.

In view of the importance of this draft Convention and the urgent need for its application, the Fifth Committee proposes to the Assembly a simplification of the procedure in accordance with the following resolution proposed by the French delegate :

" Noting that, in conformity with the Council decision of May 26th, 1933, the Secretary-General communicated to the Governments by Circular Letter No. 159.1933.XI, of August 29th, 1933, a draft international Convention for the Suppression of the Illicit Traffic in Dangerous Drugs, together with a memorandum drawing their immediate attention to the importance and urgency of adopting this draft Convention;

" Noting that, in conformity with the procedure to be followed in the negotiation of all general Conventions under the auspices of the League of Nations adopted by the Assembly on September 25th, 1931, the preliminary draft Conventions and the observations of Governments should be communicated to the Assembly, which shall decide whether the subject appears *prima facie* suitable to the conclusion of a convention, in which case the Council shall arrange for the preparation of a new draft convention on the basis of the replies received and shall undertake a second consultation of Governments in regard to the new text;

" Considering that, in these conditions, the replies of the Governments could not be submitted to the Assembly until its session in September 1934, and that the second consultation would thus be considerably delayed;

" The Fifth Committee,

" Desirous of facilitating the adoption of the said draft Convention, the urgency and importance of which have been emphasised by the Advisory Committee and the Council, and having regard to the preamble to the Assembly resolution of September 25th, 1931, relating to procedure, which enables the Assembly and Council to adopt more appropriate methods when special circumstances render this desirable :

" Requests the Assembly to delegate to the Council its right of deciding whether the draft Convention should be taken into consideration with a view to the conclusion of a convention and of proceeding to the second consultation, without prejudice to the final decision of the Assembly as to the advisability of concluding the said convention and convening a conference in accordance with paragraph 5 of the aforesaid resolution."

III. SITUATION IN CHINA.

The Committee expressed concern at the gravity of the situation in China and at the establishment of secret factories in China, to which attention had been drawn in the reports of the Advisory Committee and the Central Board, and emphasised that all possible steps should be taken to prevent drugs coming from abroad or from Chinese territories withdrawn from Chinese jurisdiction from continuing to invade China, and to prevent China from becoming a new centre of operations for clandestine manufacturers. It accordingly noted with much interest the constitution of the standing Sub-Committee appointed to consider the means of promoting close collaboration between the Chinese authorities and the authorities of the Powers concerned, both in regard to the campaign against the abuse of narcotic drugs and that against the use of prepared opium, in conformity with Chapter IV of the Hague Convention.

The Chinese delegate here pointed out that the seizures of morphine held to be illicitly manufactured in China had only taken place in Chinese territory, and that no case was known of Chinese morphine being seized abroad. He stated that his Government was fully prepared to co-operate actively with the foreign Powers on the new Sub-Committee. He asked the Committee to remember that the difficulties with which the Chinese Government was faced, and which were perhaps more serious than in any other country, were increased by the existence of the Foreign

Concessions and Leased Territories and by ex-territoriality. He expressed his apprehension as to the policy followed in Manchuria and raised the question of the validity of the import certificates for narcotic drugs issued by the present authorities in Manchuria, a question closely bound up with the application of the principle of supervision contained in the international Conventions.

The Committee unanimously expressed its sincere hope that the work of the China Sub-Committee would, thanks to a spirit of co-operation, improve the situation in China and encourage the Chinese Government in its efforts, both in the campaign against the drug traffic and in that against the use of prepared opium.

IV. CONTROL OF OPIUM-SMOKING IN THE FAR EAST.

The Fifth Committee congratulated the Portuguese Government on its scheme for the progressive suppression of the traffic in prepared opium at Macao. It would follow with great interest the progress of this highly instructive experiment. This gradual suppression of the traffic, it was learnt from the Siamese delegate, had been a policy of the Siamese Government for some years, and, given effective international co-operation, hopes were entertained by the Siamese Government of its ultimate success.

The United Kingdom delegate announced that the authorities of British Malaya had taken steps, in accordance with the recommendations of the Bangkok Conference, to strengthen the system of registration and introduce a measure of rationing of smokers.

V. PREPARATORY WORK FOR A CONFERENCE TO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF LIMITING AND CONTROLLING CULTIVATION OF THE OPIUM POPPY AND THE CULTIVATION AND HARVESTING OF THE COCA LEAF.

The Committee noted with satisfaction the progress achieved in preparing the documentation required for this Conference, and emphasised the need for thoroughly adequate preparation. The work of preparation will, however, take time, the questionnaires to Governments having only recently been issued, and the difficulties in the way of a general international convention which will cover all the opium-producing countries are necessarily great. The Committee therefore hope that effect may be given to the suggestion made by the Advisory Committee that advantage should be taken now of the change that has come about in the opium market as a result of the economic depression to promote an agreement between the three principal countries concerned—Persia, Turkey and Yugoslavia—which would include an arrangement for the limitation of production; even though a general international convention will eventually be necessary to deal completely with the growing danger of illicit manufacture.

The Chinese delegate here pointed out that the proposed agreement between these three countries must in no way be allowed to delay the convening of the general conference.

* * *

The Fifth Committee unanimously congratulated the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs and the Permanent Central Opium Board on the successful results achieved during recent years, and certain delegates noted with satisfaction that the enlarging of the Advisory Committee had strengthened its power of action. The Polish, Austrian, Belgian, Chinese, French, Hungarian and Italian delegates expressed the opinion that, in view of this experience, the new members ought to be retained, and that other interested countries should perhaps be invited to send representatives to the Committee. Other delegates withheld their observations on this subject in view of the fact that the Council had referred the matter to the Advisory Committee for consideration and advice.

* * *

The whole Committee was glad to note that the methods of international co-operation applied in this field of the League's activity had led to important results, which could not have been reached by the individual action of States.

The success already obtained by the League in the campaign against narcotic drugs is an encouragement to pursue a task the achievement of which would necessarily be compromised by any relaxation of effort.

* * *

Finally, I propose that the Fifth Committee should ask the Assembly to adopt the following resolution, which summarises the conclusions reached during our discussions :

“ The Assembly :

“ Expresses its warm appreciation of the results achieved in the campaign against the traffic in narcotic drugs by the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs and by the Permanent Central Opium Board ;

“ Welcomes the entry into force of the Convention for the Limitation of Manufacture and the constitution of the Supervisory Body provided for by this Convention, and issues an urgent appeal to the Governments not yet parties to the Convention to ratify or adhere to it as soon as possible, in order that it may produce its full effects;

“ Draws the attention of the Powers signatory to the Bangkok Agreement to the importance of ratifying this agreement with the least possible delay in order to bring it into force, and invites them to give effect, as they have begun to do, to the recommendations of the Bangkok Conference;

“ Invites the Governments to consider forthwith the draft Convention for the Suppression of the Illicit Traffic, the purpose of which is to combat the international organisation of the illicit traffic by means of an international organisation for prevention and punishment;

“ Emphasises the need for a thoroughly adequate preparation of the proposed Conference for the Limitation of Raw Materials, which it considers more necessary than ever, in view of the extension of clandestine manufacture, and expresses the desire that a first step should be taken by the conclusion of a limitation agreement confined to the producing countries concerned;

“ Takes note of the report submitted by the Fifth Committee and adopts the resolutions and the conclusions of the report.”

INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS

Ass.	=	Assembly
Comm.	=	Commission
Cttee.	=	Committee
Conf.	=	Conference
Del.	=	Delegation
Int.	=	International
Org.	=	Organisation
Recomm.	=	Recommendation
Resol.	=	Resolution

Advisory Commission for Protection, etc., of Children and Young People

See under Children, etc.

Arms, Manufacture of and Traffic in

Control as related to results *re* drug traffic and manufacture..... 9

Blind Children

See under Children, etc.

Bulgaria

Drug situation in 40, 44

Children and Young People, Protection and Welfare of

Advisory Commission : reorganisation

Assessors, number, etc..... 26, 27, 38

Child Welfare Cttee., *see that title below*

Committee on assistance : creation proposed 26, 38

Committee on Traffic in Women and Children, *see under* Traffic, etc.

Discussion..... 20-1, 23, 26-8

French draft resol., *see below* Child Welfare Cttee. : Functions, etc.

Functions, *see below under* Child Welfare Cttee. and elsewhere Traffic in women, etc. : Committee, etc.

Funds : increase required for activities. 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 36, 38, 38 (*resol.*)

Members : numbers, term of office; representation of non-European countries 26, 27, 37

Rapporteur to 5th Cttee. and Ass., appointment..... 8, 29

Report of 5th Cttee.
Discussion and adoption..... 29

Text..... 36-8

Resolution of 5th Cttee..... 29, 38 (*text*)

Sub-Committee appointed to study question : work 36

Allotments, market garden, for unemployed, *see below* Economic crisis, etc.

Children and Young People, Protection and Welfare of (*continued*)

Blind children 22, 23, 24, 36

Camps, concentration, org. of, *see below* Economic crisis, etc.

Child Welfare Committee

Functions, programme and question of rôle as centre of documentation, etc.

Discussion : draft resol. of French del... 20-1 (*text*), 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 37, 38 (*resol.*)

Funds required by, *see above under* Advisory Comm.

Cinematograph in relation to child welfare. . 21, 25

Committee on assistance : creation proposed. 26, 38

Delinquent child and juvenile courts ... 20, 21-2

Desertion of the family..... 20, 21, 22

Discussion..... 20-3, 23-6, 26-8, 28

Economic crisis and unemployment, effects on young people and remedies proposed

Discussion..... 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25

Draft resol. of French del..... 26

Inclusion of question in agenda of Labour Conf. 35

Report and resol. of 5th Cttee.... 35, 36, 36 (*resol.*)

Illegitimate children..... 22, 24, 36

Rapporteur to 5th Cttee. and Ass., appointment 8, 28

Report of 5th Committee

Discussion and adoption..... 28

Text..... 35-6

See also above under Advisory Comm., etc.

Resolution of 5th Committee

Adoption with amendments 28

Drafting Cttee. appointed to prepare... 26

Text..... 36

See also above under Advisory Comm.

Resolution, draft, of French del., *see above*

Child Welfare Cttee. : Functions

Social Section of Secretariat : budget and functions under reorganisation of Advisory Comm..... 23, 26, 27, 37, 38 (*resol.*)

Traffic in, *see* Traffic in women and children

China	
Drug situation in, <i>see under</i> Opium, etc.	
Cinematograph	
Child welfare as related to.....	21, 25
Coca Leaf, Cultivation	
<i>See</i> Opium, etc.: Cultivation, etc.	
5th Committee	
Agenda: text and adoption.....	7, 8
Members, list of.....	5-6
Publicity of meetings.....	8
Rapporteurs, appointment.....	8
Reports, <i>see the questions concerned</i>	
Vice-Chairman, election.....	8
Criminal Police Commission, Int.	
Work and co-operation with Opium Cttee.	14-15, 40
Drugs, Narcotic	
<i>See</i> Opium, etc.	
Economic Crisis	
Effects on young people, <i>see under</i> Children, etc.	
Egypt	
Drug situation in.....	40
Extradition	
of Criminals, <i>see under</i> Penal and penitentiary questions	
Provision <i>re</i> to be added to Conv. <i>re</i> traffic in women of full age.....	34
Illegitimate Children.....	22, 24, 35
Illicit Drug Traffic	
<i>See under</i> Opium, etc.	
Juvenile Courts and Delinquent Child..	20, 21-2
Labour Office, Int.	
Work on economic crisis and unemployment as affecting young people.....	35, 36
Labour, Prison.....	14, 16, 19, 20, 31, 32
Licensed Houses.....	17, 33
Manchuria, Drug Situation in.....	9, 45
Manufacture of Drugs	
<i>See under</i> Opium, etc.	
Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs	
Advisory Committee	
Members, increase in number.....	10, 13, 45
Sub-Committee, Perm., on China: creation.....	10, 11, 13, 41, 44, 45
Work during 16th session... 9, 11, 45 (<i>resol.</i>)	
Annual reports of Govts.	
Examination.....	39
Form of report on prepared opium ...	40
Bulgaria, situation in.....	40, 44
Central Opium Board, Perm.	
Collaboration with Secretariat of Supervisory Body.....	10, 11, 13, 43
China and foreign concessions, etc.: situation in	
Discussion.....	9, 9-10, 11, 12-13, 13, 29
Rapporteur's statement.....	40, 41
Report of 5th Cttee.....	44, 44-5
Sub-Committee of Advisory Cttee.: creation.....	10, 11, 13, 41, 44, 45
Conventions, int.	
1912 Conv. (Hague): ratifications.....	41, 42
1925 Conv.: ratifications.....	12, 41, 42
1931 Agreement, <i>see below under</i> Opium-smoking	
1931 Conv., <i>see below under</i> Manufacture	
Draft Conv. on suppression of illicit traffic, <i>see below under</i> Illicit traffic	
Cultivation of opium poppy and cultivation and harvesting of coca leaf	
Agreement between three producing countries.....	9, 10, 41, 45

Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs (continued)	
Cultivation of opium poppy, etc. (<i>continued</i>)	
Conference: preparations... 11, 12, 13, 41, 45, 46 (<i>resol.</i>)	
General aspects.....	9, 10, 12, 41
Discussion.....	8-9, 9-11, 11-13, 28-9, 29
Drug addiction: scientific research <i>re</i>	40
Egypt, situation in.....	40
Illicit traffic	
Arms traffic, control as related to results <i>re</i> illicit traffic.....	9
in Bulgaria.....	9
Convention, int., for suppression: preparation	
Allusions to in discussion and reports	12, 13, 15, 40-1, 44, 46
Resolution of 5th Cttee.	
Simplification of procedure <i>re</i> negotiation: French draft <i>resol.</i>	12, 44 (<i>text</i>)
Discussion, <i>see above</i>	
in Indian hemp.....	40
Penalties for offences.....	9, 11, 12, 13, 44
Police authorities, int. co-operation between and creation of Int. Police Bureau	
Draft Int. Conv. proposed by Int. Criminal Police Comm.....	14-15
Rapporteur's statement.....	9, 40-1
Report of 5th Cttee.....	43-4
Seizures, <i>see below</i>	
in Various countries, <i>see above—below the countries concerned</i>	
in Manchuria.....	9, 45
Manufacture	
Arms manufacture, control as related to results <i>re</i> dangerous drugs.....	9
Clandestine.....	9, 10, 11, 13, 40, 41, 44, 46 (<i>resol.</i>)
<i>See also above—below the countries concerned</i>	
Convention, 1931: ratifications and entry into force... 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 39, 41, 42, 46 (<i>resol.</i>)	
<i>See also below</i> Report of 5th Cttee.	
Estimates required for 1934: request from Supervisory Body to 5th Cttee.....	29, 43
Model Administrative Code and application by Govts.....	8, 10, 40, 43
of Morphine, heroin and cocaine.....	39
Rapporteur's statement.....	39-40
Reduction, recent, owing to application of Convs.....	39
Report of 5th Cttee. <i>re</i> application of 1931 Conv. and new legislative measures.....	42-3
Supervisory Body	
Establishment and collaboration between Secretariat and Central Board.....	8, 10, 11, 13, 43
1st Meetings and bodies represented on	39-40
Request to 5th Cttee. <i>re</i> estimates of drug requirements for 1934.....	29, 43
in Various countries, <i>see above—below the countries concerned</i>	
Model Administrative Code, <i>see above under</i> Manufacture	
Monopoly of narcotic drugs in Spain.....	12, 43
Opium-smoking, control in Far East	
Bangkok Agreement, 1931	
Questions arising out of.....	40
Ratifications and importance of entry into force.....	8, 28, 39, 46 (<i>resol.</i>)
in Macao, Malaya, Siam.....	11, 13,
Persia, situation in.....	41, 45
Prepared opium: form of annual report... 42	
Rapporteur	
Appointment of rapporteur to 5th Cttee. and Ass.	8, 29
Statement by.....	8-9, 39-41 (<i>text</i>)
Report of 5th Committee	
Discussion and adoption.....	28-9
Text.....	41-6
Resolution of 5th Committee.....	29, 45-6 (<i>text</i>)
Seizures.....	9, 10, 43, 44
Supervisory Body, <i>see above under</i> Manufacture	
Turkey, situation in.....	9, 40, 41, 42, 44
Penal and Penitentiary Questions	
Biology, criminal.....	14, 32
Commission, Int. Penal and Penitentiary	
Continuation of work: recomm. of 5th Cttee.....	32

Penal and Penitentiary Questions (continued)

Commission, Int. Penal and Penitentiary (continued)	
Work on Standard Minimum Rules, <i>see below</i> Rules, etc.	
Committee, perm. : proposal <i>re</i> establishment	19
Convention, int., for improvement of penal administration : question of framing...	14, 16
	19, 20, 30, 32
Corporal punishment.....	13, 19, 20, 31
Death penalty	20
Discharged prisoners (including foreign prisoners) : assistance or repatriation...	14, 19,
	20, 30, 32
Discussion.....	14-16, 19-20
Extradition : work of int. orgs.....	15
Historical account of question.....	14, 30
Juvenile courts and delinquent child.....	20, 21-2
Labour questions.....	14, 16, 19, 20, 31, 32
League organ : question of establishment...	14, 15,
	16, 31, 32
Loss of remission of sentence.....	15
Organisations, seven int. : activities...	14-15, 16,
	30, 31, 32
Political prisoners in Czechoslovakia.....	19
"Prisoners' Friends" : communication from <i>re</i> establishment of perm. Cttee. under League auspices.....	19
Rapporteur to 5th Cttee., appointment....	8
Report of 5th Committee	
Discussion and adoption.....	19-20
Text.....	30-2
Rules, Standard Minimum, for treatment of prisoners (as prepared and revised by Int. Penal Comm.)	
Discussion.....	14-16, 19-20
Report and resol. of 5th Committee....	30-2
Submission of revised Rules to Govts. for approval.....	14, 15, 16, 32 (resol.)
Solitary confinement.....	15, 16
Statistics, organisation of.....	14, 32
Treatment of prisoners, rules <i>re</i> , <i>see above</i> Rules, etc.	
Untried prisoners : limitation of duration of detention.....	15-16, 32
Persia	
Drug traffic in.....	41
Prisoners, Treatment, Punishment; etc.	
<i>See</i> Penal and penitentiary questions	
Prostitutes, Foreign: Repatriation.....	17
Social Section of Secretariat	
<i>See under</i> Children, etc.	
Traffic in Women and Children	
Annual reports from Govts.....	16, 33
Commission of Enquiry on traffic in the East, <i>see below</i> Enquiry in the East	
Committee on Traffic in Women and Children	
Functions	26, 37

Traffic in Women and Children (continued)

Conventions, int.	
1904, 1910 Convs.	17
1921 Conv. : ratifications.....	16, 17, 33
1933, on Suppression of traffic in women of full age, <i>see that title below</i>	
Ratifications : draft resol. <i>re</i> rejected..	28
Discussion.....	16-18, 20, 28
Enquiry in the East	
New York Bureau of Social Hygiene : funds supplied by.....	17, 33
Report of Comm. of Enquiry and publicity for.....	16-17, 17, 33, 33 (resol.)
Foreign prostitutes, repatriation.....	17
Full age, women of, <i>see above</i> Suppression of traffic, etc.	
Licensed houses, abolition.....	17, 33
Rapporteur to 5th Cttee. and Ass., appointment	8, 28
Reports of 5th Committee	
Discussion and adoption.....	20, 28
Text.....	33, 33-4
Resolution of 5th Committee..	28, 33 (text), 33-4
Souteneurs, penalties	17
Suppression of traffic in women of full age	
Convention adopted by Diplomatic Conf.	
Signatures and completion by provision <i>re</i> extradition.....	34
Diplomatic Conference	
Convocation and date of meeting. 18 (resol.)	
20 (resol.), 33 (resol.), 34	
Work, President, Govts. represented at	
Letter from President of Conf. to President of Ass., Oct. 11, 1933..	34
Draft] Protocol, <i>see also above</i> Convention	
Discussion.....	17, 18
Report and resol. of 5th Cttee. ...	18,
	33-4 (text).
Revised draft prepared by Sub-Cttee. : approval by 5th Cttee. and procedure <i>re</i>	20 (resol.)
Sub-Committee appointed to revise	
Composition	18
Work, <i>see above</i> Revised draft	
Voluntary associations, work of....	16, 17, 18, 33
Turkey	
Drug situation in, <i>see under</i> Opium, etc.	
Unemployment	
Effects on young people, <i>see</i> Children, etc. : Economic crisis, etc.	
Women and Children, Traffic in	
<i>See</i> Traffic in women and children	
Young People, Protection and Welfare of	
<i>See</i> Children, etc.	

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Official Journal

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT No. 120

RECORDS

OF THE

FOURTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION

OF THE

ASSEMBLY

MEETINGS OF THE COMMITTEES

MINUTES

OF THE

SIXTH COMMITTEE

(POLITICAL QUESTIONS)

CONTENTS.

	Page
LIST OF MEMBERS	5
AGENDA	8
FIRST MEETING, September 26th, 1933, at 10 a.m. :	
1. Election of the Vice-Chairman	8
2. Publicity of the Meetings	8
3. Consideration and Adoption of the Agenda	8
4. Intellectual Co-operation : Appointment of a Rapporteur	8
SECOND MEETING, September 28th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m. :	
5. Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish Refugees : Appointment of a Rapporteur	9
6. Protection of Minorities : Addition to the Agenda	9
7. Slavery : General Discussion	9
8. Slavery : Appointment of a Rapporteur	9
9. Co-operation of the Press in the Organisation of Peace : General Discussion .	10
10. Co-operation of the Press in the Organisation of Peace : Appointment of a Rapporteur	10
THIRD MEETING, September 30th, 1933, at 3.30 p. m. :	
11. Mandates : Addition to the Agenda	10
12. Co-operation of the Press in the Organisation of Peace : Discussion and Adoption of the Draft Report and Resolution	10
13. Co-operation of the Press in the Organisation of Peace : Appointment of a Rapporteur to the Assembly	11
14. Intellectual Co-operation : General Discussion	11
FOURTH MEETING, October 2nd, 1933, at 10 a.m. :	
15. Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish Refugees : Report of the Governing Body : Examination of the Draft Report and Resolution	17
16. Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish Refugees : Appointment of a Rapporteur to the Assembly	19
17. Mandates : General Discussion	19
18. Mandates : Appointment of a Rapporteur	22
FIFTH MEETING, October 3rd, 1933, at 10.15 a.m. :	
19. Protection of Minorities : General Discussion	22
SIXTH MEETING, October 4th, 1933, at 10.15 a.m. :	
20. Protection of Minorities : General Discussion (<i>continuation</i>)	32
21. Protection of Minorities : Appointment of a Rapporteur	42
SEVENTH MEETING, October 5th, 1933, at 10.15 a.m. :	
22. Intellectual Co-operation : Adoption of the Draft Report and Resolutions . .	43
23. Intellectual Co-operation : Appointment of a Rapporteur to the Assembly .	43
24. Mandates : Adoption of the Draft Report and Resolution	43
25. Mandates : Appointment of a Rapporteur to the Assembly	43
26. Protection of Minorities : General Discussion (<i>continuation</i>)	43
EIGHTH MEETING, October 6th, 1933, at 10.15 a.m. :	
27. Protection of Minorities : General Discussion (<i>continuation</i>)	53
NINTH MEETING, October 10th, 1933, at 4 p.m. :	
28. Slavery : Examination and Adoption of the Draft Report and Resolution . .	57
29. Slavery : Appointment of a Rapporteur to the Assembly	59
30. Protection of Minorities : Examination and Adoption of the Draft Report and Resolution	59
31. Protection of Minorities : Appointment of a Rapporteur to the Assembly . . .	59
32. Close of the Session	60

LIST OF ANNEXES.

	Page
1. Collaboration of the Press in the Organisation of Peace : Report of the Sixth Committee to the Assembly	61
2. Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish Refugees : Report of the Sixth Committee to the Assembly	62
3. Intellectual Co-operation : Report of the Sixth Committee to the Assembly	65
4. Mandates : Report of the Sixth Committee to the Assembly	68
5. Slavery : Report of the Sixth Committee to the Assembly	69
6. Protection of Minorities : Report of the Sixth Committee to the Assembly	70

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE.

Chairman : His Excellency M. Salvador DE MADARIAGA Y ROJO (Spain).

Vice-Chairman : Sir Denys BRAY, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E. (India).

- Abyssinia* : His Excellency the Badjerond B. TECLE-HAWARIYAT.
- Albania* : M. Lec KURTI.
- Argentine Republic* :
- Australia* : Lieut.-General Sir Talbot HOBBS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., V.D.
Rabbi D. I. FREEDMAN, V.D. (Substitute).
Mrs. Mary Jamieson WILLIAMS, J.P. (Substitute).
- Austria* : His Excellency M. Emerich PFLÜGL.
Dr. E. SCHIFFNER (Substitute).
- Belgium* : His Excellency M. Paul HYMANS.
M. F. VAN LANGENHOVE (Substitute).
- Bolivia* : His Excellency M. Adolfe COSTA DU RELS.
- United Kingdom* : The Right Honourable W. G. A. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P.
- Bulgaria* : His Excellency M. Nicolas MOUCHANOFF.
M. Dimitri MIKOFF (Substitute).
- Canada* : The Honourable Robert J. MANION, M.C., M.P., M.D.
The Honourable Philippe ROY, M.D. (Substitute).
- Chile* : His Excellency M. Enrique VILLEGAS.
His Excellency M. Jorge VALDÉS-MENDEVILLE.
- China* : His Excellency M. QUO Tai-chi.
His Excellency Dr. TSIEN Tai (Substitute).
M. LIU Chieh (Substitute).
- Colombia* : His Excellency Dr. Eduardo SANTOS.
- Cuba* : His Excellency M. Carlos DE ARMENTEROS Y DE CARDENAS.
M. Emiliano DUSSAQ Y FISCHER (Substitute).
- Czechoslovakia* : His Excellency M. Eduard BENEŠ.
His Excellency M. Štefan OSUSKÝ (Substitute).
- Denmark* : His Excellency M. Erik DE SCAVENIUS.
M. Ole Bjoern KRAFT (Substitute).
Mlle. Henni FORCHHAMMER (Substitute).
- Dominican Republic* :
- Estonia* : His Excellency M. August SCHMIDT.
His Excellency M. C. R. PUSTA (Substitute).
M. J. KÓDAR (Substitute).
- Finland* : His Excellency M. A. HACKZELL.
His Excellency Dr. Rudolf HOLSTI (Substitute).
His Excellency Dr. Rolf THESLEFF.
- France* : His Excellency M. PAUL-BONCOUR.
M. Henry BÉRENGER.
M. Lucien HUBERT.
M. Yvon DELBOS.
M. Jean MISTLER.
M. François DE TESSAN.
- Germany* : Freiherr VON NEURATH.
Dr. GOEBBELS.
Dr. VON KELLER.
Dr. Friedrich GAUS.
Dr. KRAUEL.
- Greece* : His Excellency M. P. TSALDARIS.
His Excellency M. Nicolas POLITIS.
His Excellency M. R. RAPHAËL (Substitute).
M. B. P. PAPADAKIS (Substitute).

- Guatemala* : His Excellency M. José MATOS.
- Haiti* : His Excellency M. Constantin MAYARD.
His Excellency M. A. F. FRANGULIS (Substitute).
- Honduras* :
- Hungary* : His Excellency General Gabriel TÁNCZOS.
His Excellency M. Jean PELÉNYI (Substitute).
M. Zoltán BARANYAI (Substitute).
M. Béla DE SZENT-ISTVÁNY (Substitute).
- India* : Sir Denys BRAY, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E.
- Kingdom of Iraq* : His Excellency YASSIN PASHA AL HASHIMI.
His Excellency NOURY PASHA AS SAID (Substitute).
- Irish Free State* : Mr. Sean T. O'KELLY.
Mr. Sean LESTER (Substitute).
Mr. T. J. COYNE (Substitute).
- Italy* : His Excellency Baron Pompeo ALOISI.
His Excellency M. Augusto BIANCHERI-CHIAPPORI.
His Excellency M. Ottavio DE PEPPA.
His Excellency Count Edoardo PIOLA-CASELLI.
- Japan* :
- Latvia* : His Excellency M. Voldemars SALNAIS.
His Excellency M. Wilhelms MUNTERS (Substitute).
- Liberia* : His Excellency Dr. Antoine SOTTILE.
His Excellency the Honourable L. A. GRIMES (Substitute).
- Lithuania* : His Excellency Dr. Dovas ZAUNIUS.
His Excellency M. Petras KLIMAS (Substitute).
- Luxemburg* : His Excellency M. Joseph BECH.
M. Charles VERMAIRE (Substitute).
- United States of Mexico* : M. Arturo PANI.
M. Leon SALINAS (Substitute).
- Netherlands* : His Excellency M. J. A. N. PATIJN.
M. J. P. A. FRANÇOIS (Substitute).
Mme. C. A. KLUYVER (Substitute).
- New Zealand* : Sir Thomas Mason WILFORD, K.C.M.G., K.C.
Mr. C. KNOWLES (Substitute).
- Nicaragua* : His Excellency M. Tomás Francisco MEDINA.
- Norway* : Dr. Christian L. LANGE.
M. Rolf ANDVORD (Substitute).
M. Rolf ANDERSEN (Substitute).
- Panama* : Dr. Ernesto HOFFMAN.
- Paraguay* : His Excellency Dr. Ramon V. CABALLERO DE BEDOYA.
- Persia* : His Excellency Mirza Abol-Hassan Khan FOROUGHI.
M. Moussa Khan NOURY-ESFANDIARY (Substitute).
Colonel RIAZI (Substitute).
- Peru* : His Excellency M. Ventura GARCÍA CALDERÓN.
M. Pedro UGARTECHE (Substitute).
- Poland* : His Excellency M. Joseph BECK.
His Excellency M. Edouard RACZYŃSKI.
M. Roman DEBICKI (Substitute).
M. Thadée GWIAZDOWSKI (Substitute).
M. Wladyslaw Josef ZALESKI (Substitute).
M. Titus KOMARNICKI (Substitute).
- Portugal* : His Excellency Dr. José Capelo Franco FRAZÃO, Count
DE PENHA GARCIA.
His Excellency Dr. José Lobo D'AVILA LIMA.
Dr. Alexandre Magno FERRAZ DE ANDRADE (Substitute).
- Roumania* : His Excellency M. Constantin ANTONIADE.
Mlle. Hélène VACARESCO (Substitute).
- Salvador* : Dr. Joaquin PAREDES.
- Siam* : His Excellency Phya Subarn SOMPATI.
M. Luang BHADRAVADI (Substitute).

<i>Union of South Africa :</i>	Major F. F. PIENAAR, D.T.D., O.B.E.
<i>Spain :</i>	His Excellency M. Salvador DE MADARIAGA Y ROJO. M. Julio LÓPEZ OLIVÁN (Substitute). M. Manuel Martinez PEDROSO (Substitute).
<i>Sweden :</i>	His Excellency M. R. J. SANDLER. His Excellency M. B. Oesten UNDÉN (Substitute).
<i>Switzerland :</i>	His Excellency M. Giuseppe MOTTA. M. William RAPPARD (Substitute).
<i>Turkey :</i>	His Excellency Tevfik RÜSTÜ Bey.
<i>Uruguay :</i>	His Excellency Dr. Alberto GUANI. His Excellency Dr. Alfredo DE CASTRO (Substitute).
<i>Venezuela :</i>	His Excellency Dr. Diogenes ESCALANTE. Dr. L. G. CHACÍN ITRIAGO (Substitute).
<i>Yugoslavia :</i>	His Excellency M. Bogolioub YEVITCH. His Excellency M. Constantin FOTITCH (Substitute).

* * *

The following persons attended certain meetings of the Sixth Committee :

M. Gonzague DE REYNOLD (International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation).
M. Henri BONNET (Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation).
M. Georges WERNER (President of the Nansen International Office for Refugees).
Major JOHNSON (Nansen International Office for Refugees).

**SIXTH COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION OF
THE ASSEMBLY.**
(POLITICAL QUESTIONS.)

AGENDA.

1. INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION.
 2. CO-OPERATION OF THE PRESS IN THE ORGANISATION OF PEACE.
 3. RUSSIAN, ARMENIAN, ASSYRIAN, ASSYRO-CHALDEAN AND TURKISH REFUGEES.
 4. MANDATES.
 5. PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.
 6. SLAVERY.
-

FIRST MEETING.

Held on Tuesday, September 26th, 1933, at 10 a.m.

Chairman : M. DE MADARIAGA (Spain).

1. Election of the Vice-Chairman.

On the proposal of M. BÉRENGER (France), seconded by M. OSUSKÝ (Czechoslovakia), Sir Denys BRAY (India) *was elected Vice-Chairman by acclamation.*

2. Publicity of the Meetings.

The Committee decided to continue its traditional practice of admitting the public and Press to its meetings, save in exceptional cases.

3. Consideration and Adoption of the Agenda.

The CHAIRMAN read the Committee's agenda, which for the present included the following questions :

1. Nansen International Office for Refugees.
2. Slavery.
3. Co-operation of the Press in the Organisation of Peace.
4. Intellectual Co-operation.

He added that the Assembly would no doubt refer other questions to the Committee for consideration. As regarded item 3, which had figured for two years past on the agenda, he reminded the Committee that the Spanish Government had convened a Conference to be held at Madrid on November 7th. It would therefore perhaps be advisable to leave the question to that Conference rather than to open a discussion which could not in the circumstances be other than academic. If the Committee agreed to this suggestion, it would, of course, resume consideration of the question next year.

M. DE TESSAN (France), while recognising that the Committee should not take the place of the Madrid Conference, considered that a Sub-Committee, assisted by experts, might be set up to carry out the preliminary work without entering into the substance of the question.

The CHAIRMAN felt, in view of M. de Tesson's statement, that the question should be left on the agenda for the moment. When the Committee came to consider this item, it could take a decision on M. de Tesson's suggestion.

Sir Thomas WILFORD (New Zealand), referring to the question of slavery, asked what was the position with regard to the Committee which the Sixth Committee had decided to set up last year, on condition that funds permitted.

The CHAIRMAN replied that the necessary sum was provided for in the draft budget to be submitted to the Fourth Committee.

The agenda was adopted.

4. Intellectual Co-operation : Appointment of a Rapporteur.

On the proposal of the CHAIRMAN, M. MISTLER (France) *was appointed Rapporteur for this question.*

SECOND MEETING.

Held on Thursday, September 28th, 1933, at 10.30 a.m.

Acting Chairman : Sir Denys BRAY (India).

5. **Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish Refugees : Appointment of a Rapporteur.**

M. ANTONIADE (Roumania) was appointed Rapporteur for this question.

6. **Protection of Minorities : Addition to the Agenda.**

The CHAIRMAN announced that the Assembly had added the question of minorities to the Committee's agenda.

7. **Slavery : General Discussion.**

The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee of the resolution adopted by the Assembly last year to set up an Advisory Committee of Experts on this question. It was to be hoped that the Fourth Committee would vote the necessary credits for this purpose.

Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (United Kingdom) emphasised the great importance attached by the United Kingdom delegation to the question of slavery, particularly in this year of the centenary of William Wilberforce and the emancipation of slaves in the British Empire.

He proposed that the Committee should not finally conclude its discussion of the question until the decision of the Fourth Committee as to the necessary credits for the new permanent Slavery Committee was known.

With regard to the documents before the Committee (documents A.16 and 16(a). 1933.VI), though the reports on Liberia, the Sudan, China and North Burma which they contained were adequate as far as they went, he would urge that in future years a rather fuller picture of the action being taken to give effect to the 1926 Slavery Convention might be made available.

The Committee should make it clear that it was the duty of the permanent committee of experts to indicate the kind of information it required and thereby to bring to light the main points upon which knowledge was essential before slavery could be universally eradicated.

Count DE PENHA GARCIA (Portugal) recalled that his country, amongst others, had in the beginning been opposed to the United Kingdom proposal for the creation of a Permanent Slavery Committee. Last year, however, agreement was reached on a satisfactory type of organisation endowed with powers which were in conformity both with the machinery of the League of Nations and with the existing situation. This advisory body, the competence and procedure of which had been defined by the Assembly, would only meet from time to time, as circumstances required. The Portuguese Government had been in favour of setting up this Committee, and its representative on the Fourth Committee had last year voted the credits which were necessary for its work. He would do the same this year so long as the provisions contemplated by the Assembly last year were respected.

Count de Penha Garcia pointed out that the full execution of the Slavery Convention would require the conclusion of new agreements, for which provision was made in the text of the Convention. The work done by the new Committee would no doubt be of assistance in bringing out the defects of the Convention and expedite the solution of a problem which, while becoming less serious each day, nevertheless needed to be watched. The United Kingdom delegate had recalled that this year was the first centenary of the anti-slavery work done in England. The Portuguese delegate paid a tribute to that work. Before England had done so, Portugal had partially abolished slavery, and it had followed the generous movement begun by England and supported in all countries. Count de Penha Garcia recalled that, in all countries represented in the League of Nations, slavery had existed in earlier times. He paid a tribute to the memory of all those in each country who had been instrumental in putting a stop to it. They had done well for humanity, but their names were often completely forgotten.

M. HUBERT (France) endorsed all that Count de Penha Garcia had said.

Mlle. FORCHHAMMER (Denmark) proposed that the Committee should recommend to the Council the inclusion of a woman among the members of the new Committee of Experts.

The CHAIRMAN replied that provision had already been made for this.

The Committee adopted Mr. Ormsby-Gore's proposal not to close the discussion pending knowledge of the Fourth Committee's decision with regard to the new Slavery Committee.

8. **Slavery : Appointment of a Rapporteur.**

M. LÓPEZ OLIVÁN (Spain) was appointed Rapporteur for this question.

9. Co-operation of the Press in the Organisation of Peace : General Discussion.

M. DE TESSAN (France) emphasised the close connection existing between the Press and international intellectual co-operation. It would be opportune for the Sixth Committee to mark its interest in both these subjects, particularly in view of the important Conference to be held in Madrid on November 7th next.

The programme of this Conference was based on the discussions of the thirteenth Assembly and covered both technical and general questions. Its three main headings were (a) the means of obtaining a greater abundance of accurate information; (b) the means of developing co-operation between the Press organisations of various countries and (c) the questions of international Press cards, of the influence of the Press on national feelings in times of crisis and of the better professional training of journalists.

Many organisations had already announced their intention of being present, and it was to be hoped that many more would do likewise, for the importance of a representative conference could not be overestimated.

In the view of the French delegation, the present crisis rendered it more than ever necessary to provide the nations with a means of formulating a clear idea of the march of events. Hence the importance of the freedom of the Press—an essential condition for the protection of the rights of man. Both the inviolability of these and the education of world opinion depended upon impartial journalism, upon the facilities afforded to journalists in the different countries and upon the freedom with which discussion of major problems could take place in the public Press.

The French delegation hoped that, as a result of the Madrid Conference, journalists of all nations would be afforded complete freedom and thus be enabled to co-operate with the League in promoting greater international understanding. He submitted the following draft resolution :

“ The Fourteenth Assembly,

“ Having learnt with great satisfaction that the Government of the Spanish Republic has convened a Press Conference to be held in Madrid on November 7th next to frame concrete proposals with a view to giving effect to certain of the principal recommendations submitted by the Press organisations during the enquiry into the problem of the spread of false information which may threaten the peace of the world or the good understanding between nations :

“ Wishes this Conference every success and expresses the hope that the next Assembly will be in a position to note its successful results ;

“ Renews its recommendation that the Secretariat should continue to devote its attention to the development by all the means at its disposal of the swift supply to the Press of the fullest possible information concerning the work of the League of Nations.”

Upon the suggestion of the CHAIRMAN that M. de Tesson's resolution should be discussed forthwith, M. VON KELLER (Germany) proposed that the Committee should follow the normal practice of discussing the resolution after distribution to the delegations. His delegation would prefer this course and reserved the right to speak on the resolution at a later meeting.

M. von Keller's proposal was adopted.

10. Co-operation of the Press in the Organisation of Peace : Appointment of a Rapporteur.

M. DE TESSAN (France) was appointed Rapporteur for this question.

THIRD MEETING.

Held on Saturday, September 30th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m.

Chairman : M. DE MADARIAGA (Spain).

11. Mandates : Addition to the Agenda.

The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that, by a decision of the Assembly, the question of mandates had been referred to the Sixth Committee.

12. Co-operation of the Press in the Organisation of Peace : Discussion and Adoption of the Draft Report and Resolution.

M. DE TESSAN (France), Rapporteur, presented his report and added that the resolution which he proposed was intended, not only to strengthen the existing links between the Press and the League of Nations, but also to improve the position of journalists within their profession, to strengthen the unwritten laws which they obeyed and to make it easier for them to carry on their occupation, the object of which was to enlighten the peoples of the world.

The CHAIRMAN wished to add a few words as representative of the State which had convened the Madrid Conference. That Conference would be able to give its attention to three main aspects of the problem—the closest possible co-operation between all the Press organisations of the different countries, the need for every possible effort to help the Press to familiarise the world with the League of Nations (collaboration of the Press with the League) and, lastly, the need of finding a link between the Press of the world and the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. Intellectual co-operation was one of the most important forms of the League's activity, and for this reason the importance of the third aspect of the problem should be specially emphasised.

The Committee adopted the report and draft resolution proposed by M. de Tesson (Annex 1).

13. Co-operation of the Press in the Organisation of Peace : Appointment of a Rapporteur to the Assembly.

The CHAIRMAN asked M. de Tesson to submit the report to the Assembly.

14. Intellectual Co-operation : General Discussion.

The CHAIRMAN welcomed the presence of M. de Reynold, Rapporteur of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and of M. Bonnet, Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

M. MISTLER (France) read his draft report and resolution.

M. DE REYNOLD, speaking in the name of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, thanked M. Mistler for the understanding he had shown with regard to the Organisation.

He proposed to deal only with the general aspect of the situation. The success of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was due first of all to its method, which it had not only defined but, better still, applied. The first characteristic of this method was to replace the system of over-large meetings by that of small meetings or committees of experts, which were much more practical than congresses. As soon as the number of members of a committee exceeded fifteen, or even ten, it was better to keep that number down, not in order to economise, but in order to achieve better results.

A second characteristic was division of labour. Experience, particularly the experience of initial setbacks, had shown that the larger the subject the more necessary it was to divide it up. It was useless to try to solve vast problems at once ; it was far better to start with the details and to move by slow degrees as the cumulative effects of successive efforts were felt. This led to the third characteristic of the method—a limited and well-defined programme in each field. It could no longer be said to-day that the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation was too wide or too vague. In the future, each section of the Organisation would be exactly adapted to the few well-defined questions with which it would have to deal.

The work of intellectual co-operation could thus be described as work of international co-ordination in restricted fields or special subjects.

Passing to what he might call the construction of the building, M. de Reynold enumerated the objects of the work of intellectual co-operation. First of all, it aimed at helping intellectual workers, facilitating their researches, supplying them with tools and putting them into touch one with another whenever there arose a question in which international co-ordination appeared useful or necessary. This was the technical, administrative and documentary side of the work, the one which interested the experts above all. Though not very noticeable to the general public, it had, on the other hand, contributed greatly to the credit of the Organisation in intellectual circles and had helped to prove that international intellectual co-operation was not a figment of the brain but satisfied a real need.

Beyond this first stage came a second. The League of Nations was an association of States, and the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should therefore put itself at the disposal of States in questions affecting national forms of intellectual life. The National Committees might be quoted as an example in this connection; in many countries, they were really equivalent to intellectual advisory councils for Governments, councils on which every aspect of national intellectual life was represented. Another example was the co-ordination of the great intellectual administrative departments of the various countries, a movement which had begun the year before at Budapest at the suggestion of the Hungarian Government and was being continued.

Thirdly, came the service of the League of Nations itself, the propagation of its spirit and ideal. The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation was finding that it must devote itself more and more to this task, which it pursued whenever the Assembly referred a problem to it for solution. When the problem was insoluble, the Organisation frankly said so. It had thus discovered the intimate connection between the important problem of the Press, with which M. de Tesson had just dealt, and the other questions treated by the Organisation—broadcasting, adult education, educational films, etc.

Lastly came the ultimate stage, intellectual life, ideas themselves. This was a new field, and the Organisation was only now making its first experiment therein. But, if it neglected this field, it would become a soulless body, a simple piece of machinery. In the new world which was being born amid dangers and upheavals in a period of the most violent intellectual and moral anarchy which history had ever known, the duty of bringing order, calm and hope to men's minds was urgent. Uneasiness was the star of to-day's world ; if the Intellectual

Co-operation Organisation held aloof from vital problems, the world would not understand, all the more because to-day there was not a single fact which could not be linked up with an idea. As Montesquieu had said, man was usually helpless when events were in course, but during their course he could always plant seeds which would bear fruit later. To succeed here, the Organisation must have the greatest possible autonomy within the framework conferred on it by the League; the men whom it consulted must have the fullest freedom to express their ideas, their views of the world and their conclusions, which in any case bound no one but themselves.

The experience so far acquired in intellectual co-operation was encouraging. To use a current term, things were on the move, and moving steadily and well.

In conclusion, M. de Reynold compared intellectual culture with agriculture, and more particularly with vine-growing, in which bad years were frequent. The vine-grower was never discouraged and did not lose his temper; he did not count on results every year, but calculated over a long period of time. Thus, he was the best evidence that results on a large scale were accomplished most often by the continual and persevering accumulation of small profits and by the unwearying love of the worker for his work. The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation should follow the vine-grower's example in its great task, which time, patience and goodwill would achieve.

M. MOTTA (Switzerland) said that his delegation had studied with special interest the report of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and had been impressed by the methods just described by M. de Reynold. At a time when political and economic co-operation between countries was so greatly hampered, it was a real mental satisfaction to find that co-operation between the leading intellectuals was proceeding peacefully and smoothly. The sphere of intellectual co-operation offered consolation for the disappointments experienced in so many other fields. M. Motta then laid special stress on the valuable work done by the Paris Institute. The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation itself bore the character merely of a legislative assembly; the Institute was its executive body, but for which many suggestions would remain barren. The French Government should be congratulated once more on having had such an excellent idea carried to fruition within the framework of the League of Nations.

While he endorsed the conclusions of M. Mistler, M. Motta raised one special point on which it might perhaps be well to supplement the report. He referred to moral disarmament, which should be given a bigger place. The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation had framed a draft text (document A.14.1933.XII, page 17) which was both definite, simple and very practical. After briefly commenting on the first four articles of the draft, M. Motta hoped that the text would one day be put into effect and that the Committee for Moral Disarmament would take its cue from the simplicity and wisdom of that text. There could, of course, be no hope of these ideas being put into practice if the Disarmament Conference was fated to be the failure which was dreaded by the pessimists and desired by those of ill-will. He personally was one of those who expected it to be a success and he was glad that, in the absence of a Third Committee, the Sixth was dealing with moral disarmament.

In conclusion, M. Motta congratulated the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation on having tackled this vital problem; in doing so in such troublous times, it was obeying the Latin poet's injunction: "*in arduis æquam servare mentem*".

M. TSIEN Tai (China) paid a tribute to the memory of M. Becker. The Chinese people would long remember him as one of the authors of the remarkable report on the re-organisation of education in China, as a result of which a mission of five Chinese educationists had visited Europe to study the organisation of public education in Austria, Denmark, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. He thanked the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, the Governments of the countries he had mentioned and the various official and non-official bodies concerned for the assistance which they had afforded to this mission.

Within China itself a National Committee had been formed, while at Geneva, on the initiative of Chinese and foreign scholars, a Sino-International Library was being established with the object of building up a good collection of Chinese works, as well as books on China in foreign languages, thus providing students of Chinese culture with valuable material for reference.

Mlle. VACARESCO (Roumania) commended the work done by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and paid a tribute to the qualities of its Director. She added that, as an antidote to existing evils, there was more need than ever to resort to the League of Minds so providentially created by the League of Nations in the form of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, from which in turn had sprung the Paris Institute. So long as individuals and Governments persisted in applying to the world of to-day the methods of the past, the League's task could not be accomplished. Happily, the latter could be seen endeavouring more and more to distinguish error from truth and gradually to feel its way towards the path which would lead it to the aim it had in view. Nothing was more reassuring in this respect than M. Bonnet's report describing all the tasks which the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation had set itself. They were spectators to-day, not only of an expansion of "conversations". The impact of the ideas exchanged between contemporary thinkers would perforce lead to truths being elicited which would help the world to emerge from the spiritual crisis it was experiencing.

Mlle. Vacaresco also praised the Institute for the work it had undertaken and carried through in the matter of translations—which were calculated to bring the nations together—on its entry into the field of wireless broadcasting, the cinematograph, and political and moral sciences.

The discussions held at Madrid at the last session of the Committee on Arts and Letters had made the participants forget for some days the various crises with which the world was grappling. It was to the Institute that they owed this meeting of a distinguished company which had succeeded in making such a miracle possible.

In conclusion, Mlle. Vacaresco said that she submitted no motion, but in return would ask the Sixth Committee to give its full support to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and the Paris Institute, which was to-day the League's finest title to fame.

M. MISTLER (France), in reply to M. Motta, said in his capacity of Rapporteur that he had not felt he need mention in the final resolution the texts on moral disarmament which the Swiss delegate had just quoted, because the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation had already forwarded them to the Committee on Moral Disarmament. In view of the warm reception given to M. Motta's proposal, M. Mistler suggested adding the following final paragraph to the resolution :

“ Approves the proposal of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation regarding the preliminary draft texts on moral disarmament and asks the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments to bear them in mind so far as possible when finally drawing up the conventions it will adopt.”

Speaking as a member of the French delegation, M. Mistler had caught in M. Motta's words an echo of a great voice which was still. One of the speeches made at the Assembly by M. Aristide Briand closed with the moving appeal to the youth of every country that peace would only prevail among men when youth was brought up in the love of peace. As the representative of a country which had not waited until now to effect intellectual demobilisations, M. Mistler warmly seconded M. Motta's suggestion. He would be glad to see the ancient wisdom, to which the latter had referred, extending in future to the confines of the universe.

M. KOMARNICKI (Poland) associated himself with the tribute which had been paid to the Institute and, on behalf of his delegation, congratulated it on the work it had accomplished. Never perhaps since the League had been in existence had the need for international activity in the sphere of intellectual *rapprochement* been more keenly felt. Hence it was with the greatest pleasure that the Polish delegate noted the following passage in the report of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which clearly characterised its methods and activities¹ :

“ It would appear that, in the difficult times through which the world is now passing, the Committee has thus afforded proof of the intellectual classes' determination to face the crisis and do their share in overcoming it ; for this crisis is not merely economic, but to an equal degree intellectual and moral.”

M. Komarnicki wished to lay special stress on the Institute's work in connection with the revision of school text-books. The Sixth Committee would no doubt agree that it was a matter of urgency to push forward research in this field, for it was indispensable in the interests of peace and of international collaboration. While appreciating the great value of the Institute's work, which had already been demonstrated by a whole series of interesting and encouraging manifestations, M. Komarnicki did not entirely share the optimism with which the Committee's report was imbued. The Committee had every reason to be proud of its activities, but it would nevertheless be rash to conclude that spiritual *rapprochement* had really made appreciable progress in the course of the year. There had perhaps even been a considerable retrogression, the full extent of which would only make itself felt after a certain time. The Polish delegate drew attention in particular to the following passage in the report² :

“ In almost all spheres progress is marked—hence a reassuring impression of security.”

He was thinking in particular of moral disarmament, and, if he laid special stress on this point, it was to emphasise once more the pressing need of action parallel to the work done by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, in which action the Institute could and should be associated in some way or other. M. Komarnicki drew attention, in this connection, to a passage in the General Report of the Director of the Institute (document A.14, page 35, second paragraph of point 3). This was precisely the point of departure of the work on moral disarmament at the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. It would, of course, be outside the Sixth Committee's province to discuss the draft text transmitted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to the Disarmament Conference, which now had to deal with the problem. All that the Sixth Committee could do was to signify its sympathy with all efforts aimed at providing a solid foundation for true moral disarmament, which, in the Polish delegation's opinion, could only be realised by a series of definite undertakings imposing definite obligations on Governments and taking the form, not only of an invitation to proceed to certain acts, but also of the prohibition to commit other acts contrary

¹ Document A.14.1933.XII, page 9.

² *Ibid.*, page 8.

to the aims and ideals of the League of Nations. It was in this spirit that the Polish delegation associated itself with the draft resolution which had just been submitted by the Rapporteur.

M. PIOLA-CASELLI (Italy) drew attention to the question of intellectual rights and the protection of the individual in this sphere. On behalf of his delegation and on his own behalf, he associated himself with the hope expressed in the resolution that the Rome Act revising the Rome Convention on authors' rights should be ratified as soon as possible. This Act, drawn up under the auspices of the Italian Government, provided for the protection of the moral rights of authors. There was reason for satisfaction that the situation as regarded this question had improved: the French Parliament had just passed a law ratifying the Rome Act, and the Belgian Parliament had followed this example. There remained two countries whose ratifications would be of the greatest value—Germany and Czechoslovakia. As regarded the German ratification, its delay was not due to any fundamental contradiction between the Rome Act and German law, but solely to considerations of procedure, since, following upon the Rome Act, a general study had been undertaken with a view to the revision of the German legislation on authors' rights. Last year a scheme had been laid before the Reich Ministry of Justice, which had undertaken to study it. M. Piola-Caselli hoped that Germany would soon be able to accede to the Rome Act, and expressed the same hope as regards Czechoslovakia. If the ratifications were not received in time, it would not be possible to convene the Brussels Conference, which would achieve marked progress as compared with the provisions of the Berne Convention, particularly with regard to the relations between authors and the new industries of the film, the gramophone record, etc.

Another question was that of intellectual rights, and M. Piola-Caselli feared that there might be some confusion as regarded a proposal he had made at the last session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. In this connection, it was sufficient to compare No. 5b on page 6 of document A.14 on the one hand with pages 13, 14 and 59 on the other. Two quite different proposals had been included in paragraph b, one of which had been put forward solely by the Italian Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, and the other by the Committee of Representatives of the institutions dealing with intellectual rights. This second proposal, which was a very interesting one, related to the moral rights of inventors. This was not a new question, since the Committee of Intellectual Workers of the International Labour Office had already made the same recommendation in 1928. As they were now on the eve of the London Conference which was to revise the Paris Convention on the protection of intellectual rights, there was every advantage in showing their interest in the question of moral rights, which would inevitably arise at the Conference.

In conclusion, M. Piola-Caselli asked that corrections should be made on the lines of the explanations he had given.

M. POLITIS (Greece) associated himself with the unanimous tribute paid to the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee and to the activities of the Paris Institute and its Director. He entirely agreed with M. Motta's remarks on the great value of this committee's texts on moral disarmament. These texts were so simple, logical and natural that it looked as if they ought to be accepted without discussion by every State. In M. Politis's opinion, the principles laid down in these texts were implicit in the Covenant of the League, but it was still useful for a convention to indicate expressly what was to be done for the education of youth and the preparation of public opinion for the idea of peace.

It was on these lines that the Finnish delegate had prepared a text which he had requested M. Politis to submit to the Sixth Committee to be attached to the draft resolution. This text, which might usefully be combined with that proposed by M. Mistler, read as follows:

"Takes note of the texts relating to moral disarmament prepared with such care and ability by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation;

"And recognises the great value of the principles laid down therein."

M. Politis supported this proposal and thought that M. Motta did so too. It should be remarked that this text did not propose that any recommendation should be made to the Disarmament Conference, but simply that the Assembly should endorse the principles contained in the texts prepared by the Intellectual Co-operation Committee and should recognise their great value.

Mr. MANION (Canada) endorsed the congratulations to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation on its work; he must, however, make one slight reservation, though he hoped that the Sixth Committee would realise that he did so in the friendliest spirit of candid criticism.

At the time of the World Economic Conference, a pamphlet had been distributed under the ægis of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, and therefore as a League of Nations document, containing a passage which criticised the whole group of so-called Ottawa Agreements.

He had no quarrel with critics of these Agreements, but suggested that it was hardly suitable for a sub-committee of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation to inject political views into purely intellectual studies. He suggested that, to avoid a recurrence of this, greater supervision might in future be exercised over the sub-committees.

M. VALDÉS-MENDEVILLE (Chile) said that the perusal of the Institute's report and the remarks of the previous speakers confirmed him in the conviction that the progress accomplished by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation was amongst the most remarkable achievements of the League. All the forms of activity of this Organisation methodically converged towards the aims which its creators had had in mind. Among other great qualities, the work undertaken possessed that of being universal, a quality which other forms of the League's

activities did not always possess. This Organisation was always striving to create throughout the whole world and in every sphere the co-operation that was essential to the success of the great idea on which its work was based, and one of the most striking results of which would be the agreement on moral disarmament so brilliantly analysed by M. Motta.

The progress of Intellectual Co-operation deserved to be better known to public opinion, which, being insufficiently acquainted with it, often misjudged it. In this connection too, the proposal sketched out last year on the rôle of peace should be made a living and adequate reality. It was to be hoped that this would be done at the Madrid Conference, for just because it was audacious it had chances of success in the minds of a people whose daring in the past had created a new world and was now being concentrated on creating a better world.

Having no time to examine the different forms of the activity of the Committee and of the Institute, M. Valdés-Mendeville wished nevertheless to emphasise both their general interests and their special interest to his country. He would confine himself to stressing a point which, without being of the first importance, was nevertheless given prominence by the anxiety caused by the social problems of the present time. He referred to the efforts set on foot by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in the sphere of popular and workers' education. The excellent enquiry into public libraries and workers' leisure and the assistance given to the Committee on Popular Arts came within the sphere of this activity. Too much encouragement could not be given to these efforts, and it was to be hoped that they would be pursued and intensified. Recalling, in conclusion, a passage from M. de Madariaga's letter to M. Paul Valéry, published in Volume I of the "Correspondence", M. Valdés-Mendeville looked on the world as a body suffering from economic and moral poisoning, of which few organs escaped the effects. Surgical methods were of little use, and the treatment of intellectual co-operation was slower but surer.

General TÁNCZOS (Hungary) congratulated the Rapporteur on his illuminating report and M. de Reynold on his admirable statement. He was particularly glad that the latter should have mentioned a happy suggestion of Hungary's with regard to the holding of a meeting of directors of higher education. This meeting had been a fruitful one and would certainly give valuable results.

Referring to the last paragraph of the draft resolution, General Tánczos proposed that the word "Conventions" should be replaced by the word "texts", since the question of the form which the final text would take had not yet been settled. In this connection, reference might be made to document Conf. D./C.G.133, which contained as an annex a resolution adopted on June 2nd, 1933, by the Committee on Moral Disarmament, the first paragraph of which read as follows :

"The Committee on Moral Disarmament considers that provisions should forthwith be drawn up concerning moral disarmament, these provisions to stand on the same footing as the provisions regarding material disarmament in the final texts to be adopted by the Conference."

Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (United Kingdom) said that as the Committee's discussion had, in the main, centred round moral disarmament, he felt bound to state that the United Kingdom was most anxious that the ideas underlying the preliminary draft texts¹ to which M. Motta had alluded should prevail. With reference to these texts, however, he pointed out that his countrymen were very jealous of the autonomy of their universities and that there would therefore be a disinclination in Great Britain to see the State or Government intervene in any university curriculum.

To turn to a technical point regarding the artistic side of the work of the Organisation, he emphasised that there were few methods of bringing about a conception of the ideals and culture of other nations more effective than that of international art exhibitions. He referred in particular to the exhibitions of Spanish, Flemish, Dutch, Italian, Persian and French art which had been held in London.

The resolution which M. Mistler had proposed to the Committee contained a paragraph suggesting the return of works of art illicitly removed from the respective national artistic heritages. The United Kingdom delegation would support this proposal, but he would ask that the resolution might be so worded as to make it abundantly clear that only works of art illicitly removed should be returned. As a Trustee of the National Gallery, he must state forthwith that the United Kingdom had no intention of returning, for instance, the treasured Velasquez pictures which had been purchased for the nation.

The resolution further recommended to the various Governments the proposal of the International Museums Office that an International Historical Monuments Commission should be set up. The Council resolution of September 22nd made the point, in favour of this excellent proposal, that it involved no fresh expenditure. He would submit that the mere compilation of a compendium of the legislation on the subject—the work contemplated for this commission—would achieve very little and that, if it were to do really useful work, it must distribute throughout the world information on recent advances in the technical preservation of monuments. This, however, could not be done without the expenditure of considerable sums, and he would like an explanation as to precisely what work was envisaged for the proposed commission.

He welcomed the inclusion in the resolution of the two matters to which he had referred, since a proper appreciation of the artistic wealth of the nations of the world was an excellent means of bringing home the dangers of modern war. Few had forgotten the tragedy of the destruction of art treasures in the last war; hence the creation of an international interest in

¹ Document A.14.1933.XII, page 17.

the preservation of monuments and works of art might well serve as a foundation of moral disarmament.

M. BONNET, Director of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, after thanking the speakers for their appreciative remarks regarding the Institute, replied from the administrative point of view to some of the points which had been raised.

The problem of the protection of historical monuments of which the United Kingdom delegate had spoken had engaged the attention of the Institute and of the International Museums Office. The creation of a governmental commission was intended to complete the co-ordination of efforts in this field. The existence of this commission would not involve any additional expense to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, but only to the Governments (travelling expenses of delegates, etc.). These expenses were so trivial compared with the aim in view that it was to be hoped that the creation of this body would not meet in the different countries with any difficulties in this respect.

The International Museums Office had already collected considerable material on this question of the preservation of historical monuments. A very important conference had been held at Athens attended by 150 delegates who had compared the various techniques of preservation. The result had been a big volume published under the direction of the Institute and constituting a veritable text-book of advanced instruction in technical methods for the preservation of historical monuments.

As regards the autonomy of universities, the Institute had long ago noticed that customs and legislations differed from one country to another and must be respected. In this connection, the Committee of Directors of Higher Education which met every year could be relied on, particularly as its Chairman was of British nationality and one of its members American. The differences of organisation between the universities of the various countries were such that a *modus vivendi* was necessary and had indeed been found. Each country would apply according to its own legislation the provisions which might be adopted in regard to moral disarmament.

M. Bonnet then thanked the Canadian delegate for his friendly remarks and wished to assure him that the professors, scholars and research workers who had met in London to study the effects of State intervention in economic life had done so in an entirely impartial spirit. If their discussions had assumed a political character, this was a pure coincidence, for they had held their meeting one week before the Economic Conference. M. Bonnet could vouch for it that their debates had had an entirely objective and scientific character. In the volume which the Institute was going to publish on this subject, the point of view put forward by the Canadian delegate was strongly represented. He repeated that the personalities who had taken part in this meeting had no political aims and had no claim to substitute themselves for the politicians. M. Bonnet was grateful to Mr. Manion for having drawn attention to this misunderstanding, which he hoped he had dispelled.

The CHAIRMAN, as representative of Spain, unreservedly associated himself with the statements made by M. Motta and the other speakers on the question of moral disarmament. He then paid a tribute to M. de Reynold's speech. As a member of the Committee on Arts and Letters, he had taken part in the Madrid meeting, so that he was entitled to emphasise what M. de Reynold had said on the tasks of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. If it were content to gravitate in a limited sphere, its work would have no soul. The same might be said of the League itself, and this undertaking, without precedent in human history, would be doomed to failure. The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation was therefore not a side-line of the League, but was its very soul. The League would not prosper and would not achieve its aim, which was peace, except in so far as the work of Intellectual Co-operation showed that humanity was united. The guiding spirits of every country must be converted to this idea in order that they should realise this unity. It was therefore essential to lay the greatest possible emphasis on the second of the conclusions adopted at the end of the Madrid "conversation":

"The Committee expresses the opinion that the future of civilisation, even within the various national units, is essentially bound up with the development of its universal elements, which in its turn is conditional upon the organisation of mankind as a moral and legal entity."¹

This was the Organisation's essential aim, towards which it must strive by every means in its power.

M. MISTLER (France), Rapporteur, referring to the observations of the Italian delegate regarding intellectual rights, proposed that the passage in question in his report, reading as follows:

"The study, in conjunction with specialist institutions, of the various aspects of authors' rights is proceeding. I would urge you to impress once more upon the Governments the importance of ratifying the Acts already concluded",
should be redrafted as follows:

"Lastly, the study, in conjunction with specialist institutions, of the various aspects of authors' rights is proceeding. I would urge you to impress once more upon the Governments the necessity of ratifying the Act of Rome. M. Piola-Caselli, underlining the importance of this action, also showed the value of the new proposals contemplated by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation concerning the protection

¹ Document A.14.1933.XII, page 24.

of inventors. The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has asked that a new clause to this effect should be included in the Paris Convention for the protection of industrial property."

In reply to Mr. Ormsby-Gore's objection, he explained that the word "illicitly" had been inadvertently omitted from the part of the resolution relating to the repatriation of works of art.

He proposed that the third paragraph of the draft resolution, reading as follows :

"Wishes to emphasise the special importance of the first exchanges of correspondence published by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and of the 'conversation' held at Madrid in May 1933 regarding the future of civilisation",

should be replaced by the following text :

"Wishes to emphasise the importance of the method of exchanges of correspondence and the value of the 'conversations', such as that held at Frankfort on Goethe and at Madrid in May 1933 regarding the future of civilisation."

Lastly, to take into account the suggestions of the delegates of Switzerland, Greece, Finland and Hungary, the Rapporteur proposed the addition at the end of the draft resolution of a new paragraph to read as follows :

"Notes the proposals relating to moral disarmament framed by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and, considering their great value and practical scope, asks the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments to use them, as far as possible, as a basis in establishing the final texts to be adopted."

Both as Rapporteur and as delegate of France, M. Mistler wished to express the satisfaction he had felt in the course of this debate, which had been pursued in an atmosphere of cordiality and trust and in the spirit of international collaboration. If he might borrow the metaphor used by M. de Reynold, he would like to conclude by saying that the humble wisdom of the wine-growers and of the petty artisans should serve as a lesson to those who were responsible for the conduct of the world's affairs.

The Rapporteur's amendments were adopted.

The Committee decided, owing to the changes to be made in the report, to postpone the final adoption of the report and draft resolution until the next meeting.

FOURTH MEETING

Held on Monday, October 2nd, 1933, at 10 a.m.

Chairman : M. DE MADARIAGA (Spain).

15. Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish Refugees : Report of the Governing Body : Examination of the Draft Report and Resolution.

M. ANTONIADE (Roumania), Rapporteur, said that the report of the Governing Body (document A.19.1933) and his draft report to the Assembly proved the diversity and complexity of the work of the Nansen Office ; this was rendered particularly heavy in the present time of crisis, when the reaction of economic difficulties upon the Office funds necessarily hampered its activities.

He drew special attention to certain of the points made in his draft report. The Office was called upon to deal with no fewer than 934,000 refugees, and under the presidency, first of M. Max Huber and now of M. Werner, much had been done in spite of financial restrictions. In the midst of his other work, M. Werner had this year been able to pay a visit to Syria, as a result of which many valuable new suggestions had been forthcoming.

As the report stated, the economic crisis had had serious repercussions on the refugee problem ; national subsidies had been reduced or withdrawn ; countries suffering from unemployment had been forced to prohibit the employment of foreign labour, and philanthropic aid, both public and private, had been considerably curtailed. Thanks to economy in other fields, however, the Office had been able to ensure that the level of unemployment among refugees suffered no increase. He drew attention to the valuable assistance afforded by the Office in the maintenance of political and social stability. In the present unsettled state of the world, the existence of many thousands of refugees might well provide fertile soil for unrest.

He referred to the various activities of the Office : the settlement of 4,000 Armenians in Aleppo, Alexandretta and Beirut, the transfer of others to Erivan, the arrangement for the settlement of others in an agricultural colony in Mosul and of yet other groups in South America. Refugees numbering in all 71,799 had received various forms of assistance.

His draft report described the efforts which the Office had been able to make to render refugees self-supporting, and the advances which it had made to Artels, families and individual refugees, to this end. It also gave details of the offer from Brazil regarding a colonisation scheme for families.

M. Antoniade could not over-emphasise the value of the draft Convention now being drawn up in co-operation with the Inter-Governmental Advisory Commission for Refugees, which was to be submitted to a conference of representatives of a limited number of countries on October 26th; the principal points in this Convention were set out in his report.

As regarded finance, it was highly important that the reduction in the funds at the Office's disposal during the liquidation period should proceed on the gradual scale envisaged by last year's Assembly. He therefore suggested that the final paragraph of the draft resolution contained in his report, which read as follows :

" And approves the draft budget submitted by the Office for the financial year 1934",
should be re-drafted in the following form :

" And confirms its approval of the figure of 300,000 francs for 1934 contained in the liquidation plan adopted by the twelfth Assembly."

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the powers of the Fourth Committee were identical with those of the Sixth Committee and that, should there be any difference of opinion as to the sum to be voted, the full Assembly would be called upon to take the necessary decision.

M. POLITIS (Greece) paid a special tribute to the work accomplished by M. Max Huber during his term of office. Thanks to his efforts, 7,000 Armenians had this year left Greece for Erivan, where they were now happily settled on their native soil, while nearly 1,000 had left Bulgaria for the same destination.

M. Politis was very glad indeed to welcome M. Werner to his new office, where he would, the Greek delegate felt sure, carry on the great tradition established by Dr. Nansen and maintained by M. Max Huber.

He fully approved M. Antoniade's report. He attached particular importance to the passage on the draft Convention to ensure the protection of refugees, since it was the duty of the League of Nations to provide these unfortunate persons with a legal status.

He asked the Rapporteur to include in his draft resolution a paragraph recommending further study of the possibility mentioned in the body of the report of transferring fresh groups of Armenian refugees to Erivan. He proposed the following text :

" Requests the Nansen International Office to continue its study of the question of the possibility of the transfer to Erivan of Armenian Refugees."

M. LANGE (Norway) endorsed all the points made by M. Politis, laying particular stress on the importance of the draft Convention; this would be of lasting value both during and after the liquidation of the Nansen Office. He was gratified to note that this year's report fully met the request made by the Norwegian delegation in previous years that the report on the work of the Office might contain more details of the practical results achieved.

One point in both the reports before the Committee called for special emphasis—the statement that the expulsion of refugees was on the increase. He would ask the Committee whether it considered it morally right for the Assembly unanimously to adopt resolutions condemning this practice, while at the same time allowing it to happen. He wondered whether it was, in the circumstances, fitting to mention the subject in the resolution to be adopted.

His delegation would vote for the resolution and for the additional paragraph proposed by M. Politis.

Mlle. FORCHHAMMER (Denmark) endorsed M. Politis's remarks. She emphasised that the Republic of Erivan was the only place which the Armenians could look upon as a national home, and she therefore asked Governments, private bodies and individuals to do their utmost to assist the Office in promoting the return of these refugees to their native soil.

M. WERNER (Nansen International Office for Refugees) thanked the Rapporteur and the previous speakers. The statements made by M. Lange and Mlle. Forchhammer proved the interest in the work of the Office shown in those countries less closely concerned with the refugee problem.

He referred to the very great loss which the Office had suffered in the departure of M. Max Huber.

Two points in the report now before the Committee deserved special emphasis. The first was the draft Convention to be discussed at the small conference to be held on October 26th. The text, if adopted, should do much to solve the problems of expulsion, and he hoped that the countries sending representatives to the conference would provide them with full powers to sign the necessary documents. The second point was that of finance. The Governing Body had planned its future work on the basis of the successive annual reductions envisaged by the twelfth Assembly. He hoped that this rate of reduction would be maintained, since the Office would find itself gravely hampered were it required to liquidate at a more drastic rate.

*The amendments proposed by M. Politis and by the Rapporteur were adopted.
The draft report as a whole was adopted (Annex 2).*

**16. Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish Refugees :
Appointment of a Rapporteur to the Assembly.**

M. ANTONIADE (Roumania) *was unanimously appointed Rapporteur to the Assembly on the question of refugees.*

17. Mandates : General Discussion.

M. LANGE (Norway) reviewed the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission during the past year.

Among the causes for congratulation was the successful achievement—in spite of financial deterrents—of two sessions of the Commission. There were thus two reports for the period under review, both of them raising points on which he desired to comment.

The first was the rather general question of economic equality—better known as the principle of the “open door”—in A and B mandates. The only objection that could be raised to the application in the territories under mandate of this open-door principle was the passage in the B mandates (Article 6) stating that “the Mandatory shall be free to organise essential public works and services on such terms and conditions as he thinks just”. The issue had been raised in the Commission with reference to the purchase by the Administration of material and supplies, either for its own use or for purposes of public works. The crux of the problem was the interpretation to be given to the word “essential”. The Mandates Commission had, in his view wisely, refrained from giving a hard-and-fast interpretation of the article involved and had confined itself to settling the practical side of the question. The Council had endorsed its decision, and M. Lange felt that the Assembly, well aware of the competence and impartiality of the Mandates Commission, might feel confident that it would ensure application of the relevant regulations in a manner that would leave the principle of economic equality unimpaired.

The next point to which attention should be drawn was that of fiscal and Customs unions. The Mandates Commission had considered this matter in connection with the proposed closer administrative Customs and fiscal union of the mandated territory of Tanganyika with the neighbouring British possessions of Kenya and Uganda. Here again he felt that the Assembly could, with every confidence, endorse the conclusions reached by the Commission. As was stated in its report to the Council,¹ the Commission took note that the mandatory Power had endorsed the opinion of its select committee of both Houses of Parliament that the time was not yet ripe for such a union, but that in the interests of co-operation the Conference of the Governors of the different East African territories should be increasingly utilised. The Commission had expressed the opinion that such a scheme for a closer union would involve the creation of a political or constitutional union, with the effect of destroying or endangering for the future the existence of the mandated territory as a distinct entity in international law. It had further noted with interest the existence of the Conference of Governors, but had emphasised its view that such a body should not assume executive responsibilities tending to restrict the necessary autonomy of the mandated territory. A minority of four members had dissented, refusing to accept a text which seemed to throw doubt upon the exercise of the rights given to the mandatory Power under Article 10 of the mandate, and contending that the Governors' Conference afforded a valuable and necessary means of consultation in the interests of their respective territories.

A further cause for congratulation was the final settlement of the frontier between Syria and Iraq. This, however, raised a question for the future—namely, what means of settlement should be applied in the case of possible disputes over the decisions of the Boundary Commission?

M. Lange then drew attention to the important statements made by the representative of the mandatory Power for Syria and the Lebanon regarding the development of the territory and its progress towards a state justifying the grant of independence. The examples, first of Iraq and now of Syria—whose autonomy might well be an affair, if not of to-morrow, possibly of the day after—prompted the hope that colonial Powers might one day call upon the League to take over the trusteeship of their possessions in order that these might follow the same development.

In conclusion, he would refer to the very favourable economic and financial situation of Palestine. The budget surplus of more than £1,000,000 sterling which it had been able to announce in March last was surely the envy of most countries in the world, and both the mandatory Power and the Jewish and other organisations concerned were to be warmly congratulated on a very satisfactory state of affairs. The population was increasing both naturally and thanks to immigration, the number of immigrants for 1933 amounting to 25,000 as against some 9,500 in 1932 and 4,000 in 1931. These immigrants, bringing with them capital and other resources, were of benefit to Jew and Arab alike, and there was evidence that the Arab fellah was beginning to imitate the agricultural methods so satisfactorily inaugurated by the Jewish population.

The successful creation of a National Home for the Jewish people was of special significance in view of recent events in Germany. The Jews were numerically the most important of the persons expelled from that country; Palestine, thanks to its present prosperity, provided a solution for their settlement, and M. Lange had learned on reliable authority that several

¹ Document C.406.M.209.1933.VI, page 189.

hundred thousand immigrants could be satisfactorily settled in their Promised Land. He hoped that the Assembly would take note of this fact.

The Norwegian delegation was particularly gratified at the reports submitted, and recommended that the special attention of the Assembly should be drawn to the points he had raised.

M. BENEŠ (Czechoslovakia), as Rapporteur to the Council for the question of mandates, associated himself with M. Lange in congratulating the mandatory Powers and the Mandates Commission on the valuable work accomplished during the past year.

Referring to the problem of the Jewish emigrants from Germany, he agreed with M. Lange that, although the subject was one to be dealt with by the Second Committee, it could not be dissociated from the question of mandates, inasmuch as it affected the immigration of Jews into Palestine. The mandatory Power and the Mandates Commission were therefore bound to consider the extent to which the German immigrants could be absorbed into the scheme for a Jewish National Home.

Count RACZYŃSKI (Poland) said that the question of the Palestine mandate was of particular interest to Poland, not only as a Member of the Council, but as a country in which a high proportion of the population was Jewish. The new situation which had arisen through the emigration of thousands of Jews from Germany, an emigration that was still continuing, placed a very heavy burden on the economic and social machinery, not only of the Jews, but of a large number of countries which were already struggling to overcome the difficulties of the present period of depression and unemployment. It was only natural that many of the Jews in question should be attracted by the possibility of settling in Palestine, which was their historic home. Moreover, thanks to the unsparing efforts of the Jewish inhabitants in Palestine, that country had at present achieved a remarkably favourable position. Its capacity for absorption had greatly increased. There were grounds for anticipating that as many as 25,000 to 30,000 Jews would be admitted this year, and the Jewish Agency for Palestine hoped that in the next four or five years it would be possible to settle between 150,000 and 200,000 Jews in that country. The Jewish National Home therefore appeared to offer possibilities for at least a partial solution of the problem of the emigrants from Germany.

• At the same time, it must be remembered that Jews from Poland had contributed very largely to the present prosperity of Palestine, and emigrants from that country as well as from all others were entitled to expect that the annual immigration quotas allotted to them would be maintained in the future. It was to be hoped that the mandatory Power would do its utmost to facilitate the settlement of the Jews in Palestine, taking into consideration the number of new "candidates" and the appreciable increase in the capacity for economic absorption of the country. He was convinced that in such an effort the mandatory Power would have the support, not only of all Jews, but of the Members of the League and the United States of America.

M. BIANCHERI-CHIAPPORI (Italy) said that the Italian Government always took, and would continue to take, an interest in the mandate system, and that for two reasons: in the first place, in its capacity of a colonial Power, it desired to assist the mandatory Powers in all their efforts to accomplish the "sacred mission" which had been entrusted to them by the Covenant; secondly, because the mandate system conferred rights which were enjoyed by all the Members of the League and was an element for peace.

For these reasons, therefore, the Italian Government agreed, not only with the views expressed by the Norwegian delegate with regard to the principle of economic equality, but also with all that he had said concerning the question of "Closer Union", a question, moreover, in regard to which the Italian representative on the Council had already expressed the Italian point of view.

M. ANTONIADE (Roumania) expressed the satisfaction of his delegation at the favourable report received concerning Palestine, on which he congratulated both the Mandates Commission and the Jewish organisations. He hoped that the continued prosperity of that country would enable it to accomplish with success the new and difficult tasks which lay before it. His Government would give full support to the efforts made in this direction.

Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (United Kingdom), referring to the questions regarding East Africa which had been raised by M. Lange, stated that, since the report of the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, it had been the deliberate decision of the United Kingdom Government not to proceed with any organic superstructure for the Closer Union of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. His Government had never intended to take any action going beyond Article 10 of the mandate, and the Mandates Commission had been assured at its last session that a constitutional closer union of the three territories was not being contemplated. The Joint Select Committee, in rejecting the principle of political or constitutional union, had expressed the view that it was all the more necessary to endeavour to ensure as far as possible co-operation and co-ordination in certain economic services—namely, transport, Customs duties and Customs administration, scientific and technical services and posts and telegraphs. With regard to the question of posts and telegraphs which had been considered by the Mandates Commission, it was expected that closer co-ordination would contribute considerably to the smooth working of the administration of the three territories

and the efforts made to diminish expenditure without affecting the social services. He would add that, from personal experience, he had been able to observe the great practical advantage of avoiding three postal administrations in the region of Lake Victoria, where about half the population of the three territories was settled and all communications crossed the lake.

As the Italian delegate at the Council had remarked, the Tanganyika territory was sufficiently large to be a unit in itself. It would always have its own legislature and Governor and no measure would be taken which would affect the political position of that country as a unit.

Turning next to Palestine, Mr. Ormsby-Gore associated himself with the tribute paid by M. Lange to the enterprise and energy of the Jewish immigrants, which had contributed largely to the present relatively good financial and economic position of the country. Moreover, the relations between the Jewish and non-Jewish population of the country were better than ever before. The number of Jews entering Palestine in the first six months of the present year had been 15,305, as compared with 5,511 in the corresponding period of the previous year. He hoped that neither the Assembly nor the Council would seek to change in any way the machinery, which had been well tested by experience, for ensuring that the flow of Jewish immigration into Palestine should not lead to economic or other reactions. According to that system, the High Commissioner, in the light of the available data, fixed the quota of immigrants every six months. Speaking personally, Mr. Ormsby-Gore did not think it practicable to establish in any way the number to be admitted in the next four or five years. He might mention that a new allocation would be received very shortly, and he hoped that it would show some increase on the last numbers allowed.

The Jews entering Palestine came from a large number of countries, and he felt it important to maintain the practice according to which the allocation of the quotas among emigrants from various countries was entrusted to the Jewish Agency. He would add that in the last six months the High Commissioner had authorised a special ante-dated quota of a thousand certificates to Jews selected by the Jewish Agency in Germany, such certificates being issued by the British Passport Control Office in Berlin by friendly arrangement with the German Government. The general problem arising out of the emigration of Jews from Germany was being dealt with by another Committee. Meanwhile, he would emphasise that Palestine was a small country and could not alone afford the possibility of an effective solution of the problem, even if in the next few years an increased number of Jews from Germany were admitted into Palestine.

M. BÉRENGER (France) thanked M. Lange for his observations regarding the French administration of the Syrian mandate and recalled that the Norwegian delegate had expressed the hope that the evolution of Syria might make it possible for the mandate to be terminated "to-morrow", or perhaps "the day after". The French Government was looking forward to that consummation of its task in Syria, but M. Bérenger felt it important to avoid the risk of undue haste, particularly in view of recent events which had shown the necessity of proceeding with caution and moderation.

Referring to the question of the Jewish emigrants from Germany, he urged that the matter should be considered from all aspects, and that was only possible in the Second Committee. He agreed with Mr. Ormsby-Gore's warning that a complete solution of the problem must not be looked for in the scheme for a Jewish National Home. It must be remembered that all Israelites were not Zionists, that Palestine was a small country with a mixed population, and that it was essential not to disturb the smooth working of the administration of the mandate. With a view to the maintenance of peace and civilisation in the Near East, he would urge the greatest prudence in dealing with the question.

Mr. FREEDMAN (Australia) expressed his delegation's satisfaction at the favourable position of Palestine, the one country in the whole world which appeared not to have been affected by the general depression. He associated himself in attributing this success partly to the mandatory Power and partly to the Jewish Agency and the enterprising energy of the immigrants.

He did not entirely agree with those who maintained that the question of the emigrants from Germany was not one for consideration by the Sixth Committee, but held that certain elements of the problem came definitely within that Committee's scope.

While appreciating the necessity for caution, he sincerely hoped that Great Britain, as the mandatory Power for Palestine, would take into consideration the new situation which had arisen within the last six months and study the question of the further development of Palestine. The unexpectedly large increases in immigration during the past three years proved that the possibilities of absorption of the country could not be estimated beforehand. He recalled the reasons for which Great Britain had been entrusted with the mission of establishing the Jewish National Home. He felt sure that, in considering the new problem which had arisen on the lines he had indicated, Great Britain would receive the hearty support of all who had the welfare of humanity at heart.

M. VON KELLER (Germany) referred to his particular interest in the questions concerning East Africa, in view of the fact that Germany had been the former protecting Power for Tanganyika.

With regard to the question of the Jews hitherto resident in Germany, the special aspect of immigration into Palestine was, in his opinion, certainly a matter of interest for the Mandates

Commission, and he thought that special consideration should be given to Mr. Ormsby-Gore's remarks in this connection. He understood that the German delegation had dealt with the question in special negotiations.

With regard to the problem as a whole, he would reserve his observations until the matter had been considered by the Second Committee.

18. Mandates : Appointment of a Rapporteur.

On the proposal of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by Mr. ORMSBY-GORE, M. LANGE (Norway) was appointed Rapporteur for the question of mandates.

FIFTH MEETING

Held on Tuesday, October 3rd, 1933, at 10.15 a.m.

Chairman : M. DE MADARIAGA (Spain).

19. Protection of Minorities : General Discussion.

M. VON KELLER (Germany).—The German delegation has submitted to the Assembly a request to the effect that that part of the annual report which describes the work of the League in the sphere of the protection of minorities be discussed in the Sixth Committee of the Assembly.

You have all seen the report, which is in every respect similar to those of previous years. The criticisms made, both in previous meetings of the Committee and among the general public, which the report has called forth and which have been directed at the work of the League in the sphere of the protection of minorities are thus once more fully justified.

During the discussions which have gone on in the last three years, denunciations of the faults of the system established by the League for the protection of minorities have been heard from the most varied quarters. Further, a whole series of concrete proposals have been submitted with the object of improving this procedure. In substance, these proposals were aimed at speeding up the procedure followed when petitions from minorities are examined by the Minorities Committee, at guaranteeing a fitting and impartial study of petitions of this sort and at providing more facilities for consultation of petitioners during the procedure. These proposals contemplated, further, a large degree of publicity for decisions taken on the subject of minority questions. In several quarters it has been considered that precisely this last point is of special importance for the actual protection of minorities. Lastly, there has been insistence on the fact that, when petitions from minorities are examined, considerations of a political nature should, in so far as possible, be eliminated. We have therefore proposed, in order to procure a maximum of impartiality in the procedure, that a permanent body composed of independent experts should contribute to the making of decisions on subjects concerning minorities.

I have been glad to see that a number of other States—which have also drafted numerous suggestions deserving consideration—have been so good as to show an understanding for our proposals and to give them their support. Indeed, the imperfection of the procedure in its present form is so obvious that no one can ignore it. But it must at the same time be stated that divergent suggestions are unfortunately maintained and that the effect is the holding up of all substantial progress in this field.

Although the faults of the procedure for the protection of minorities and the proposals made to improve it continue to be before the Committee in their entirety during the present discussion, I think it is sufficient for the moment to recall to you the statements and proposals for improvement which, as will be remembered, were made at previous discussions and for which we may well congratulate ourselves.

But the whole problem of national minorities is not exhausted with the settlement of questions concerning the procedure of League of Nations bodies in respect of the protection of such minorities. The essence of the problem lies much deeper. The question at issue is a spiritual dispute on the principle of nationalities, a dispute which is occupying the attention of the world to-day. The attitude of the League and its composite bodies towards the question of the protection of minorities and the discussions which have taken place on subjects of this nature are only symptoms of the intellectual struggle. I think that it is not enough, in the long run, to confine our attention to symptoms ; I therefore believe that we must make up our minds to treat the disease.

Owing to the fact that, as a result of the complicated distribution of peoples and racial groups in Europe, State frontiers are not identical with racial frontiers, the problem of the relations between peoples and States has become more and more involved since the problem of nationality arose during the nineteenth century. The effective proclamation of the right of peoples to decide their own destinies during the Great War aroused the hope that, when the States of Europe were re-organised after the war, sufficient account would be taken of the problem of nationalities, and potential reasons for dispute would, so far as possible, be eliminated. Such hopes were profoundly disappointed as a result of the boundary arrangements made under the Treaties of Peace. In order to counterbalance the numerous and extensive

territories ceded—territories the cession of which it was impossible to justify by appealing to the principle of nationalities—we were compelled to conclude treaties with the newly created States and the States to which foreign territory had been allocated; these are the familiar treaties the object of which is to ensure the protection of the minorities living in the ceded lands. The intention was, by procedure on these lines, to give those parts of the population of a State which belong to a different nationality from the rest the chance to retain their independent existence, as far as culture is concerned, in a foreign environment. It should be remembered that explicit statements by the League of Nations have declared the protection of minorities living within certain foreign States to be permanent; further, it has been stated that the treaties of protection may not be amended to the prejudice of the protected minorities.

It should be recognised that the Minorities Treaties imply very far-reaching possibilities in the domain of the protection of minorities. Unhappily, not only has no practical use been made of those possibilities; on the contrary, it becomes less and less possible, in the long run, to avoid the unfortunate impression that the realities of practical politics in this sphere are growing more and more unlike the ideal which underlay the treaties. In many parts of Europe, there have been struggles between the members of different peoples; during these struggles the minorities have undergone losses particularly noticeable in the economic and cultural fields—losses of a sort which were unknown during the years preceding the war, despite the international tension of that time. A great number of incidents of this sort—but by no means all—have been brought to the notice of the League of Nations by means of petitions. But the struggle still continues, sometimes in such forms that it is impossible to make them the subject of a petition to the League, which thus remains completely ignorant.

A factor of special importance in any appreciation of the present state of the problem of nationalities is the tendency to proceed to a more or less forcible assimilation of the foreign minorities by the majority population—a tendency which still continues to manifest itself. The same form of assimilation, however, also existed before the war, and there is no denying that there has been resort, for this purpose, to any measures of constraint which the State concerned may have found at its disposal. Any change of opinion which may be taking place as regards the assimilation of foreign populations is governed by the fact that the individual in these days feels himself bound to his ethnic nationality and to the culture with which he is associated by ties much more close than those of former times. We call this tendency the avowal of the link with the *Volkstum*—that is to say, the ethnic nationality. This avowal expresses the unity of feeling in all those who are bound by common blood or by a common language, and who enjoy the same civilisation and customs. The members of a nation or an ethnic group living in a foreign environment constitute, not a total number of individuals, calculated mechanically, but, on the contrary, the members of an organic community, and it is thus that, at the bottom of their hearts, they view themselves. They also desire recognition as a group where their rights are concerned. The very fact that they belong to a nation means that the nation in question has a natural and moral right to consider that all its members—even those separated from the mother country by State frontiers—constitute a moral and cultural whole.

It is not by chance, nor yet arbitrarily, that the organic nature of a nation and the close ties which bind the individual to his own people are emphasised with so much insistence. On the contrary, there is a close interdependence between this fact and the general evolution of the conceptions of life in every sphere. Any amplification of the details of a remarkable parallel in evolution might, in present circumstances, be of doubtful value. The point with which we are really concerned is that of human communities. There we find human beings making every effort to escape from the misfortune into which they have fallen as a result of ever-increasing isolation, and regaining a consciousness of the natural ties which bind them to a community, and in particular to an ethnic nationality—the source from which they derive the force they require for the preservation of their very existence. It is also in that ethnic nationality that their moral and cultural roots originate.

Possibly it is among the German people that the evolution to which I have referred has had a more intensive development than in the case of any other nation; it is thus no chance emphasis that Germans lay upon the significance of the natural ties binding the individual to his ethnic nationality.

The Chancellor of the German Reich has, in several of his speeches, stressed the fact that the German people is devotedly attached to the conception of its ethnic nationality, and is fully aware of the close and indissoluble ties which bind it to all Germans, in no matter what part of the world they dwell. These statements are inspired by a profound conviction of the conceptions of life. That same conviction has also meant that the German people has never ceased to emphasise that the new Germany affords proof of a profound understanding of the similar sentiments and of the vital interests of other nationalities; these we are ready to respect. Hence we have always been prepared to advocate, within the League, not only the protection of the German minority, but that of all other minorities likewise. This we shall continue to do in future. We are opposed in principle to any kind of assimilation, because it is our belief that nations have their own cultural peculiarities and that peoples differ from one another. The idea of "Germanising" is unknown to us. On the other hand, we intend to resist any attempt to denationalise Germans, whatever may be their origin.

It seems to me that many premonitory symptoms exist which suggest that this view is also beginning to prevail in other countries. The only unfortunate thing is that German racial groups abroad frequently have occasion to learn, to their sorrow, that foreign nations are not yet prepared, in principle, to allow the German minorities living among them the same rights as they claim for themselves and for their own minorities living in other countries.

In the course of the public discussion, the Jewish question has frequently been confused with the minority question. The Jewish question is a peculiar problem of race, and must not be connected with the general question of minorities. First and foremost, the Jews in Germany are neither a linguistic nor a national minority. They do not look upon themselves as such, and have never expressed any desire to be treated as a minority. The practice of Judaism is completely free, and the religious question plays no part whatever in the settlement of the Jewish problem in Germany. In Germany, it is primarily a demographical, social and moral problem which has been peculiarly aggravated by a mass migration of Jews from Eastern Europe westwards. It is a problem *sui generis*, for which, accordingly, a special settlement will have to be found. Incidentally, I was interested to note, when listening to the remarks made by certain speakers yesterday on other problems connected with mandates, that it was agreed, outside Germany, that the Jewish question was a special problem for which solutions were being sought in a large number of countries.

I have dwelt at some length on these questions of principle because they appear to me to be of importance for the considerations that are about to follow.

In national minority circles and in the fraction of public opinion which takes an interest in this matter, and also in the League of Nations, the question has frequently been raised as to how it would, after all, be possible to make positive progress on the path leading to a satisfactory development of the protection of minorities.

The first route, that taken latterly—and, moreover, let me say in passing, without the League's collaboration—is that of the conclusion of bilateral agreements, such as the agreements between Roumania and Yugoslavia and between Lithuania and Latvia. The provisions with regard to the protection of minorities in the Concordat between the Holy See and the German Reich are important, although they are built up on a somewhat different foundation. True, the preliminary conditions for the effective conclusion of such mutual agreements do not always exist. They exist only when the two contracting Powers have similar interests in respect of the protection of reciprocal minorities and when these interests are more or less identical in weight. In cases, for instance, where the *de facto* conditions or the conditions as to establishment or the exigencies of the reciprocal minorities are excessive, the conclusion of a mutual agreement has very little prospect of success. Nor can it be expected that an agreement of this nature will bring about a satisfactory solution, in practice, in cases where there are divergencies between the two contracting Powers as to certain aspects of the principles relating to the protection of minorities. I mean, with regard to the idea of racial nationality and its consequences.

With a view to indicating a second path that might be taken, another idea has been put forward—namely, the generalisation of the protection of minorities under the auspices of the League. This suggestion was discussed in detail in the Sixth Committee in 1930 and in 1932. May I remind you that, if Germany, for her part, did not raise the problem in this Committee, we nevertheless declared our readiness, once the question had been raised, to discuss it on positive lines provided all European States agreed to accept this measure of generalisation. Our view has not changed.

You all know, as a result of the previous debates in the present Committee, that the obstacles to the solution which we are attempting to find do not exist on the German side. It is therefore manifest that action must be taken in those places where resistance still exists to-day. Although, therefore, it is not for Germany to make a new step in indicating her opinion once again on this question, I should like, however, to add a few observations which may help to throw more light on a problem that has never yet been discussed in all its details. We shall, I believe, be making no headway if the problem as regards Germany is raised solely for tactical motives, as has hitherto been done in this Committee. It seems to me necessary that the two opposing camps—because, though I regret to say so, two opposing camps have come into being with regard to the development of the protection of minorities—should begin by agreeing on the aspect of principle governing the problem of racial nationality and the rights resulting therefrom for the different groups of racial nationalities. No really practical solution will, I think, be found so long as one of the two camps takes a positive attitude in regard to the idea of racial nationality whereas the other refuses to do so and feels an inmost repugnance to the idea of an autonomous existence, properly assured on the cultural plane, for racial groups of this kind which differ from the majority of the population in fact or in aspiration. In this matter, therefore, it would be desirable to achieve agreement on fundamental conceptions.

The third and last road leading to the development of the protection of minorities is that which has previously been very thoroughly discussed in the present Committee: I refer to the improvement of the League procedure for the protection of minorities. That is, I believe, an important suggestion and it is one that should be borne in mind for the future, because it is perhaps the easiest and most practicable of them all. I have already stated at the beginning

of my remarks that the proposed improvements so far put forward in this Committee are all of them still pending. If I allude once again expressly to these proposals in my conclusion, it is because I wish to say that, in acting in this way, Germany is still prepared to co-operate in the development of the protection of minorities. I hope that the present discussion will help to throw more light on the problem.

M. BARANYAI (Hungary).—Speaking as the representative of a people of whom at least a third—that is to say, more than three million individuals—are outside the Hungarian State, it is natural that I, together with the whole Hungarian delegation, should take a special interest in the development of the weighty problem of the protection of minorities; the more so in that the situation of the minorities in general—and of the Hungarian minorities in particular—still seems to be difficult in the extreme.

Before embarking upon details, I would recall words spoken here by M. Briand at the Council meeting of December 15th, 1928. He had said in the clearest possible way that there could be absolutely no ground for assuming that the League of Nations or the Council could become indifferent to the sacred cause of minorities. "It is certain", he said, "that at no time can there be any possibility of our becoming indifferent to the sacred rights of minorities." The present discussion, and the speeches to follow, can scarcely be held under better auspices than those of the memory of this great statesman.

As regards the competence of the Sixth Committee, which there are at times attempts to question, I would in justification quote as my authority M. Paul-Boncour, who, at the Council meeting of May 21st, 1932, with reference to a point of procedure, wondered whether this point would not have to be considered either by the Council or by the Sixth Committee of the Assembly, should the latter find it necessary to open a discussion, as in the present case, and as had been the practice in recent years. Lord Cecil too had stated that the Assembly had the right to deal with all these problems, since Article 3 of the Covenant stipulated that the Assembly could deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the League.

Representing a country sincerely devoted to the cause of peace, we hold that the League of Nations, being the guarantor of the Minorities Treaties, is the body qualified to ensure respect of minority rights and to prepare the way for a good and sincere understanding between the nations—and in particular the nations of the Danubian basin.

I would also point out that we have no intention of limiting the right of members of the Council to lay before that body a case of infraction or threatened infraction of the minority provisions, since this right is inherent in the treaties. As the Tittoni report emphasises, the Council even has a duty in this respect. It has thereby been entrusted with one of the greatest responsibilities known to history, in view of the close connection between the question of the protection of minorities and the new territorial divisions of Central Europe.

At the three previous sessions of the Assembly, the Sixth Committee has undertaken a detailed study of the way in which the League ensures the protection of minorities. Certain suggestions have been made with a view to the widest possible application of the existing system. These discussions in no way constitute an attack against any given country; they represent, on the contrary, a collective effort to improve both the mechanism of the League and the relations between minorities and their Governments, with a view to reaching the best solution for the peace of the world and the good understanding between nations upon which that peace depends.

Undoubtedly, the Committees of Three—five, in rare cases—represent an appreciable progress. The efforts made and the work accomplished by certain Minorities Committees should also be recognised. The method instituted as a result of the Madrid resolutions has directed this system along lines which it would be well to continue to follow, but the system must by degrees be strengthened and developed in order ultimately to provide a maximum of efficiency.

It is, I feel, idle to remind this Committee of the conclusions which the Council reached at its Madrid session regarding publicity for the results of the examination of a question by these Committees. Such publicity constitutes a guarantee for the minorities, and would, if more frequently employed, increase their confidence. Various delegations have stressed this point at previous discussions. In 1931, Count Apponyi asked that publicity should be the rule and not the exception. I am quite ready to recognise that there has since been a certain improvement, for, in 1932, twenty-three letters from Committees were published in the *Official Journal*, while there were ten publications up till May of this year. In spite of this fact, public opinion is but partially informed of the results of the examination of petitions submitted to the League. It is to be supposed that the Committees have, in most cases, recommended the publication of their conclusions, but without success. The small number of letters published is probably due to the imposing of a veto by the Government concerned, notwithstanding the fact that the Council, at its session in Madrid, expressed a strong hope that such Governments would, wherever possible, give their assent to publication. As Lord Cecil has said, the less the secrecy, the less the misunderstanding. It would also be desirable, as M. Loudon asked in 1932, that the letter from the Secretary-General laying the matter before the Council should always indicate the reasons which guided the Committee.

In this connection, I would draw attention to a very satisfactory innovation. The Roumanian Government—I am glad to acknowledge this—has given its assent to the publication in full in the *Official Journal* of a petition with the observations thereon. The object of this petition was the position of the schools of the Hungarian minority and, in particular, the creation by the Roumanian Government of a so-called cultural zone in Transylvania. The Roumanian Government also gave its consent to the publication in full of a second petition, dealing with the very difficult situation of the Hungarian minority schools

in Transylvania ; it dealt also with the question of the Roumanian school text-books with an anti-minority bias used in the State schools, with the cost of construction and upkeep of the Roumanian State schools borne by the minorities, with the closing of minority schools and with the inequality of treatment afforded to denominational Hungarian schools. I deeply regret that the Committees of Three did not feel called upon to bring these petitions to the Council's notice ; they raised questions of great importance to the life and culture of the Hungarian minority. It is, however, satisfactory that the Committees have at least decided to publish these important petitions, an act to which the Roumanian Government was good enough to consent.

Several delegations drew attention last year to the necessity of attempting to speed up procedure. As one delegate pointed out, the delays in the proceedings often increase the difficulties, particularly in a case where a *fait accompli*—for instance, the sale of real property belonging to a member of the minority, the alienation or distribution of land and forest belonging to the minorities in favour of individuals or groups belonging to the majority—hampers the necessary readjustment. This speeding-up is the more necessary in that, at the Council meeting of September 23rd last, the President, speaking in his capacity of representative of his own country, thought it highly regrettable that a certain minority question—and a not really important one—had remained pending for three years without a solution having been found, and that its consideration had just been postponed yet again to a later date. The President of the Council had pointed out, and rightly, that this did not increase the authority of the Council.

As regards the receivability of petitions, perhaps I may give a few statistics : in 1931, 115 petitions out of 131 received were declared non-receivable ; between June 1st, 1932, and May 31st, 1933, twenty petitions out of fifty-seven received by the Secretariat were declared non-receivable. There is thus an improvement to record. M. Loudon, the Netherlands delegate, said last year that he hoped that in future it would be possible to give fuller details in the *Official Journal*. He also pointed out that it was insufficient merely to state that a petition had the same object as another petition already dealt with ; he argued that a petition should only be set on one side for this reason when it was clearly proved that absolutely no new factor was raised. I note with regret that his wish is still unfulfilled.

As regards the position of petitioners, in so far as procedure is concerned, the Secretariat, as you know, merely sends them an acknowledgment. They are not informed as to the observations of the Government concerned. Doubtless, the Minorities Committee has the right to ask for explanations ; the Hungarian delegation will be very glad to know whether the Committees have already availed themselves of this right, and, if so, in how many cases. It would, moreover, be a means of increasing the confidence of various minorities in the League. Even if the minorities cannot be parties, as is indeed doubtful, it does not follow that the persons registering the complaint should not continue to give evidence ; they have necessarily done so in depositing their petition. This, however, cannot be done successfully unless the replies from the Governments are somehow brought to the knowledge of petitioners. It might then be possible, as Lord Cecil advocated, to hear the petitioners, not in their capacity as petitioners, but as persons fitted to give evidence.

Under existing procedure, the petitioner is never heard either by the Council or by the Committees ; he remains in ignorance of the reply of his Government ; his statements are often denied in the Government replies, while he is given no chance to defend himself and, indeed, his good faith is sometimes questioned. But the petitioner immediately becomes somebody, an authority to whom reference is made at a public meeting of the Council (for instance, on September 23rd), if his views, which are then quoted, coincide with those of his Government in desiring an adjournment of the examination of his petition.

The disappointment felt as a result of inadequate protection has become so severe that some minorities appear recently to have given up sending petitions to the League. The true cause is their discouragement and not any improvement in their condition.

While still on the subject of petitioners, I should like to remind you that last year in this Committee the Yugoslav delegate told us that, while some petitioners resided in the various countries concerned, there were others whom he described as "professionals". It is not my intention to defend these professionals, if they really exist, but it might be of interest to make a small investigation on the basis of petitions communicated to the Governments and to ask which are the States whose citizens, residing in their countries, freely present petitions to the League, and which are the States whose subjects send petitions only very rarely or not at all. Would abstention prove that the condition of the minorities was really so good that they saw no need to send petitions ? I venture to doubt it.

I should like to mention another suggestion for the improvement of procedure. At the previous discussions, many speakers advocated the setting-up of a permanent minorities commission. The Hungarian delegation thinks that, as a start, a trial might be made by setting up a commission of experts which, like the Committees, would be at the disposal of the Council. The protection of minorities demands special qualifications. A commission of that kind would have to consist of experts in ethnography, law, languages, history, economics, finance and theology. Its constitution would not infringe the treaties in force nor would it mean any fundamental change in the present procedure. The League of Nations has at present many committees or sub-committees (I note in passing that once there was one entitled "Comité international des recherches des parties molles", a committee of experts appointed by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation) ; but the problem of minorities, described by

Viscount Cecil as one of vast importance and by M. Loudon as one that might be a source of trouble to the world, has no special commission.

Many questions might be more easily solved with the help of expert advice. May I give you a few examples? Should the erection of a Roman Catholic church, started in May 1914 in a town where 87 per cent of the population is Catholic, be stopped since 1921 because an Orthodox cross, revered by the small Orthodox minority of the town, stands a few metres distant? Theologians and specialists in canon law seem to be fitted to decide whether a Catholic church should remain unfinished in this twentieth century because of the nearness of that Orthodox cross, which is, moreover, also symbol of the sufferings and crucifixion of our Lord. To take another case: ethnographers and philologists seem to be indicated as judges of the grounds of a petition complaining, *inter alia*, that a central Government has allowed a state of affairs to arise in the schools of a territory which I would venture to qualify as linguistic anarchy, for (1) the language of the people, (2) the allied language of a neighbouring people, (3) the language of a great nation, also akin, and lastly (4) the official language of the country, co-exist in the schools. This territory, moreover, should have been organised since 1920 as a self-governing unit with the widest autonomy compatible with the unity of the country and should have had a parliament; but this autonomous unity, parliament and wide powers of self-government are still inexistent. Lastly, if there were doubts, linguists or anthropologists could rationally solve the following problems, raised in one petition: Can a Hungarian child, the son of a Protestant father and Uniate mother, be excluded from the Hungarian school because of his mother's religion, or another child because his maternal grandmother was Roumanian, or another, also Hungarian, because his family name sounds as much Roumanian as Hungarian? All such questions could be referred, for their opinion or decision, to the specialists on a commission, which would afford guarantees of stability and be of permanent and continuous value. It would ensure the uniform application of the Minorities Treaties and would gradually create a jurisprudence of its own.

I do not want to take up too much of your time in further discussion of the Secretariat's work. I will mention, however, that it has published two collections: one containing the texts of the provisions and the other the resolutions and Minutes. I think it would be desirable to continue these publications. For instance, to give a better interpretation of the Minorities Treaties, it would be worth while publishing the Minutes of the New States Committee of the Peace Conference, where the treaties were framed—they would throw a vivid light on the intentions of those who framed them. Their drafting was, moreover, reviewed by the Committee created by the Council resolution of March 7th, 1929, which prepared the Madrid resolutions. Statistical and ethnological publications from official or scientific sources would greatly facilitate the work of the Committees, which, so far as I know, have no public documents on the existence, number, location, history or living conditions of a particular minority. If such documents existed, the Committees would not, as I am credibly informed, be obliged to apply to the Government departments for all the details which come out during the examination of petitions, and it would perhaps furnish greater guarantees of accuracy than information secured *ad hoc*.

Technical improvements, however, are not enough to solve the problem of minorities. The duty of the League of Nations is to give to millions of people the feeling that they are not left without protection in their fight for the preservation of their culture, their language, their institutions, their schools, their own life—in a word, the spiritual bonds which connect them with their brothers by race.

I do not propose on this occasion to make a detailed study of special cases. I would merely state that the situation of many minorities, in our opinion, is anything but satisfactory. In some countries, domestic legislation is incompatible with the provisions of the Minorities Treaties. The question of nationality, the cause of so many personal disagreements and hardships, is not settled in conformity with the treaties, and a feeling of uncertainty or even of menace hangs over the heads of thousands of citizens belonging to another race. There are countries where minorities are *de facto* excluded from parliamentary life; there are others where, by appropriate methods, by electoral engineering, the number of their representatives far from corresponds to their proportion in the country. In some States, the law prohibits the formation of a general or regional minority party. The agrarian reform carried out in several Danubian countries has often excluded members of the minorities from its benefits, or has only allowed them to profit to a slight extent. Not only the outspoken declarations made by politicians of certain countries, but also the facts themselves, prove that these agrarian reforms were as much political as social measures. There are States where minority nationals have not the same freedom of movement as members of the majority; they are not given a passport, for instance. In others, Churches whose members are drawn exclusively from the majority are given advantages in every field. Those churches attended more by the minority do not, in general, receive a fair share of the sums which may be allocated out of public funds in the State budget for educational, religious or benevolent purposes. The use of minority languages in court proceedings is not always permitted or the facilities formerly granted are in various ways evaded—for instance, by the regrouping of judicial districts so as to prevent the formation of judicial areas of one minority language. According to the treaties, in towns or districts where a large proportion of minority citizens reside, the State should allocate to them a fair portion of the State budget for educational purposes. Yet very few confessional schools receive subsidies in this part of Europe, while the Government subsidises or maintains schools opened for the children of refugees alien to the country. It would be superfluous to enumerate all the collective or individual injustice suffered, though mention should also be made of the sorry position of pensioners belonging to minorities.

I would like to make one suggestion and to close therewith. According to the resolution of September 21st, 1921, the Secretary-General has to collect information regarding the way in which the Minorities Treaties are executed. I am sure that there is valuable information already in existence, collected more particularly during the journeys of the Director of the Minorities Section, now one of our Deputy Secretaries-General, for whose distinguished personal qualifications and gifts the Hungarian delegation has a deep appreciation. I presume that the future Director, who is an authority on the subject, will also, as this resolution states, collect information on the way in which the Minorities Treaties are executed and in which the members of the minorities fulfil their duties towards their country. I have the honour to suggest that all this information should in future be annexed each year to the Secretary-General's report.

I have intruded on your valuable time, and I apologise accordingly ; but we must from time to time think of those who are absent, for they are not always wrong. The national minorities may in future become links between the nations ; they could be factors in a *rapprochement*. But, if co-operation is to develop between the nations and peace be assured to them, justice must prevail.

M. BÉRENGER (France).—I will, if need be, submit later, on behalf of France, any further remarks I may have to make on the nature of the racial problem raised by the German delegation. To-day, I propose merely to stress the constancy with which the German delegation, in accordance with its traditional method, has, this year again, brought up the question of minorities for discussion in the Sixth Committee.

If we refer to the discussions in the Council, of which the Minutes provide the principal subject-matter of our study, we might suppose that the German delegation had changed its policy in regard to the protection of minorities. We might feel that it was less firmly convinced—to deal only with the procedure—of the importance of placing the widest possible interpretation on the League's competence in this matter, permitting all minority petitions, even those of a most individualistic character, to reach the League and of giving the widest possible publicity to the measures taken by a State to correct any breaches which the Council might have found to exist. We can, I think, regard the statements just made by M. von Keller as indicating a veritable, but perfectly comprehensible, evolution on the part of Germany—an evolution of which we take note.

Among the minorities questions handled during the year, the Bernheim petition from Upper Silesia deserves special attention, for two reasons which markedly differentiate that case from the majority of those which the Council has had to examine hitherto.

In the first place, the Council was not faced with, so to speak, an indirect breach, due to the tendentious interpretation of a law which is in conformity, in its principles, with the treaties, but with a categorical affirmation of principles which are in themselves at variance with the principles laid down in the Minorities Treaties.

Secondly—and it is this which shows up even more clearly the special nature of the Bernheim case—the Council, which is competent only as regards the protection of minorities in one particular area of a big State, has none the less had to examine a general law applicable also in the rest of the Reich. In finding, therefore, that a breach had been committed in that area, it *ipso facto* established that the general law of the Reich, of which it could only take cognisance in so far as it concerned Upper Silesia, was formally at variance with the principles laid down by the treaties governing the protection of minorities.

The Council was not called upon this year, under the terms of its standing orders, to offer any observations upon this general law. The Assembly, however, as we know, has a far wider mandate, since its competence is derived, not from the Minorities Treaties, but from the general rules contained in Article 3 of the Covenant. On the basis of the principles enunciated in that article, one of our predecessors, the Sixth Committee of the 1922 Assembly, found it possible to lay down the general rules by which the framework of the treaties has been enlarged and which I should like, with your permission, to call to the attention of our 1933 Sixth Committee to-day :

“ The Assembly expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by any legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their own racial, religious or linguistic minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties and by the regular action of the Council.”

On the basis of this fundamental recommendation, I will for the moment confine myself to asking the German delegation how it reconciles the laws of the Reich, which the Council has had to examine in connection with the Bernheim case, with the treaties on which the League is founded, and more particularly with Article 67 of the Upper Silesia Convention, which reproduces Article 7 of the Minorities Treaties and which I should like to read by way of conclusion :

“ All German nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

“ Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any German national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.”

M. SANDLER (Sweden).—As has been the custom for some years past, the part of the annual report dealing with minorities questions has been referred to the Sixth Committee. This

excellent custom gives us an opportunity to examine the League's activity in this field and to intimate our opinion on the whole of the questions connected with the protection of minorities.

The Council's action in this sphere concerns solely the application of the special treaties binding a limited number of the League's Members. As representative of a Government which has for a long time taken no part in the Council's work, I obviously have no experience acquired at the Council table. Having, however, consulted the published material and the Minutes of the discussions in this Committee, and after hearing the observations of colleagues with more authority than I have to deal with the matter, I shall merely say that I favour the suggestion for a reasonable improvement of the procedure in force for examining petitions from minorities.

The question of the protection of minorities has, however, developed greatly in recent years, and it now assumes a wider aspect, which it would, I think, be judicious to consider. Last year, I followed the discussion in this Committee with much interest. That discussion, so moderate in tone and so instructive in content, did good work by preparing the ground. Since that time, events have hurried forward and the question whether the protection of minorities should be contemplated on a more general plane has been raised with even greater force.

During the past year, the Council had to consider a minorities petition which was not in itself of great moment and which it could have settled without difficulty. The question, however, formed part of a far wider and more important minorities problem. I have in mind the consideration by the Council of certain discriminatory measures taken against the Jewish minority in Upper Silesia, concerning which a certain M. Bernheim had petitioned the Council.

This breach of the provisions of a minorities protection treaty was settled by the Council in a way which does it honour and which might be taken as a precedent and as a model for the settlement of other similar questions. As, however, several members of the Council pointed out during the debate on the question, the latter is only one part of the far more important problem of the position of the Jewish minority. The French Government's representative, for instance, M. Paul-Boncour, stated that he would not be completely frank with himself nor with the Council if he did not say that, all the same, this particular case was only one aspect of a more general and more moving problem and that the League, which had shown such legitimate anxiety for the rights of minorities belonging to nationalities living within other frontiers, could not really ignore the rights of a race scattered through all countries. The representative of Norway, M. Lange, expressed himself in the same sense. Several members of the Council stated on the same occasion that they favoured a generalisation of minority rights.

The handling of this question and the observations offered in this connection afford a glimpse of a wider problem connected with protection than that raised by the special treaties. It raises, in fact, a special aspect of a question of wide scope. If, for a moment, we look outside the framework of the special treaties, we find minorities of all sorts. No one could contest the complexity of the problems raised by the question of minorities protection studied on the general plane. The time has however come, I think, to take up this very delicate matter and to make preparations for the future in a spirit of wise but persevering conciliation.

A distinction must certainly be drawn between the existing law—in regard to which the best possible means of application should be sought—and the principles of a broader nature which have not as yet the character of legal undertakings, but which have, since 1922, been recognised as moral obligations by the Members of the League. The time is now drawing near for serious consideration of the possibility and means of converting these principles into more far-reaching undertakings.

The problem of minorities presents two aspects. There is first the case of a minority belonging to a people represented, and perhaps mainly represented, by an independent State. The other case is that of minorities belonging to peoples having no State (Jews, Assyrians, Armenians and others). The special treaties draw no legal distinction between these two cases. The Bernheim petition and the report adopted by the Council provide a clear example of this. It is, moreover, more than evident that the two cases mentioned above are both covered by the Assembly resolution of 1922, to which I have already referred and which the speaker who preceded me read to the Committee.

It seems to me well to draw attention to this resolution, and I therefore suggest to the Committee that it should endorse it afresh. Such action would add nothing to the legal obligations already binding States; the decision was taken, and the moral obligation entered into, more than ten years ago. Certainly, no one would wish to take a backward step; we must, on the contrary, frankly ask ourselves whether we are not prepared to take a step forward.

I am convinced that we must consider closely and in all seriousness both the possibility and the means of converting principles already adopted into legal undertakings. Obviously, the various aspects of this question must, if we wish to take this course, be considered by some special body. Though I will not for the moment define my Government's attitude by submitting more detailed proposals, I feel that I must throw some light upon the situation in order to see where we stand. I would therefore like to consult my colleagues on the idea of undertaking forthwith a serious study of the whole question. I will confine myself here and now to assuring you that the Swedish Government would gladly welcome any such study.

In conclusion, I must emphasise that, in my opinion, so difficult a task demands an atmosphere favourable to the end in view. Our work should in no way serve to excite and so

to cause harm amongst any minority, whether assimilated or non-assimilated, well-treated or not. We must achieve a good understanding both between minority and majority within the States and between the States themselves. If this work is to succeed, it must be undertaken in a spirit of confidence. Has the idea ripened sufficiently during its recent evolution to permit of immediate preparation for its realisation? This is the question. For my part, I may say that I hope so.

Count RACZYŃSKI (Poland), before reading the statement which he had to make, desired to refer to the impression made upon the Polish delegation by the speeches already delivered. He paid a tribute to the Swedish delegate, who had touched upon a question which had often been debated both in the Sixth Committee and elsewhere by the representatives of Poland and the other "minority" countries. This question, though so often discussed, had up to the present made no progress towards a solution. There was no doubt, however, that an idea could not live and prosper unless assisted in its development. If, in actual fact, considerations affecting their immediate interest carried more weight, in the eyes of the States concerned, than the necessity of recognising and endorsing these principles, the outlook was indeed black. In view of this fact, he had, in preparing his statement, been unable to avoid a certain pessimism which he was now glad to be able to eliminate. The statement made by the Swedish delegate had revealed to him that new and progressive ideas were being formed; it was to be hoped that these would later lead to genuine progress.

Turning to the statement made by the German delegate, Count Raczyński pointed out that on one point there was, so to speak, a certain harmony between the goal which the Sixth Committee was anxious to achieve and a suggestion made by M. von Keller. This did not mean that the Polish delegation supported and wholly endorsed all the deductions made by the Reich representative, but the fact was that a certain harmony existed. These deductions had appeared to Count Raczyński to be based somewhat on tactical considerations. They appeared to him—he confessed it—to be somewhat complicated and to a certain degree artificial. In this connection, he associated himself with the moving words of the French delegate.

The Polish standpoint had been the same for many years, and had been taken up by other Polish delegates before him; though he might run the risk of bringing reproach upon his country, he could not withdraw the statements made by his predecessors, and, in particular, by M. Zaleski.

Count Raczyński then read the following statement:

"In preparing to speak in the discussion which begins to-day in this Committee, I have been led to peruse the Minutes of the periodical discussions which have taken place in previous Assemblies.

"I have found one very characteristic point of resemblance in all these discussions. Almost every year, certain States have been at pains to suggest innovations and improvements in the system of the protection of minorities; and it is certain that, in all cases, these suggestions have been put forward by States which, not being themselves subject to this system, have been eager for its application to the others. These suggestions have been mainly in connection with procedure.

"On the other hand, the so-called minority States have always been opposed—and have objected with a vigour which I find altogether intelligible—to these reforms which did not in any way originate in an endeavour to develop a regime of an exceptional character into a general system binding on all the civilised States of the world. Yet it is only on this condition that the protection of minorities can acquire that permanence and authority which it at present lacks and for which no amendments of procedure can provide a substitute.

"In re-reading, in particular, the objections raised on frequent occasions by the representatives of Poland, I find that they cover the whole of the traditional ground we are traversing to-day and have so often traversed at previous Assemblies.

"I am anxious to spare the Committee excessive quotations, and will confine myself, accordingly, to last year's debate, when M. August Zaleski made the following observations on the subject of procedure:

"Poland cannot fall in with the desire of certain delegates who wished to institute a discussion on the application of, and possible modifications in, the existing procedure for the protection of minorities."

"He then reminded the Committee that it was the Council, in agreement with the minority States themselves, and not the Assembly, which was alone competent in the matter of procedure.

"Shortly afterwards, discussing the underlying causes which governed and dominated the whole problem, he said:

"... he would personally be very glad to discuss, either in the Assembly or in the Sixth Committee, all the aspects of the minorities problem throughout the world. Such a discussion, however, could only be based on the universal acceptance of a uniform system for the protection of minorities. That indeed would be a striking indication of equality and justice in that sphere.

"Having said this, he would revert to essential matters and state his opinion as to the moral foundations on which the whole edifice of the protection of minorities reposed. Public opinion was becoming increasingly interested in these discussions. It was asking questions which they must make up their minds to answer, otherwise they would be giving rise to uneasiness. The rights of minorities had to be protected: in other words, the weak had to be protected against the prepotence of the strong. That was an

incontestable truth, and it might be said without exaggeration that the inclusion of this duty in the political charter of the international community would constitute considerable progress along the path of civilisation. The League's lofty mission of protecting minorities could not completely satisfy the world conscience unless two preliminary conditions were fulfilled : first, that all minorities, without any exception whatever, should be accorded protection ; and, secondly, that the claims of minorities must never be inspired by reasons foreign to their real object.

" The first stipulation which world conscience would be entitled to insist upon was that, in countries not subject to minorities obligations, whose representatives felt called upon to be the defenders of justice, the position of minorities should be such as to be above all criticism. True, absolutely homogeneous States consisting solely of citizens of the same race and religion formed the ideal political unit—and when he said "ideal", he meant that the full realisation of such a desideratum was beyond the scope of practical politics. There were no absolutely homogeneous States. For that reason, he ventured to point out to the Netherlands representative the danger of statements such as he had made, as frequently it was precisely the question of the existence of the minority problem which was used as an argument between the Government and a part of its population. In almost every country, there existed communities which might, to a greater or less extent, be termed minorities. In some cases, these minorities were of purely theoretical interest, but in others they formed compact groups and raised indisputable problems with which it was impossible to deal, because the best-founded complaints always evoke the same reply : " The League of Nations cannot deal with this question, because the State complained of is not subject to minorities obligations." . . . And yet justice was, or ought to be, the same for all : nothing but equal justice could invest the League with the moral authority indispensable to enable it to act. . . . "

" A year has passed since the utterance of these words. They reflect faithfully what we feel in studying at close quarters, not only the working of the minorities machinery, but also the moral foundations on which it was established. But M. Zaleski's words have not had the results which we have been expecting for years past ; and not a single step forward has been made in the direction of what is none the less an essential development.

" We are told that the public opinion of the world has developed. It has certainly had ample reason to do so. It has been in a position to observe—not merely in theory—that the system for the protection of minorities is extremely unbalanced and that, fragmentary and incomplete as it is, it cannot arrest or preclude great injustices.

" But this, you will recognise, is not enough. It is essential that we should make real progress. The lines along which such progress should be made are already indicated. They point in the direction of the generalisation of minorities obligations. If this time we are not disappointed, if the States here assembled are not content to discuss in the abstract duties to be imposed on others but have the courage to assume such duties themselves, they will not only prevent the weakening of the present system, but will be laying the foundations of a durable organisation.

" It is in this spirit, and with the hope of meeting with support and encouragement on the part of this Committee for the realisation of an idea which is in entire conformity with the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations, that I have the honour to submit the following draft resolution :

" The Assembly of the League of Nations,

" Considering that the Minorities Treaties at present in force and the declarations with regard to the international protection of minorities made before the Council by certain States are binding only on some of the Members of the League of Nations, while other Members of the League still remain free of all legal obligations on the subject ;

" Believing that such a state of affairs affords an international guarantee only to certain minorities, and leaves without international protection other minorities who are unable in any case to appeal to the League of Nations ;

" Considering that such a distinction between protected and unprotected minorities conflicts with the sense of equity and justice ;

" Taking into account the fact that those minorities of race, language or religion which are not covered by the present system of minorities protection, but have the same moral right as the protected minorities to the protection of the League of Nations, are to be found in practically all European and extra-European countries :

" Affirms that the present conditions of the international protection of minorities are not in accordance with the fundamental principles of international morality, and considers that this state of things should be remedied by the conclusion of a general Convention on the Protection of Minorities. Such Convention should involve identical obligations for all Members of the League of Nations, and should ensure international protection to all minorities of race, language or religion ;

" Requests the Council accordingly to appoint a Committee of Enquiry to study the problem and submit a draft general Convention on the Protection of Minorities to the next session of the Assembly. "

The continuation of the discussion was adjourned to the next meeting.

SIXTH MEETING

Held on Wednesday, October 4th, 1933, at 10.15 a.m.

Chairman : M. DE MADARIAGA (Spain).

20. Protection of Minorities : General Discussion (continuation).

M. FRANGULIS (Haiti).—The speakers who have preceded me have studied the problem of minorities and of its generalisation so clearly that my task is greatly simplified.

In the course of the discussion on the report on the work of the League during the past year, I had the honour to observe that the problem of minorities and the disputes to which it gives rise are largely due to the absence of a declaration of the rights and duties of nations which should have been included in the Covenant. Most of the Constitutions which arose from the great upheavals of the eighteenth century contain declarations of the rights and duties of citizens as appertaining to the new societies founded. Contemporary Constitutions have to a certain extent followed these lines, but in the Covenant—the document which governs the relations between the various States Members of the League of Nations—we find nothing of that kind.

At the present time, the rights of minorities—that is, the rights of a certain category of citizens belonging to a certain category of States—are brought definitely within the scope of international law by the following diplomatic instruments :

There are, first, the special treaties known as the Minorities Treaties signed at Paris during the Peace Conference by Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Greece.

Then there are certain special chapters inserted in the Peace Treaties which ensure the protection of minorities in Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey.

Finally, there are declarations made with the same object before the Council of the League of Nations by Albania, Estonia, Finland, Latvia and Lithuania.

Thus, fifteen out of the fifty-six States belonging to the League have assumed obligations with regard to minorities.

These obligations were not considered to prejudice in any way the national sovereignty of the States undertaking them ; but, being assumed at the time when extended territories were conferred on these States, they were regarded as the natural consequence of the evolution of international law and a token of its supremacy.

It could not, in fact, be maintained that international obligations freely assumed by States could affect the essential principles of their national and international sovereignty.

Article 2 of the Treaties for the Protection of Minorities contains model provisions which recognise the principle of the " rights of man ". The treaty with Poland states :

" Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion. All ' inhabitants ' of Poland shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals."

The first article of all the treaties recognises as " a fundamental law that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them ".

The authors of these stipulations had considered that the time had come when the rights of men as individuals should no longer be subject to the arbitrary authority of the State.

As far as States which have not concluded special minority treaties are concerned, it cannot be said that their own sovereignty would be affected by their assuming obligations with regard to minorities. It is, indeed, impossible—it would be contrary to the fundamental principle of the equality of States which is recognised by all Members of the League of Nations—to hold that what is an obligation for one category of States constitutes a violation of the sovereignty of another category of States in the same League. The founders of the League of Nations fully realised that in that League the principle of equality must be firmly maintained, and the *spiritus rector*, President Wilson, had prepared a text which he intended to form Article 21 of the Covenant, stating :

" The High Contracting Parties agree that they will not interfere with the free exercise of any creed, religion or belief whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals, and that no person within their respective jurisdictions shall be molested in life, liberty or the pursuit of happiness by reason of his adherence to any such creed, religion or belief."

Lord Robert Cecil, going still further and clearly contemplating the question of sanctions against any State which should exceed its rights with regard to its own citizens, proposed the following text :

" Recognising religious persecution and intolerance as fertile sources of war, the High Contracting Parties agree that political unrest arising therefrom is a matter of

concern to the League and authorise the Executive Committee (*i.e.*, the Council), wherever it is of opinion that the peace of the world is threatened by the illiberal action of the Government of any State towards the adherents of any particular creed, religion or belief, to make such representations or take such other steps as will put an end to the evil in question."

Baron Makino, the Japanese delegate, considering the question from the point of view of principles, asked for the addition to Article 21 of the following text :

" The equality of nations being a basic principle of the League of Nations, the High Contracting Parties agree to accord as soon as possible to all alien nationals of States Members of the League equal and just treatment in every respect, making no distinction, either in law or in fact, on account of their race or nationality."

It will be seen that the authors of the Covenant were inspired by the wisdom which is found in the ideas of Emmanuel Kant, the French revolution, the rights of man, the constitutional liberties of the British school and the principle of the respect of nationalities proclaimed by Mancini.

Although it was found impossible, owing to opposition, to incorporate these lofty ideals in full in the Covenant, the spirit animating its authors is reflected in this document which governs our relations as Members of the League. And so the third Assembly, in a fundamental resolution of which we were reminded yesterday by the French representative, M. Bérenger, solemnly proclaimed, on September 21st, 1922, " the hope that those States which are not bound by any legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their own racial, religious or linguistic minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties and by the regular action of the Council ".

That is the solemn proclamation of an engagement binding on all Members of the League without exception, whether they have signed a minority treaty or not.

These provisions are impersonal and general in character and they apply to all the citizens of a State without distinction. To complete, however, the list of diplomatic instruments I have enumerated, I should add that, on May 15th, 1922, a Convention between Germany and Poland, the formal undertakings of which, contained in Article 67, were recalled to us yesterday by the representative of France, was concluded for the purpose of providing special protection for Upper Silesia. The same applies to the Convention of May 5th, 1924, concerning the Memel Territory.

Lastly, with regard more particularly to the Jewish question mentioned by various earlier speakers, I should like to quote again the actual words of the preamble to the mandate for Palestine, which is dated July 24th, 1922 :

" The Council of the League of Nations . . .

" Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country . . . "

It was therefore solemnly proclaimed by the Council of the League, in the actual mandate creating the State of Palestine, and by the mandatory Power, the British Government, which is responsible for the execution of the mandate, that no prejudice would be done to the rights of Jewish communities, not only in Palestine, but also to the rights possessed by Jews in all other countries.

Fifteen years' experience has shown that the system of minorities, being restricted and imperfect, either in its procedure or in its stipulations, is not giving the satisfactory results which might have been anticipated. The League of Nations cannot remain indifferent to the situation. Public opinion all over the world demands action. The accomplishment of its high task is everywhere imperatively solicited. There are two directions in which it must take action in order to meet the requirements of human conscience :

The first is the principle of the generalisation of the rights of minorities, which has been advocated here by a large number of delegations.

The second is that, in view of the fact that there is not only one category of citizens of a State, described as a minority, which deserves attention, but that all the citizens of which human communities are made up are entitled to the same freedom and the same protection, the League of Nations must consider the problem as a whole from the aspect of the rights of man—that is to say, of the rights which men possess as such, whether they belong to a minority or a majority—and it must seek the solutions which are necessary, in accordance

with the draft resolution proposed by the Haitian delegation. I have the honour to table again that resolution, which reads as follows :

“ The fourteenth Assembly of the League of Nations,

“ Considering :

“ That the Minorities Treaties concluded in 1919 and 1920 by the principal Allied and Associated Powers bind a certain number of States to respect the rights of men and of citizens ;

“ That the principle of the international protection of the rights of men and of citizens, solemnly affirmed in the Minorities Treaties, is in harmony with the legal sentiments of the world of to-day ;

“ That, accordingly, the generalisation of the protection of the rights of men and of citizens is highly desirable ;

“ That at the present time these rights might be so formulated as to ensure that every inhabitant of a State should be entitled to the full and entire protection of his life and liberty, and that all citizens of a State should be equal before the law and enjoy the same civil and political rights, without distinction of race, language or religion :

“ Expresses the hope that a world convention ensuring the protection and respect of such rights may be drawn up under the auspices of the League of Nations.”

This constitutes the generalisation of the rights of man as already laid down in Article 2 of the Minorities Treaty. The equality of rights arising therefrom will be one of the greatest boons which can be conferred on humanity as a whole.

With your permission, I should like to tell you what a distinguished representative of Canada, Senator Dandurand, said to me a few years ago. “ The British general who conquered Canada promised the Canadian general of French origin that Great Britain would give the Canadians her protection. ‘No!’ replied the Canadian general. ‘We don’t want your protection, we want equality of rights for all citizens without distinction before the law.’ ” This equality was granted, and to-day Canada, united in a single nation and indissolubly linked up, although composed of elements of different origins, constitutes one of the finest examples of the benefits of this equality. Switzerland is also a magnificent example of the truth of this precept.

I do not think it does the League of Nations harm to hear one or two bold ideas in this connection, and I remember with emotion Aristide Briand’s words from the platform of the Assembly, when he told us, in connection with the European Union which had met with so much resistance at first, that it would be fatal for the League of Nations to shut out the vivifying breath of new ideas and new institutions.

In this way, our Assemblies can avoid retaining too formal a character and can become an institution answering to the deepest aspirations of the countries of the world and of humanity as a whole.

◊ Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (United Kingdom).—I had intended at an early stage in this debate to bring forward some small proposals which had been prepared in advance by the United Kingdom delegation, dealing solely with the question of publicity with regard to the final decisions taken by the League in connection with the minorities question. However, when I had heard the opening speech of the German delegate, I saw at once that he had opened up far wider issues than I had realised would be brought up in this Committee, and I realised, further, that it was essential that the representative of the United Kingdom should say something regarding the propositions brought forward by the German delegate.

At the close of his speech, the German delegate said that, “ in this matter, it would be desirable to achieve agreement on fundamental conceptions ”, and I must tell him quite frankly, having studied his speech as well as heard it, that, as far as I am concerned, there is not any basis of agreement. We approach this question, perhaps inevitably, from a different angle and from a different point of view.

In our view, the system of guarantees of the rights of minorities was initiated at the time of the Peace Conference, when it was decided to create new independent States or increase the territory of existing States. These operations involved the placing of a minority under the rule of a Government which had never before exercised authority over it. It has always been recognised, at any rate by us, that there are two aspects of the minority problem : first, the necessity of bringing any minority itself to acquiesce happily in the rule of the Government to which it has been subordinated, and of developing it into loyal citizens of the new State ; and, secondly, the necessity of guaranteeing to the minority the ordinary and necessary full rights of citizenship of the new State, in order to facilitate the process of happy acquiescence. Those who are familiar with the working of the system know that it may involve the risk of encouraging irredentism in the minority, a risk which we regret to see prevalent in one or two instances, and the opponents of the system have complained that it invites continual complaints and delays the loyal acceptance on the part of the minority of their new political status. But the risks were thought by those who assumed the responsibility for these regroupings in Europe to be outweighed by the duties devolving upon them of watching over the undoubted rights of any minority transferred, and by the necessity for actual legal provisions in the Treaties of Peace.

Now that is our approach to this problem, and I would refer to the speech made in this Assembly by Lord Cecil on behalf of the United Kingdom Government in this connection last year.¹ He said that, if it were desired to improve the working of the minorities system, it

¹ *Official Journal, Special Supplement No. 109, 1932, page 41.*

would be desirable to define exactly the object in view. There could be two different conceptions on that point. The first was that, certain rights having been conferred on certain minorities, the League's task was to guarantee the exercise of those rights—that was to say, it had to exercise the jurisdiction, so to speak, of a court of law. Lord Cecil did not agree that that was the correct view. There was another—namely, that the League had to settle all difficulties which arose between the minorities and their Governments, not with the object of supporting the minorities, but with that of finding a common ground of agreement between the two parties and facilitating their common life in a unified State. Such jurisdiction, very different from the jurisdiction of a court of law, might be described as paternal jurisdiction, and was, in his opinion, the better. What was needed was to go to the root of the evil, to decide what was the issue to take up, and to remember that the League's task was purely that of endeavouring to ensure peace, order and satisfactory administration. With this principle as a starting-point, the only improvements in procedure which could be accepted were those likely to prove useful to this end.

Let me say at once, therefore, that the changes suggested by M. von Keller at the opening of his speech yesterday will be opposed by the United Kingdom Government for the reasons given by Lord Cecil last year. Lord Cecil went on to say that he could not accept the argument that the authors of petitions should be given a hearing; that was justifiable only in cases of proceedings in a court of law. Further, he was tempted to think that, even if the procedure were too slow in certain cases, the time devoted to seeking a compromise should be regarded, not as lost, but as very valuably employed. We seek no amendments in procedure on that point either.

Similarly, we should oppose the idea of setting up a permanent commission. We are of opinion that the existing machinery of the League is good and that many of the criticisms brought against it are unfair. However, on the point of publicity, we have certain suggestions to make, and they, too, were foreshadowed last year in Lord Cecil's speech.

I will return to that point, because I must say something about the big issue which was raised before this Committee by the German delegate yesterday—namely, the conception of the State based upon racial homogeneity and the consequent international relations which he opened up when he said that, quite apart from the fact that the basis of the State was ethnical, a State having that ethnical homogeneity had a right and a duty to concern itself with the citizens of another State who belonged to the ethnical compost of the State in question. That will carry us very far. I tremble to think of the responsibilities of my Government in respect of every citizen of the United States who claims descent from those who went over in the *Mayflower*—and there are millions—if this idea were put into operation. We reject absolutely this conception put forward by the German delegate regarding the racial homogeneity of political units and States. How could we do otherwise?

Look at the British Empire: people of every race, every colour, every creed! Why, even in our own little island of Great Britain we have a population of the most mixed stock. Ever since neolithic times there has been an infiltration into Britain of various races and strains from all over the world, and inside our own unit of Great Britain we have three quite conscious nationalities—the English, the Scotch and the Welsh—each, again, subdivided into many races—the dark-haired Welshman, the red-haired Welshman, the Pict and the Scot, and so forth. Frankly, this Aryan doctrine and the doctrine of homogeneity cannot apply to the British Empire, for the danger of attempting to base our political systems and our national Governments on a purely racial basis and racial conception inevitably involves the conception of ascendancy of the majority race.

It has always been a cardinal principle of the British Empire that no person shall be debarred from holding any office under the Crown, or from occupying posts in any profession—to quote the famous words of Queen Victoria in the Proclamation as Empress of India—"by reason of race, colour or creed". That is fundamental, and the only thing that holds the British Empire together is equality of status and freedom. If we were to substitute for our present conception of the British Empire this conception of the race ascendancy of one element in it—I presume it would be the Scotch—quite frankly, it would be the end. The British Empire does not conceive of itself in terms of racial solidarity, but in terms of the free association of free people, encouraged to develop their national consciousness within the greater unit, and, above all, bound together by what is the real guarantee for all minorities all over the world—free self-governing institutions. We have always said: "Rather self-government than even good government." We believe firmly in the parliamentary system whereby minorities can be heard and can bring their case to a Government, and we believe in a free Press. Parliamentary institutions are the cement of the British Empire.

I must allude to the challenge of Dr. Goebbels the other day when he talked about the obsolete character of parliamentary government. We believe that the liberties of England are based upon parliamentary government. It is an institution that has survived in our country unbroken for 650 years, and neither in the name of democracy nor anything else are we going to abandon our free parliamentary system, whereby no Government shall introduce a law or a

decree until it has been discussed in the face of minorities and oppositions and been gone through clause by clause and line by line.

I pass from that general subject to a particular point brought forward yesterday by the German delegate. I would not have alluded to it now, because I have already said something on the question of the Jews, had not the German delegate queried in his speech whether we ought to regard the Jews as a minority in any country. He said, quite truly, that in Germany they do not form a linguistic minority or a national minority, and that, in the exercise of their religion, they have not been subject to any interference. Let us say at once that Germany has a long tradition of religious toleration and there has never been any interference there; but we must regard the Jews, not merely in Germany but elsewhere, quite definitely as a racial minority. If the German delegate, in connection with Germans in Czechoslovakia and other neighbouring countries, emphasises the ethnical basis, the racial consciousness and racial homogeneity of the German people, he cannot have it both ways. If the racialism of the Aryan German is emphasised, it must be admitted that the Jew has a racial identity and is bound by those same ties of blood and kinship and history to all the Jews of the world.

Let me give an example of how we must regard the matter in my own country. I belong to what is called the "Tory" party, the party of the Right. Every April 19th, on Primrose Day, I and others of my party go on pilgrimage to lay primroses on the statue of one who led my party for a whole generation. I refer to Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, three times Prime Minister of England. The Earl of Beaconsfield was descended from Spanish Jews driven out of Spain at the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. He was nationally a devoted and patriotic Englishman. In religion he was a baptised and conforming member of the Church of England and was buried with Christian rites in his own parish church in Buckinghamshire. Nevertheless, throughout his life, public and private, whether as a writer of books or in public and social life, he proclaimed himself the proudest of Jews, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, as was St. Paul. His books are full of tributes to the race to which he was proud to belong for the culture, religion, art and science it had given to humanity.

I say definitely that there is among the Jews a sense of their historic continuity throughout their dispersal, and that they do form a racial minority which deserves the same treatment everywhere as all other minorities in all countries. What is that treatment? Above all, equal rights of citizenship and fair treatment as loyal citizens of the nation to which they have been attached. Wherever the Jews have been well and liberally treated, they have been the most loyal and helpful members of the nation.

In view of the attention which this question is attracting throughout the world, people in England are reading what Chancellor Hitler has written on the subject and are trying to understand the German point of view. What we read quite frankly makes us nervous, and it is, I think, necessary that we should solemnly reaffirm the resolution passed by the third Assembly in 1922. That is the main thing we have to do.

I will now leave the general issue and come to my modest concrete proposals with regard to procedure. Their object is to secure more effective publicity, not during the examination of any petition from a minority to the League, but at the conclusion of the League's work on that petition. My view is that, in the actual process of dealing with a petition, confidence and secrecy are necessary; these are delicate matters which require tact. It is far more likely to be in the interests of the minority, as well as in those of the good government of a State having minority provisions in the treaties which established or extended it, that the work of the Committee of Three of the Council should be of a confidential character. In the words of Lord Cecil, it should be paternal, and an endeavour should be made to reach an agreement or compromise without all the propaganda that would inevitably follow if there were publicity at that stage.

There has undoubtedly been criticism in my own country, not of the States having minorities or of the minorities themselves, but of the League of Nations and the Council. The critics say that, often after months of patient and delicate negotiations over petitions put forward, the final result has been a quite perfunctory report by the Rapporteur, and this even in cases when the matter has been of sufficient importance to come before the Council as a whole.

To turn to the first of our proposals. There are numerous petitions which never reach the Council of the League of Nations, which are, as it were, dismissed by the Secretary-General as non-receivable, exercising his power according to a set of rules which experience has shown to be necessary. We hold that, when the Secretary-General rejects a petition, he should specifically inform the petitioners under which of those rules he is acting. Consequently, our first proposal is as follows:

"The Assembly invites the Council to consider the advisability of modifying the existing procedure with regard to the protection of minorities in the following respects:

"1. The petitioners whose petitions have been declared non-receivable should be informed of the reasons for this decision by the Secretary-General."

Where the Secretary-General has not rejected the petition, and where the matter goes to a Committee of Three, we propose the following purely discretionary procedure :

“ 2. In all cases where a petition is not placed on the agenda of the Council, the Committee of Three shall make public their final decision, and shall have full discretion to publish at the same time such explanations as they may think fit.”

Supposing that, after examination, the Committee of Three does not feel able to conclude the matter, and therefore refers it to the Council as a whole, we suggest that :

“ 3. In their discretion, the Committee of Three may, when bringing questions to the notice of the Council, append a statement of its reasons for so doing.”

These three small proposals, I think, provide, in the concluding stages of dealing with petitions, that element of reasonable publicity which has been asked for on so many occasions.

I have no other criticisms to offer. It is only in the matter of publicity and on the three points I have mentioned that I would like this Committee to express a view as to whether those points will not be examined by the Council. After all, our sole responsibility is to consider whether the suggestions I have made would not lead to more harmonious results and prevent the repetition of petitions of the same kind when a question has already been decided. I am confident that they would allay criticism made on reasonable grounds, and that they are all that is required at this stage in the way of actual detailed treatment of the obligations of the League under the existing Minorities Treaties.

M. ANDVORD (Norway).—My motive for taking part in this discussion is the desire to contribute towards the efforts made with a view to rendering the protection of minorities under the present system as effective as possible. The Madrid resolutions represented a step forward ; but the time which has passed since then has shown that there are still many necessary improvements.

As was pointed out yesterday, with every reason, by the representative of France, M. Bérenger, the competence of the Assembly in this connection is not affected. Lord Cecil, with all the authority which he commands, spoke to the same effect last year.

In conformity with this standpoint, which has always been that of the Norwegian delegation, we propose, in conjunction with the delegations of Denmark, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands,¹ to submit to the Committee a draft resolution to which I beg to call the Committee's attention. It embodies three points on which the speaker who preceded me has dwelt.

I am anxious, however, to add a few words on the subject of these three proposals.

The first proposal lays down that in future, when a petition is not receivable, the petitioner should be given an explanation by the Secretariat on the subject. Up till now, petitioners in such cases have only received a brief statement of the fact that their petition is not receivable, without any explanation. In the case of many individual petitioners without legal assistance at their command, the effect is to prevent the consideration of their grievances by the League.

It is only right that a petitioner should be informed of the reasons why his petition could not be received, to enable him to make the necessary adjustments in a new petition. It appears to me, moreover, to be an elementary principle of justice that the reasons for any action, and *a fortiori* for any abstention from action, should be given.

The second proposal is that, when a petition is not placed on the Council agenda because the explanations received from the Government concerned have led to the conclusion that there has been no violation of the Minorities Treaties, the decision taken should be published.

It is further proposed to give full powers to a Committee to publish at the same time such explanation as it thinks fit. Under the existing procedure, the decision can only be published if the Government gives its consent, after the consideration of the question has been declared closed. The resulting procedure may vary in different cases, and publicity—that essential element of the League's activity which Lord Cecil once called its “life-blood”—is lacking.

Lastly, the third proposal is that, when a Minorities Committee reports to the Council a violation of the Minorities Treaties, it shall be entitled in its letter to the Council to give the reasons why it has decided to do so. At present, Minorities Committees in such cases only inform the Council by letter of the fact of the violation. The meticulous work of the Committees is thus more or less lost, because it receives no publicity, and the Council and its Rapporteur, in passing judgment on the matter in the final instance, are without the valuable assistance of a statement of the views and motives by which the Committee has been guided.

The adoption of these points would represent, in my opinion, an essential improvement of our system for the protection of minorities without prejudicing the position of the Governments concerned or increasing the burden of their obligations.

I am anxious to draw the Committee's attention to one other point which is not referred to in the draft resolution, but is nevertheless not without interest. As you are aware, a petition received by the Secretariat has to be referred to the Government concerned, which, in the ordinary way, is given two months for the submission of its observations. If, when an affair

¹ Note by the Secretariat.—The text of the draft resolution submitted by these delegations is identical with that of the proposals formulated by Mr. Ormsby-Gore in his speech.

is before a Minorities Committee and the latter considers that the reply of the Government in question is incomplete, the Committee, as a rule, requests the Secretariat to procure additional information from the Government concerned. For the latter's reply to such a request, which is commonly made out of consideration for the Government concerned and in order to afford it the possibility of making every kind of explanation, there is no fixed time-limit. The consequence is that Minorities Committees may have to wait as much as six, eight or even ten months without any answer whatever.

If there is no improvement in this respect, it appears to me to be necessary to establish a system under which there is a fixed time-limit for the communication of additional information requested by the Committees; or else the Committees should base their decision on the information already received from the Government concerned.

The protection of minorities which the Covenant imposes on the League of Nations is without doubt one of the greatest and most important tasks of the latter. At the moment when Norway is vacating her seat on the Council, I desire to say that, during our three years of office, in the course of which we have had to deal with so many minorities questions, we have been enabled to appreciate the difficulties of this task. We realise the idealism which is at the base of the desire to ensure for persons of foreign nationality, living as minorities under the rule of another people, complete liberty of civilisation, intellect and language, as well as political security. But we appreciate also the difficulties which frequently stand in the way—especially in a time of transition like that which has followed the war—of the complete realisation of these idealist obligations. We are persuaded, nevertheless, that this collaboration between nations, which has been rendered possible by the League of Nations, will go a very long way to improve this state of affairs bit by bit with the lapse of time. We believe, also, that understanding on the part of minorities of the loyalty they owe to the Governments and countries of which they are citizens, and, on the other hand, understanding by these Governments of the great advantage they can derive from the existence within their borders of minorities satisfied with their lot and appreciative of the fact that their interests are safeguarded under the law of the country in which they live, will lead little by little to that harmony between the two parties which is the object of the Covenant of the League, and on which depends in very large measure the peace of Europe.

• As a Member of the Council, Norway has always been animated by the desire to maintain a just and impartial, and at the same time a frank and courageous, attitude in relation to the problems unceasingly arising in connection with minorities questions. I am convinced that, even if these efforts have not always met with equal satisfaction and appreciation on the part of both parties concerned, that matters little, provided the belief prevails that the Council's action is governed by the principles referred to above, and that its decisions are the result of conscientious study and are inspired in each individual case by a spirit of equity.

• M. BENEŠ (Czechoslovakia).—A discussion on minority questions has regularly been held in the Sixth Committee of the Assembly for some years past. Each year I have been glad of this. I have had great pleasure in taking part in these discussions, and this for two reasons: first, because I enjoy a battle of wits, carried out in all courtesy and sincerity and giving proof of goodwill and intellectual and moral frankness on the part of the participants; and, secondly—and this perhaps is my main reason—because, upon leaving the committee room at the end of this battle, I have felt victorious. I will tell you why.

When the Sixth Committee first began its discussions on the subject of minorities, certain countries which had signed the Minorities Treaties were regularly attacked. Since my country is one of these, I experienced a vague feeling of standing in the dock, but when the various speakers who criticised different points relating to the Minorities Treaties had finished their statements, and when I took up the defence, I had the strong impression of a total change, for, though we might not mention it too specifically and definitely, two questions occupied the immediate background in the minds of all the members of the Committee, and, as it were, fascinated them. These questions arose out of the defensive speeches made on the one hand to the Committee as a whole, and particularly to those members especially devoted to the cause of peace, of justice and of the League of Nations, and, on the other, to those who looked upon themselves as legitimate defenders of certain minorities in the minority countries.

The consciences of the first were awakened by the persistent echo of a first grave question: Was it right, just and in conformity with the spirit of equity and the principles of the League to be set upon studying every kind of detail regarding the Minorities Treaties of the so-called minority countries, where the fundamental rights of minorities were in any case respected or protected, while in other countries there are unprotected minorities, and while in various States, as we all know, the fundamental rights of minorities were not in the least respected, and while the League of Nations could not or would not deal with the matter?

In the case of others who regularly complained of the bad treatment of their minorities in the minority States, a second question arose—clear as day—in the minds of all the Committee, though all were politeness and discretion on the subject—namely, Were the minorities any better treated in those States? If the information at our disposal is accurate, the contrary is the case.

I have experienced this feeling of satisfaction and of moral victory upon leaving the field of battle in previous years. I experienced the same feeling yesterday, after the Committee's opening discussion,

You may reply that I am quite right, but that this does nothing to further the problem of minorities, and provides no solution to our disputes. Perhaps you will therefore allow me to make some rapid comments on this thorny problem, of which I will deal with certain special aspects only.

The wide scope of our discussion yesterday, together with recent events which all the world knows, and which have rendered the problem so acute as to move public opinion throughout the world, force us to comment on its two or three essential features.

The problem of minorities is one of the great political questions in Europe upon which depends the good understanding between nations. It is a difficult problem, lending itself particularly well to gross exaggeration, not to say facile demagogy; it contains much that is likely to stimulate passions and emotions, and its peculiar characteristic is that each individual case is immediately and almost inevitably generalised; lastly, it is a problem used in the international field less as a weapon to right the wrongs of the oppressed than to achieve results in harmony with some general policy. I make no recriminations; I am merely stating a truth, and if we are to be just in our appreciation or criticism of the working of the Minorities Treaties, we should never forget this characteristic of the problem, and should proceed with all wisdom, prudence and caution. The problem is a singularly complex, social and political phenomenon; its nature is different in every country; it hangs upon the historic development of both the majority and minority peoples concerned, upon their general culture and political, social and economic conditions. I have therefore always contended that, in raising it at Geneva, we should bear in mind our great responsibility, and approach it with all due caution.

I listened with great attention to the interesting statements made by the German representative, M. von Keller. I must say a word on two points in his speech which appear to me to be in contradiction with what has up till now been our official doctrine within the League of Nations. Here I come rather near to the statements made by my United Kingdom colleague.

M. von Keller emphasised the theory of ethnic nationality, without, however, going into the details of the political and legal consequences of such a doctrine within the League of Nations. As I see it, this theory would, if carried to the extreme, overthrow all the legal conceptions upon which not only the Minorities Treaties, but also the international relations between States composed of two or more nationalities, are based. The League's work for peace would be singularly complicated if it were to accept and propagate such theories. I feel that we should hold to our former doctrines, and therefore I cannot support M. von Keller's contention.

Another of his points also affects one of the legal and political doctrines endorsed by the League. I refer to the question whether the Jews do or do not constitute a racial or religious minority.

Without entering into any long theoretical dissertation, I would merely state: (1) that all the Minorities Treaties dealing with the Jewish question and of which the League of Nations is a guarantor consider the Jews to be a racial or religious minority; (2) that any action which has hitherto been undertaken either by the Council, the various organs of the League or the Assembly, and which dealt with the Jews as citizens of any European State, has been based on the legal and political doctrine that the Jews should be considered as a racial or religious minority. Unless we wish to create new problems in international law, insoluble in the present state of affairs, we should hold to this theory.

In view of the importance of these two questions, I felt that it would be valuable to lay emphasis upon this legal standpoint which, as I see it, represents the doctrine till now universally adopted by the States Members of the League.

To turn to the question of the improvement of procedure with regard to the Minorities Treaties. The present procedure was established over former years after long discussions and detailed consideration. It was never set up without the consent of the States concerned. This was the case in 1923 and in later years when the procedure was modified; in particular, it was the case when the Madrid decisions were taken. The Council is the sole body competent in the matter, and it can do nothing without the consent of the States concerned. You will all understand that this is a right which my country enjoys and will never abandon. Whereas we are ready to fulfil the undertakings into which we entered fifteen years ago, we cannot admit of any increase—unilateral and binding one of the parties only—of the obligations contained in an international treaty, effected by means of a change in procedure.

I have maintained this standpoint here for fourteen years. It is a question of principle and, so long as the present Minorities Treaties remain in force, I shall continue to maintain the same position. When the question of generalising the Minorities Treaties is raised, I shall be ready to consider with you the question of procedure. Our delegation will then state its views on the good and bad points in the present procedure; we therefore reserve any expression of our views on the subject of the United Kingdom proposal.

When referring to the question of rendering general the protection of minorities, I would endorse the statements made by my Swedish and Polish colleagues, M. Sandler and Count Raczyński; I am, in general, in favour of their proposals.

I speak in this Committee with complete sincerity and loyalty towards you all, without any feeling of reproach and without any idea of political tactics directed towards a particular result. Is it conceivable that a certain number of States whose national consciousness and national pride are developing daily, who are constantly growing politically more mature and who are Members of the League of Nations, can for ever remain, legally and politically, in an inferior position, while the same minority conditions—sometimes, indeed, more acute—manifest themselves in countless other States; while every detail of their minority policy is the object, sometimes of a criticism, very often unjustified annoyance; and while supervision is exercised by States in which the minority problem, though acute, goes unregulated?

Surely such a situation has an adverse effect upon the very principle of the protection of minorities, and will, in the end, wholly compromise it. I hold that this situation is morally untenable. The principle of the equality of Members of the League is essential. The question should be settled either by rendering the provisions general or by some other procedure. I am ready to consider any proposal on the subject.

I must raise another question here. Unjust, evil and tendentious propaganda is often launched in the international field on the subject of minorities. A single case is taken as an example, and it is, for instance, stated that, in a certain village, the building of a Catholic church has been forbidden, such an event then being turned into a generalisation on the minority regime applying throughout the country. A newspaper is suspended on account of its illegal attitude, and charges are at once brought against the whole governmental system of the country.

In my view, it is altogether in the League's interest to show that it is diligently performing its duty to minorities. Suitable and thorough investigations must be carried out with a view to establishing completely impartial general criteria by which to judge of the treatment of minorities in any particular country. I may give some examples of such impartial criteria.

For instance, we may ascertain the percentage of minority schools to majority schools, on the basis of the respective populations. We may also directly ascertain the political attitude of the Government concerned to its minorities. We may compare the treatment meted out to the minority in one country with that meted out to another minority in another country. There is, for instance, a German minority in Czechoslovakia, and there is also a German minority in Hungary. By comparing the position with regard to their schools, the use of the minority language, the number of officials, etc., we can see at once what policy is adopted by the respective Governments towards the minority.

All I mean to say is that the policy of a country towards minorities cannot be defined by the presentation of petitions dealing with individual cases. As I have already observed, we must endeavour to find impartial criteria, and to arrive at a general common measure acceptable to all parties.

While considering these various questions, I cannot neglect one fundamental point in the minority problem—namely, that of the internal political regime of the country concerned. So far as minorities are concerned, the democratic system offers safeguards that no other system can supply. The life of a minority is essentially bound up with universal suffrage, women's suffrage, the right of association, the freedom of the Press, etc., because the cultural, political and economic life of a minority can only prosper in a country where the principle of the French Revolution—that of the rights of men and citizens—the principle of the parliamentary tradition, the principle of the American Revolution, and the principle of respect for human personality form the legal basis of every citizen's daily life.

I am not in any way questioning the domestic policy of any of the States Members of the League. I am merely stating a fact which every fair-minded man must take into consideration when judging of the minority policy of any country.

There is one last point that I must not overlook in my examination of the various aspects of the minority question. I refer to that point which is most frequently and casually neglected—namely, that, if minorities have rights within the State, they also have duties towards the State.

It is never sufficiently emphasised in the League that the first condition demanded of minorities in return for protection is that they shall be absolutely loyal to the State. The resolution of 1922, which M. Bérenger quoted yesterday, explicitly lays down the principle that minorities that are not loyal are not entitled to protection. I can say, on the basis of my political experience, that those members of minorities who are most energetic and insistent in demanding protection are very often those who are the least loyal. Having embarked upon such an extensive discussion, we must not forget this delicate point. In this connection, I have noted with the keenest satisfaction the admirable and eloquent remarks of the United Kingdom delegate, Mr. Ormsby-Gore.

In conclusion, I should like to mention one point that seems to me regrettable. In the course of a general debate of this nature in these surroundings, I should have liked to hear, not only criticisms, but some positive appreciation of the achievements of one country or another in dealing with minorities. We have heard plenty of criticisms. These fourteen years of criticism have practically convinced the public, both here and elsewhere, that, so far as minorities are concerned, the League, and the interested States, have done nothing definite, nothing that deserves recognition, nothing that merits any praise or gratitude whatsoever.

Anyone who is concerned for justice, who is anxious to display some degree of goodwill, who is courageous enough to be impartial, and who refuses to be exclusively influenced by an interested policy, can find plenty of evidence to destroy the widespread legend that no real constructive work has been done in regard to minorities.

I hope I shall never have to go into this question in detail here ; it is a question in which, as I see it, a great constructive achievement has been secured to the advantage of civilisation, humanity and the League of Nations. If I were obliged to do so, I should be bound to refer to my own country. None the less, if the purely negative method that we are employing is to be followed in the future, I shall sooner or later take my courage in both hands and venture to make this demonstration in the Assembly.

For the moment, I will content myself with drawing your attention to a document which might serve as an illustration of the reasons that cause me to consider that the League, and also the States bound by Minorities Treaties, have accomplished constructive work. In his speech yesterday, the Hungarian delegate alluded to certain undertakings in regard to minorities in the province of Sub-Carpathian Russia, which, he said, Czechoslovakia had not fulfilled. He said it in the discreetest manner possible, so that no one present realised that he was referring to my country. I will not pay him back in his own coin by making allusions to his country without naming it. I have here a voluminous document, being the Czechoslovak Government's reply to a petition affecting that province, in which my Government refutes all the charges made and demonstrates the condition in which it inherited that area from the old Hungarian regime, and what sacrifices it has made to achieve considerable successes in connection with public health, administration, national schools, etc. When this document has been examined by the Committee of Three, I shall have it published, and I recommend all the members of the Sixth Committee to read it.

I have thought it well to say these few words to call your attention to this undeniable and reassuring fact, at a time when an acute moral and political crisis prevails in Europe, at a period of pessimism and resignation, and to show that, in the matter of minorities, the League and the States concerned do not merely deserve criticisms and reproaches, but also recognition and gratitude. Next time I have occasion to speak on the subject, I shall produce even more complete and decisive evidence.

These are the points on which I wished to touch in the course of this interesting debate. If there is one question that must always be approached in a spirit of absolute goodwill, caution and, above all, fair play, it is the question of minorities. Count Raczynski was rightly gratified by the progress we have made and the high level of the discussion ; but I can only conclude my remarks by emphasising once more that the whole essence of the problem of minorities, as related to the good understanding between nations and the peace of the world, resides in respect for every human personality, whatever it may be—which is to say, respect for what there is of God in man.

M. VON KELLER (Germany).—Certain remarks made by some of the speakers at yesterday's debate and the observations of the United Kingdom delegate make it necessary for me to speak once again in order to reply to them at once and to explain once more the German point of view.

This Committee has often had to discuss difficult and delicate questions in connection with minorities. The idea behind these discussions has always been the desire to elucidate and make progress in questions of principle relating to the protection of minorities. In this spirit fundamental questions regarding minorities law and practical questions regarding the reform of procedure were discussed without calling in question or criticising the position of the minorities in certain countries or the measures taken by certain Governments. In all these discussions it would have been easy, had there been any desire to call in question the actions of one Government or another, to bring up, by way of illustration, individual cases of which there have unfortunately been very many in the long history of the protection of minorities and which, notwithstanding the protests we have heard to-day, have not yet ceased to exist.

The German delegation has invariably and purposely refrained from any such action ; it has confined itself to raising general and material points of view without indulging in diatribes against one country or another. There was never any danger that our observations might create an atmosphere of hostility to certain States. They were intended solely to assist in bringing about some measure of conciliation between opposing views and first and foremost to ensure frank and loyal collaboration.

I am obliged to observe with the greater regret that part of the discussion yesterday and to-day has without any justification departed from this line.

The French representative has seen fit during this general discussion to mention the Bernheim case to Germany's disadvantage, and in alluding to it he made certain observations and put to me certain questions for which I can find no warrant. The minorities States have always received in the League a treatment making full allowance for their interests ; but it seems that there is a desire to apply a different measure to Germany which, in the sphere of the protection of minorities, is bound only by the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of minorities in Upper Silesia.

I do not, however, propose to dwell over-long on this aspect of the question, which concerns rather the method of the discussion. I will pass at once to the question of fact.

The question of the application of certain German laws in the territory of Upper Silesia under the jurisdiction of the Geneva Convention—the question raised by the Bernheim petition—was settled in the discussions of the Council. The German Government, by reason of its interpretation of the Geneva Convention, did not consider the petition as founded in law. The Committee of Jurists set up by the Council having, however, decided against the German view, the German Government immediately drew the necessary consequences and took all the requisite measures to ensure the proper execution of the Geneva Convention. The Council's Rapporteur was informed to this effect in conformity with the decision taken by the Council

in June, and, if I am correctly informed, he immediately notified the fact to all the Members of the Council. I am therefore forced to assume that, in offering the observations he made yesterday, the French representative was fully informed of the facts. The Council considered the Bernheim petition in the full light of publicity. Never once did we raise any objection to the publicity of its deliberations. I do not therefore understand what are the material reasons for which the Bernheim petition should once again be brought into discussion in this Committee.

It is true, of course, that M. Bérenger attempted—and this was obviously his purpose in bringing up the Bernheim affair again—to pass on from the provisions of the Geneva Convention to general conditions in Germany. He made use of the provisions of Article 67 of the Geneva Convention relative to Upper Silesia in order to convert them into a general rule which he endeavoured to apply to German legislation. I must make a vigorous protest against this roundabout attempt to open a discussion here on German law. The Geneva Convention is an agreement applying solely to a specific territory and contemplating the specific local conditions of that territory. No one is entitled to transform the provisions of that Convention into a general rule applicable to German legislation outside Upper Silesia.

The Sixth Committee has no jurisdiction to consider the laws of Germany. The French representative himself entirely appreciated the accuracy of this view, and that is why he went on to establish a connection between the German laws on the Jewish question and an Assembly resolution of December 21st, 1922. I cannot, however, allow any criticism of German legislation from this standpoint either. In this connection, I need only repeat what I said in my remarks at the beginning of the discussion—namely, that the Jewish problem in Germany is a special problem *sui generis* and cannot possibly be treated here simply like an ordinary minority question. The German Government has already given the world, and also Geneva, a clear explanation of its views on this problem, and I see no reason to make any addition to them whatever.

The observations offered to-day by the United Kingdom representative have not introduced into the discussion any elements that might induce me to depart from this attitude. All that is clear, in my opinion, from his remarks, in so far as they refer to the Jewish question in Germany, is the fact that the United Kingdom representative has failed to appreciate at their true force the conclusive factors characterising the entirely special situation of this problem in Germany as compared with almost all other countries. Disregarding that part of his observations which concerned the Jewish question, I can say with satisfaction that, notwithstanding the opposition in conceptions of principle stressed by him, his practical proposals contain many points which I think deserve attention.

I should like, however, to add two words concerning the application of the resolution of December 21st, 1922, relative to minorities in the strict sense of the term, a resolution which Germany has acknowledged in all respects. The decrees voluntarily promulgated in the territory of the Reich for the protection of alien minorities settled on German territory, which decrees continue to be applied in practice, afford the best proof thereof.

• Apart from that, it is surprising that the idea of a general application of the protection of minorities and its alleged non-observance by Germany should be raised precisely by the representative of a country which has always resisted the carrying out of that idea and has vigorously opposed any juridical generalisation of the protection of minorities. I may remind you that M. Briand stated three years ago, during a discussion on the protection of minorities in this Committee, that he could agree to this idea as a hypothesis interesting more especially States possessing minorities, but that France was not one of those States. M. Briand added :

“ If the minority question, taken as a whole, were to be put, not as a hypothesis, but as a thesis, I am bound to say that, as representing my Government and my country on a Committee in which such a question was put, I should at once raise the previous question, because in my view neither the League nor its organs can take upon themselves to deal with this problem.

“ The League cannot undertake such a problem unless there are treaty obligations at the root of it. That is not the case as regards the minority question taken as a whole.”¹

I do not quote these remarks in order to state that I agree with them. That is clear from what I said yesterday concerning Germany's attitude in the question of the generalisation of the protection of minorities. I have quoted M. Briand's remarks because they appear to me to have a decisive influence on the fundamental question of the juridical generalisation of the protection of minorities and consequently upon the attitude to be adopted towards the draft resolution proposed. If this Committee wishes to form an idea of existing possibilities, it must first ascertain to what extent the delegations represented here, including the French delegation, are prepared to enter into undertakings as to the members of an alien nationality living on their territory, with a view to a juridical generalisation of the protection of minorities.

The continuation of the discussion was adjourned to the next meeting.

21. Protection of Minorities : Appointment of a Rapporteur.

On the proposal of the CHAIRMAN, M. HOLSTI (Finland) was appointed Rapporteur for the question of minorities.

¹ Minutes of the Sixth Committee, Official Journal, Special Supplement No. 90, page 70.

SEVENTH MEETING.

Held on Thursday, October 5th, 1933, at 10.15 a.m.

Chairman : M. DE MADARIAGA (Spain).

22. Intellectual Co-operation : Adoption of the Draft Report and Resolutions.

M. MISTLER (France), Rapporteur, submitted his report, amended in accordance with the various suggestions made by members of the Committee at the third meeting.

The report and draft resolutions were adopted (Annex 3).

The CHAIRMAN said that the credit for the Committee on Arts and Letters had provisionally been deleted from the draft budget for 1934. The adoption of point 1 of the draft resolution implied the re-insertion of this item in the budget. He therefore proposed the following draft resolution :

“ The Sixth Committee, after approving the conclusions of M. Mistler's report on the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, and considering in particular the importance of the work of the Committee on Arts and Letters in the harmonising of ideas, is unanimous in requesting the continuance of this work.

“ It therefore requests the Fourth Committee to be so good as to re-insert in the budget for the forthcoming financial year the credits provided for the Committee on Arts and Letters.”

The Chairman added that the sum involved was very small.

The draft resolution was adopted.

23. Intellectual Co-operation : Appointment of a Rapporteur to the Assembly.

The CHAIRMAN proposed that the Committee should appoint M. MISTLER (France) Rapporteur to the Assembly for questions relating to Intellectual Co-operation.

The Chairman's proposal was adopted.

24. Mandates : Adoption of the Draft Report and Resolution.

M. LANGE (Norway), Rapporteur, submitted his report and draft resolution.

The report and draft resolution were adopted (Annex 4).

25. Mandates : Appointment of a Rapporteur to the Assembly.

The CHAIRMAN proposed that the Committee should appoint M. LANGE (Norway) Rapporteur to the Assembly on the subject of mandates.

The Chairman's proposal was adopted.

26. Protection of Minorities : General Discussion (continuation).

Mr. MANION (Canada).—I have no apology to offer for taking part in this discussion, because, for historical and constitutional reasons, Canada is deeply interested in the question of minorities.

Canada, as you know, has a huge area but a somewhat sparse population. While her area is greater than the area of the whole of Europe, excluding Russia, her population consists of only about ten and a-half millions, of whom about one-third speak the French language and the other two-thirds are, to a large extent, composed of English-speaking peoples, with quite a large admixture, particularly during the last thirty or forty years, of people from various parts of Europe.

The constitution of Canada is incorporated in the British North America Act of 1867, and this Act provided for the co-existence and equal rights of the two great races and cultures, the French and the English. The French were given wide rights in regard to language and religion, and since that time they and the majority have lived in peaceful content side by side, working and co-operating with the object of building up a great nation in the northern half of the American continent.

Since that time, other peoples have come to Canada from various parts of the world, particularly from different portions of Europe, and these not only enjoy the tolerant spirit, but the freedom which is well known to be possessed by our country. While Canada, therefore, has not only the French minority, but other minorities of language, race and creed, we have happily no minority problems, and, while a state of perfection is not easily attainable in this world, I presume our condition, as far as minorities are concerned, is as near to perfection as is possible in any country with minorities. Wherever there has been friction, it has been removed by tolerance, by justice to all classes, by mutual understanding, by an unfettered Press and particularly by the free parliamentary institutions which we possess. Not only

are the two predominant races well represented in our parliament, but we have to-day members of the House of Commons who come from some of the countries of Europe, and there are at least three, if not more, Jewish members of the House, two of whom were born in European countries.

Nevertheless, we realise, naturally, that conditions in Europe are not as they are in Canada. We realise that this is both a difficult and a delicate question with which to deal. We see that in Europe, for example, boundaries have changed and groups have been placed under a different sovereignty. In Canada, on the other hand, after the union into the Dominion in 1867 of the two predominant races there, people who came from other parts of the world adopted our sovereignty and accepted our laws. As a result all peoples in Canada to-day are united under the same sovereign, devoted to the same ideals, and yet are diverse in race and culture.

I do not presume to lecture this distinguished audience on this matter, nor do I wish to take the attitude of thanking God that we are not as other people; but I thought that a few words in regard to our experience on this very important question might perhaps be of interest to a Committee of this nature, particularly as the settlement of minority disputes on a reasonably satisfactory basis is necessary to the maintenance of friendly international relations. Canada has largely settled her minority question because she believed in what M. Briand described as the "sacred rights" of minorities. On the other hand, our minorities have accepted their responsibilities loyally and faithfully. Without doubt these two principles are necessary to bring about a satisfactory condition in this respect.

I have another reason for speaking this morning. During discussions on minorities in the Assembly and the Council in past years, Canada has taken some part. In March 1929, when represented on the Council, she proposed a revision of procedure much along the lines proposed by the United Kingdom delegate in the present discussion. We proposed greater publicity, that petitions should be dealt with more rapidly and the possibility of the enlargement of the Committees of Three. At that time, according to the records, we were supported by a number of the outstanding nations represented here to-day, and when the procedure now in force was adopted in June 1929, it was really a slight modification of the Canadian proposals. In a sense, therefore, we feel that the present procedure was initiated by us; consequently, we are quite consistent in supporting the present United Kingdom proposals for a further improvement in the procedure and for more effective publicity. Of those proposals, I think the more important is that concerning publicity. In the cure of physical diseases, sunlight is useful on all occasions; and, in the same way, it would appear that the daylight of greater publicity would be helpful in this difficult problem. We feel that no harm could be done if, on all occasions, the petitioner were advised as to the reasons for the non-acceptance of his petition or the reasons for a refusal to accede to his requests. It would appear reasonable to suppose that the fewer the secrets that existed the fewer misunderstandings there would be.

In conclusion, I should like to say again that we gladly support the proposals put forward by the United Kingdom delegate and supported by some other speakers, because we feel that they will go a long way to eliminate grievances, to lessen friction, to wipe out discontent and to improve international relations throughout the world.

Mr. O'KELLY (Irish Free State).—The persistence with which the question of the protection of minorities comes up year after year for discussion in the Sixth Committee is evidence of the immense interest which the public takes in the question, but it is evidence also, I fear, that grounds exist for the belief that the regime for the protection of minorities is not giving the results that were expected of it. I think no one will deny that this is the case and that difficulties, some of which were foreseen and some not, have combined to make the question of the protection of minorities a problem for which a solution remains to be found. It cannot then be premature, at the fourteenth Assembly of the League of Nations, to seek to find the cause of our present difficulties. This does not lie far afield. It is to be found in the basic texts upon which the present system has been established. I refer, of course, to the relevant provisions in the special treaties containing the undertakings placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. These provisions are the foundations of the present edifice and, as I say, the foundations are bad because, as everyone knows, the relevant provisions in the special treaties were drafted in such circumstances and with such haste that they are, in the unanimous view of the most eminent jurists in every country, so loosely worded as to be sometimes unintelligible, and frequently unworkable without the active co-operation and goodwill of the treaty-bound States.

These texts are the foundations upon which our edifice rests. Is it any wonder that it seems shaky? But over and above the letter of the law of the special treaties there has been evolved, with the consent and co-operation of the treaty-bound States, a procedure to implement the system which the treaties were designed to establish. This procedure has been improved from time to time by the Council in negotiation with the States most affected, and I gladly pay a tribute, in this connection, to the work of that distinguished Canadian, Senator Dandurand, a former President of our Assembly. But the improvements which have been made were conditioned by the necessity for obtaining the consent of the treaty-bound States, and while it is encouraging to record that, in the matter of a certain number of improvements, this consent has not been unduly withheld, we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that it is entirely due to the attitude of these States that the present system has been able to be worked at all. Let us make no mistake, the regime for the protection of minorities exists in practice on sufferance and to the extent, and only to the extent, to which the treaty-bound States acquiesce.

This, then, is the main cause of our difficulties : that the juridical basis for our efforts is defective and that their practical application depends on the goodwill of a limited number of States which, in view of the terms of the original instruments, consider themselves to have been placed in a position of inferiority which some of them have not been slow to resent. So far as the Irish delegation is concerned, I have no hesitation in expressing my sympathy with the point of view which has been frequently put forward in this connection by the treaty-bound States. I would go further ; is it reasonable for the League to continue to hope for the indispensable co-operation of a small group of countries in support of a regime which applies exclusively to these countries, when there is only too much evidence of the need for a similar regime in other countries which are right at their very doors ? The passive acquiescence of these countries is not enough ; we require their active, positive and benevolent intervention if the letter of the Minorities Treaties, which is sufficiently vague in itself, is not to remain a dead letter.

These, then, are our difficulties, and we must face them frankly, and it is in my view fortunate that, at this juncture, a proposal has been put forward by the Swedish Government, and supported by the Governments of other countries, that we should now consider how far it is practicable to extend the regime for the protection of minorities beyond its present limits. We have seen that the whole trouble resides in the fact that the original instruments upon which we are working are bad, and, in these circumstances, we may well ask whether the time has not come when we should try to reinforce these defective treaty provisions by writing into a new draft convention, to be accepted and applied generally, the provisions which experience has shown to be necessary to safeguard certain fundamental human rights accorded as a matter of course in most countries of the world. Obviously we can refuse to do this, and I do not doubt that objections will be made—as they have already been made—on behalf of some of the great Powers, whose cupboards are never wholly free from skeletons.

There are, of course, many difficulties which occur to us in the Irish delegation, and we are sure they did not escape M. Sandler when he put forward his proposal. There was never a reform suggested either in this Assembly or in any other, in regard to which difficulties might not be raised, and if I have understood the Swedish proposal aright, M. Sandler is as anxious as any one of us that the difficulties which his proposal involves should be the subject of the closest examination and the most careful consideration. We in the Irish delegation share this point of view. We incline before the generous impulses which have motived this proposal, and we urge the desirability of submitting it to an early and thorough examination. The existing edifice, however, must continue to be kept in repair. We must go on correcting a dent here and a bulge there. But let us in the meantime consider the question of new and more solid foundations.

The protection of minorities is inseparably associated with the larger problem of the protection of majorities, a problem which is of special interest to my own country. It is a commonplace of history that the existence somewhere of a minority problem has often been made a pretext for interference by great nations in the affairs of small ones. It is in this way that more than one country has been dismembered, and you will forgive me if, following the lead of my distinguished colleague, the representative of the United Kingdom, in the matter of historical allusions, I refer not to the history of the political party to which I happen to be attached, but to the history of my own country, of which the saddest page relates to its shameful and forcible partition in 1921, in circumstances with which most of you are familiar and in regard to which I shall say no more than that it was not brought about by any refusal on the part of the majority to guarantee to the minority any rights which are, as a matter of fact, enjoyed by the most favourably situated minority in the world.

I have indicated that, in the view of the Irish delegation, the best method of settling the minority problems of Europe would be through a general convention to which all States would subscribe. That, at best, would take a considerable time to elaborate. In the meantime, we are also concerned with any possible improvements in the present procedure and, in this connection, I welcome the draft resolution submitted by the delegations of the United Kingdom, Norway, the Netherlands and Denmark. In our experience, the first two proposals would be extremely useful and valuable. I venture to suggest that the intention of the second would be made clearer by the insertion of the words " which has been declared receivable " and I therefore move an amendment to the effect that it should read : " In all cases where a petition which has been declared receivable is not placed . . . "

As regards the third proposal, I have, however, some doubt and this because, in the view of my delegation, the Committees of Three have at present the right at their discretion to append a statement of their reasons when bringing questions to the notice of the Council. I fear that acceptance by the Sixth Committee of the proposal in its present form would involve acceptance of the argument that that option does not at present exist. I believe that the Committees of Three on more than one occasion—and on one quite recently—have used this right. I would therefore propose that the third proposal be deleted. If and when the proposals come to be studied by the Council, any existing doubts could, of course, be removed.

Before concluding, I should like to say a few words regarding the services of the Secretariat. As the Irish representative on the Council has lately been Rapporteur on the question of minorities, and has, as such, been brought into intimate contact with the Minorities Section, perhaps I may be permitted to express my high appreciation of that Section. The officials cannot be too highly praised for the way in which they discharge their delicate and difficult duties. The Irish delegation, like others, has been impressed by their integrity, impartiality and ability, and the League of Nations owes a special debt to them and to the present Director of the Section, M. de Azcarate.

Mme. KLUYVER (Netherlands).—After the interesting discussion which we have heard during the last few days, the Netherlands delegation will confine itself to a few brief remarks.

These concern, in the first place, the procedure followed in dealing with petitions addressed to the Council by the representatives of minorities. The Netherlands delegation, at the 1932 Assembly, emphasised the importance of an effective procedure which would tend to create a feeling of confidence among the minorities. The Netherlands Government's representative made certain practical suggestions on the subject destined to perfect the existing system. These suggestions included, among others, the proposals made in the draft resolution which the United Kingdom delegate has just submitted to you. This being so, it goes without saying that the Netherlands delegation strongly recommends the adoption of the resolution in question. It earnestly hopes that the invitation which, in virtue of the resolution, may be addressed to the Council, will lead to a careful examination by that body of the value of the amendments suggested.

The question of procedure is not the only subject touched upon this year. Other problems going more nearly to the root of the matter have been brought to our notice. In particular, the generalisation of the protection of minorities has found fresh supporters. We have noticed that, not only the representatives of the so-called minority States have championed the cause of generalisation, but that other delegations have also expressed the same opinion. It has in the first place been recommended that the Assembly should re-affirm the resolution on this subject adopted at the 1922 session—a recommendation which has the full support of the Netherlands delegation. Further, the desire to take another step towards generalisation has been expressed; mention has been made of the value of an international convention involving, not only a moral obligation, but also legally binding States in respect of their minorities.

The Swedish and Polish delegates contemplated the possibility of a detailed consideration of this question. It would be necessary to set up a special body to study it. The Netherlands Government is fully prepared to take this step, and to collaborate fully in the matter. The problem of generalisation will, however, be found to be somewhat complicated when we attempt to give it the force of an international convention. Many questions will then arise; for example, in what way will it be possible to take into account the very special position of the countries possessing colonies?

In view of the important part which the protection of minorities has played and continues to play in international affairs, the Netherlands delegation would be very glad if, by means of a generalisation of the obligations assumed in the matter of minorities, certain improvements could be achieved, and if the task of the League in this field could be facilitated.

M. ANTONIADE (Roumania).—Two subjects have been dealt with during this year's discussions. The first, a very familiar one, is that of the so-called improvement of the procedure in connection with the examination of petitions from minorities; it has become a perennial matter for the Sixth Committee. The second is the problem of the generalisation of the protection of minorities, and, though not entirely new, has been raised this year rather more openly and more fully than formerly.

I desire briefly to describe the position of the Roumanian delegation as regards these two questions.

You will remember that after the adoption of the Madrid resolution of 1929 and before the new procedure had borne fruit, it had become a rite, at recent Assemblies, for this Committee to have before it that part of the Secretary-General's report dealing with the protection of minorities; the proposal of various amendments to the procedure accepted at Madrid was also part of the ritual.

It is not without some surprise that we have seen the same question raised this year, and by the same delegation. It was also a rite to hear the delegations of countries bound by minorities obligations—Greece, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Roumania—refuse in concert to discuss the improvements suggested both upon legal as well as upon moral grounds. These grounds are as valid as ever. While recognising that, in accordance with Article 3 of the Covenant, the Assembly could deal with the question of minorities in general, these delegations considered that, since judgment on the application of the Minorities Treaties was solely a matter for the Council, it was utterly impossible for them to transfer to the Assembly or to the Sixth Committee the rights reserved by those treaties for the Council alone. It was on these purely legal grounds that they had always held that discussions on possible modifications or improvements in existing procedure could not be made the subject for a resolution of the Sixth Committee. For this reason, the discussions in previous years had not led to resolutions.

Side by side with these purely legal motives, however, arose other considerations of a moral nature. In giving their full adherence to the Madrid resolutions, the countries with minorities obligations fully realised that, in consenting to the new procedure, they were going far beyond the undertakings to which they were bound by the treaty. They would have had every right to adhere to the letter of the treaties; no one could have asked more of them. Showing a very liberal spirit, and to prove their goodwill to the minorities—on whose loyal co-operation they counted and still continue to count—they consented to this sacrifice, pointing out clearly, however, that they could not go further so long as the obligations involved bound certain countries only. We could not forget the memorable resolution of the 1922 Assembly—quoted afresh this year—which expressed the hope that the States not bound by any legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities would nevertheless observe in

the treatment of their own racial, religious or linguistic minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as was required by the treaties.

We hoped, on the one hand, that we should, by our sacrifice, acquire tranquillity and, on the other, that the appeal of the 1922 Assembly would not be a dead letter. We have experienced a disappointment on both scores.

Though we refused to discuss the so-called improvements proposed, we did not consider that the existing procedure was in every way perfect. But this question, since it arose so constantly, became more than a question of procedure. If the maximum protection of minorities was required at all costs, our countries—which in the past, when there were no treaties and no League, knew the difficult position of oppressed minorities—were not those to refuse it. But, faced with this great and fine moral principle—the maximum protection for minorities—we must be entirely logical. No moral principle is valid within certain frontiers only and not beyond them. We have therefore said, with all possible clarity, in all previous debates here : Do everything you wish for minorities, but for all minorities and in all countries alike.

We were extremely glad to hear the Swedish representative extend the discussion and ask whether we were prepared to contemplate generalisation of the protection of minorities. Our answer is in the affirmative and we endorse at the same time the ideas contained in the draft resolution proposed by the Polish delegation at the fifth meeting. We listened next with keen interest to the very complete statement of principles given us by the Haitian delegate. The debate has thus been placed on its true ground. It must be admitted that it would be, to say the least of it, paradoxical, when racial and religious minorities are deprived, by reason of their race, of the minimum of justice and the elementary rights inherent in any civilised society, when such things happen—and not at the end of the world, but quite near Geneva—that we should continue to discuss whether the Committees of Three should or should not give the reasons for their decisions, whether their decisions be communicated to the petitioners or simply published, whether the Governments should give wider publicity to the documents and so forth. In these circumstances, my delegation, which in this matter shares the view of the Polish, Czechoslovak and Yugoslav delegations, is obliged to say that it cannot accept any resolution dealing with this subject. There is no longer any question of chicanery as to the procedure granted with regard to minority complaints—which are amply protected under the treaties—by the League Council and by its excellent organs, which have always more than done their duty, while the minorities themselves have enjoyed the fullest solicitude of the Governments to which they are subject. The question is now a wider and more serious one, that of a real charter of justice and humanity.

M. MIKOFF (Bulgaria).—The Bulgarian delegation has always taken and continues to take special interest in the problem of minorities.

It takes a special interest in that question, because the protection of minorities is one of the League's most fundamental tasks and also because more than a quarter of the Bulgarian nation live outside the national frontiers and in a position upon the betterment of which pacification in the Balkans depends.

Two years ago, M. Motta stated in the Assembly that the minority problems were insoluble unless there was sincere collaboration between the majority and the minorities within each country. The head of the Bulgarian delegation at last year's Assembly, M. Mouchanoff, stressed, in his turn, the need for seeking the solution of the minorities problems in harmonious collaboration between the majority and the minorities. One of the most suitable ways of attaining this end is, in the Bulgarian delegation's opinion, and as has already been pointed out here, the reform of the procedure instituted by the League as regards the protection of minorities.

It would be unfair to say that no results have so far been obtained through the procedure at present in force. It is none the less true that this procedure is, in certain cases, found to be inadequate, slow and far from ensuring the effective application of the provisions of the Minorities Treaties.

It will be remembered that the opinion generally accepted in this Committee, following on the discussions and decisions as to procedure taken at Madrid, was that, notwithstanding the inadequacy and defects of the improved machinery set up at Madrid, it was desirable to make a trial of the revised system of procedure and to await the results obtained from the new machinery before looking for fresh improvements. To-day the trial made of the procedure amended at Madrid four years ago would seem to point the way to and warrant certain new reforms which experience shows to be necessary.

While it is only fair to acknowledge that the Committees of Three have generally done good work, it would be difficult to refrain from pointing out that, owing to the slow and inefficient procedure in force, many petitions have remained and still remain pending, often for years. To remedy this situation, the League Council, under whose guarantee the minorities are placed, must be invested with more adequate powers for the more effective exercise of its mission.

The Bulgarian delegation considers now as in the past that, in this connection, it would be a great advantage to set up a permanent body to which would be delegated the work of undertaking enquiries and studies of such a nature as would help the Council in the discharge of the task entrusted to it by the Minorities Treaties.

In conclusion, I wish to say that the Bulgarian delegation will support any initiative calculated to bring about progress in this matter, and will accept any proposal considered likely to effect an improvement in existing conditions, more especially the concrete proposals made yesterday by Mr. Ormsby-Gore in his masterly speech.

Speaking on behalf of a country which is inspired by a tenacious enthusiasm for the work of peace and good understanding with all nations, I have attempted to emphasise the

exceptional importance attached by the Bulgarian delegation to the minorities problem, which, perhaps more in the Balkans than anywhere else, forms part and parcel of the problem of the organisation of peace.

Baron ALOISI (Italy).—The very keen debate on the minorities problem which has been carried on in the Sixth Committee during the last three days and has given rise to such authoritative interventions which in no way fall below the standard called for by the importance of the subject has, in my opinion, somewhat exceeded the limits of a discussion on the part of the Council's annual report dealing with the League's activity in regard to minorities.

A discussion on the principles governing the notion of racial minorities is so important that it could only have useful results if it were placed on the Assembly's agenda before the session opened, so that the various States might have time to study it and go into all its details.

Subject to these remarks, I wish to say as loyally but as firmly as I can that the Italian delegation cannot assent to some of the principles forcibly enunciated by a delegation which took the initiative of expounding them on this occasion.

According to the most general interpretation of the existing treaties on the protection of minorities and having due regard to the spirit in which those treaties were prepared, the measures they stipulate for the protection of minorities are inspired first and foremost by the desire to ensure the legal conditions for the peaceful and harmonious existence of the minorities among the whole population of the State to which they belong. Some of the considerations put forward during this discussion by those who advocate the generalisation of the Minorities Treaties raise new and grave problems on which it is not expedient, in the Italian delegation's opinion, to open a discussion at the present time. Such a discussion might be followed by consequences the reverse of those desired by all of us and might only help to irritate rather than pacify men's minds.

This year again we have heard raised the question of a change in the procedure applied to the functions entrusted to the League by the Minorities Treaties. The Italian delegation considers, in principle, that, after the reforms effected in the procedure by the resolution adopted by the Council at Madrid in 1929, there is no reason to contemplate other important changes or to create any new organ.

For my part, I do not see that the procedure at present in force has given rise to any such serious objections that it would be desirable to expose ourselves to the hazards of a modification. Moreover, the present rules of procedure have not been in force for more than what we may term a trial period and it would therefore be advisable to await the results of a longer trial before considering whether they need any revision.

In putting forward this opinion, which is inspired by the prudence demanded by a very complex problem, the Italian delegation desires to reiterate the interest with which Italy follows the League's activity in this particularly delicate subject.

M. BÉRENGER (France).—I am anxious to say a few words in reply to the very courteous explanation which the German delegate made in answer to my previous speech.

M. von Keller seemed surprised that the French delegate had raised in the Sixth Committee, during a discussion on the status of minorities, three questions which he judged to be inopportune and importunate—the first, that of the general laws of the Reich regarding the status of certain classes of its population, described as non-Aryan; the second, that of the race problem in its relation to nationality and the general principles of the League; the third, that of the Jews in Germany.

I venture to say to the representative of the Reich with all courtesy and due deference that I am surprised at his surprise.

Was it not the German delegation which inaugurated the present discussion? Was it not the first to draw attention from this platform to the three problems in question? Was it not M. von Keller who, speaking in the name of his delegation, first referred to developments regarding the new principles of what Germany calls *Volkstum*, and regarding the situation of the Jews in Germany and throughout the world?

Everyone here will remember the statements made by the Reich representative in his opening speech. He said:

“The essence of the problem lies much deeper. The question at issue is a spiritual dispute on the principle of nationalities, a dispute which is occupying the attention of the world to-day. . . . I therefore believe that we must make up our minds to treat the disease.”

M. von Keller continued:

“. . . the individual in these days feels himself bound to his ethnic nationality and to the culture with which he is associated by ties much more close than those of former times. We call this tendency the avowal of the link with the *Volkstum*—that is to say, the ethnic nationality. . . . The very fact that they (its members) belong to a nation means that the nation in question has a natural and moral right to consider that all its members—even those separated from the mother country by State frontiers—constitute a moral and cultural whole. . . . The Chancellor of the German Reich in several of his speeches stressed the fact that the German people is devotedly attached to the conception of its ethnic nationality, and is fully aware of the close and indissoluble ties which bind it to all Germans, in no matter what part of the world they dwell.”

Lastly, on the subject of the Jewish problem, it was the German delegate who stated:
“ . . . the Jewish question has frequently been confused with the minority question. The Jewish question is a peculiar problem of race and must not be connected with the general question of minorities. . . . ”

Since he took this step and invited our Committee to enter into these controversies—to use his own expression—the German delegation might well expect that others should take up the subject. The right to initiative calls forth a duty to reply. The French delegation fulfilled this duty in throwing light on certain points in the discussion originally raised by the German delegation. We did not seek to avoid the invitation issued because we felt that we were doing greater honour to the remarks submitted by the delegate for the Reich than if we had treated them with indifference and passed them over in silence.

This discussion, moreover, was necessary. It was worthy of the international mission of justice and toleration which has always been and should remain the chief prerogative of the League of Nations.

After the powerful speeches made in this Committee both yesterday and to-day by the delegates of various States, and in particular by Mr. Ormsby-Gore, whose eloquent analysis of the principle of the relations of a nation with its component races we applauded, I have no wish to cover afresh ground which has already been covered in such a decisive, witty and conclusive statement. This is no gathering of anthropologists and I am convinced that none of us will regret exoneration from the task of investigating the prehistoric habitat of Neanderthal man.

As I listened to Mr. Ormsby-Gore recalling England's traditions, and the variety of its component elements co-existent with that conception of unity which, maintained throughout the centuries, had made the British Empire what it is, I could not help thinking of all those other nations, old and new, composed of several races; for instance, the Swiss Republic which welcomes us here and whose national force seems to be as strongly welded, as just and as human as that of other nations which flatter themselves—and perhaps somewhat presumptuously—that their national sentiment is founded on ethnical considerations alone. Is not the fundamental aim and the very condition of the existence of our League of Nations the principle that each nation must be left its liberty and its form in a spirit of justice and toleration applied to all ?

Are the Jews a minority? Are they not a minority? The question has been much debated, and I believe that the Jews themselves would not be agreed upon the reply. Were you to question the French Jews, for instance, you would find few, if any, who would consent to term themselves a minority; they call themselves French citizens like the rest. And I am fully convinced, with M. von Keller, that if the same question had been put to German Jews some years ago, they, too, would not have wished to look upon themselves as anything but Germans. I have recently been reading Count Kessler's excellent book on Walter Rathenau. No book could prove more movingly the patriotic feeling for Germany of a Jew who did his utmost to serve his country well. Had this not been the feeling of the German Jews, it is obvious that, in 1919, the Jewish delegations which fixed the first outline of the texts on which the Peace Conference was to base the treaties for the protection of minorities would have asked for this protection for themselves. This they did not do, so idle and so anachronistic did such protection appear in their eyes. They felt themselves assimilated, safe in their position, thanks to the traditions of a century of equality.

However true the facts which I have just recalled, there is no denying the precept accepted by all authors that as soon as there is legal discrimination a minority exists within the meaning of modern law. The Jewish minority as such may not have existed in Germany. It is created when discriminatory treatment is accorded to the German Jews. There is no escaping this dilemma, and, once we find ourselves in this position, the German delegation must understand that we cannot—in this discussion, where that delegation itself brought up the question of minorities in its most general aspect—fail to feel for the Jewish minority that same sentiment of human solidarity, that same spirit of equity which the German delegation asks of us when other national minorities outside Germany are involved, and which, as you know, have been our guiding principles till now, as they will remain in the future.

I would not wish this discussion of principle which has, and rightly, occupied the main part of our debate, to prevent us from considering other statements on points of fact to which the Committee has listened; I refer in particular to M. Beneš's admirable speech. Neither would I wish to fail to recognise—while addressing to the States signatories to the treaties the thanks which M. Beneš regretted to find lacking for the way in which they have helped to execute those treaties—the debt we owe to the States not directly concerned, which, both in the Council and in the Minorities Committees, spend their time ensuring that the minorities shall be subjected to no injustice as regards the rights which they are recognised by the treaties to possess. In this connection, I desire to pay a special tribute to the members of the Council who, owing to the inevitable expiration of their term of office, are obliged to leave the Council, to the Irish representative, who has shown so much impartiality and so much enlightenment in his capacity as Rapporteur to the Council on these matters, and to the Norwegian representative, who has always shown such devotion to the cause of minorities. We ourselves come within this category of States which are not actually concerned, and which try loyally to apply the treaties in that spirit of justice and moderation which M. Briand has so often defined before this Committee. The German delegate gave us great pleasure when he called Aristide Briand to our minds. I am fully aware that I am called upon to continue here his tradition. It is in that spirit that I have the honour, in the name of the French Republic, guardian of the principles at the basis of a Revolution which proclaimed the rights of man and of citizens

without distinction of race, religion or origin, to propose a draft resolution, the object of which is to confirm, while defining more clearly its scope, the recommendation with regard to the rights of minorities, adopted by the Assembly of 1922. The text of the draft resolution is as follows :

“ The Assembly :

“ (1) Solemnly reaffirms the recommendation adopted by the Assembly on September 21st, 1922, and proclaims that States which are not bound by any legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities must nevertheless observe, in the treatment of their own racial, religious or linguistic minorities, at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties and by the regular action of the Council ;

“ (2) Considers that there is no justification for any interpretation of the Minorities Treaties or of the foregoing recommendation which would exclude certain categories of citizens from the benefit of the provisions which, in those treaties, refer to all nationals ‘ without distinction of race, language or religion ’ .”

M. KURTI (Albania).—It is natural that I should have followed with the keenest interest the debate in our Committee these last few days, for three reasons : (1) Because I represent a people which, after having undergone invasion by the belligerents during the world war, notwithstanding its neutrality, succeeded in rescuing, at the cost of great tribulation and many sacrifices, after this disaster without parallel in history, part of its racial territory, though one half of its population remained outside its political frontiers ; (2) because it was my country's painful duty to welcome and settle thousands of its nationals at the cost of immense sacrifices in view of its very precarious financial resources ; (3) because we have invariably applied ourselves to the strict and loyal execution of all the clauses of the Minorities Treaties. We believe that, in doing so, we have not only honoured our engagements to the League, to which we are always firmly attached, but that we have also served the cause of peace.

My object in speaking is not to make any proposals, for the distinguished speakers who have preceded me, and who are much better qualified than I am, have already done so, but to express my fervent hope that our discussion taken as a whole may foster a spirit of justice, liberality and comprehension so that a serious enquiry may be made with a view to more effective and satisfactory protection of minorities. I do not doubt that that will be the case, because it is precisely one of the League's principal aims to remove all causes of division among the peoples, such as the question of the minorities whom it is the sacred duty of all of us to protect in accordance with the humanitarian spirit governing the treaties.

My delegation therefore endorses the various opinions expressed during the debate because it believes them to be just and expedient. It approves the proposals for the extension of the improvements in procedure effected by the Madrid resolution of 1929, for the publicity of the results of the examination of petitions and of the reasons for the decisions reached by the Committees and for more expeditious procedure. We also think that it would be desirable to set up a permanent committee of neutral experts and that a report on the position of the minorities should be appended to the Secretary-General's report each year.

In concluding my short statement, I should like to affirm my belief that the League will spare no effort to fulfil in a worthy manner the sacred duty incumbent upon it to protect the minorities and defend their rights enshrined in the treaties.

I know that the detractors of the League make use of the minorities question to blacken its name. I wish to state that, in my country, however, faith in the League is unshakable because we fully believe in the final triumph of this noble institution which, sooner or later—and that depends on the goodwill of all its Members and on their powers of comprehension—will lead us to that conscious and organised unity that is fervently desired by all men of standing who are firmly attached to the cause of peace.

M. BARANYAI (Hungary).—I asked leave to speak in order to express in a few words the Hungarian delegation's assent to the proposals of the delegations of the United Kingdom, Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway. These proposals, if adopted by the Committee, will constitute a step forward—though not, it is true, a very large one—in the direction of a better working of the present system of protection. It is not much that these delegations propose, but, when we cannot have what we like, we must like what we have. The Hungarian delegation hopes that these decisions will be only one stage on the road to the perfecting of the procedure.

M. Beneš yesterday raised the veil covering one passage of my speech. I thank him for doing so. I had in mind at one point the territory of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, now situated within the Czechoslovak State. I regret that M. Beneš is no longer present, for I wanted to draw his attention to a small misunderstanding. I referred the day before yesterday to the question of the languages and to the question of the autonomy of this territory in connection with a petition which M. Beneš said he is going to publish and wants us to read. The publication of this petition will naturally be followed by the publication of the reply of the Government, which has the last word, for Governments always have the last word ! In its reply, the Government, as M. Beneš said, refers to the work done in matters of hygiene, administration, education and so on. I see that I must explain myself a little.

In my speech, I deplored the non-application by Czechoslovakia of Chapter II of the Minorities Treaty, which says that :

“Czechoslovakia undertakes to constitute the Ruthene territory south of the Carpathians as an autonomous unit within the Czechoslovak State, and to accord it the fullest degree of self-government. . . . The Ruthene territory shall possess a special Diet. This Diet shall have powers of legislation in all linguistic, scholastic . . . questions. . . .”

The construction and existence of hospitals and kindergartens must not therefore be confused with the question of the non-existence of this Diet. The establishment of schools does not take the place of autonomous institutions, which are still lacking.

M. Beneš also recommended the Committee to make thorough enquiries to distinguish the minority systems of particular countries and to make certain comparisons, for example, between the situation of the German minority in Czechoslovakia and that of the German minority in Hungary. The Hungarian delegation is delighted that the idea of comparative studies, which presuppose enquiry on the spot, should have been received with favour by the Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs. Hungary itself has always taken the view that such enquiries should be organised and carried out by committees on the spot. The Hungarian Government would, of course, itself gladly welcome such a committee of the League of Nations, on condition that similar committees are sent at the same time to the territory of States possessing large Hungarian minorities. It will then be possible, on the basis of the report by experts and impartial judges responsible to the League, to make a comparative study of the situation of the minorities in the Danubian basin, and in particular of that of the three groups of Hungarian minorities living in the three countries bordering on Hungary.

M. Antoniade, in the speech he has just made, said he thought this “ritual” discussion which takes place each year in this Committee on the question of minorities in general and the system of protection in particular was trivial and useless. M. Beneš, on the other hand, yesterday expressed his satisfaction with the discussion. He said it gave him great pleasure to take part in these debates, in particular because he enjoyed—I quote his own words—a battle of wits animated by goodwill and candour. I am very glad to be able to agree with him on that point at any rate.

M. POLITIS (Greece).—I have followed the debate that has been proceeding here for the last three days with very keen interest, for two reasons—first, because the problem under discussion strikes at the root of a community which is painfully endeavouring to organise itself, and, secondly, because my country has what I may call the privilege (since it is an exceptional regime) of being one of the States that are bound by treaty obligations in this matter. From both these points of view, I should like to offer a few observations, which I shall make as brief as possible.

First and foremost, it seems to me that a certain confusion prevails as to the actual principle of the problem—I mean as to the definition of minorities. Although the population of no country in the world is absolutely uniform in the matters of religion, language, or even racial origin, there are a large number of countries, both in Western Europe and over a great part of America, which look upon themselves as having no minorities in their territories. At first sight, this is difficult to understand. One cannot see why, for instance, the Jews—who are indisputably a minority in oriental countries—should not be a minority in western countries.

On reflection, however, I think an explanation can be found, and has already been outlined by Senator Bérenger in the admirable speech he delivered just now.

In some countries, there is no longer any distinction, in law or in fact, between minorities and the rest of the population. The minorities have become fused in a single and indivisible population, and in those countries they have no desire to be regarded as minorities. Their sole reason for not wishing to be regarded as minorities is that it is not in their interest, and the reason why it is not in their interest is that they possess, not only legally but in fact, exactly the same status as other sections of the population. None the less, they are still latent minorities—sleeping minorities, as one might say—ready to awaken at any moment when their moral union with the rest of the population may be relaxed; and it might be relaxed in either of two ways: either the minorities might seek to secure a special position in the State, or the State itself might treat them differently from the other sections of the population.

That, I think, is how the Jewish question, which has been so much discussed here, can be settled. Either the Jews are a minority or they are not. That depends on the particular case. They are a minority where, whether through their own act or through that of the State, they hold a special position; but they are not a minority where no distinction, legal or in fact, is drawn between them and the rest of the population.

That, it seems to me, is the explanation of the at first sight inexplicable phenomenon that the same people can be a minority in one country and not in other countries. What conclusion is to be drawn? It is in order to decide this that I have enunciated the foregoing premises.

In my view, the unavoidable conclusion is that the division of a people into a majority and a minority is neither necessary nor permanent; and, if you agree with this conclusion, you will at once see a strong light shed upon the aspect of the problem that has received particular attention here when the question was raised whether the present system for the international protection of minorities is an exceptional system, and, as such, destined to disappear, or whether

it is the germ of an improvement which will in due course become general in every country in the world.

I need not say that there is a considerable difference of opinion on this point. It seems to me, however, that it is desirable for the present minority system to develop in one or other of these two directions. The one thing that must not be allowed to happen, in my view, is that this system should continue indefinitely in its present limited form. Such a solution would not be justified, either on logical grounds or by the general interest of the community.

It might perhaps be possible to reconcile the opposing trends of thought by going right to the root of the problem and realising two facts which, I think, are too often forgotten. The first is that the present system for the international protection of minorities is the outcome of protracted efforts of a purely political nature, which were continued in Europe from the Peace of Westphalia to the last war, through a series of intermediate arrangements of which the best known are those in the Treaty of Berlin. The treaties that followed the great war substituted the Council's jurisdiction for the intermittent and—frankly—not always wholly disinterested protection previously afforded by the great Powers. But these treaties have followed the same line as that pursued since the seventeenth century—that is to say, political protection granted to certain minorities.

The second fact is that, if the minority system is considered on its merits, it is found to correspond to certain aspirations of present-day civilisation, aspirations which tend to accord to every human being, merely as a human being, a minimum of guarantees and of privileges: religious privileges, language privileges, educational privileges and equality of civil status.

If we fully realise both these facts we shall perhaps feel that the best solution of the problem which has absorbed us so much ever since the League of Nations came into being would consist of a combined system which would retain, as a general regime applicable to all countries, recognition of the rights of man whether member of a majority or of a minority, whether liable to restrictions or a pure outsider, but which would replace political protection, which is always somewhat artificial and arbitrary, by objective and absolutely impartial protection, which is that based on law.

I firmly believe that this is the direction in which international law is developing. For some years past, scientific efforts have been specially directed towards this point, and, when it met four years ago at New York, the Institute of International Law laid down the general rules which should be accepted on this point by all countries as affirming the rights of man in the international sphere. This system, I think, might reconcile the tendencies which now confront one another here and are in somewhat acute conflict.

If the Committee would like to follow this line, it would be necessary to expand the terms of reference which the Polish delegation suggests the Council should receive and ask it to study the possibility of framing, on the lines I have just indicated, a general Convention which could be accepted by all civilised States.

Pending the realisation of a reform on this scale, it does not seem to me the moment to make the existing system worse by increasing the exceptional obligations which some States, and only some, have assumed up to the present; I cannot accordingly support the proposals made here by three delegations to alter the procedure at present in force. These proposals, moreover, I think, could hardly be reconciled with the idea which one of those delegations put at the basis of the reforms suggested. The United Kingdom representative reminded us yesterday of Viscount Cecil's theory, which I think is to-day the doctrine of the League of Nations—namely, that, as regards the protection of minorities, the Council's powers are not those of a tribunal which decides disputes, but of a paternal authority.

I greatly fear that the introduction of the proposed reforms would mean a slow but certain transformation of the Council's power, of this paternal authority, into that of a court to decide disputes. You will see as well as I do the numerous drawbacks to which this would give rise. The system of protecting minorities, once changed into a hearing of parties in dispute, would cease to be a means of settling on amicable lines the inevitable difficulties which arise in some countries. It would be a kind of delayed explosion bomb which would menace the very foundations of the new States.

It is for this reason, and it is a vital reason, that I fully endorse what M. Beneš said yesterday and what M. Antoniadé added to-day. I fully agree with them in stating, on my Government's behalf, that there is in any case one principle to which we are faithful and to which we cannot under any circumstances admit an exception—namely, that, as the minority system is sanctioned by treaties and established by a more or less spontaneous joint agreement between the countries concerned and the chief Powers victors in the last war, such a regime, being in the form of a contractual obligation, may in no way be altered without the full and free consent of the countries concerned.

As M. Beneš pointed out yesterday, that has been the view, from the very outset, of all the so-called minority countries. We advocated it vigorously in 1923; we have never ceased urging it since, and we succeeded, though not without difficulty, in maintaining it at Madrid some years ago. We are prepared to open a discussion on the point; but, with the utmost loyalty and as sincerely as M. Beneš, I must declare that my Government would not tolerate any attempt to force it to accept fresh concessions which it believes to be untimely and dangerous.

I must with equal sincerity say that my Government would very willingly accept the proposals made by M. Bérenger to ask the Assembly to renew, strengthen and reinforce the

resolution adopted eleven years ago. Eleven years ago the Assembly simply voiced the hope that States not bound by contractual obligations would grant their minorities the same privileges at least as the countries by treaty bound to do so. The proposal now is—and it is to my mind a proper proposal—to emphasise what was latent in the hope expressed eleven years back—namely, the duty—I would like to say not merely the moral but even the legal duty—which, in view of the international solidarity and co-operation which are at the very root of the Covenant by which we are governed, obliges all countries whatsoever to grant the minimum privileges to which I have just referred to all who live in their territory, whether members of the majority or of the minority, whether nationals or foreigners.

This is why I have the greatest pleasure in intimating my Government's acceptance of the proposal just made by M. Bérenger. I hasten to add that, if the League of Nations desired to initiate a wider reform and to make the system of minorities protection a rule of international law binding on all countries without distinction, my Government would collaborate loyally and sincerely to secure the ultimate success of the League's efforts in this path which it considers to be one of major progress.

The continuation of the discussion was adjourned to the next meeting.

EIGHTH MEETING

Held on Friday, October 6th, 1933, at 10.15 a.m.

Chairman : M. DE MADARIAGA (Spain).

27. Protection of Minorities : General Discussion (continuation).

M. RAPPARD (Switzerland).—My reason for waiting until now to take part in a discussion in which my country is so deeply interested is that, until yesterday, I continued to hope that M. Motta would be able to speak on behalf of Switzerland. He is prevented from doing so, however, by his duties as Chairman of the First Committee. He is extremely sorry not to have been able to take part in our discussion, and has done me the great honour to ask me to take his place.

The question which has been the main subject of our discussion, moreover, is not one upon which a delegate of my country requires instructions. Such instructions are inherent in our upbringing, learnt by us from tradition, and in our school and family life.

I wish, first, to thank all those who have spoken of Switzerland and of its first delegate in terms which touched us deeply. In particular, I desire to thank M. Bérenger for the great tribute which he paid to the fundamental principle underlying the Swiss nationality. His words went straight to the heart of public opinion in Switzerland, as did the statement made by the Minister for Propaganda of the Reich, to which M. Motta referred last week in our Federal Parliament.

Switzerland, I need hardly say, is in favour of any step which will place the League of Nations, its institutions and its influence at the service of the protection of human rights and international goodwill.

Have we minorities in Switzerland? It is my belief that if, on his way to this meeting, any one of you had stopped one of my fellow citizens on the pont du Mont-Blanc to assure him of your solicitude for the Swiss minority, he would have shown considerable surprise. According to the very ingenious definition of minorities given by M. Politis yesterday, there is no minority in Switzerland, neither by their own action nor by that of the Government. Those who belong to the various linguistic groups in Switzerland are placed in no special position. But if it is desired at all costs to regard as minorities those speaking a tongue different from that of the majority, it must be admitted that the members of the Swiss minority are not to be pitied. The Federal Constitution is even more generous in this respect than the Covenant of the League, since we have three national languages, and since three official languages can be spoken in the Palais fédéral, whereas in the League there are at least forty languages represented while the official languages are but two.

I do not think that the League need therefore occupy itself unduly with protecting linguistic minorities in Switzerland. However, while it is evident that Switzerland could only be glad to see the protection of minorities extended, and while she might see therein a sort of "helvetisation" of Europe, this is not the aspect of our discussion which has most interested Swiss opinion.

The Reich delegate, when he dwelt upon the conception of ethnic nationality, raised a problem the repercussions of which are almost infinite from the political point of view. M. von Keller juxtaposed political to ethnic nationality, or, rather, he based political nationality upon ethnic nationality, and he appeared to desire to reserve to the first, as a right of supervision, a sort of moral protectorate over the second. This argument is naturally somewhat disturbing to a country like Switzerland, since it would mean that its three linguistic elements could—at the expense of national unity—be to some extent claimed by its three great neighbouring States. Whatever our feelings may be towards our three great neighbours—

and you know that they are both deep and sincere—we would not care to see the small clearing constituted by our national independence too closely surrounded by the forest of their majestic sovereignty, for fear that the sun of our liberty should be wholly obscured.

What is this ethnic nationality? It is certainly not race, for M. von Keller himself avoided the use of this word—a word condemned by contemporary anthropologists in the sense used in the political world. The nordic race in particular, which is represented far more strongly in other countries than it is in that of M. von Keller, cannot serve as a basis for even ethnic nationality.

Is it a matter of language? The Canadian delegate explained to us yesterday that his country was bilingual—naturally, historically and originally bilingual. I need scarcely mention my own country; but, while there exist countries which know several languages, there exist also languages which are used in several countries, as the States of Latin America know full well. Hence, language cannot constitute the basis of nationality.

Would it then be that German term which M. von Keller used: the *Volkstum*? Like so many German expressions, this word has no exact equivalent in French, perhaps because it cannot be very precisely defined. Indeed, the Swiss *Volkstum*, which is only partly Germanic, is fully aware of its special particularities, of its own value. It has been recognised by German opinion, and not only since yesterday, but for generations past. I would, for instance, remind you of the saying—scarcely complimentary to my country, moreover—of the great poet Goethe, who, journeying to Switzerland at the end of the eighteenth century and drawing near to the Swiss frontier, said: “Wir nähern uns der Schweiz, die Menschen werden gröber” (We are getting nearer to Switzerland; men become coarser).

Is not that a recognition of a feature of the Swiss *Volkstum* distinguishing us from the German *Volkstum*? No. Perhaps I may be allowed to say that ethnic nationality is, in my view, a term false in its clarity, as are so many brilliant ideas more seductive in appearance than in fact. It seems to me to be the result of the generalisation of an entirely special conception, the *Deutschtum*. Certain States, where the linguistic and political frontiers coincide at least approximately, naturally tend to exalt the principle of blood, the value of language and of ethnic nationality as the fundamental principle of sovereignty.

But there are other and far more numerous States which base their nationality on entirely different conceptions—on a heritage of culture, on a multitude of historic memories, and on a common attachment to a same land. Switzerland must obviously be numbered among these.

I would draw attention to two characteristics of this conception of a national public spirit. We regard them as superior characteristics, but I would not present them as such. Happily, we all regard as superior the conditions of our own country; it is they which bind us to our native land. Nevertheless, it is not as superior characteristics that I mention these; I do so simply to define the respective position of States in general and of mine in particular towards this problem.

The first characteristic is that our fundamental national conception is of its nature spiritual. Blood is a material thing. Language, too, is but a manifestation of instinct. But with a common attachment to certain memories and a devotion to given principles we enter the moral sphere. Among these fundamental principles which go to make the deep-rooted unity of my country, divided by its tongues, there is incontestably our attachment to political liberty and social fraternity. No one understood this better than a great German poet to whom—and this, moreover, is hardly flattering to our national pride—we owe the noblest literary work which exalts the origins and very nature of the Swiss State:

“Wir wollen sein ein einzig Volk von Brüdern,
In keiner Not uns trennen und Gefahr.
Wir wollen frei sein, wie die Väter waren,
Eher den Tod, als in der Knechtschaft leben.”

(We would be a united band of brothers, divided neither by danger nor by distress; we would be free, as our fathers were free, preferring death to slavery.)

In these words, Schiller, in “William Tell”, set forth the origins and, in so doing, the fundamental principle of the Swiss nation. The other characteristic of our conception of patriotism is international in character, and in that respect its advantage is incontestable. When nationality is based on a community of ideas and not on blood or language, there can never be any desire to extend the territory beyond the limits set by this community of ideas. There can therefore be no imperialism, no irredentism, no lust for territory. As a result, international co-operation is promoted and peace the less endangered.

There can be no doubt that all the Swiss respect the national principles of other countries, even when those principles are entirely foreign to their own, just as all the Swiss know that they can count on their Swiss principles being respected by their neighbours.

Let the nations and Governments bring to the forefront, and even exalt, the principle of nationality, if that is necessary or useful for stimulating their own civic spirit. But they should at the same time allow us to entertain the hope—a hope founded both on European reasons and on Swiss reasons—that the future will not be based on a policy which tends, by propaganda or

violence, to bring linguistic and political frontiers into line with one another in cases where history, geography and—last but not least—the will of the people is opposed to them.

M. FOTITCH (Yugoslavia).—I do not ask to speak in order to prolong this discussion or to give a dissertation on the general problem of the protection of minorities. In this connection, I would like to say, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation, that I entirely associate myself with what has been said by the representatives of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Roumania. For my part, I could have used almost exactly the same words I used during the discussion which took place in this Committee last year.

I hesitated somewhat as to whether I should refer to certain allusions which the Hungarian delegate made during his speech and in which I thought—perhaps wrongly—that he referred to my country. Other remarks referred to me personally, but were in connection with what I said last year. He will not therefore take it amiss if I decide to take a year to answer his remarks, assuming that we shall all be here next year.

I decided to speak in order to make a statement on behalf of the delegations of the countries of the *Petite Entente* and of Poland with regard to the draft resolution submitted to you by the delegations of the United Kingdom, Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands.

During their speeches, the representatives of Czechoslovakia and Roumania clearly expressed our point of view—namely, that, under the treaties for the protection of minorities, the execution of these treaties and the procedure to be applied are exclusively a matter for the Council. We have pointed out on more than one occasion that the procedure established by the Council could only be instituted with the assistance, collaboration and consent of the States concerned. We desire to abide by this point of view, for this is a right which we cannot renounce.

In our opinion, the Assembly can only deal with the problem of minorities as a general problem affecting the League of Nations as a whole, whether it be a matter of the minorities protected by the special treaties, or of the minorities which one speaker during the discussion here has called the minorities properly speaking—that is to say, the minorities which are not protected by special treaties. Indeed, this is the duty of the Assembly, and a duty which it must not allow itself to forget, if its discussions and decisions are to have any moral force or authority, as the rights of minorities which we have been pleased to call sacred rights cannot be made to depend on the existence of a special convention or be limited to this or that frontier line. Until the protection of these rights has been made the subject of a legal undertaking binding upon all States Members of the League of Nations, we cannot agree to any fresh extension of our obligations, which would only serve further to accentuate this unjust inequality. When this condition has been realised, we can then discuss, on the basis of this general plan, any improvements to procedure or guarantees.

The draft resolution submitted by the delegations of the United Kingdom, Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands tends to cause a one-sided extension—through procedure—of the contractual legal obligations of the so-called minority States in this matter. For the reasons I have just given, and while emphasising once more the fact that the problem of procedure can only be discussed by the Council of the League and the States concerned, I have the honour to state, on behalf of the delegations of the States of the *Petite Entente* and of Poland, that we cannot accept the draft resolution in question or any other proposal relating to procedure or to the application of existing treaties.

Mirza Abol-Hassan Khan FEROUGHI (Persia).—The minorities question upon which the Sixth Committee has been engaged for some days is a typical case of a political and social problem which may be cited in support of the thesis which I thought it desirable briefly to expound during the general discussion in the Assembly.

I am very glad to be able to illustrate my idea here by giving you a living example of a solution found for this very controversial question in one part of the globe. There is in the world, although outside Europe, one country which, without drawing attention to itself, has solved the minorities problem so effectively that it does not exist there. That country—and I have no desire to boast of it—is my own, Persia. I do not mean that there is on Persian territory no variety of peoples. Side by side with the very large majority consisting of Moslem Iranians, there are Zoroastrian Iranians, Christians of different creeds and Jews. There are, however, no facts justifying the application of the term “minorities”, in the political significance now given to that word, to any of these numerical minority elements. The unanimous declaration of these elements themselves, whose representatives may be met with in these precincts, the facts stored up in the memories of the members of the Minorities Section and the archives of the League make it unnecessary for me to adduce proofs in support of this truth, which is manifest to all those who consult the authorised sources. Neither do I desire to detain you by citing facts demonstrating the reality of the magnanimous peace and the liberal concord that have robbed the minorities question of its bitterness in Persia. I will only attempt to explain briefly the happy situation which we enjoy in the hope that my exposition of an experience that is thirty centuries old may help to throw some light on the search for the solution of this problem which is rendered so difficult because it affects international relations and the rights of men.

I stated in my short speech at the Assembly that the Iranian genius had always been of the synthetic type, and that our national history is an actual series of syntheses. A synthesis is quite different from an assimilation. The tendency of the latter is to unify and render homogeneous the elements of a whole which it impoverishes because it eliminates what is original and with it the wealth that represents the whole value of an enlarged existence.

Such an assimilation is harmful. It is unjust if it is imposed by force, because it tends to eliminate all personality in the elements to which it applies—that is to say, everything that makes them rich in themselves, and all justification for their existence. That is why, in human society, only those elements are assimilated which, by their ineptitude, their lack of vitality or of fundamental wealth, are already lost or destined to disappear from history. Elements that are capable of life are never completely assimilated. They always preserve a hidden force, a smouldering fire that is covered with embers but which will burst into flame on the first occasion and do so all the more violently in proportion to the violence of the oppression by which it was sought to bring about their assimilation. That is the kind of reaction that is manifesting itself so energetically in our times and which comes within the general category of reactions that create the acute nationalism of modern days.

Synthesis, on the contrary, is distinguished by its respect for everything respect-worthy—that is to say, everything that expresses a real originality, a real fund of wealth in the personality of its elements. It conserves what is fundamental in all personalities (religion, language, culture, etc., in human groups). Its only effect is to unite them in a harmonious whole, by a supple tie of concord, and to make of them a higher personality that embraces the smaller personalities with all their wealth and enriches one group with the resources of another. Such a synthesis, one formed in this way, is necessarily solid and durable, provided it has been put together by a beneficent hand.

Guided by an instinctive flair derived from its synthetic genius, the principal Aryan stock which formed the Iranian peoples in Iran succeeded in constituting the Persian nation, the web of which, being exceedingly strong and sufficiently solid to resist the vicissitudes of ten centuries, shows in the unity of its structure a supple richness that enables elements which are clearly differentiated to find a place without its unity being broken.

These elements which would otherwise form minorities at loggerheads with the majority of the nation in actual fact only accentuate the character of the original contributions to the wealth of our national life taken as a whole—such, for example, as our Jews and our Armenians, who gladly form part of our civilisation and take part in our literature and our art, but with a distinction of originality which they owe to the peculiar personality they have preserved.

Anyone who comes to Persia will see how satisfactory to both majority and minorities is the way in which we supplement one another and constitute a whole, the strength of which is formed by the bond uniting us. The fact is that the Iranian people has never assimilated anyone, any more than it has allowed itself to be assimilated. It has always achieved synthesis, and synthesis constitutes the realisation of a happy unit allied to the most abundant wealth.

What is the machinery of this flexible social and political fabric which I have termed synthetic? I should be departing too far from the special subject of the debate were I to attempt to reply to this question. Nevertheless, I may remind you that authoritative historians of the West have discerned in the coming of the ancient Persians that Aryan stock to which I have felt able to attribute synthetic genius, the entry of a new era of comparatively softer manners. It can hardly be without some profound reason that the special genius of synthesis makes its appearance contemporaneously with this introduction of relatively softened manners. Synthesis is a beneficent factor and demands a great measure of flexibility, the principle of which resides in human matters, in our inner feelings. It is the flexibility due to generosity of feeling. In all cases the liberality of character has been able to replace the greed that yearns after assimilation by synthetic genius, to the benefit both of itself and of its neighbours. When generosity of sentiment is effective, the disposition to such flexible synthesis is a perfectly natural, if not absolutely necessary, phenomenon, for it is a mistake to see antagonisms everywhere.

How could a real universe live with a preponderance of antagonisms—that is to say, with the inevitable causes of destruction? No, in reality, nothing is truly antagonistic; everything is complementary in the rich diversity that distinguishes beings and things. Antagonisms can only exist in men's feelings when those feelings are seriously sick, when the ill-health of human society tends to the violent dislocation and disorganisation of our world. Let generosity return to men's feelings, and thereby restore their hearts to health; everything will then be seen to be complementary and capable of contributing to a happy synthesis in which nationalisms will concord with international relationships of the most open and reassuring nature. Thanks to this, the conflict between majorities and minorities will be eliminated in a general harmony relieved by apparent contrasts.

Such is the lesson which the life of the Iranians may give in the liberal synthesis in which we have actually existed for close on thirty centuries. To give cases bearing on the question of minorities, I will mention the gesture of Cyrus the Great when he granted freedom to the Jews, while vouchsafing them his protection, and that of Shah Abbas the Great towards the Armenians, whose generosity proved him to be the first of the moderns. The result of this long life constantly repairing its inevitable weaknesses by reversion to liberalism and the spirit of synthesis has been that the minorities question has solved itself automatically in Persia and is expressed in that equality of rights which is the natural conclusion of the habitual toleration practised by Iranian society. The Persian Constitution solemnly enshrines the rights recognised by the customs of centuries. General security, restored under the Pehlevi regime, has ensured the exercise of those rights and, consequently, on Persian territory every reasonable man aims only to be a good Persian. Thus a living example shows, in the East as well as in the West, that the need for recognising that there are minorities to be protected depends, as has been eloquently stated more than once during this debate, not on locality, whether the locality be East or West, but on the greater or less loyalty with which the natural and sacred rights of man are applied.

We thus derive from our thirty-centuries-old experience the same lesson that is embodied in the solemn declarations of modern thinkers—namely, that the evils from which mankind suffers must, in the political and social order, be assuaged by an unqualified acknowledgment and application, without discrimination, of the rights of man. It may be helpful, however, to remind you of this misapprehended experience, because that may bring us nearer to the solution of the difficult problem of how the world can continue to hesitate when confronted with principles which are so manifest or at least so natural. The conception of synthesis, borne of the experience I have evoked, teaches us, in fact, that man, in his moral progress, advances towards an ideal which he achieves by synthesis because, in that ideal, he must unite the greatest wealth and the firmest unity. The rights of man—and I mean of the man whose soul represents the right to liberty—have as their object to procure to mankind the possibility of fully developing its fundamental wealth that is contained in all that is original, realising thereby distinct personalities, in such a way that the development of distinctive personalities and characteristics may be reconciled with a solid bond of unity, harmony and cohesion, since, without some such guarantee of consistency, the diversity of things would lead to disorganisation and a state of dispersion, the result of which would be the loss of all wealth consequent upon the loss of all real existence.

The problem, in fact, is this : how to combine unity and wealth. That is the practical problem which must be solved. It is the problem which at present constitutes our great difficulty in the moral, spiritual, social and political world. It is the problem which engenders the present antagonism between nationalism and liberalism, which has an influence on the less general question of minorities. That difficulty may only be solved finally when a free rein is given to pure generosity of feeling, thus allowing of the effective working of a flexible synthesis.

Accordingly, without considering that the problem, in the form in which we are discussing it, is a purely European problem, I will, on behalf of my Government, constant as always in its ancient spirit of toleration and moderation in all things, express the hope that the minorities question will be apprehended in a liberal and wise sense, in conformity with the human ideal of an orderly and harmonious society. I trust that it is not proposed to abandon defenceless human beings to their fate in the remote and as yet dimly lit depths of the social world, nor to bring into being, by a hasty and ill-considered generalisation, or by the hope of a misplaced protection or one promised without due consideration, a state of affairs which might be both injurious to the general order and to the interests of the very people it is desired to protect. We express this hope because we unhappily know certain circles of society in which the truth may yet be hidden even from the eyes of those who seek for it skilfully.

M. VON KELLER (Germany).—Some speakers have drawn from my first speech political inferences entirely alien to my thought.

I do not propose to go into the substance of the question and prolong the discussion. As, however, it was M. Rappard, the Swiss delegate, who made special allusion thereto, I wish to say that Switzerland has long known our feeling of friendly appreciation and respect for that country's political and racial configuration.

M. Rappard has quoted Schiller's line: "Wir wollen sein ein einzig Volk von Brüdern". What the German poet expressed in the language of poetry is no less a proof of the German declarations, which, in the language of politics, our German people and statesmen have constantly made in the past and which were reiterated by our Ministers with special force in their conversations with the distinguished Swiss statesman, declarations to which the latter has been good enough to give full publicity.

The CHAIRMAN.—We have a number of draft resolutions before us, one from the United Kingdom, Norwegian, Netherlands and Danish delegations, one submitted by the delegation of Haiti, another by the Polish delegation and the last by that of France. Amendments to the first-named resolution have been proposed by the Irish Free State delegation.

I propose that we refer all these resolutions to a Sub-Committee and ask it to study them and report to the Committee.

The proposal of the Chairman was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Sub-Committee might consist of the delegations of the United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Greece, Haiti, Hungary, Irish Free State, Italy, Norway, Poland and Sweden, together with the Rapporteur.

Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (United Kingdom), seconded by M. VON KELLER (Germany), proposed that the Sub-Committee should be presided over by the Chairman of the Committee.

The above proposals were adopted.

NINTH MEETING

Held on Tuesday, October 10th, 1933, at 4 p.m.

Chairman : M. DE MADARIAGA (Spain).

28. Slavery : Examination and Adoption of the Draft Report and Resolution.

The CHAIRMAN said that M. López Oliván, delegate of Spain, who had been appointed Rapporteur on the slavery question, had been called away from Geneva to act as arbitrator

in the Zones question. The Chairman would therefore ask leave to submit, in place of M. López Oliván, his draft report and resolution.

Mr. ORMSBY-GORE (United Kingdom) wished to express his satisfaction at the results recorded in the report. For some years, his delegation had been very anxious that some definite step should be taken to ensure that the Slavery Convention should be supervised by a permanent committee of experts. It was well known that, even in some countries where slavery was illegal, it persisted in hidden and disguised forms, and it was clearly necessary to have a permanent body qualified to examine the reports collected by the League and to advise it in all matters connected with the final abolition of slavery. The last stage had now been reached in the endeavour to put this matter on a satisfactory footing. He would point out that, in face of the financial difficulties of the present time, it would not have been possible to progress so far had it not been for the valuable assistance of voluntary bodies, particularly of the British Anti-Slavery Society.

Various delegates had expressed disappointment that the Committee would not begin its effective work until 1935. When it was remembered, however, that the reports which it would have to examine would come from great distances, and that a considerable time would elapse before all the comments thereon could be received, the decision that the Committee should meet biennially would appear reasonable. At the same time, he was most anxious that it should hold its first meeting for the execution of its essential task early in 1935, and therefore strongly approved the suggestion that the Committee should be appointed and hold a meeting in the very near future to draw up its rules of procedure and report on the kind of information which it would require. He felt sure that other delegations would share his view that the decision to proceed to the actual constitution of the Permanent Slavery Committee was among the definite achievements of the fourteenth Assembly.

Mlle. FORCHHAMMER (Denmark) referred to the hope she had previously expressed that a woman would be included among the members of the proposed committee of experts; she was glad to learn that provision had been made to that effect.

• In all countries where slavery still existed, there were many women among its victims and their position was often worse than that of the men. She hoped that the Permanent Committee would consider very carefully the position of women belonging to native races and do their utmost to provide for their liberation and equitable treatment.

• Mr. LIU Chieh (China) shared the satisfaction expressed by the two previous speakers with the programme of work proposed in the report. He drew attention to a communication from his Government regarding the so-called *mui-tsai* system contained in the Annual Report of the Slavery Convention (document A.16.1933.VI). This document made it clear that the Chinese Government was earnestly determined to eradicate the last remnants of an ancient and outworn custom. The fact that the "Rules prohibiting the keeping of *mui-tsai*" were promulgated only in September 1933 must not be considered as evidence of the existence in China of slavery in the usual sense of the term. He would like to take the opportunity of making clear the position of his country in regard to this problem of slavery and to answer the question which was constantly being raised as to whether the *mui-tsai* should be classified as slaves. He would re-affirm the statement of the Chinese delegate to the twelfth Assembly to the effect that slaves did not exist in China. Slavery was generally defined as "the status or condition of a person over whom the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised". In this technical sense, slavery had never been legally sanctioned in China and it was doubtful whether it had ever existed in practice.

The status of the *mui-tsai* was peculiar. The term denoted merely a young servant girl. She was placed by her own parents, generally in return for payment, in the services of another family, where she remained until old enough to marry. The master did not possess the absolute right of ownership over her; his relation to her was rather that of a guardian to a minor. If she were obliged to render domestic service, she was looked upon as a member of the family.

He was not defending or justifying the existence of such an institution, but wished to emphasise that it was incorrect and unfair to assimilate it to slavery. The Committee of Experts on Slavery in its report to the Council in the previous year had given an impartial description of the *mui-tsai* and had refrained from definitely describing her as a slave. The system was now fast disappearing with the changes in Chinese family customs and the introduction of modern employment. He urged that the problem was, in his opinion, a social one which should be considered rather in connection with the question of child welfare than with that of slavery, and the hardships inherent in it could, he thought, be abolished rather through a general improvement of economic conditions than by the rigid enforcement of a law.

M. DE PEPPA (Italy) stated that his delegation strongly approved the report and was happy to be associated in a work to which a contribution had been made by the Italian League against Slavery.

The draft report and resolution were adopted (Annex 5).

29. Slavery : Appointment of a Rapporteur to the Assembly.

On the proposal of Mr. ORMSBY-GORE, supported by M. DE PEPPO, it was agreed to ask M. LÓPEZ OLIVÁN (Spain) to act as Rapporteur to the Assembly for the question of slavery.

30. Protection of Minorities : Examination and Adoption of the Draft Report and Resolution.

M. HOLSTI (Finland), Rapporteur, presented the report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Committee at its last meeting.

The draft report was examined section by section.

Sections I, II and III.

Sections I, II and III were adopted without comment.

Section IV.

Mr. COYNE (Irish Free State) wished to make a few observations in regard to the second sentence of Section IV. He regretted that Mr. Lester, who had previously been Rapporteur for minorities, was unable to be present to speak on the question.

The sentence to which he alluded purported to be a synopsis of the proposal put before the Committee by the Swedish delegation. He would venture to suggest that that synopsis was not quite accurate in a small particular and might give rise to a misconception. He felt justified in raising the point because he knew that the Swedish delegation would be in agreement with him. The sentence in question concluded with the words : " even if that study were to be confined to the possibility of extending the system to all the European countries ".

The Swedish proposal had considered the question of minority obligations in its most general aspects and had made no reference to any geographical or other limitation. It was the Irish delegate who first introduced the idea of the possibility of limiting the study of the question, or rather the proposed extension, to the continent of Europe. It must not be thought, however, that his delegation had lost faith in the ideal of world solutions for world problems. It had been prompted solely by the recognition of the fact that it was necessary to proceed to reform by stages, as the League had had to proceed in other more important matters. His delegation felt great sympathy for the European countries which, rightly or wrongly, because of the special " minorities " treaties, had what the United Kingdom delegate described as an " inferiority complex " in this matter. It was because this was a European inferiority complex that the Irish delegate thought that, if the problem could be solved within the boundaries of Europe, a considerable step forward would have been made.

He would propose that the words which he had quoted at the end of the second sentence of Section IV should be omitted. In doing so, he was not renouncing the Irish point of view, for generous recognition had been given to that view in what seemed to him the appropriate place—that was to say, further on in the section.

M. HOLSTI (Finland), Rapporteur, and M. SANDLER (Sweden) have no objection to the suggestion made by the Irish delegation.

The proposal of the Irish delegation was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN said that one delegation desired to make a declaration before a vote was taken on the resolutions. He would now ask M. von Keller to address the Committee.

M. VON KELLER (Germany).—I desire to make the following declaration concerning the draft resolutions submitted to the Sixth Committee :

(1) The German delegation accepts draft resolution I.

(2) It is, however, unable to associate itself with the interpretation given in draft resolution II. It considers that the resolution can apply only to minorities in the strict sense of the term. It would appear, however, from the discussions in the Sixth Committee and the Sub-Committee, that the real object of the resolution is to bring the treatment of the Jews in Germany within the range of application of resolution I. That would be at variance with the principles which I expounded in the declarations I made during the debates in this Committee, the question being within the sphere of Germany's internal legislation.

(3) The German delegation accepts draft resolution III.

The CHAIRMAN said that, subject to the declaration of the German delegate, who was unable to accept resolution II, he took it that the report and the three draft resolutions were adopted by the Committee.

The report and the three draft resolutions were adopted (Annex 6), subject to the reservation formulated by the German delegate.

31. Protection of Minorities : Appointment of a Rapporteur to the Assembly.

The CHAIRMAN congratulated M. Holsti on his report to the Committee and proposed that he be appointed Rapporteur to the Assembly.

The proposal of the Chairman was adopted.

M. HOLSTI (Finland), Rapporteur, said that he deeply appreciated the honour of being appointed Rapporteur to the Assembly. He wished also to express his warmest thanks to the Chairman and to the members of the Secretariat who had so ably assisted him in preparing his report.

M. BÉRENGER (France) associated himself with the tribute paid to the Rapporteur and tendered his thanks and congratulations to the Chairman of the Committee for the impartiality and courtesy with which he had directed the proceedings both in the Committee and in the Sub-Committee. The discussions did honour, not only to the Sixth Committee, but to the Assembly also.

32. Close of the Session.

The **CHAIRMAN** thanked his colleagues for their collaboration and pronounced the session closed.

ANNEX 1.

A.36.1933.

COLLABORATION OF THE PRESS IN THE ORGANISATION
OF PEACE.

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : M. DE TESSAN (France).

The problem of the co-operation of the Press in the organisation of peace has received the Assembly's attention on various occasions in the past.

Last year the Assembly examined the results of an enquiry conducted among Press organisations into methods of preventing the spread of false information which may threaten the peace of the world and the good understanding between nations. It expressed the hope that, at a Press Conference similar to that summoned by the Danish Government at Copenhagen in 1932, definite proposals might be made to give effect to some of the principal suggestions offered in the course of that enquiry.

The Government of the Spanish Republic has since decided to convene at Madrid a Conference answering to this recommendation. It has got into touch with our Secretary-General and with an organising committee.

The Conference projected by the Spanish Government is to meet at Madrid on November 7th next. Its agenda comprises the examination of the proposals, suggestions and observations that were put forward in the course of the enquiry into false information. The Directors of Government Press Bureaux, representatives of the principal news-agencies and, delegates of international journalists' organisations are invited. The Spanish Government has also made a happy innovation by inviting associations of newspaper editors, publishers and proprietors. I understand that a number of persons of distinction in the journalistic world have already promised to attend.

The Assembly can only welcome the excellent step taken by the Government of the Spanish Republic and offer its sincerest wishes for the success of the Madrid Conference. It also trusts that at its next session it will be able to acquaint itself with any satisfactory results that may have been secured.

Last year's resolution also advocated the fullest possible publicity for League meetings. At this time, when the Secretariat services are in process of re-organisation, it may not be out of place to emphasise once more how important we consider it that nothing should be neglected to enable the Press to follow all the work of our League as thoroughly and effectively as possible.

The following draft resolution is accordingly submitted to the Assembly :

" The Assembly,

" Having learnt with great satisfaction that the Government of the Spanish Republic has convened a Press Conference to be held at Madrid on November 7th next to formulate concrete proposals to give effect to some of the principal suggestions offered by the Press organisations during the enquiry into the problem of the spread of false information which may threaten the peace of the world and the good understanding between nations,

" Wishes this Conference every success and expresses the hope that the next Assembly will be able to note its satisfactory results ;

" And renews its recommendation that the Secretariat should continue to devote its attention to the development, by all the means at its disposal, of the swift supply to the Press of the fullest possible information concerning the work of the League of Nations."

ANNEX 2.

A.39.1933.

RUSSIAN, ARMENIAN, ASSYRIAN, ASSYRO-CHALDEAN
AND TURKISH REFUGEES.

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : His Excellency M. C. ANTONIADE (Roumania).

The Sixth Committee had under consideration the annual report of the Governing Body of the Nansen International Office for Refugees on the work of the Office during the year ending June 30th, 1933.

The report illustrated in detail the multiplicity and diversity of the work undertaken by the Office on behalf of over a million refugees who, in consequence of war or internal revolution, no longer enjoy the effective protection of their countries of origin, and most of whom have not acquired any other nationality. The report stated that there are in Europe, the Near East and China, not to mention other parts of the world, no fewer than 934,000 refugees, of whom at least 149,000 are either completely unemployed or engaged in casual labour which does not enable them to provide for their most elementary needs, and 54,900 (including war invalids and children) are physically incapable of earning their own living.

In view of the acute economic crisis, and the increasing restrictions in various countries on the employment of foreign workers, which naturally bear more heavily on the refugees than on other workers by reason of the absence of any reciprocity measures in their favour, it is surprising that it has been possible to maintain the numbers of unemployed refugees at their present level. Nevertheless, indications reach the Office daily from its representatives that the efforts of the Office must not only be maintained, but considerably reinforced, to prevent an alarming increase in the numbers of unemployed refugees during the coming months. Those efforts are required both to secure work for those refugees who are unemployed and to ensure that those who are still in employment do not lose it owing to the application of restrictive measures against foreign workers.

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that the activities of the Office constitute, in addition to an important economic effort, a no less important contribution to political and social stability, as, in the present unsettled state of Europe, the existence of many thousands of unprotected and unassisted refugees might well prove fertile soil for subversive propaganda and unrest.

The situation of the refugees has become aggravated by the withdrawal of, or considerable diminution in, grants made formerly by Governments for refugee relief, and by the almost total cessation of grants from philanthropic organisations and individuals to the refugee organisations. The extract from a report submitted by the representative of the Office in Yugoslavia, in Appendix III to the report, may be regarded as a typical description of the situation of the refugees in many countries, and indicates the increasing reliance of the refugees on the assistance of the Office.

Some idea of the diversity of the assistance rendered during the past year by the Office to the refugees may be gained from the various tables and statistics in the report. A further 4,000 Armenian refugees have been taken out of the refugee camps and settled in urban quarters in Aleppo, Alexandretta and Beirut, bringing the total number of Armenian refugees evacuated from the refugee camps and settled in agricultural colonies or urban quarters to more than 23,000, the advances granted for that purpose totalling eleven million French francs. Over 1,400 refugees who were more or less destitute in Bulgaria, France and Greece have been transferred to Erivan, where the Armenian Government had promised to provide them with accommodation and employment; this brings the total number of refugees so far transferred by the Office to Erivan to 8,000. Information is being collected by the Office with a view to the transfer of 3,500 indigent Armenian refugees from the regions of Baghdad and Basra, and their settlement in an agricultural colony in Mosul. Nearly 12,000 refugees in all, either in small groups, in families or as individuals, have been assisted by advances to find employment, or to set up in business, and material assistance has been rendered to a further 7,857 refugees.

A total of 71,799 refugees have received various forms of assistance, including the obtaining of passports and visas on their behalf, legal assistance and interventions with a view to preventing their being expelled and to securing that restrictions on foreign labour should be waived.

In view of the increasing restrictions on foreign labour in recent years, the Office has been obliged to concentrate on providing employment for refugees by means which would not infringe such restrictions. In pursuit of that policy, the Office has put into practice a scheme which has met with much success and has found great favour among the refugees. It consists of making advances to Artels, families and individual refugees, to enable them to start various enterprises, and thus become self-supporting. During the past year, 247 such enterprises were financed by the Office, which thus provided employment for 1,226 refugees.

When it is recalled that advances made for this purpose seldom exceed 200 Swiss francs per head, it will be realised what an important piece of reconstructive work on these lines could be effected with a comparatively modest fund.

In view of recent political events, there is a pronounced desire on the part of certain categories of refugees to begin life anew in countries affording facilities for colonisation. The Office has made careful enquiries as to the extent to which those desires could be satisfied, and has received offers for the colonisation of families in Brazil on the very favourable terms of £70 (gold) per family of five persons, consisting of three adults and two children. That sum includes the cost of the transport of the family from Europe, the payment of the first instalment for the purchase of the land, consisting of one-third of the total cost; the cost of the construction of a house; the purchase of the necessary agricultural implements and seeds, and the provision of food until the first harvest.

It would seem that such an opportunity of economic reconstruction should commend itself to the serious consideration of suitable refugees who cannot find means of gaining a livelihood in Europe.

In accordance with the Assembly's request, the Office, in co-operation with the Inter-Governmental Advisory Commission for Refugees, has prepared a draft Convention to ensure the protection of the refugees. This draft Convention will be submitted to a Conference of representatives of a limited number of countries, which will take place on October 26th, 1933. The principal points in this draft Convention are as follows: the enjoyment of civil rights; security and stability for settlement and employment; facilities for travelling and for the exercise of professional, industrial and commercial occupations; admission to schools and universities; free access to law courts; the adoption of the expression "Refugee" contained in the Inter-Governmental Arrangements of May 12th, 1926, and June 30th, 1928; and the validity of the Nansen certificate with the return clause. As regards the important question of expulsion, Governments are requested to undertake not to expel a refugee until he has obtained permission to enter another country. The extension to the refugees of national measures for social insurance and assistance; for the acquisition, possession, transmission and exploitation of small properties; for the creation of mutual benefit and philanthropic societies, and concerning taxation are also contemplated by the Convention. Finally, provision is made for the creation, with the assistance of the Governments, of central committees for the refugees, consisting of representatives of international, national and refugee relief organisations.

With regard to the question of expulsion of refugees, the Governing Body regrets very much being obliged to report that, in spite of the earnest resolution adopted by the last Assembly urging Governments not to expel refugees from their territories before they had obtained permission to enter another country, this unfortunate practice has increased in certain European countries during the past year. Needless to say, this practice has caused great hardship to the refugees concerned, who have, in consequence, often been forced to serve protracted terms of imprisonment for reasons for which they were in no way directly responsible. Moreover, the Office and its representatives have been compelled to spend an altogether disproportionate amount of time and money in endeavouring to extricate such refugees from the unfortunate positions in which they find themselves, often through no fault of their own.

The Governing Body therefore once more expressed the hope that it would be possible for the League to obtain assurances from the interested Governments which would remedy the present abnormal situation.

With regard to the other recommendations made by the last Assembly, the Governing Body of the Office has consulted the mandatory Power on the question of future arrangements concerning the Armenian population in Syria. One of the first duties Professor Werner undertook as President of the Governing Body was to proceed to Syria and carry out an inspection of the Office settlement work in favour of the Armenian refugees in that country. As a result of that mission, Professor Werner expressed the opinion, which the Governing Body endorsed, that the settlement work could only be terminated by the end of the year 1934. It was hoped, however, to terminate the purchases of the necessary land by the end of 1933, the following year to be consecrated to the completion of the construction of the urban quarters for the refugees in Aleppo and Beirut. This problem was complicated by a very serious fire which broke out in the remaining part of the Beirut refugee camp at the end of January, and, in two or three hours, completely obliterated the meagre huts occupied by 3,000 refugees. The Office co-operated in the emergency relief work for those refugees and sent urgent funds to its representative to enable him to construct houses for their permanent accommodation.

As regards the steps to be taken after 1934 for the recovery of the funds advanced to the refugees, and for their final disposal, as well as for the transfer to the refugees of the title-

deeds of properties, the High Commissioner for Syria has expressed the opinion that the Office is the organ most indicated to assume and execute those duties. The Office is, therefore, considering the preparation of a programme in this connection which will take into account the wishes of the various donors, and hopes to be in a position to make a definite statement on the arrangements made in its next report to the Assembly.

Acting on another recommendation by the Assembly, the Office enquired into the possibility of transferring further groups of Armenian refugees to Erivan. The Office has asked for details on a certain number of points, with a view to obtaining essential information which would enable it to decide whether, and, if so, to what extent, it would be in a position to co-operate in the transfer of those Armenian refugees to Erivan.

In response to the Assembly resolution requesting the Office to alleviate the situation of the Russian refugees rendered destitute by the floods in the region of Harbin, the Office requested its representative in Shanghai to submit a report on this question. According to that report, 7,000 Russian refugees were seriously affected by the floods, 1,500 of them being quite destitute. The Office representative estimated that these 1,500 refugees could be made self-supporting by an advance of 70,000 Swiss francs.

The attention of the Office has been devoted to another urgent refugee problem in Harbin — that of some 300 Catholic, Lutheran, Mennonite and Pfingstbrüder refugees, the remainder of a group of about 1,000 of those refugees who were anxious to be evacuated from Harbin and transferred to South America. It will be remembered that the Office reported to the last Assembly that about 300 Lutheran refugees, and a similar number of Mennonite refugees, had already been transferred from Harbin to South America.

The prevailing economic situation has resulted in such an important increase in the demands from the refugees on the funds of the Office as to render it impossible for the Office, at the present juncture, to make any important financial contribution to the solution of these two problems. It has, nevertheless, invoked the assistance of interested philanthropic organisations, which are endeavouring to place at the disposal of the Office the necessary funds for the transfer of some at least of the refugees in Harbin to South America.

The difficulties which attend all work of this kind are becoming more and more acute owing to lack of funds. As already stated, the financial assistance formerly given to the refugees by Governments, philanthropic organisations and individuals has greatly fallen off in recent years, while the refugees' needs have continued to increase owing to the economic crisis. The result is a marked increase in the number of applications from refugees and refugee organisations for advances and grants. Unfortunately, the Office's income has suffered from the same causes, and the total amount available for relief work is at present altogether inadequate.

In the budget for 1934, the Office is applying for 300,000 Swiss francs. This is the amount for which provision was made in the liquidation plan approved by the twelfth Assembly. The liquidation plan, it will be remembered, was based on successive annual reductions of 10 per cent during the period from 1932 to 1938 inclusive. As the Supervisory Commission had decided to submit the budget of the Office for the consideration of the Assembly, the Sixth Committee decided to support the Office's request to the Assembly.

The Sixth Committee decided to recommend the following resolutions for the approval of the Assembly :

“ The Assembly,

“ Having considered the report of the Governing Body of the Nansen International Office for Refugees on the important assistance given during the past year to thousands of Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish refugees :

“ Thanks the organs of the Office for the humanitarian and economic services they have rendered, and for the important contribution they have thus made to political and social stability ;

“ Requests the Nansen-International Office to continue its study of the question of the possibility of the transfer to Erivan of Armenian of refugees ;

“ Notes with satisfaction the steps taken by the Office, in close co-operation with the Inter-Governmental Advisory Commission for Refugees, to prepare a draft Convention for ensuring the protection of refugees ;

“ Urges the Inter-Governmental Conference which has been summoned for the purpose of examining that draft Convention to give the most sympathetic consideration to the recommendations contained therein ;

“ In view of the growing difficulty of settling certain classes of refugees in Europe :

“ Invites immigration countries which are desirous of developing their territories to co-operate with the Office in settling refugees suitable for those territories ;

“ Recognising the dangers to which expelled refugees are exposed, and the difficulties caused to the countries to which they proceed :

“ Repeats its earnest appeal to Governments not to expel refugees before they have obtained formal permission to enter an adjacent country ;

“ Invites the Council to take the necessary action to give effect to this resolution ;

“ And confirms its approval of the figure of 300,000 francs for the year 1934 contained in the liquidation plan adopted by the Assembly at its twelfth ordinary session. ”

ANNEX 3.

A.46.1933.XII.

WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL
CO-OPERATION.

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : M. Jean MISTLER (France).

The Assembly has already been informed, in the report of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, of the work done in the course of the year and the principal results achieved. I shall therefore confine myself to indicating the general lines of the programme framed for next year, and to drawing the Assembly's attention to the results that it may expect from this form of co-operation, which is essential for the future of peace.

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation has broached this year, apart from numerous technical questions, certain problems the study of which is an important contribution to the establishment of friendly international relations. The Covenant presupposes intellectual *rapprochement* as a basis and as a plan of action. Hence, the League of Nations must devote part of its activities to the work of ensuring mutual understanding. The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation has begun, with the help of leading personalities, to trace the outlines of this activity in exchanges of views which range from the correspondence (open letters) to the holding of committees or conferences devoted to the scientific and disinterested study of the problems which are to-day commanding general attention. It proposes in this way to give direct assistance to the endeavours towards international organisation which are being made by the League of Nations. This activity must be pursued in the course of the coming months. I hope that it will continue to enjoy the support which it has already received from several Governments and a number of institutions, and I am glad, in this connection, to thank the Spanish Government very warmly on the Assembly's behalf for welcoming at Madrid, under the auspices of the Committee on Arts and Letters, a brilliant "conversation" on the future of civilisation. The Assembly will no doubt also wish to associate itself with my thanks to the British Committee for its generous co-operation in the International Studies Conference held at London last June to study the problem of the intervention of the State in economic life.

The various activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation gave rise to a series of publications issued by the Institute, which thus places at the disposal of all the circles concerned the enquiries, comparative studies and debates conducted by the committees and executive organs subordinate to the International Committee. I would mention in particular the two volumes of correspondence entitled "Why War?" and the "League of Minds"; the report of the "conversation" devoted to the future of civilisation, the volumes on State intervention in economic life, and a series of technical studies, of which I only mention the principal: revision of school text-books, popular libraries and workers' spare time, international understanding through youth (interchanges and international travel), school broadcasting, broadcasting and peace, etc. This latter volume, prepared at the express request of the twelfth Assembly after consultation with the directors of the important broadcasting undertakings and of the International Broadcasting Union, publishes draft agreements between Governments and wireless companies which have been approved by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. These texts will again be submitted to it next year in final form for transmission to Governments and to the organisations concerned. It is to be hoped that in this way a useful contribution will be made towards a better understanding between the peoples.

In the course of an interesting exchange of views, to which the observations of M. Motta, M. Politis, M. Holsti and M. Komarnicki gave rise in the Sixth Committee, it was recognised that the proposals for moral disarmament put forward by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation bear witness at the same time to a high ideal and a desire for practical achievement. Consequently, one of the resolutions submitted to the Assembly draws the attention of the Conference for the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments to the importance of these proposals.

The Assembly will further allow me to mention among the Organisation's activities the development of co-operation with the Chinese Government in connection with the re-organisation of public education. A Mission of Chinese educational experts visited the principal European countries, where it was welcomed by the Ministries of Education and the National Committees on intellectual co-operation. The results of this study tour were found so satisfactory that the Committee recommends the same system of visits and collective interchanges for European officials.

In October 1932, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation was asked by the Assembly of the League of Nations, on the proposal of M. de Tesson, to study the question of the intellectual rôle of the Press.

The Assembly emphasised the influence exercised by the Press on the education of the masses and the powerful aid which can be expected from it for raising their intellectual standard. It also recognised the need for examining the methods whereby the Press could promote better mutual understanding between nations by circulating more complete information on the different peoples, their culture and the part which each plays in the general movement of world progress. To meet the Assembly's wishes, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation thought it desirable to seek the views of qualified journalists and to publish their suggestions. It therefore approached M. B. Sanin Cano, of the *Nacion*, Buenos Aires; M. Henry de Jouvenel, former Chief Editor of the *Matin*; Mr. Kingsley Martin, of the *New Statesman and Nation*; Mr. Paul Scott Mowrer, of the *Chicago Daily News*; M. F. Sieburg, of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.

Several replies have already been received, and the Institute will transmit them to the Press Conference which is to be held next autumn at Madrid.

The Assembly has once more stressed the importance of this work of intellectual co-operation in approving the resolution submitted to it this year by M. de Tesson.

Among recent proposals, the one advocating the working-out of Professor James T. Shotwell's proposals deserves to be specially mentioned. It marks the Committee's desire, by prudently but regularly extending its field of action, to enter upon the study of social and political sciences in their bearing on international relations. This very interesting proposal of Professor Shotwell's will enable the enquiry conducted by the Educational Information Centre of Geneva on the scientific study of international relations to be pursued and extended.

Lastly, I would draw the special attention of the Assembly to a resolution relating to the draft Convention prepared by the International Museums Office on the return of works of art illicitly removed from the respective national artistic heritages.

The number and diversity of the resolutions submitted to the Assembly are a proof of the efficacy of the methods employed to conduct with limited resources the work entrusted to the Intellectual Co-operation Committee and its executive organs, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, the Educational Cinematographic Institute and the Secretariat of the Organisation. Increasingly close contact is being established between the chief national administrations, particularly as regards all stages of education, from the primary school to the university and from infants to adults. This also applies to the Fine Arts Administrations and the main organisation in each country dealing with intellectual questions. Lastly, the study, in conjunction with specialist institutions, of the various aspects of authors' rights is proceeding. I would urge you to impress once more upon the Governments the necessity of ratifying the Act of Rome. M. Piola-Caselli, underlining the importance of this action, also showed the value of the new proposals contemplated by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation concerning the protection of inventors. The Committee has asked that a new clause to this effect should be included in the Paris Convention for the protection of industrial property.

The increasingly important part played by the National Committees on intellectual co-operation clearly shows that their work as a whole is based on the active participation of the circles concerned in every country. This year, the representatives of five National Committees were invited to attend the Committee's session. This practice will be continued in future and will strengthen still further the ties existing between the League and the national organisations of intellectual co-operation.

But the work of intellectual co-operation is not characterised solely by progress in technical collaboration. As we have seen, the Committee has resolutely attacked, in accordance with the wishes of its sponsors, the whole problem of the exchange of ideas and the defence of spiritual values. This task, the results of which will only ripen in times to come, must be considered of the same importance as problems of technical organisation. In fact, the surest method would remain without value if it was not put into practice on a field stripped of those deep misunderstandings which are the sad legacies of historical rivalries.

* * *

Brief mention must also be made of the work done by the Educational Cinematographic Institute, whose report to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was unanimously approved.

The Institute has continued its work of collecting and disseminating information by means of its publications, such as its monthly review, the *International Review of*

Educational Cinematography, and its bi-monthly *Information Bulletin*, and by preparing an important cinematographic encyclopædia, which will shortly appear.

Attention should likewise be drawn to the preparatory work for the first International Congress on Education through the Cinematograph which is to be held at Rome in April next. A large number of international organisations with which the Institute is in constant touch will also take part in the work of this Congress. The great utility of the previous enquiries into the value of the cinematograph in education, vocational guidance, public health, agriculture, etc., carried out by the Institute will then be revealed.

After studying the proposals made by the Sub-Committee of Experts on the Instruction of Youth, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation decided to pay special attention to the question of the services which the cinematograph can render in spreading knowledge of the League. In this connection, the assistance of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute will be of the greatest value.

* * *

The Sixth Committee has the honour to recommend for the Assembly's adoption the following draft resolutions :

" The Assembly,

" After taking note of the report (document A.14.1933.XII) of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation on the work of its fifteenth session :

" (1) Fully shares the views expressed by the Council in its resolution of September 22nd, 1933 (document A.VI/1.1933), as to the value of the work performed by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation during the past year, and expresses its gratification at the excellent results of the work of the Plenary Committee, of the various Committees under it and of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation ;

" Wishes to emphasise the importance of the method of exchanges of correspondence and the value of the ' conversations ', such as that held at Frankfort on Goethe and at Madrid in May 1933 regarding the future of civilisation ;

" Trusts that this experiment will be continued ;

" (2) Fully recognises the value to the League itself of disinterested studies based on a spirit of scientific impartiality, such as those carried out with regard to State intervention in economic life ; approves the continuation of this work and the execution of the plan adopted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation on Professor Shotwell's proposal for the co-ordination of studies' in the field of social and political sciences ;

" (3) Approves the programme of work for 1933-34 based on the resolutions of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Sub-Committee of Experts on the Instruction of Youth ;

" (4) Requests the Governments to assist the Committee in carrying out its lofty task by supporting those organisations and persons who in the various countries are helping to carry out the programme ;

" (5) Endorses the resolution of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation drawing the attention of Governments to the regrettable effects that further budgetary restrictions weighing particularly heavily on national educational and scientific research organisations might have on the level of contemporary culture ;

" (6) Adopts the Committee's resolution concerning the preliminary draft Convention on mutual assistance between Governments with a view to the return of works of art illicitly removed from the respective national artistic heritages ;

" Requests the Secretary-General to transmit this preliminary draft to the Governments for their observations ;

" (7) Recommends to the various Governments the proposal of the International Museums Office that an International Historical Monuments Commission be set up ;

" (8) Requests the Secretary-General to draw the attention of States signatories to the Rome Act of June 2nd, 1928, which have not yet ratified it to the importance of the prompt application of that Convention ;

" (9) Congratulates the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation on the action taken by it in pursuance of the resolution of the twelfth Assembly regarding the study of the international aspects of broadcasting, considers that the work in progress is of real value, thanks the broadcasting undertakings and the International Broadcasting Union for their assistance, and trusts that the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation

will shortly be in a position to submit to the Governments, as a basis of discussion, the draft text contemplated by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ;

" (10) Approves the addition by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of atlases and dictionaries to the list of books to which the procedure laid down in the 'Casares Resolution' on the revision of school text-books (1932 text) will be applicable ;

" (11) Notes the proposals relating to moral disarmament framed by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and, considering their great importance and practical scope, asks the Conference for the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments to use them, as far as possible, as a basis in establishing the final texts to be adopted."

ANNEX 4.

A.45.1933.VI.

MANDATES.

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : M. LANGE (Norway).

The Sixth Committee, to which the Assembly had referred the annual reports of the mandatory Powers, the records of the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission and the other documents relating to the execution of Article 22 of the Covenant, discussed the principal points arising in connection with the operation of the mandate system during the period which has elapsed since the thirteenth ordinary session of the Assembly.

As in previous years, the Committee was glad to note that the co-operation of the competent organs of the League of Nations and the Powers invested with the various mandates continues to produce valuable results in regard both to the application of the principles laid down in Article 22 and to the many-sided task of educating, in the true sense of the word, the populations of the mandated territories.

The conclusions recently arrived at by the Permanent Mandates Commission with regard to the proposal for a closer union between the mandated territory of Tanganyika and the neighbouring British possessions of Kenya and Uganda were commented on by several delegations, who paid a tribute to the care and impartiality with which the Mandates Commission examined this important problem with the loyal assistance of the Government of the United Kingdom.

Reference was also made in the course of the Committee's discussions to the question of the conditions governing the purchase of material and supplies for public works in A and B mandated territories — one of the main aspects of the principle of economic equality — which the Mandates Commission studied with a view to facilitating in the future its task of supervising the applications of the relevant rules.

The Committee further noted that the question of the demarcation of the frontier between Syria and Iraq, which it had considered last year, had been definitely settled and that the frontier was now fixed.

Finally, several delegations emphasised the importance of the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, in view of the special circumstances of the present time. The Sixth Committee considered that the League of Nations should renew its expression of confidence in the mandatory Power for Palestine, which is called upon now, as in the past, to reconcile the obligations undertaken by it in connection with the establishment of the Jewish National Home with the rights of the native population on the one hand and the capacity of absorption of the territory on the other.

The Sixth Committee has the honour to recommend for the Assembly's adoption the following resolution :

" The Assembly,

" Having taken note of the work accomplished by the mandatory Powers, the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council in regard to the execution of Article 22 of the Covenant :

" (a) Renews the expression of confidence in them voted by the past sessions of the Assembly, expresses its appreciation of the results secured and its hope that

the spirit of co-operation which inspires their work will enable them to achieve further progress along the lines indicated by the principles on which the mandates system is founded ;

“(b) Expresses the hope that the native populations of the mandated territories may to the utmost possible extent be spared the consequences of the economic depression and notes that this object has been secured in one of these territories through the efforts of the mandatory Power with the co-operation of the population concerned.”

ANNEX 5.

A.51.1933.VI.

SLAVERY.

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : M. LÓPEZ OLIVÁN (Spain).

Last year, on the advice of the Sixth Committee, the Assembly passed a resolution setting up an Advisory Committee of Experts on Slavery and defining the powers and duties of this new League organisation.

It was not possible to include the necessary appropriations for the immediate constitution of the Advisory Committee in the budget for 1933, but the Council was asked to take, in the interval, all measures not requiring a budgetary credit which would conduce to the carrying-out of the Assembly's decisions.

The Fourth Committee having sanctioned the credit proposed for 1934, the Sixth Committee concluded that the Council could very shortly appoint the Advisory Committee, which could then be convened for a sufficiently early date to enable the rules of procedure which it has to frame to be passed by the Council at its session in January 1934.

The Advisory Committee will then be able to undertake, in 1935, its examination of the material to be sent in by Governments.

The Sixth Committee is gratified to observe that a further stage has thus been reached in an essentially humanitarian task with which the League has always sought to associate itself to the utmost of its power.

The Committee has unanimously decided to propose that the Assembly adopt the following draft resolution :

“ The Assembly :

“ Notes the information communicated by a number of Governments regarding the progressive abolition of slavery, in accordance with the Assembly resolution of September 25th, 1926, and embodied in the Council's annual report ;

“ Whereas, under the terms of the Assembly resolution of October 12th, 1932, the Advisory Committee of Experts on Slavery cannot enter upon its special duties until it has drawn up its rules of procedure and they have received the sanction of the Council ;

“ Whereas the appropriation made in the budget for the financial year 1934 will enable the Committee to hold, in the course of that financial year, the single meeting devoted to framing the said rules of procedure ;

“ Whereas the Assembly is anxious both to expedite the execution of the programme laid down by the 1932 Assembly and to hasten as much as possible the examination of the material to be forwarded by Governments :

“ The Assembly :

Hopes that the Council will proceed as soon as possible, in pursuance of its resolution of January 24th, 1933, to set up the Advisory Committee, and will convene the same at a date early enough for the rules of procedure to be approved at the Council session in January 1934 ;

“ Decides that the Committee of Experts shall hold its first biennial session in 1935, and shall devote it to the study of the material to be forwarded by Governments ;

“ And accordingly requests the Secretary-General to make the necessary appropriation for that session in the draft budget for the year 1935.”

ANNEX 6.

A.52.1933.I.

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : His Excellency M. HOLSTI (Finland).

I.

On the proposal of the German delegation, the Assembly referred to the Sixth Committee the part of the Secretary-General's report dealing with the work of the League during the past year on the question of minorities.

The Sixth Committee has devoted a considerable part of its labours to this question. It has not confined itself to the discussion of the procedure for dealing with petitions, but has dealt with much more general issues. Without attempting to summarise the discussions, I desire to point out that they have dealt with the obligations of States which are not bound by minorities treaties, whether under the resolution passed by the Assembly in 1922 or in relation to a generalisation of the undertakings at present in force for certain countries.

I should not be giving a fair picture of the important discussions that have taken place if I did not add that a large number of delegates alluded to the problem of the right — inherent in modern civilisation — of all the citizens of a State to equality in law and in fact. On the other hand, one delegation drew the Committee's attention to the sovereign right of a State to settle a problem *sui generis* as a question of domestic policy.

The debate was marked by a spirit of fair controversy ; thanks to the understanding shown by all the speakers and to their moderation (which, far from weakening the effect, tended rather to emphasise the firmness of their convictions), it was found possible to develop freely the most opposite and contradictory views in an atmosphere of mutual courtesy. The Assembly, I am sure, can only rejoice that this should have been so ; which is my reason for drawing its attention to the fact.

II.

In the course of the discussion, the Committee had before it four different proposals — one from the United Kingdom, Danish, Dutch and Norwegian delegations — relating to procedure, and the three others, from the French, Polish, and Haitian delegations, respectively, relating to general issues which had formed the subject of discussion as indicated above.

1. The first proposal was that the Assembly should invite the Council to consider the advisability of modifying the existing procedure in the sense that (a) petitioners should be informed of the reasons why their petitions are declared non-receivable, (b) Minorities Committees should explain to the Council the reasons why they decide to place particular questions on its agenda, and (c) when a Minorities Committee decides to close the examination of a question without submitting it to the Council, it should be entitled to publish its decision, attaching, if it thinks fit, such explanations as it may consider desirable.

2. The French proposal contained two suggestions — the first to the effect that the Assembly should re-affirm the recommendation adopted on September 21st, 1922, and proclaim that States which are not bound by any legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities must nevertheless observe, in the treatment of their own racial, religious or linguistic minorities, at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties and by the regular action of the Council ; and the second to the effect that the Assembly considers that there is no justification for any interpretation of the minorities treaties or of the foregoing recommendation which would exclude certain categories of citizens from the benefit of the provisions which in those treaties refer to all nationals " without distinction of race, language or religion ".

3. The Polish proposal was that the Assembly should request the Council to appoint a committee of enquiry to study the problem of the general application of the system of minorities protection, and submit to the next session of the Assembly a draft general Convention on the Protection of Minorities involving the same obligations for all States Members of the League.

4. The proposal submitted by the Haitian delegation was to the effect that the Assembly should express the hope that a World Convention ensuring the protection and respect of the rights of man and of citizens would be drawn up under the auspices of the League of Nations.

After the general discussion, the Sixth Committee decided to refer these four proposals to a Sub-Committee, with the Chairman of the Committee in the chair, consisting of the

representatives of the United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Greece, Haiti, Hungary, the Irish Free State, Italy, Norway, Poland, Sweden and the rapporteur.

III.

The Sub-Committee began with the consideration of the proposal of the four delegations. Certain delegations raised the previous question of the Assembly's competence to pass resolutions on the subject of minority procedure. Other delegations expressed the view that the Assembly's competence in the matter was beyond dispute. Without pronouncing upon this question, which remains entirely open, and after an exchange of views, during the course of which differing opinions were expressed, the United Kingdom delegation finally took the initiative of substituting for its proposal another, to the effect that the Assembly requests the Secretary-General to inform the Council of the discussion that has taken place in the Sixth Committee on the question of the procedure followed in regard to the protection of minorities.

At the close of its proceedings, the Sub-Committee decided finally to adopt this proposal, amended, at the suggestion of M. Politis, so as to make it apply to the whole discussion on the question of minorities. Accordingly, the text finally adopted by the Sub-Committee reads as follows :

“ The Assembly requests the Secretary-General to inform the Council of the discussion that has taken place in the Sixth Committee on the problem of minorities as a whole.”

IV.

The Polish and Haitian proposals, together with a further compromise proposal laid before the Sub-Committee by the Swedish delegation, gave rise to a very full exchange of views between the various delegations represented on the Sub-Committee. The Swedish proposal was that the Assembly should request the Council to make such arrangements as it might think fit for a preparatory study of the question of consolidating the principles of the protection of minorities by legal obligations, in order that it might be placed on the agenda of the next ordinary session of the Assembly. In the course of the discussion, it was also suggested that, for the moment, the Governments of the States Members of the League should merely be asked their opinion on the expediency of studying this question. This suggestion was rejected. Certain delegations having explained the reasons why they were unable to accept it, the Swedish delegation and the Polish and Haitian delegations agreed not to press for a vote on their respective proposals. Certain delegations expressed keen regret that it had not been possible to arrange at that stage for a study of the question of generalising the system for the protection of racial, linguistic and religious minorities, at all events on the continent of Europe, as well as of the rights of men and citizens, and pointed out that, in their view, the generalisation of the system was essential, on account of the principle of the legal equality of all States, and could not be indefinitely deferred without gravely endangering the value of the treaties already in operation on the subject. It was understood that the Polish, Haitian and Swedish proposals, as also that of the four delegations relating to procedure, should appear as annexes to the Minutes of the Sixth Committee.

V.

Finally, the Sub-Committee proceeded to consider the French proposal. Its first paragraph was unanimously agreed to, with the amendment suggested by the Italian delegation, which brought it strictly into line with the resolution adopted by the Assembly in 1922, and subject to a statement which the German delegation announced that it proposed to make in the Sixth Committee. The final wording of this first paragraph is as follows :

“ The Assembly,
“ Reiterating the recommendation passed by the Assembly on September 21st,
1922 :
“ Expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by any legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe, in the treatment of their own racial, religious or linguistic minorities, at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties and by the regular action of the Council.”

Certain delegations agreed to a mere reference to the resolution of 1922 reluctantly, and only for the sake of securing unanimity. They desired to state that, although it had not been possible, for the present, to proclaim it as an international obligation on all States to grant their racial, linguistic or religious minorities treatment equal to that provided for in the special treaties, they were still convinced that such an obligation already existed in international law, and that consequently the resolution proposed to the Assembly could not call its existence in question.

The second paragraph gave rise to a prolonged discussion in the Sub-Committee. The German delegation intimated that it regarded the idea underlying this part of the proposal as directly referring to the Jewish question in Germany, and that it was therefore impossible for that delegation to agree to the proposal, no matter in what form it might be expressed. The German delegation considered that, in view of the impossibility of reaching agreement on a resolution for the improvement of the procedure and the generalisation of the system of the protection of minorities, it would likewise be inappropriate, in the present case, to accept the second paragraph of the proposal. M. Politis endeavoured to make the idea acceptable to all members of the Sub-Committee by suggesting the following text :

“ The Assembly considers that the foregoing principles must be applied without exception to all classes of nationals of a State that differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.”

The German delegation stated, however, that, as this proposal in no way met its fundamental objections, it was still unable to accept this text, in which several delegations, including the French delegation itself, had concurred. At the request of the latter delegation, the second paragraph of the draft resolution was finally adopted by the Sub-Committee, on a vote by roll-call, by 11 votes to 1, 12 members voting ; the Chairman and rapporteur abstained on account of their official positions. The Italian and Hungarian delegations explicitly stated that the fact they voted in favour of this text did not imply any expression of opinion on their part with regard to any question affecting the domestic policy of any other country.

VI.

The Sixth Committee proposes that the Assembly adopt this report, together with the following resolutions :

I. “ The Assembly,

“ Reiterating the recommendation which it passed on September 21st, 1922 :

“ ‘ Expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their own racial, religious or linguistic minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties and by the regular action of the Council.’ ”

II. “ The Assembly considers that the principles expounded in resolution I, which re-affirms the recommendation of 1922, must be applied without exception to all classes of nationals of a State that differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.”¹

III. “ The Assembly requests the Secretary-General to communicate to the Council the discussion which has taken place in the Sixth Committee on the question of minorities as a whole.”

¹ This resolution was not adopted by the Assembly.

INDEX

	Page		Page
Armenian Refugees		Crisis, Economic and Financial	
<i>See</i> Refugees, etc.		Refugees as affected by.....	17, 62
Arts and Letters		Czechoslovakia	
Committee on Arts and Letters		Minorities in, <i>see under</i> Minorities	
Credits, 1934: application to 4th		Economic Life, State Intervention In.....	16, 65
Cttee.....	43 (resol.)	Education	
Work during session of Madrid.....	13	Adult education	11, 66
Exhibitions in London of art of various		in China	12, 66
countries	15	Higher education: meeting of Directors	15, 16
Popular Arts, Cttee. on	15	Popular and workers' education	15
Repatriation of works of art illicitly		School text-books: revision 12, 65, 68 (resol.)	
removed	15, 17, 66, 67 (resol.)	Germany	
Assyrian and Assyro-Chaldean Refugees		Jews, treatment in, <i>see</i> Mandates: Pales-	
<i>See</i> Refugees, etc.		tine: Jewish National Home and	
Authors' Rights		Minorities: Jews, etc.	
Rome Act: ratification; Brussels Conf.,		Goethe: "Conversation" at Frankfort	17
future	14, 16, 66, 67 (resol.)	Hungary	
Broadcasting, Educational and Int. Aspects		Minorities in, <i>see under</i> Minorities	
of.....	11, 13, 65, 67-8 (resol.)	Industrial Property: Protection	17, 66
Canada		Instruction of Youth in Aims of League 12, 13, 65,	
Minorities in, <i>see under</i> Minorities		67, 67 (resol.)	
China		Intellectual Co-operation	
Education, reorganisation and mission of		Committee, Int., work, <i>see below</i> Organisa-	
Chinese educationists to Europe ...	12, 66	tion	
Intellectual co-operation, promotion in	12, 66	"Conversations" and "Correspondence"	
Slavery and <i>mui-tsai</i> system in.....	9, 58	12, 15, 16, 17, 65, 67 (resol.)	
Cinematograph, Educational and Work of		Discussion	11-17, 43
Institute	11, 13, 66, 66-7	Institute, Int., at Paris: work, <i>see below</i>	
Civilisation, Future of		Organisation	
Conversation at Madrid, May 1933 13, 16, 17 (resol.)		National Cttees.	11, 12, 66
65, 67 (resol.)		Organisation, work of	
6th Committee		Discussion	11-17, 43
Agenda		Financial restrictions, effect on 67 (resol.)	
Additional items	9, 10	Report of 6th Cttee.	
Examination and adoption	8	Adoption	43
Close of session	60	Text	65-8
Members, list of	6-7	Resolution of 6th Cttee.	
Publicity of meetings	8	Adoption	43
Rapporteurs, appointment 8, 9, 10, 11, 19, 22,		Amendments proposed by various	
42, 43, 59-60		dels.	13, 14, 15, 17, 43
Reports		Text	67-8
<i>See under</i> Intellectual co-operation		Press, relation with Intell. Co-operation	
Mandates		Org.	10, 11, 66
Minorities		Rapporteur to 6th Cttee. and Ass., ap-	
Press, etc.		pointment.....	8, 43
Refugees, etc.		Report and resol. of 6th Cttee., <i>see above</i>	
Slavery		Organisation	
Representatives of certain Orgs., attending		Intellectual Rights	14, 16-17, 66, 67 (resol.)
certain meetings	7	International Relations, Scientific Study of	66
Sub-Committee, <i>see under</i> Minorities:		Inventors' Rights	14, 16-17
Draft resols., etc.		Iraq, Frontier between Syria and	19, 68 (report)
Vice-Chairman, election	8		

	Page
Jewish National Home	
<i>See under Mandates: Palestine</i>	
Jews, Treatment in Germany	
<i>See Mandates: Palestine: Jewish National Home, etc.</i>	
Minorities, Jews, etc.	
Journalists	
<i>See under Press</i>	
"League of Minds"	65
Lebanon	
<i>See Mandates: Syria and the Lebanon</i>	
Liberia, Slavery in	9
Libraries	
Workers' leisure and public libraries ...	25, 65
Mandates	
Discussion	19-22
Economic equality, principle of 19, 20, 68 (<i>report</i>)	
Inclusion of question in agenda of 6th Cttee.	10
Iraq, frontier between Syria and. 19, 68 (<i>report</i>)	
Palestine	
Economic and financial position: improvement	19, 20, 21, 69 (<i>resol.</i>)
Immigration, <i>see below</i> Jewish National Home, etc.	
Jewish National Home, immigration and question of Jewish emigrants from Germany 19, 20, 21, 21-2, 68 (<i>report</i>)	
<i>See also</i> Minorities: Jews, etc.	
Purchase of material and supplies for public works, etc., by Mandatory Powers	19, 68 (<i>report</i>)
Rapporteur to 6th Cttee. and Ass., appointment	22, 43
*Report of 6th Committee presented by M. Lange	
Adoption	43
Text	68
Resolution of 6th Cttee.	43, 68-9
Syria and the Lebanon	
Development and question of autonomy	19, 21
Frontier between Iraq and, <i>see above</i> Iraq	
Tanganyika: proposed administrative, customs and fiscal union with Kenya and Uganda	19, 20, 20-1, 21, 68 (<i>report</i>)
Minorities, Protection of	
in Canada	43-4
Convention, general, involving the same obligations <i>re</i> minorities for all States, <i>see below</i> Generalisation, etc.	
Convention, world, <i>re</i> rights of man, etc., <i>see below</i> Rights of man, etc.	
in Czechoslovakia	40, 41, 50-1
Discussion	
Communication to Cl.	59, 72 (<i>resol.</i>)
Text	22-31, 32-42, 43-53, 53-7, 59
Draft resolutions from delegations	
France, <i>see below</i> Treatment of minorities, etc.	
Haiti, <i>see below</i> Rights of man, etc.	
Poland and Sweden, <i>see below under</i> Generalisation of system, etc.	
Sub-Committee of 6th Cttee. appointed to examine	
Composition	57, 71
Reference of drafts to	57, 70
Work	59, 71

	Page
Minorities, Protection of (<i>continued</i>)	
Draft resolutions from delegations (<i>continued</i>)	
United Kgd., Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, <i>see below under</i> Procedure	
Ethnic nationality question, <i>see below</i> Jews, etc.	
Generalisation of system of protection	
Discussion 24, 29, 31, 32, 33, 39, 42, 46, 47, 48, 71	
Draft resol. of Polish del. (<i>re</i> Cttee. of Enquiry and general Conv.) 31 (<i>text</i>), 39, 45, 46, 52, 70, 71, 72	
Proposal of Swedish del. to Sub-Cttee. of 6th Cttee. (<i>re</i> legal obligations). 59, 71	
in Hungary	40, 51
Inclusion of question in agenda of 6th Cttee.	9
Jews, treatment in Germany; question of Jews forming a minority; ethnic nationality	
Discussion 23-4, 28, 29, 29-30, 33, 35-6, 38, 39, 42, 44, 48-50, 51-2, 53-4, 55-7, 59	
Draft resols. of French and Haitian dels., <i>see below</i> Rights of man, etc., and Treatment of minorities, etc.	
Report of 6th Cttee.	70, 71-2
<i>See also</i> Mandates: Palestine: Jewish National Home, etc.	
Minorities treaties, execution of 23, 28, 29, 38 39, 44, 46, 47, 48, 50, 55	
Permanent Commission, appointment proposed	26-7, 35
Procedure <i>re</i> protection and question of improvements	
Discussion, <i>see that title above</i>	
Draft resol. of United Kgd., Danish, Dutch and Norwegian dels., <i>see below</i> Non-receivability and Publicity	
Sub-Committee to examine, <i>see that title above under</i> Draft resols.	
Non-receivability	
Information for petitioners <i>re</i> reasons (draft resol. of four dels.) 36 (<i>text</i>), 37, 45, 46, 50, 55, 57, 70, 71	
Statistics of non-receivable petitions	26
Permanent minorities Comm.: creation proposed	26-7, 35
Publicity for decisions of Minorities Cttees.; publication of documents	
Discussion, general 25, 26, 27, 28, 36, 44, 47	
Draft resol. of United Kgd., Denmark, Netherlands, Norway 36, 36-7 (<i>text</i>), 37, 45, 46, 50, 55, 57, 70, 71	
Report of 6th Cttee., <i>see that title below</i>	
Time-limit for communication of addit. information requested by Minorities Cttees.	37-8
Rapporteur to 6th Cttee. and Ass., appointment	59-60
Report of 6th Committee presented by M. Holsti	
Discussion and adoption	59
Text	70-2
Resolution of 6th Cttee.	59, 72 (<i>text</i>)
Rights of man and of citizens: World Conv. <i>re</i> protection, etc.	
Draft resol. of Haitian del. 33, 34 (<i>text</i>), 47, 70, 71	
in Roumania	25-6
Section of Secretariat	
Publications	27
Tribute to	45
Sub-Committee of 6th Cttee., <i>see above under</i> Draft resols.	

	Page
Minorities, Protection of (continued)	
Treatment of minorities by States not bound by legal obligations; exclusion of certain categories of citizens from benefit of provisions in minorities treaties	
French draft resol.	
Amendment to Part II adopted with abstention by 6th Cttee.	59, 72
Text and discussion 50 (<i>text</i>), 55, 59, 70, 71	
in Upper Silesia: Bernheim petition 28, 29, 41-2	
Monuments, Historical	
Commission, Int. Historical Monuments: creation and Athens Conference	
15-16, 16, 67 (<i>resol.</i>)	
Moral Disarmament	
Draft texts prepared by Cttee. on Intell. Co-operation	
Discussion	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17
Report of 6th Cttee.	65
Resolution of 6th Cttee.	
Amendments proposed	13, 14, 15, 17
Texts	43, 68
Museums Office, International	
Work	15, 16, 66, 67 (<i>resol.</i>)
Nansen Int. Office for Refugees	
<i>See under Refugees, etc.</i>	
North Burma, Slavery in	9
Ottawa Agreements	14
Palestine	
<i>See under Mandates</i>	
Peace, Press Collaboration in Organisation of	
<i>See Press, etc.</i>	
Press: Co-operation in Organisation of Peace Conferences	
Copenhagen, 1932	61
Madrid, 1934: agenda, convocation, etc. 8, 10, 10 (<i>draft resol.</i>), 11, 15, 61 (<i>resol.</i>)	
Discussion, general	8, 10, 10-11, 15
Freedom of the Press	10
Inaccurate news, campaign against 10, 61 (<i>resol.</i>)	
Intellectual Co-operation Org., relation between Press and	10, 11, 66
Journalists	
Facilities for	10
Improvement in professional training.	10
League work, swift supply of news re, to Press	10 (<i>draft resol.</i>), 21, 61 (<i>resol.</i>)
Organisations of different countries, co-operation between	10, 11
Press cards, int.	10
Public opinion as affected by Press in times of crisis	10
Rapporteur to 6th Cttee. and Ass., appointment	10, 11
Report of 6th Committee presented by M. de Tesson	
Discussion and adoption	10-11
Text	61
Resolution of 6th Committee	11, 61 (<i>text</i>)
Resolution, draft, of French delegation 10 (<i>text</i>)	
Refugees, Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish	
Armenians, settlement in various countries: question of transfer to Erivan	
17, 18, 62, 63, 64, 64 (<i>resol.</i>)	

	Page
Refugees, Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish (continued)	
Brazil, offer re colonisation	18, 63
Convention, draft, re protection 18, 63, 64 (<i>resol.</i>)	
Employment problem during economic crisis	17, 62, 63
Expulsion	18, 63, 64-5 (<i>resol.</i>)
Financial advances made by Nansen Office to refugees	18, 60
Financial aid from Govts. or Orgs., withdrawals and reductions	62, 64
Nansen Int. Office for Refugees	
Budget, 1934	18, 64, 65 (<i>resol.</i>)
Chairman, former, of Governing Body: tribute to	18
Work	17-18, 62-4 (<i>report</i>), 64-5 (<i>resol.</i>)
Protection, <i>see above</i> Convention, etc.	
Rapporteur to 6th Cttee. and Ass., appointment	9, 19
Report of 6th Cttee.	
Discussion and adoption	17-18
Text	62-4
Resolution of 6th Cttee.	
Amendments	18
Text	64-5
Russian and other refugees from Harbin, settlement question	64
Total number	17, 62
Roumania	
Minorities in, <i>see under</i> Minorities	
School Text-books, Revision ...	12, 65, 68 (<i>resol.</i>)
Sciences, Political and Moral	
Professor Shotwell's proposal 13, 66, 67 (<i>resol.</i>)	
Slavery	
Advisory Committee of Experts: constitution, powers and duties, etc.	
Credits, 1934	69, 69 (<i>resol.</i>)
Discussion	8, 9, 58
Report and resol. of 6th Cttee.	69
Rules of procedure, framing of 58, 69 (<i>resol.</i>)	
1st Session, date and programme 69 (<i>resol.</i>)	
Woman member, appointment proposed	9, 58
British Anti-Slavery Society: work	58
Centenary of anti-slavery work in England	9
in China and <i>mui-tsai</i> system	9, 58
Discussion	8, 9, 57-8
Information communicated by various Govts.	9, 58, 69 (<i>resol.</i>)
in Liberia	9
in North Burma	9
Rapporteur, appointment	9, 59
Report of 6th Committee presented by M. López Oliván	
Discussion and adoption	57-8
Text	69
Resolution of 6th Committee	58, 69 (<i>text</i>)
in Sudan	9
Sudan, Slavery in	9
Syria	
Armenians, settlement in	17, 62, 63
Mandate, <i>see under</i> Mandates	

	Page		Page
Tanganyika		Upper Silesia	
<i>See under Mandates</i>		Minorities in, <i>see under</i> Minorities	
Turkish Refugees		" Why War ?"	65
<i>See Refugees, etc.</i>		Workers' Leisure and Popular Education	15, 65
University Questions	15, 16, 66		

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

INDEX

TO THE

RECORDS

OF THE

Fourteenth Ordinary Session
of the Assembly (1933)

PLENARY MEETINGS
AND COMMITTEES

GENEVA, 1934.

REFERENCES

P = Plenary Meetings
C = Committee

EXAMPLES

P: 84 = Records of the Plenary Meetings, page 84
C II: 50 = Records of the Second Committee, page 50

ABBREVIATIONS

Addit. = Additional
Art. = Article
Ass. = Assembly
Cl. = Council
Comm. = Commission
Cttee. = Committee
Conf. = Conference
Conv. = Convention
Del. = Delegation
Govt. = Government
I.L.O. = International Labour Office
Intell. = Intellectual
Int. = International
Kgd. = Kingdom
Memo. = Memorandum
Org. = Organisation
Para. = Paragraph
Perm. = Permanent
Resol. = Resolution
Sec.-Gen. = Secretary-General
Suppl. = Supplementary
Temp. = Temporary
U.S.A. = United States of America

Note. — A numerical list of all documents published in the Records of the Fourteenth Assembly is appended to this index (see p. 40).

INDEX

TO THE

Records of the Fourteenth Assembly (Ordinary)

PLENARY MEETINGS AND COMMITTEES

A

Aa, M. van der (General Secretary of Int. Penal and Penitentiary Commission)
PENAL and penitentiary questions C V : 19

Abdussamad Khan, Sahebzada
Delegate of India C V : 6; P : 16
OPIUM and other dangerous drugs C V : 28

Abyssinia
DELEGATION P : 14

Accounts of League
See below Audited accounts of League

Activities and Policy, Expenditure and Financial Situation of League
DEVELOPMENT or restriction of activities
Discussion, general, *see that title below*
Reports of
4th Committee C IV : 164
Supervisory Comm.
Discussion C IV : 38-41
Text C IV : 101
DISCUSSION, general C IV : 9-14, 14-21, 22-8, 28-34, 35-8, 48-55
P : 42, 61-2, 92-3
ENQUIRY requested by United Kingdom
Govt. (allusion) C IV : 9, 15
ESSENTIAL and secondary functions C IV : 22, 36, 39
P : 42
MATERIAL expenditure : proportion of budget covering ; measures to effect reduction
C IV : 49, 51, III, III-12
PROPORTION of budget devoted to League activities C IV : 13, 49, 50, 51
REPERCUSSION on League activities of non-payment of contributions, *see Contributions : in Arrears : Difficulties, etc.*
REPORT of 4th Committee C IV : 162-3, 164-5
REPORT of Supervisory Comm.
Discussion C IV : 38-41
Text 101
RESOLUTION of Assembly, Oct. 17, 1932
C IV : 38, 39, 100 (*text*)
STAFF, expenditure on, *see Salaries, etc.*
TECHNICAL concentration of activities, *see Rationalisation, etc.*

Administrative Commissions and Minorities Section of Secretariat
BUDGET estimates, 1934 C IV : 71, 126
CHIEF of section, question of maintaining post C VI : 71
PUBLICATIONS C VI : 27
TRIBUTE to C VI : 45

Administrative Tribunal of League
SECRETARY, allowance to C IV : 58

Agenda of Assembly
COMMITTEE, Agenda
Chairman, appointment as member of
General Cttee. P : 25, 33
Members, appointment P : 33
DISTRIBUTION of items among Cttees. P : 34-5
EXAMINATION and adoption P : 32
LIST of items as adopted by Ass., Sept. 25, 1933 P : 7-8
QUESTIONS added and suppressed C I : 21, 22, 23, 46
C IV : 73; P : 50, 54, 57

Aggression, Economic P : 55

Aggressor, Definition of
PROTOCOL of London, July, 3, 1933, and allusions to P : 43, 54, 65

Agriculture
BANKS, central, for certain agricultural countries : adaptation to economic conditions of those countries C II : 40
COUNTRIES, agricultural, of Central and Eastern Europe : trade relations, *see Bucharest Conference*
CUSTOMS tariffs C II : 39
EXPORTS of agricultural countries : increase C II : 38
in ITALY : improvement and irrigation of land C II : 20
PRICES of products C II : 16, 37, 39
PROBLEM, agricultural, in Europe and attitude of industrial countries P : 54
PRODUCTION and marketing : co-ordination, *see that title*
SUB-COMMITTEE, Agricultural
Credits, 1934 : suspension C IV : 127
WHEAT
Agreement, London, 1933 C II : 16, 39, 40
Austria : negotiations with various countries P : 40

Agüero y Bethancourt, M. de (Former Delegate of Cuba)
TRIBUTES to his memory P : 31

Air Navigation
AIR Transport Co-operation Cttee., proposed resumption of work C II : 34
ESTABLISHMENT of system of essential air communications on European Continent and in Mediterranean basin C II : 34; P : 75
SANITARY Convention for Aerial Navigation : application C II : 30

Albania
DELEGATION P : 9
See also Kurti, Lec

Allocation of Expenses of League

See under Contributions, etc.

Allotments for Unemployed Young People

See Children, etc. : Economic crisis, etc.

Aloisi, Baron Pompeo

Delegate of Italy C VI : 6 ; P : 17

Vice-President of Assembly P : 25, 34

MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews
in Germany C VI : 48

Andrews, H. T.

Substitute delegate of Union of South Africa
C I : 4 ; C II : 4 ; P : 9

HEALTH Organisation, work C II : 10

NATIONALITY of women C I : 24

Andvord, M.

Substitute delegate of Norway C II : 5 ; C VI : 6
P : 19

MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews
in Germany C VI : 37-8

REFUGEES, Jewish, etc., from Germany :
org. of assistance C II : 27

WHALE, protection of : ratification of Conv.
C II : 25-6, 26

Animal Products

See Veterinary questions

Antoniade, Constantin

Appointment as rapporteur for questions *re*
Russian and other refugees C VI : 9, 19

Delegate of Roumania C VI : 6 ; P : 21.

MANDATES C VI : 20

MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews
in Germany C VI : 46-7

REFUGEES, Russian, Armenian, Assyrian,
Assyrio-Chaldean and Turkish
C VI : 17-18, 62-5 (*report*)
P : 73 (*statement*)

Apponyi, Countess Albert

Substitute delegate of Hungary C V : 5 ; P : 16

CHILD welfare and reorganisation of Advisory
Comm. for protection C V : 25, 27, 28

OPIMUM and other dangerous drugs C V : 11

Apponyi, Late Count (Former Delegate of Hungary)

TRIBUTES to his memory P : 31-2

Arbitration, Security and Pacific Settlement of Disputes

GENERAL ACT (Geneva, 1928) : accession of
Greece (allusion) P : 52

Archives, Registry and Indexing Service of Secretariat

RATIONALISATION : enquiry and recomms.
C IV : 11, 107

Argentine Republic

ACCESSION, definitive, to League : statement
by President and welcome of Ass. P : 36, 95

DELEGATION : absence from 14th session
Communication from Argentine Minister
at Berne P : 56

ELECTION as *non-perm.* Member of Cl., Oct. 2,
1933 P : 57-8

Armaments, Reduction and Limitation

BUDGET estimates, 1934 C IV : 72-3, 167

CONFERENCE, Disarmament
Building, taking over by League C IV : 126

Credits, 1934 and expenditure on 1st ses-
sion C IV : 9, 12, 16, 18, 24, 32, 36, 51, 72, 73,
133, 164, 167

Results, *see below* Discussion of problem,
etc.

U.S.A. contribution to expenses : pro-
cedure *re* C IV : 123

DISCUSSION of problem in plenary meetings P : 28,
29, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 50, 53, 54, 55,
59-60, 61, 64-5

EQUALITY, controlled P : 43

ORGAN to be set up by Disarmament Conf. :
credits, 1934 C IV : 72, 167

Armenian Refugees

See Refugees, etc.

Armenteros y de Cardenas, Carlos de

Delegate of Cuba C I : 4 ; C IV : 6 ; P : 13

BUDGET of League : estimates, 1934
Labour Org., Int. C IV : 77

Secretariat C IV : 70

CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-opera-
tion in campaign against crime C I : 14

TRIBUTE to memory of M. de Agüero y
Bethancourt P : 31

Arms, Munitions, etc., Manufacture of and Traffic in

CONTROL as related to results *re* drug traffic
and manufacture C V : 9

DISCUSSION and figures for years 1921-1930
P : 41, 59-60

Arts and Letters

COMMITTEE on Arts and Letters
Credits, 1934 (suppl. credit) C IV : 73, 91-2, 157, 168
C VI : 43 (*resol.*)

Work during session at Madrid C IV : 13
P : 62, 82

EXHIBITIONS in London of art of various
countries C VI : 15

POPULAR Arts, Cttee. on C VI : 15

REPATRIATION of works of art illicitly removed
C VI : 15, 17, 66, 67 (*resol.*)
P : 81 (*resol.*)

Assembly of League

Assembly Journal, reduction in size C IV : 125

COMMITTEES, *see* Committees of Ass.

DELEGATIONS

Credentials of delegates of Cttees. con-
vened prior to Ass., procedure *re* C I : 17

of 14th Ordinary session, *see below*

HONORARY posts in : non-election of represen-
tatives of States in arrears with contri-
butions, *See* Contributions : in Arrears :
Measures, etc.

PROCEDURE, simplification of
4th Committee, convocation prior to
Ass., etc., *see* Finance Cttee. : Convo-
cation, etc.

Discussion C I : 16-17, 18-21
C IV : 66-7 ; P : 42, 85-6, 94

Minutes of General Cttee.'s meeting
Sept. 27, 1933 (extracts) C I : 16, 43-4 (*text*)

Note submitted by Sec.-Gen. to General
Cttee. C I : 16-17

Rapporteur to Ass.
Appointment C I : 21

Statement by P : 85-6

Reference of question to 1st Cttee. : pro-
posal of General Cttee. C I : 16 (*note*), 44
P : 42 (*resol.*)

Assembly of League (continued)

- PROCEDURE, simplification of (continued)**
 Report of 1st Committee C I : 21, 44-5 (text)
 Resolution of Assembly, Oct. 11, 1934 P : 86
 Resolution of 1st Committee
 Draft resol. of General Cttee.
 Communication to 4th Cttee. and
 proposal of 4th Cttee. C I : 45-6 ; C IV : 66-7
 Discussion, amendments and adop-
 tion in 1st Cttee. C I : 18-21
 Text C I : 17-18 ; C IV : 66
 Text (as adopted) C I : 45
 Rules of Procedure (allusion to)
 Rules 4, 6, 14 C I : 16, 18, 20, 21
 Rule 7 C I : 17, 19, 45
 Rule 22 (a) C I : 28 ; P : 78
- REPORTS and resols. of Cttees., see under**
 Cttees. of Ass.
- RULES of Procedure, see that title, and above**
 Procedure, simplification of
- 14TH SESSION (Ordinary), 1933**
 Agenda, *see that title*
 Bureau, *see Cttees. of Ass. : General Cttee.*
 Close of session : President's speech P : 93-6
 Committees, *see Cttees. of Ass.*
 Convocation and postponement of date
 Letters from Sec.-Gen. (May 6, July 6,
 19, 1933) to all League Members and
 Cl. resol. July 3, 1933 P : 6
 Delegates and delegations
 Argentine delegation, absence from
 14th session P : 56
 Credentials, *see Cttees. of Ass. : Cre-*
 denentials, Cttee. on Verification of
 List P : 9-24
 Opening of Ass. : speeches by
 M. Mowinckel (President of Cl.) P : 27, 28-30
 M. te Water (President of Ass.) P : 31
 President, *see also te Water, C. T.*
 Election P : 30-1
 Speeches at opening and close of session
 P : 31, 93-6
- Vice-Presidents
 Election P : 34
 List P : 25
- 15TH SESSION (Ordinary), 1934**
 Budget estimates C IV : 55-6, 125, 165
 Procedure to be applied at, *see above*
 Procedure, simplification
- SESSIONS of Ass. : organisation**
 Date of convocation : provisions of Rules
 of Procedure and application P : 43
- SIMULTANEOUS translation of speeches at**
 plenary meetings
 Communication of President on behalf of
 General Cttee. P : 36
- TIME-LIMIT for speeches as means of expedit-**
 ing work proposed C I : 19, 19-20, 20
- VICE-PRESIDENTS**
 Election, procedure *vs* : communication
 of President on behalf of General Cttee.
 P : 49-50
- 14th Session, *see above under that title*

Assyrian and Assyro-Chaldean Refugees
See Refugees, etc.

Atlases and Dictionaries

- ADDITION to list of books to which procedure
vs revision of school text-books is ap-
 plicable . . . C VI : 67 (resol.) ; P : 81 (resol.)

Audited Accounts of League

- 1932, 14th financial period : examination and
 adoption by
 Assembly, Oct. 11, 1933 P : 93 (resol.)
 4th Committee C IV : 8-9, 164, 169, 170 (resol.)
 Supervisory Comm. C IV : 90, 119-20, 122-3, 128,
 169

Australia

- DELEGATION P : 10
See also Bruce, S. M.
 Copland, D. B.
 Freedman, Rabbi D. I.
 Hobbs, Sir Talbot
 Officer, Keith
 Sheehan, Henry John
 Williams, Mrs. Mary Jamieson
- ELECTION as non-perm. Member of Cl., Oct. 2,
 1933 P : 57-8

Austria

- DELEGATION P : 10
See also Dollfuss, Engelbert
 Schiffner, E.
 Schüller, Richard
- ECONOMIC and financial position : loan, 1933 ;
 work of Financial Cttee. C II : 41-2 ; P : 40-1

Authors' Rights

- ROME Act : ratification ; Brussels Conf.,
 future C VI : 14, 16, 66, 67 (resol.) ; P : 81 (resol.)

Avenol, Joseph (Secretary-General of League)

- ADMINISTRATION and finances of League ;
 technical concentration of activities ;
 staff questions ; rationalisation C IV : 12-14, 48,
 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48-50, 54, 55
- BUDGET, 1934 : estimates for Secretariat
 C IV : 58, 61, 62, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74
- CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears and recovery of
 contributions C IV : 13, 14, 89
- PENSIONS Fund, Staff : report of Administra-
 tive Board C IV : 96-7
- WELCOME from Ass. and tributes to work
 P : 28, 49, 50, 58, 93-4

Aviation

- See* Air navigation

Avila Lima, José Lobo d'

- Delegate of Portugal C I : 5 ; P : 21
- CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-
 operation in campaign against crime . . C I : 9

B

Bangkok

- AGREEMENT, 1931, *see under* Opium : Opium-
 smoking
- PORT of Bangkok, improvement with League
 assistance C II : 35 ; P : 44

Banks

- CENTRAL banks : function and co-ordination
 of policy C II : 40-1

Baranyai, Zoltán

- Appointment as rapporteur for work of
 Health Org. C II : 7, 14
 Substitute delegate of Hungary C II : 5 ; C VI : 6 ;
 P : 16

HEALTH

- Tribute to memory of M. Velghe, Vice-
 Chairman of Health Cttee. C II : 7
 Work of Health Org. C II : 8, 14, 30, 33 (report)
 P : 72 (statement)

MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews

- in Germany C VI : 25-8, 50-1

Bastid, Paul

- Assistant delegate of France C V : 5 ; P : 15
 OPIUM and other dangerous drugs. . . . C V : 11-12

- Belgium**
 DELEGATION P: 10
See also Carton de Wiart, Count
- Beneš, Eduard**
 Delegate of Czechoslovakia C VI : 5 ; P : 23
 MANDATES C VI : 20
 MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews
 in Germany C VI : 38-41
- Bérenger, Henry**
 Delegate of France C VI : 5 ; P : 14
 MANDATES C VI : 21
 MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews
 in Germany C VI : 28, 48-50, 60
- Bernhoff, H. A.**
 Substitute delegate of Denmark C I : 4 ; P : 13
 ASSEMBLY of League ; simplification of pro-
 cedure C I : 20
- Biancheri-Chiappori, Augusto**
 Secretary-General, delegation of Italy C VI : 6 ; P : 17
 MANDATES C VI : 20
- Bianchi, Fausto**
 Assistant delegate of Italy C VI : 6 ; P : 17
 BUDGET, 1934 ; estimates for Secretariat C VI : 59, 92
 CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears and recovery of
 contributions C IV : 86-7
 PENSIONS Fund, Staff : report of Administra-
 tive Board C IV : 94
- Bianchini, Giuseppe**
 Assistant delegate of Italy C II : 5 ; P : 17
 FINANCIAL Organisation : work C II : 18
- Biological and Serological Products**
 PERMANENT Cttee. on Standardisation C II : 8, 10, 33
 P : 72
- Birkeland, Hersleb**
 Substitute delegate of Norway C IV : 7 ; P : 19
 CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears and recovery of
 contributions C IV : 84-5
- Blind Children**
See under Children, etc.
- Boheman, E. C.**
 Substitute delegate of Sweden C IV : 7 ; P : 22
 ADMINISTRATION and finances of League :
 staff questions ; rationalisation
 C IV : 27-8, 39-40, 41, 42, 46
 ASSEMBLY of League ; simplification of pro-
 cedure C IV : 66, 67
 BUDGET, 1934 ; estimates for Secretariat
 C IV : 63, 66, 69, 70
 CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears and recovery of
 contributions C IV : 27, 85-6
 PENSIONS Fund, Staff : report of Administra-
 tive Board C IV : 96
- Bolivia**
 DELEGATE P : 10
See also Costa du Rels, Adolfe
 DISPUTE between Bolivia and Paraguay, *see*
that title
- Bonnet, M. (Director of Institute of Intellectual
 Co-operation)**
 INTELLECTUAL co-operation C VI : 16
- Boudreau, Dr. (Medical Director of Health Organ-
 isation)**
 HEALTH Organisation, work of C II : 11-12
- Bounties and Subsidies**
 SHIPPING subsidies C II : 39
 WORK of Monetary Conf. C II : 39
- Branch Offices of League Organisations**
 ACTIVITIES, rationalisation, question of even-
 tual suppression C IV : 11, 24, 37, 46, 75, 81,
 104 (*report*), 118 (*report*), 125, 165, 168
 BUDGET estimates, 1934, *see under* Budget :
 Labour Org. and below Secretariat
 PENSIONS for staff : position of officials paid
 in depreciated currency, *see* Pensions
 Fund : Pensionable emoluments, etc.
- Bray, Sir Denys**
 Delegate of India C VI : 6 ; P : 16
 Election as Vice-Chairman of 6th Cttee. . . C VI : 8
 SLAVERY C VI : 9
- Brazil**
 COLONISATION of refugees in : offer of Brazilian
 Govt. C VI : 18, 63 ; P : 73
 CONTRIBUTION to budget of I.L.O. (1934) C IV : 129
- Bridges**
 CONSTRUCTION to aid unemployed, *see* Public
 works
- British Empire**
See United Kingdom, etc.
- Broadcasting**
 EDUCATIONAL and int. aspects of C VI : 11, 13, 65,
 67-8 (*resol.*) ; P : 81 (*resol.*), 82
 of HEALTH and epidemiological information
 C II : 10, 31
 by WIRELESS station of League, *see that title*
- Bruce, S. M.**
 Delegate of Australia C I : 4 ; C II : 4 ; C IV : 6 ; P : 10
 ADMINISTRATION and finances of League ;
 rationalisation C IV : 16-17, 40, 41, 55
 BUDGET, 1934 : estimates for Secretariat
 C IV : 55, 57-8, 61, 61-2, 90, 91
 CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears and recovery of
 contributions C IV : 18, 85, 90
 ECONOMIC situation, present C II : 15
 NATIONALITY of women C I : 24
- Brussels Conference, 1920 P : 51**
- Bucharest Conference, 1932**
 for IMPROVEMENT of trade relations between
 agricultural countries of Central and
 Eastern Europe C II : 38
- Budget of League**
 1932 BUDGET : 14th financial period
 Accounts, *see* Audited accounts, etc.
 Discussion, general, and comparison with
 other financial years . C IV : 8-9, 12-14, 15,
 18, 24-5, 32, 33, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 123, 163, 164
 Surplus and question of disposal
 C IV : 12, 15, 48, 90, 132, 162, 163, 164, 169
 P : 95
 1933 BUDGET : 15th financial period
 Discussion, general, and comparison with
 other financial years
 C IV : 8, 12-14, 15, 32, 33, 48, 49, 123 ; P : 95

Budget of League (continued)

1934, BUDGET estimates: 16th financial period
 Adoption . . . C IV: 170 (resol.); P: 93 (resol.)
 Buildings at Geneva, *see below*
 Comparison with preceding budgets
 C IV: 12-14, 14-15, 18, 24-5, 32, 33, 48-9, 50,
 123-4, 163, 164
 Court of Int. Justice, *see that title below*
 Discussion, general . . . C IV: 11-12, 13, 14, 15,
 22, 24-5, 31, 32, 33, 36, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54,
 55; P: 61-2, 92-3, 95
 See also below under the Orgs. concerned
 Examination by items, question of
 C IV: 53, 54, 55
 Financial situation and activities of
 League in relation to: discussion, *see*
 Activities and policy, etc.
 Labour Org., Int., *see that title below*
 Modifications C IV: 131
 Nansen Int. Office for Refugees, *see below*
 Refugees, etc.
 Pensions, *see that title below*
 Publication in *Official Journal*
 C IV: 170 (resol.); P: 93 (resol.)
 Rapporteur
 Appointment C IV: 28
 Statement by P: 92-3
 Reduction of 150,000 frs. on total budget
 C IV: 32, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 62, 64, 74 (resol.),
 164, 167
 Reports of
 4th Committee
 Discussion C IV: 97; P: 92-3
 Text C IV: 162-9
 Supervisory Comm.
 Supplementary reports C IV: 115-21, 156-8
 on Work of 52nd session
 C IV: 122-33 (text), 133-6 (appendix)
 Resolutions
 of Assembly, Oct. 11, 1933 P: 93
 of 4th Committee C IV: 170
 Secretariat and Special Orgs., *see that*
 title below
 Supplementary credits
 Discussion C IV: 71-2, 73, 91-2
 Reports of
 4th Cttee. C IV: 168
 Supervisory Comm. C IV: 118-19, 156-7
 Total estimates C IV: 33, 50, 132, 168,
 170 (resol.); P: 93 (resol.)
 BUDGETARY methods; questions of receipts
 and expenditure; over-budgeting
 C IV: 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 29, 31, 32, 34, 48,
 49-50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 87, 163-4 (report)
 P: 95
 BUILDINGS at Geneva: estimates, 1934,
 16th financial period (Part V)
 Adoption C IV: 74
 Modifications C V: 131
 Reports of
 4th Committee C IV: 168
 Supervisory Comm. C IV: 131
 Total estimates C IV: 132, 168
 COURT of Int. Justice, Perm.: estimates,
 1934, 16th financial period (Part III)
 Alternative budgets drafted pending
 entry into force of 1929 Protocol
 revising Statute C IV: 82-3, 129-30, 168
 Examination and adoption C IV: 82-3
 Items of expenditure
 Pensions of judges C IV: 83, 130
 Salaries C IV: 83, 130
 Sessions of Court (assessors, experts,
 witnesses) C IV: 83, 130
 Unforeseen expenditure C IV: 83, 130
 Modifications C IV: 131
 Reductions C IV: 83, 130
 Reports of
 4th Committee C IV: 168
 Supervisory Comm. C IV: 129-30
 Total estimates* C IV: 132, 168

Budget of League (continued)

DEFICIT, budget, and policy pursued to avoid
 (economies, suppression of transfers, etc.)
 C IV: 8-9, 12-13, 16, 18, 22, 23, 26, 29, 32, 36,
 48-9, 50, 52, 163, 164; P: 92-3
 See also Activities and policy, etc. of
 League: Development or restriction,
 etc.
 LABOUR Organisation, Int.
 Estimates, 1934, 16th financial period
 (Part II)
 Brazil, contribution of C IV: 129
 Examination and adoption
 Detailed examination C IV: 80-2
 General discussion C IV: 74-5, 76-9
 Items of expenditure
 Appropriations-in-aid. C IV: 82
 Branch Offices C IV: 75, 81, 129, 168
 Commissions C IV: 75, 80
 Enquiries, investigations and exter-
 nal collaboration C IV: 80
 General services C IV: 74, 80
 Permanent equipment, etc. C IV: 82
 Printing C IV: 80
 Profit and loss on exchange C IV: 82
 Salaries C IV: 114-15, 129
 Scientific Management Institute:
 contribution C IV: 82
 Sessions of Conf. and Governing
 Body C IV: 80
 Travelling expenses of officials C IV: 75
 Unforeseen expenditure of Chaps. I-IV
 C IV: 75, 82
 Modifications C IV: 131
 Reductions C IV: 74, 75, 76, 79, 129, 167
 Reports of
 4th Committee C IV: 167-8
 Supervisory Comm. C IV: 129
 Total estimates C IV: 74, 75, 129, 132,
 167, 168
 Stabilisation C IV: 74-5, 111 (table), 167
 NATIONAL budgets as compared with League
 budget C IV: 16, 17, 23, 29, 31
 OVER-BUDGETING, *see above* Budgetary meth-
 ods, etc.
 PENSIONS Fund: estimates, 1934, 16th finan-
 cial period (Part VI)
 Adoption C IV: 74
 Modifications C IV: 131
 Reports of
 4th Committee C IV: 168
 Supervisory Comm. C IV: 131
 Total estimates C IV: 132, 168
 REFUGEES, Nansen Int. Office for: estimates,
 1934, 16th financial period (Part IV)
 Examination and adoption, total figures
 C IV: 83-4, 131, 132, 168; C VI: 18, 64,
 65 (resol.); P: 73, 73 (resol.)
 Modifications C IV: 131
 Reports of
 4th Committee C IV: 168
 6th Committee C VI: 64
 Supervisory Comm. C IV: 131
 Total estimates
 C IV: 132; C VI: 65 (resol.); P: 73 (resol.)
 SECRETARIAT and Special Orgs.: estimates,
 1934, 16th financial period (Part I)
 Examination and adoption
 C IV: 25, 55-8, 59-67, 68-74, 83-4
 Items of expenditure
 Administrative Comms. and minorities
 questions C IV: 71, 126
 Allocation of expenses, Cttee. on
 C IV: 68-70, 166-7
 Appropriations-in-aid. C IV: 71
 Armaments, reduction of C IV: 72-3, 167
 Assembly session (Chap. I)
 C IV: 55-6, 125, 165
 Branch Offices C IV: 59, 125
 China, liaison with C IV: 70-4, 87

Budget of League (continued)

SECRETARIAT and Special Orgs.: estimates (continued)

Items of expenditure (continued)

- Communications and Transit Org. C IV: 72, 127
- Council sessions (Chap. I) C IV: 55-6, 165
- Economic Relations Section C IV: 71, 127
- European Union, Comm. of Enquiry on C IV: 73
- Exchange, profit and loss on C IV: 74
- Financial Section and Economic Intelligence Service C IV: 71, 118-19, 126-7
- Frais de représentation C IV: 62-4, 166
- Furniture and equipment C IV: 74
- General office expenses C IV: 64, 126
- Health Org., Int. C IV: 72, 127
- Information Section C IV: 118
- Intell. Co-operation, Int. Bureaux and miscellaneous questions (including suppl. credit) C IV: 73, 91-2, 128, 157, 168
- Interest charges C IV: 66
- Latin America, liaison with C IV: 73-4, 87, 128
- Library C IV: 74, 128
- Mandates C IV: 72, 127, 128
- Monetary and Economic Conf. (suppl. credit) C IV: 71-2, 91, 156-7, 168
- Opium traffic, supervision and Central Board: entry into force of Manufacture Conv. C IV: 72, 127
- Property account, maintenance C IV: 64, 118, 126
- Publication Dept. C IV: 64, 80, 126
- Salaries, wages and allowances C IV: 56, 56-8, 124, 163, 165
- Slavery, Int. Conv. on C IV: 73
- Social questions (traffic in women, protection of children, etc.) C IV: 72, 127-8
- Special staff charges C IV: 58, 65-6
- Staff Provident Fund, contribution to C IV: 59
- Supervision of revenue and expenditure C IV: 68-70
- Travelling and subsistence allowances of League officials C IV: 59-62, 165
- Unforeseen expenditure (subject to special Cl. vote) C IV: 31-2, 55-6, 125
- Unforeseen and miscellaneous expenses of Secretariat C IV: 32, 68
- Unpaid Liabilities Fund 32, 68
- Wireless station, League C IV: 74, 128
- Modifications C IV: 131
- Reductions as compared with financial years 1932, 1933 C IV: 13, 123-4, 163
- Reports of
 - 4th Committee C IV: 163, 165-7
 - Supervisory Comm. C IV: 123-8
- Suppl. credits, *see above under* Budget estimates, 1934
- Total estimates C IV: 12, 132, 163, 168
- SUPPLEMENTARY credits, *see above under* 1934 Budget
- SURPLUS, 1932 Budget, *see above* 1932 Budget
- WORKING Capital Fund, *see that title*

Budgets, National

- COMPARISON with League budget C IV: 16, 17, 23, 29, 31
- PROVISION in, to meet League contributions (proposal) C IV: 84, 148, 151

Building Trade and Housing

See Public works

Buildings of League

- BUDGET estimates, 1934, *see* Budget of League: Buildings, etc.
- BUILDING Fund
 - Depreciation of dollar, effect on C IV: 120
 - Position on Aug. 31, 1933 C IV: 139-40 (memo.)

Buildings of League (continued)

- CONSTRUCTION of new buildings
 - Allusions to C IV: 17, 33
 - Arrangement of premises to permit more complete rationalisation of administrative services C IV: 107
 - Expenditure: report of Supervisory Comm. C IV: 90, 120 (text), 169
 - Furnishing account: contribution from sale of flat in Rome purchased by I.L.O., 1923 C IV: 122
- DISARMAMENT Conf. building: taking over by League C IV: 126
- LOANS of buildings between Secretariat and I.L.O. C IV: 108

Bulgaria

- DELEGATION P: 11
- See also* Mikoff, Dimitri
- DRUG situation in C V: 40, 44
- FINANCIAL situation: examination by Financial Cttee. and measures proposed C II: 42

Buoyage and Lighting of Coasts: Unification

- DRAFT Agreement and Regulations to be submitted to Govts. C II: 34; P: 75
- LISBON Conference (allusion) P: 62

Bureaux, International

See Intellectual co-operation: Section, etc.

Butler, Harold (Director of I.L.O.)

- ADMINISTRATION and finances of League; staff questions; rationalisation C IV: 43, 44, 48
- BUDGET of League: estimates, 1934
 - Labour Org., Int. C IV: 74-5, 76, 78-9, 79, 80, 81, 82
 - Secretariat C IV: 65-6

C

Cahen-Salvador, M.

- Assistant delegate of France C II: 4; C IV: 5; P: 15
- ADMINISTRATION and finances of League: staff questions; rationalisation C IV: 19-21, 39, 41, 43-4, 44
- PUBLIC works and campaign against unemployment C II: 18, 21-2, 22

Camps, Organisation for Young People

See Children, etc.: Economic crisis and unemployment

Canada

- DELEGATION P: 12
- See also* Désy, Jean
- Manion, Robert J.
- Riddell, Walter A.
- Roy, Philippe
- MINORITIES in, *see under* Minorities

Capital, Movement of C II: 37, 40

Carton de Wiart, Count

- Chairman of 2nd Cttee. C II: 4; P: 25, 34
- Delegate of Belgium C II: 4; C V: 5; P: 10
- CHILD welfare and reorganisation of Advisory Comm. C V: 22, 26
- ECONOMIC situation, present world C II: 15, 16, 21
- HEALTH
 - Tribute to memory of M. Velghe, Vice-Chairman of Health Cttee. C II: 7
 - Work of Health Org. C II: 12
- MONETARY and Economic Conf.: credits for continuation of work C II: 17, 25
- TRAFFIC in women and children. C V: 18

Casalini, Enzo

Assistant delegate of Italy C II : 5 ; P : 17
 ECONOMIC situation, world : improvement C II : 15
 MONETARY and Economic Conf. : credits for
 continuation of work C II : 17
 PUBLIC works and campaign against unem-
 ployment C II : 20-1, 21, 22
 REFUGEES, Jewish, etc., from Germany: org.
 of assistance C II : 26, 28

Cassin, René

Assistant delegate of France C I : 4 ; P : 15
 ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of pro-
 cedure C I : 18, 21

Castillo Najera, Francisco

Delegate of Mexico C IV : 7 ; P : 19
 Vice-President of Assembly P : 25, 34
 BUDGET, 1934 : estimates for I.L.O. C IV : 77, 78
 4TH COMMITTEE : close of session C IV : 97
 CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears C IV : 84, 147-9 (*report*)
 P : 91-2 (*statement*), 92

Castro, Alfredo de

Delegate of Uruguay C V : 6 ; P : 23
 OPIUM and other dangerous drugs C V : 10
 PUBLIC works and campaign against unem-
 ployment P : 76-7

Cavazzoni, Stefano

Assistant delegate of Italy C IV : 6 ; P : 17
 ADMINISTRATION and finances of League ;
 rationalisation C IV : 25-6, 29, 38, 38-9, 40, 41,
 45, 53, 55
 ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of pro-
 cedure C IV : 66
 AUDITED accounts of League : 1932 C IV : 8
 BUDGET of League : estimates, 1934
 Labour Org., Int. C IV : 79, 80, 81, 82
 Secretariat C IV : 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 70
 CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears and recovery of
 contributions C IV : 26

Central and Eastern European Countries

AGRICULTURAL conditions, *see under* Agricul-
 ture and Bucharest Conf.
 FINANCIAL assistance, *see that title*

Chiefs of Section

See under Officials of League orgs.

**Children and Young People, Protection and Wel-
fare of**

ADVISORY Commission : reorganisation
 Assessors, number, etc. C V : 26, 27, 38
 Child Welfare Cttee., *see that title below*
 Committee on assistance : creation pro-
 posed C V : 26, 38
 Committee on Traffic in Women and
 Children, *see under* Traffic, etc.
 Discussion C V : 20-1, 23, 26-8
 French draft resol., *see below* Child Wel-
 fare Cttee. : Functions, etc.
 Functions, *see below under* Child Welfare
 Cttee. and elsewhere Traffic in women,
 etc. : Committee, etc.
 Funds : increase required for activities
 C V : 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 36 (*resol.*), 38 (*resol.*)
 P : 89 (*resol.*), 91 (*resol.*)
See also below Budget estimates, 1934
 Members : numbers, term of office ;
 representation of non-European coun-
 tries C V : 26, 27, 37

**Children and Young People, Protection and Wel-
fare of (*continued*)**

ADVISORY Commission : reorganisation (*continued*)
 Rapporteur, appointment C V : 8, 29
 Report of 5th Committee
 Discussion and adoption C V : 29 ; P : 91
 Text C V : 36-8
 Resolutions
 of Assembly, Oct. 11, 1933 P : 91
 of 5th Committee C V : 29, 38 (*text*)
 Sub-Committee appointed to study
 question : work C V : 36
 ALLOTMENTS, market garden, for unem-
 ployed, *see below* Economic crisis, etc.
 BLIND children C V : 22, 23, 24, 35
 BUDGET estimates, 1934 C IV : 72, 127-8
 CAMPS, concentration, org. of, *see below*
 Economic crisis, etc.
 CHILD WELFARE Committee
 Functions, programme and question of
 rôle as centre of documentation, etc.
 Discussion : draft resol. of French del.
 C V : 20-1 (*text*), 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 37,
 38 (*resol.*) ; P : 89, 89 (*resol.*), 91 (*resol.*)
 Funds required by, *see above under* Advi-
 sory Comm.
 CINEMATOGRAPH in relation to child welfare
 C V : 21, 25
 COMMITTEE on assistance : creation proposed
 C V : 26, 38
 DELINQUENT child and juvenile courts C V : 20, 21-2
 DESERTION of the family C V : 20, 21, 22
 DISCUSSION C IV : 72 ; C V : 20-3, 23-6, 26-8, 28 ;
 P : 39, 62, 64, 88-9, 94
 ECONOMIC crisis and unemployment, effects
 on young people and remedies pro-
 posed
 Discussion C V : 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 ; P : 89
 Draft resol. of French del. C V : 26
 Inclusion of question in agenda of Labour
 Conf. C V : 35
 Report of 5th Cttee. C V : 35-6
 Resolutions of Ass. (Oct. 11, 1933) and
 5th Cttee. C V : 36 ; P : 89
 HEALTH questions, *see* Maternity, infant wel-
 fare and health of child of pre-school age
 ILLEGITIMATE children C V : 22, 24, 35
 RAPPOREUR
 Appointment C V : 8, 28
 Statement to Ass. P : 88-9
 REPORT of 5th Committee
 Discussion and adoption C V : 28 ; P : 88-9
 Text C V : 35-6
See also above under Advisory Comm. etc.
 RESOLUTION of Assembly, Oct. 11, 1933 P : 89
 RESOLUTION of 5th Committee
 Adoption with amendments C V : 28
 Drafting Cttee. appointed to prepare C V : 26
 Text C V : 36
See also above under Advisory Comm.
 RESOLUTION, draft, of French del., *see above*
 Child Welfare Cttee. : Functions
 SOCIAL Section of Secretariat : budget and
 functions under reorganisation of Ad-
 visory Comm. C V : 23, 26, 27, 37, 38 (*resol.*)
 TRAFFIC in, *see* Traffic in women and children

Chile
 DELEGATION P : 12
See also Gajardo, Enrique
 Valdés-Mendeville, Jorge
 POPULAR nutrition in, study of C II : 30

- China**
 COMMUNICATIONS in : co-operation between
 Transit Org. and Chinese authorities C II : 13-14, 31, 35
 DELEGATION P : 12-13
See also Hoo Chi-tsai, Dr. V.
 King, Wunsz
 Koo, V. K. Wellington
 Liu Chieh, M.
 Lo, T. Y.
 Quo Tai-chi, M.
 Tsien Tai, Dr.
 DISPUTE between China and Japan, *see that
 title*
 DRUG situation in, *see under* Opium, etc.
 EDUCATION, reorganisation and mission of
 Chinese educationists to Europe C VI : 12, 66
 HEALTH, *see under that title*
 INTELLECTUAL co-operation, promotion in C VI : 12, 66
 SLAVERY and mui-tsai system in C VI : 9, 58
 TECHNICAL collaboration of League
 Budget estimates ('liaison with League')
 C IV : 73-4
 Statement of Chinese repres. P : 45
- Cholera**
See under Health
- Cinematograph**
 CHILD welfare as related to C V : 21, 25
 CONVENTION *re* facilitation of int. circulation
 of educational films, Oct. 10, 1933
 President's announcement *re* signature P : 93
 PROPAGANDA by Information Section C IV : 46, 105
 WORK of Intellectual Co-operation Org.
 C VI : 11, 13, 66, 66-7 ; P : 82
- Citizens, Rights of**
See Rights of men and of citizens
- Clujna, E. Edmnd**
 Expert, delegation of Roumania C IV : 7 ; P : 22
 CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears C IV : 89
- Civil Aviation**
See Air navigation
- Civil Service Officials**
See National officials
- Civil War**
 RESOLUTION of Int. Red Cross Conferences,
 1921 P : 44
- Civilisation, Future of**
 CONVERSATION at Madrid, May 1933
 C VI : 13, 16, 17 (*resol.*), 65, 67 (*resol.*)
 P : 80, 80 (*resol.*), 82-3
 STUDY by Perm. Cttee. on Arts and Letters
 and *resol.* adopted by P : 62
- Coal**
 WORK of Monetary Conference C II : 40
- Coasts, Buoyage and Lighting of**
See Buoyage, etc.
- Coca Leaf, Cultivation**
See Opium, etc. : Cultivation, etc.
- Cocaine, Manufacture of** C V : 39
- Colombia**
 CONTRIBUTIONS to League : part payment of
 arrears P : 91
 DELEGATION P : 13
 DISPUTE between Colombia and Peru, *see
 that title*
- Comert, Pierre (Former Director of Information
 Section)**
 TRIBUTE to work P : 58
- Commerce**
See Trade
- Commercial Motor Transport**
See under Roads, road traffic
- Committee of Thirteen**
 WORK on reorganisation of League Orgs., *see*
 Rationalisation, etc. : Reorganisation, etc.
- Committees of Assembly**
 AGENDA Cttee., *see under* Agenda of Ass.
 CHAIRMEN
 of Committees 1-6, *see below*
 Election and list P : 25, 33, 34
 Procedure *re* election of Chairmen of
 Cttees. convened prior to Ass. C I : 17
See also Finance Cttee. : Convocation
 prior to Ass.
 Tribute of President to work P : 94
- 1ST COMMITTEE (Constitutional and legal
 questions)**
 Agenda C I : 6 ; P : 7
 Chairman C I : 4 ; P : 25, 33, 34
 Close of session C I : 24
 Members, list C I : 4-5
 Publicity of meetings C I : 6
 Rapporteurs, appointment C I : 6, 7, 21, 24
 Reports and *resols.* on
 Assembly, simplification of procedure
 C I : 44-5
 Council, election of non-perm. Members
 C I : 28-9
 Criminal law, etc. C I : 42-3
 Nationality of women C I : 46
 Vice-Chairman C I : 4, 6
- 2ND COMMITTEE (Technical Orgs.)**
 Agenda C II : 7 ; P : 7
 Chairman C II : 4 ; P : 25, 33, 34
 Members, list C II : 4-6
 Publicity of meetings C II : 7
 Rapporteurs, appointment C II : 7
 Reports and *resols.* on
 Economic and financial questions
 C II : 37-43
 Health questions C II : 30-3
 Refugees, Jewish, etc., coming from
 Germany C II : 47-8
 Transit and communications C II : 34-6
 Sub-Committee on Jewish and other
 refugees from Germany, *see* Refugees,
 Jewish, etc.
 Vice-Chairman C II : 4, 7
- 3RD COMMITTEE (Reduction of armaments)**
 Decision of Ass. not to constitute P : 32, 38
- 4TH COMMITTEE (Budget and administrative
 questions)**
 Agenda C IV : 8, 98 (*text*) ; P : 7
 Chairman
 Appointment by 4th Cttee. under
 new procedure, *see* Finance Cttee. :
 Convocation, etc.
 of 14th Ordinary session
 C IV : 6 ; P : 25, 33, 34

Committees of Assembly (continued)

4TH COMMITTEE (continued)

- Close of session C IV : 97
- Composition under new procedure, *see* Finance Cttee. : Convocation, etc.
- Convocation prior to Ass. : procedure *re* composition, appointment of Chairman, establishment ; application at 1934 Ass. session, *see under* Finance Cttee. of Ass.
- Establishment, procedure *re, see* Finance Cttee. : Convocation, etc.
- Members, list of C IV : 6-7
- Procedure for discussing questions on agenda C IV : 28, 37
- Publicity of meetings C IV : 8
- Rapporteurs, appointment C IV : 28, 90
- Reports and resols. on
 - Contributions in arrears C IV : 147-9
 - Financial questions C IV : 162-70
- Sub-Committee on contributions in arrears, *see under* Contributions, etc. : in Arrears
- Vice-Chairman C IV : 6, 8

5TH COMMITTEE (Humanitarian and general questions)

- Agenda : text and adoption C V : 7, 8 ; P : 7-8
- Chairman C V : 5 ; P : 25, 33, 34
- Members, list of C V : 5-6
- Publicity of meetings C V : 8
- Rapporteurs, appointment C V : 8, 28, 29
- Reports and resols. on
 - Child welfare and reorg. of Advisory Comm. C V : 35-6, 36-8
 - Opium, etc. C V : 41-6
 - Penal and penitentiary questions C V : 30-2
 - Traffic in women and children C V : 33-4
- Sub-Committee on suppression of traffic in women of full age, *see under* Traffic in women, etc. : Women of full age
- Vice-Chairman C V : 5, 8

6TH COMMITTEE (Political questions)

- Agenda
 - Additional items C VI : 9, 10
 - Examination and adoption C VI : 8
 - List of items P : 8
- Chairman C VI : 5 ; P : 25, 33, 34
- Close of session C VI : 60
- Members, list of C VI : 6-7
- Publicity of meetings C VI : 8
- Rapporteurs, appointment C VI : 8, 9, 10, 11, 19, 22, 42, 43, 59-60
- Reports and resols. on
 - Intellectual co-operation C VI : 65-8
 - Mandates C VI : 68-9
 - Minorities C VI : 70-2
 - Press co-operation in org. of peace C VI : 61
 - Russian and other refugees C VI : 62-5
 - Slavery C VI : 69
- Representatives of certain orgs., attending certain meetings C VI : 7
- Sub-Committee on minorities, *see* Minorities : Draft resols. : Sub-Cttee., etc.
- Vice-Chairman C VI : 5, 8

COMPOSITION of Cttees. convened prior to Ass. C I : 17

CONSTITUTION P : 32-3

CONVOCATION before 1st plenary meeting of Ass., question of C I : 16, 17, 18, 19 *See also under* Finance Cttee.

CREDENTIALS, Cttee. on Verification of Chairman, appointment as member of General Cttee. P : 25, 33
Election, etc. P : 27-8
Reports. P : 30

DISCUSSION of reports and resols., *see below* Reports, etc.

FINANCE Cttee., *see that title and also above* 4th Cttee.

Committees of Assembly (continued)

GENERAL COMMITTEE

- Composition
 - Addition of two members (Chairmen of Agenda Cttee. and Credentials Cttee.) P : 25, 33
 - List of members P : 25, 34
- RAPPORTEURS : tribute of President to work P : 94
- RECORDS of meetings : amalgamation of different records ; preparation and distribution ; question of verbatim records C IV : 125, 134
- REPORTS and resols. of Cttees.
 - Procedure *re* adoption in plenary session
 - Discussion C I : 17, 18, 21 ; C IV : 67 ; P : 85, 86
 - Minutes of General Cttee.'s meeting (extracts) C I : 44 (*text*)
 - Note of Sec.-Gen. submitted to General Cttee. C I : 16-17
 - Resolution of Ass., Oct. 11, 1933 . . . P : 86
 - Resolution of 1st Committee
 - Draft resol. of General Cttee. (text, discussion, amendments and examination by 4th Cttee.) C I : 17-18 (*text*), 18, 21 ; C IV : 66 (*text*), 67
 - Text (as adopted) C I : 45
 - Time-limit for circulation of reports C I : 21, 45 (*resol.*) ; C IV : 66 (*draft resol.*), 66 ; P : 85, 86 (*resol.*)
- RESOLUTIONS, procedure *re* adoption in plenary meetings, *see above* Reports, etc.

Committees and Commissions of League

PRINTING of Minutes C IV : 127, 128, 134

Communications of Importance to League at Times of Crisis

- FACILITIES granted by various League Members for telegraphic communications, air and motor transport : document *re* . . . C II : 35
- LONG-DISTANCE, int. Conv. on : incorporation of provisions granting priority to League tels. C II : 35
- WIRELESS station, League, *see that title*

Communications and Transit

See Transit and Communications

Conferences, International

PREPARATION, number, results P : 28-9, 60, 64, 65

Consultative Committee, Economic

See under Economic Org.

Consumption, Increase in C II : 15

Contributions of States to League

- ALLOCATION of expenses
 - Committee on-allocation of expenses
 - Budget estimates, 1934 C IV : 68-70, 166-7
 - Recommendation *re* contribution of Turkey C IV : 97 ; P : 93 (*resol.*)
 - Scale, revision and question of postponement C IV : 33, 68-70, 87, 149, 166-7
 - Turkey, no. of units assigned to C IV : 97, 170 (*resol.*) ; P : 93 (*resol.*)

AMENDMENTS to Financial Regulations *re* contributions

- Article 21 (collection of contributions)
 - Discussion C IV : 87, 90 ; P : 92
 - Report of Sub-Cttee. on contributions in arrears C IV : 151
 - Reports of Supervisory Comm. C IV : 90, 120-1, 158 (*text*)
- Article 38a (distribution of budget surplus among Member States)
 - Case of States which have failed to contribute : question to be studied by Supervisory Comm. C IV : 151

Contributions of States to League (continued)

IN ARREARS

- Analytical statement of contributions unpaid for 15th financial period (1933) C IV : 152-3
- Causes of delay in payments and situation of certain countries C IV : 87, 88, 89, 90, 123, 148, 149, 151, 154-6 (table) ; P : 92
- Colombia, payment by P : 91
- Difficulties in collecting contributions and situation resulting from C IV : 13-14, 14-15, 17, 18, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 34, 37, 38, 50, 52, 74, 75, 86, 87 ; P : 91-2, 95, 123, 150, 163, 167 for Financial periods 1920-1932 C IV : 150, 151-2 (table)
- List of contributions unpaid for 1st 14 financial periods and of adjusted and consolidated arrears accounts C IV : 137-8, 142-4 (table)
- Measures to be taken in order to secure payments and sanctions proposed C IV : 26, 27, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 148, 150-1 P : 92, 92 (resol.), 95
- Memo. and note by Sec.-Gen. and tables illustrating C IV : 137-8, 142-4, 145-6, 147
- Percentage of contributions in arrears C IV : 13-14, 15, 18, 25, 29, 30, 48, 49, 89, 122, 148, 149, 150, 162
- Publicity to be given to question C IV : 84, 85, 88, 90, 147, 148
- Rapporteur to Assembly
 - Appointment C IV : 90
 - Statement by P : 91-2
 - Report of 4th Cttee. C IV : 147-9 (text), 163
 - Report to be submitted to next Ass. by Sec.-Gen. C IV : 89, 149 (resol.), 151 (resol.)
 - Report of Sub-Cttee. of 4th Cttee.
 - Appendices C IV : 151-6
 - Discussion and adoption C IV : 84-90 P : 91
 - Publication, see above Publicity
 - Report of 4th Cttee. C IV : 147-9
 - Text C IV : 149-51
- Reports of Supervisory Comm. C IV : 90, 120-1, 122, 123, 158
- Resolutions
 - of Assembly, Oct. 11, 1933 P : 92
 - of 4th Cttee. C IV : 148-9 (text), 151
- Special provisions in force *re* payment of contributions in arrears. . . . C IV : 153-4
- Statement showing arrears collected and due (Jan. 1 and Aug. 31, ; Sept. 23 1933). C IV : 138, 145-6 (table), 147 (memo.)
- Sub-Committee of 4th Cttee.
 - Attendance of representatives of States in arrears C IV : 21, 149
 - Constitution, composition, functions, etc. C IV : 14, 15, 18, 21, 50, 147
 - Report, see above

COLLECTION of contributions

- Amendment to Art. 21 of Financial Regulations, see above Amendments, etc.
- Difficulties, see above under Arrears
- DOMINICAN Republic, exemption from payment, 1931 C IV : 149 (resol.), 151, 151 (resol.) P : 92 (resol.), 92
- REPORT of 4th Cttee., see above under Arrears
- REPORTS of Supervisory Comm., see above under Amendments, etc. and Arrears
- by STATES non-members of League
 - to Court of Int. Justice : procedure. C IV : 130 U.S.A.
 - Dollar depreciation, exchange losses caused to League by C IV : 121, 122, 167 (reports)
 - to Expenses of Disarmament Conf. : procedure *re*. C IV : 123

Copland, D. B.

- Substitute delegate of Australia C II : 4 ; P : 10
- 'Economic situation, present world C II : 16

Copper

- WORK of Monetary Conf. C II : 40

Costa du Rels, Adolfe

- Delegate of Bolivia. C IV : 6 ; P : 10
- BUDGET, 1934 : estimates for Secretariat C IV : 92

Council of League

- ELECTION of four new non-perm. Members
 - Denmark, Argentine, Australia : election Oct. 2, 1933. P : 57-8
 - Portugal : candidature and election Oct. 9, 1933 P : 63, 78-9
 - See also below Election, etc. : Increase, prov., etc.
 - Procedure *re* : discussion and communication by President on behalf of General Cttee. P : 35, 36
- ELECTION of non-perm. Members : procedure ; study of existing system ; prov. creation of one new seat
 - Candidates, procedure *re* nomination proposed by Special Cttee. (as addition to rules *re* election, Sept. 1926) Discussion C I : 7 ; P : 63, 67, 68
 - in Report of 1st Cttee. C I : 29
 - Resolution of 1st Cttee. and of Ass., Oct. 2, 1933 C I : 7 (text), 29 (draft) P : 68
 - Text of proposal C I : 7, 27
 - Committee appointed by CL to study existing system
 - Composition and procedure *re* work C I : 25
 - Proposals, see above under Candidates and below under Increase, etc.
 - Report (adopted by 1st Cttee., May 19, 1933)
 - Appendix C I : 27-8
 - Communication to CL C I : 27, 29
 - Discussion and adoption of findings C I : 6-7
 - Text C I : 25-7
 - Covenant provisions (Art. 4, para. 1-2 bis) C I : 27 (text), 28, 29 ; P : 67
 - Increase, prov., in number from nine to ten (proposal of Special Cttee. of CL) Discussion C I : 7 ; P : 67, 68, 94
 - Reconsideration of question in 1936 C I : 7, 26, 28-9, 29 (resol.) P : 68, 68 (resol.), 78 (resol.)
 - in Report of 1st Cttee. C I : 28-9
 - Representation of non-grouped States C I : 7, 25-6, 26, 28 ; P : 68
 - Resolution of 1st Committee and of Ass., Oct. 2, 1933 C I : 7 (text), 29 (draft) P : 68 (text), 78
 - Resolution of Council, Oct. 4, 1933 : text and approval of Ass., Oct. 9, 1933 P : 78
 - Text of Special Cttee.'s proposal . . . C I : 26
 - Memo. from Portuguese Govt., June 5, 1931 (references to) C I : 7, 25, 26
 - Proportional representation under system of single transferable vote : Norwegian proposal C I : 7, 26
 - Rapporteur to Assembly
 - Appointment C I : 7
 - Statement by P : 67-8
 - Replies from certain Govts. to Special Cttee.'s request for views C I : 7, 25
 - Report of 1st Committee
 - Discussion and adoption P : 67-8
 - Text C I : 28-9
 - Rules dealing with election adopted by Ass., Sept. 15, 1926 C I : 7, 27, 27-8 (text), 29 P : 57-8, 68
 - Rules of Procedure of Ass. (Rule 22 a) C I : 28 (text) ; P : 78

HONORARY posts in : non-election of representatives of States in arrears with contributions, see Contributions : in Arrears : Measures, etc.

Council of League (continued)

NON-PERMANENT Members

- Election of four new non-perm. Members, *see that title above*
- Election procedure, study of existing system, etc., *see above* Election of non-perm. Members, etc.
- Increase from six to nine in 1926 (allusion) C I : 26, 27
- Increase, prov., from nine to ten, *see above under* Election of non-perm. Members, etc.
- Proportional representation under system of single transferable vote : Norwegian proposal, *see above under* Election of non-perm. Members, etc.
- Representation of non-grouped States, *see above under* Election of non-perm. Members, etc. : Increase

SESSIONS

- Credits, 1934 C IV : 55-6, 165
- Periodic meetings, importance P : 37

Court of Int. Justice, Permanent

- BUDGET** estimates, 1934, *see* Budget of League : Court, etc.
- CONTRIBUTION** to expenses by States not Members of League : procedure . . . C IV : 130
- INSURANCE** contracts, extension to Court officials C IV : 108
- OPTIONAL** Clause (Art. 36 of Statute)
Accession of Greece (allusion) P : 52
- PENSIONS** for judges : credits, 1934 . . C IV : 83, 130
- PREMISES**, enlargement C IV : 130
- PROTOCOL**, Sept. 1929, *vs* revision of Statute : ratifications and question of entry into force C IV : 82, 83, 129, 168

Coyne, T. J.

- Substitute delegate of Irish Free State C VI : 6 ; P : 17
- MINORITIES**, protection and question of Jews in Germany C VI : 59

Credentials of Delegates to Assembly

See Cttees. of Ass. : Credentials, etc.

Credits

See Debts and credits

Crime

- PREVENTION** and suppression, *see* Criminal law, etc.
- PUNISHMENT**, penal questions, *see* Penal and penitentiary questions

Criminal Law, Gradual Unification of, and Co-operation of States in the Prevention and Suppression of Crime

- BIOLOGY**, criminal C V : 14, 32
- BUREAU**, Int., for Unification of Criminal Law Activities, draft statutes, reorganisation C I : 8, 9, 10-11, 11, 13, 34, 39, 40-2, 43 (*resol.*) P : 70, 70 (*resol.*)
- COMPETENCE** of League and question of avoiding extension of activities C I : 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 39 ; P : 69-70
- CONFERENCE**, Int., on Criminal Law, Madrid C I : 14
- CONFERENCE** of South-American States (Montevideo) : co-operation in work of unification C I : 13, 14
- CONVENTIONS**, Int. : question of future conclusion C I : 8, 9, 10, 11 (*draft resol.*), 12, 13, 14, 16, 32, 36, 38, 39, 43 (*resol.*) ; P : 70, 70 (*resol.*)
- DISCUSSION** C I : 7-10, 10-15, 15-16 ; P : 69-70
- EXTRADITION** of criminals, *see that title*
- FORMS** of int. crime dealt with by League C I : 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 15-16, 31, 32, 33, 36

Criminal Law, Gradual Unification of, and Co-operation of States in the Prevention and Suppression of Crime (continued)

GOVERNMENTS, observations of

- Discussion C I : 8, 9
- Note by Sec.-Gen. C I : 30
- Text : Australia C I : 38 ; Austria C I : 36 ; Belgium C I : 31 ; Bulgaria C I : 32 ; Canada C I : 36 ; China C I : 32 ; Colombia C I : 33 ; Czechoslovakia C I : 35 ; Denmark C I : 33 ; Estonia C I : 33 ; Finland C I : 33 ; France C I : 33 ; Germany C I : 31 ; Hungary C I : 37-8 ; India C I : 33 ; Italy C I : 36-7 ; Latvia C I : 33 ; Lithuania C I : 33 ; Netherlands C I : 34 ; Nicaragua C I : 34 ; Norway C I : 34 ; Poland C I : 34 ; Roumania C I : 34-5 ; Siam C I : 37 ; South Africa C I : 31 ; Sweden C I : 35 ; Turkey C I : 35 ; United Kgd. C I : 31-2 ; Venezuela C I : 35 ; Yugoslavia C I : 35

INDICTMENTS, unification and definition of

- int. offences C I : 8-9, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 32, 36, 39, 42-3

LEAGUE Organ to deal with criminal and penitentiary matters : question of establishment

- C I : 7, 8, 9, 11, 16, 34, 35, 37, 39, 43 (*resol.*)
- C V : 14, 15, 16, 31, 32 ; P : 70 (*resol.*), 71

OBSERVATIONS of Govts., *see above* Govts., observations of

ORGANISATIONS, Int.

- Bureau, Int., for Unification of Criminal Law, *see above*
- Consultation of seven Orgs. and joint reply to Sec.-Gen. C I : 8, 9, 10, 10-11 (*draft resol.*), 15, 30, 34, 35, 37, 38-9 (*text of reply*), 43 (*resol.*) P : 70 (*resol.*)
- Co-operation with League C I : 9, 11, 11-12, 13, 31, 33, 34, 37-8, 38, 39, 43 (*resol.*) P : 70, 70 (*resol.*)

PENAL and penitentiary questions, *see that title*

PENALTIES, *see under* Penal and penitentiary questions

POLICE : co-operation of C I : 9, 13, 16, 32, 35, 39 P : 69

RAPPORTEUR

- Appointment C I : 6
- Statement to Ass. P : 69-70

REPORT of 1st Committee

- Discussion and adoption C I : 15-16
- Text C I : 42-3

RESOLUTIONS and draft resols.

- Draft resol. of rapporteur C I : 10-11 (*text*), 12-13
- Resolutions of
Assembly, Oct. 7, 1933 P : 70
- 1st Committee C I : 43

SEPARATE study of particular questions C I : 10, 11 (*draft resol.*), 12, 13, 15, 31, 32, 38, 42, 43 (*resol.*) ; P : 70 (*resol.*)

Criminal Police Commission, Int.

- WORK and co-operation with Opium Cttee. C V : 14-15, 40

Crisis, World Economic and Financial

- DEFINITION** of situation in 1932 by Preparatory Comm. of Experts of Monetary Conf. C II : 37
- DISCUSSION**, general, *vs* crisis : causes and improvement of conditions
in 2nd Committee C II : 14-17, 18-21
in Plenary meetings P : 28, 38, 39, 40, 43, 47, 48, 51-2, 53, 53-5, 59, 62, 64, 76, 77
- IMPROVEMENT** of conditions as compared with 1932 and League information *vs* C II : 15, 15-16 (*statement*), 16, 37-8

Crisis, World Economic and Financial (continued)

MONETARY and Economic Conference, to resolve, see Monetary and Economic Conference

RECURRENCE of periods of depression, study of causes, see Depression, etc.

REPERCUSSIONS and effects
on Health, public C II : 8, 9, 10, 12, 31-2, 33
on Intellectual life P : 79, 81, 82
on Payment of League contributions, see Contributions : in Arrears : Causes of delay
on Refugees C II : 22, 23-4
C VI : 17, 62, 63 ; P : 70
on Youth, see under Children, etc.

UNEMPLOYMENT caused by, see Unemployment : Crisis, etc.

UNITED STATES of America : events in, in relation to crisis C II : 15, 16, 37, 38

Cuba

DELEGATION P : 13
See also Armenteros y de Cardenas, Carlos de
TRIBUTES to memory of M. de Agüero y Bethancourt P : 31

Currency

DEPRECIATED CURRENCIES
Dollar, see that title
Pensionable emoluments paid in, see that title under Pensions Fund
FLUCTUATIONS C II : 37, 40, 41, 42
FOREIGN exchange, see that title

Customs Formalities and Tariffs

CONVENTION, int., on simplification of formalities, Nov. 3, 1923 P : 51 (allusion)
LOWERING of tariffs C II : 38, 39
PROHIBITIONS and restrictions, see Import and export prohibitions, etc.
TRUCE of conclusion during Monetary Conf. and denunciation C II : 38-9 ; P : 43, 54

Czechoslovakia

DELEGATION P : 23
See also Beneš, Eduard
Künzl-Jizerský, Rudolf
Osuský, Stefan
HEALTH in C II : 31 ; P : 72
MINORITIES in, see under Minorities

D

Daladier, Edouard

Vice-President of Assembly P : 25, 34

Debts, Loans and Credits

LEAGUE loans, position as compared with that of States as regards issue C IV : 16, 25, 29, 33
PROBLEMS studied by Monetary Conf. C II : 37, 38, 40

Delegations to Assembly

ARGENTINE delegation : absence from 14th session P : 56
CREDENTIALS of delegates, see Cttees. of Ass. : Credentials, Cttee. on Verification of
LIST of delegates, 14th session P : 9-24

Delbos, Yvon

Substitute delegate of France C II : 24 ; P : 14
REFUGEES, Jewish, etc., from Germany : assistance C II : 24

Delinquent Child

See under Children and young people, etc.

Denmark

DELEGATION P : 13
See also Bernhoft, H. A.
Forchhammer, Mlle. Henni
Holstein, Count Bent
Kraft, Ole Bjoern
ELECTION as non-perm. Member of Cl., Oct. 2, 1933 P : 57-8

Depression, Economic : Recurrence of Periods

ROCKEFELLER grant for study C II : 43
C IV : 71, 118-19

Désy, Jean

Substitute delegate of Canada C I : 4 ; C V : 5 ; P : 12
CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in campaign against crime C I : 15
NATIONALITY of women C I : 24
OPIUM and other dangerous drugs C V : 12

Dictionaries

See Atlases and dictionaries

Diphtheria

See under Health

Diplomatic Academy, Int.

RESOLUTION, Nov. 8, 1928, re rights of men and of citizens P : 51

Diplomatic Bags

UNIFICATION of system for conveyance between Geneva and Paris. C IV : 47, 108

Disarmament

See Armaments, reduction and limitation
Moral disarmament

Disease

See Health, etc.

Dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay P : 29, 59

Dispute between China and Japan P : 45-7, 55, 59

Dispute between Colombia and Peru P : 29, 59

Distribution Service of Secretariat

RATIONALISATION : enquiry and recomms. C IV : 11, 106, 107

Documents Service of Secretariat

RATIONALISATION : enquiry and recomms. C IV : 11, 106, 107

Dollar, Depreciation of

EXCHANGE losses caused by
See Buildings : Building Fund :
States non-Members : U.S.A.
Contributions, etc.

Dollfuss, Engelbert

Delegate of Austria P : 10
AUSTRIA, economic and financial situation and assistance of League P : 40
CHANCELLOR of Austrian Republic : attempt on his life
Communication from President of Ass. and exchange of tels. P : 69
REPORT, annual, on work of League (general discussion) P : 40-1
STRESA Conference P : 40

Dominican Republic

CONTRIBUTION to League, see under Contributions, etc.
DELEGATE P : 13

Double Taxation and Fiscal Evasion

- on PROFITS of enterprises operating in several countries C II : 42
- SUSPENSION of League work and Rockefeller Grant C IV : 71, 126
- WORK of Fiscal Cttee. C II : 42-3

Doussinague, José Maria

- Secretary-General, delegation of Spain P : 14
- PRESS co-operation in org. of peace P : 84

Drugs, Dangerous

See Opium, etc.

Drummond, Sir Eric (former Secretary-General of League)

- DEPARTURE and tributes to work C IV : 12
P : 28, 49, 58, 94

E

Economic Aggression P : 55

Economic Conference, World, 1927

- EXPENSES and work (allusions) C II : 43
P : 51, 52

Economic Crisis

See Crisis, Economic and financial

Economic and Financial Conferences

- See Brussels Conference, 1920
- Bucharest Conference, 1932
- Economic Conference, World, 1927
- Genoa Conference, 1932
- Lausanne Conference, 1932
- Monetary and Economic Conference, 1933
- Stresa Conference, 1932

Economic and Financial Work of League

- DISCUSSION, general C II : 14-17, 18-21
P : 28, 39, 51, 77
- RAPPORTEUR
 - Appointment C II : 7, 26
 - Statement by P : 77
- REPORT of 2nd Cttee.
 - Discussion and adoption C II : 26, 43 (resol.)
P : 77 (resol.)
 - Text C II : 37-43, 44-6 (appendix)
- RESOLUTIONS
 - of Assembly, Oct. 7, 1933 P : 77-8
 - of 2nd Committee C II : 43

Economic Intelligence Service

See Financial Org. : Financial Section, etc.

Economic Life, State Intervention in

- C VI : 16, 65, 67 (resol.) ; P : 80 (resol.), 82

Economic Organisation

- ECONOMIC Consultative Cttee. : suspension of credits, 1934 C IV : 127
- ECONOMIC Relations Section
 - Credits, etc., 1934 C IV : 71, 127

Economic Relations Section

See under Economic Org.

Education

- ADULT education C VI : 11, 66
- by BROADCASTING, see under Broadcasting
- in CHINA C VI : 12, 66
- HIGHER education : meeting of Directors C VI : 15, 16, 66

Education (continued)

- INSTRUCTION of youth in aims of the League, see that title
- PHYSICAL education C II : 10
- POPULAR and workers' education C VI : 15
- SCHOOL text-books : revision C VI : 12, 65, 68 (resol.) ; P : 81 (resol.)

Egypt

- DRUG situation in C V : 40

Ekstrand, M. (Director of Opium Traffic and Social Questions Section)

- OPIUM and other dangerous drugs C V : 11
- TRAFFIC in women and children C V : 17

Employment Questions

See Labour and employment questions and Unemployment

Entertainment Allowances of League Officials

- BUDGET estimates, 1934, see Budget : Labour Org. and below Secretariat
- GENERAL Entertainment Fund and adoption of uniform regulations for use of in Secretariat and I.L.O. C IV : 62, 132, 166
- REDUCTIONS proposed and draft resol. of New Zealand del. C IV : 62-4, 166

Epidemics

See Health

Escalante, Diógenes

- Delegate of Venezuela C I : 5 ; P : 23
- ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C I : 20, 21
- CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in campaign against crime C I : 14

Estonia

- DELEGATION P : 14
- See also Schmidt, Auguste

Ethiopia

See Abyssinia

Ethnic Nationality Question

See Minorities : Jews, treatment in Germany, etc.

European Union Commission of Enquiry for

- CREDITS, 1934 and exclusion of question from Ass. agenda C IV : 73 ; P : 54
- RENEWAL of term of office and inclusion of Comm.'s report in agenda of 14th session of Ass.
 - Resolution of Ass., Sept. 27, 1933 P : 37

Exchange, Foreign

See Foreign exchange

Expenditure of League

- ALLOCATION of expenses, see under Contributions, etc.
- FINANCIAL situation of League and expenditure, see Activities and policy, etc.
- NEW work involving new expenditure by League
 - Report by Sec.-Gen. noted by 4th Cttee. C IV : 90
- RECEIPTS in relation to expenditure during financial years, 1931 and 1932 C IV : 164
- UNFORESEEN expenditure of League
 - Budget estimates, 1934, see Budget : Labour Org. and below Secretariat
 - Discussion, general C IV : 16, 21, 31-2, 36, 50

Export Prohibitions and Restrictions

See Import and export prohibitions, etc.

Extradition

of CRIMINALS C I : 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 35, 36, 38, 39
C V : 15 ; P : 69

TRAFFIC in women of full age : provision to
be added to Conv., 1933 C V : 34

F

Fabbi, Sileno

Assistant delegate of Italy. C V : 6 ; P : 17

CHILD welfare and reorganisation of Advisory
Comm. for protection C V : 22, 24-5, 27

PENAL and penitentiary questions C V : 16

TRAFFIC in women and children C V : 17-18

Family, Desertion of C V : 20, 21, 22

Feldmans, Jules

Delegate of Latvia C IV : 6 ; P : 18

BUDGET of League : estimates for Secretariat,
1934 C IV : 59

Finance Committee of Assembly (4th Committee)

CONVOCAATION prior to Ass. : procedure *re*
composition, appointment of Chairman,
establishment ; application at 1934 Ass.
session

Consultation of Supervisory Comm.
before convocation (Swedish proposal)
C I : 45 (resol.) ; C IV : 67 (resol.)
P : 86 (resol.)

Discussion C I : 17, 18-21 ; C IV : 66-7
P : 85-6

Minutes of General Cttee.'s meeting,
Sept. 27, 1933 (extract) C I : 43-4

Note of Sec.-Gen. submitted to General
Cttee. C I : 16-17

Report of 1st Committee C I : 44-5

Resolution of Assembly, Oct. 11, 1933 P : 86

Resolution of 1st Committee
Draft presented by General Cttee.
Communication to 4th Cttee. and
proposal of 4th Cttee. C I : 45-6
C IV : 66-7

Discussion, amendments and adop-
tion in 1st Cttee. C I : 19, 20, 21

Text C I : 17 ; C IV : 66

Text (as adopted) C I : 45

of 14th ORDINARY session, see Committees of
Ass. : 4th Committee

Finances of League

See also Activities, etc., expenditure and
financial situation of League

Audited accounts
Budget of League
Contributions, etc.
Expenditure of League
Supervisory Comm.
Working Capital Fund

FINANCIAL position of League

on Aug. 31, 1933 : memo. by Sec.-Gen.

Annexes C IV : 141-6

Noted by 4th Cttee. C IV : 90

Text C IV : 137-140

on Sept. 23, 1933 : note by Sec.-Gen.
C IV : 90, 147 (text)

Report of 4th Cttee. C IV : 162-3

LOANS : position of League as compared with
that of States in regard to issue of loans
C IV : 16, 25, 29, 33

RAPPORTEUR to Ass.

Appointment C IV : 28

Statement by P : 92-3

Finances of League (continued).

REPORT of 4th Cttee.

Discussion C IV : 97 ; P : 92-3

Text C IV : 162-9

RESOLUTIONS

of Assembly, Oct. 11, 1933 P : 93

of 4th Committee C IV : 170

Financial Assistance of Certain Countries

See also the countries concerned

CENTRAL and Eastern European countries C II : 16, 41

OVERSEAS countries : study of problems by
Financial Cttee. proposed. C II : 16-17, 42

Financial Committee

See under Financial Org.

Financial Crisis, World

See Crisis, economic and financial

Financial Organisation

ACTIVITIES reviewed by rapporteur. C II : 41-3

FINANCIAL Committee

Composition and status : future study
C II : 17, 18, 42

Work and tribute to C II : 16, 18, 41 ; P : 77

FINANCIAL Section and Economic Intelligence

Service

Activities and publications C II : 43 ; C IV : 126

Budget estimates, 1934 and Rockefeller

Grant C II : 43 ; C IV : 71, 118-19, 126-7

Statistical work, see Statistics : Centrali-
sation of League statistics

FISCAL Committee, see that title

Financial Regulations of League

AMENDMENTS to certain arts., see under
Contributions of States

Financial Section of Secretariat

See under Financial Org.

Financial Work of League

See Economic and financial work of League

Finat y Rojas, Hipolito

Substitute delegate of Spain C II : 6 ; P : 14

PUBLIC works and campaign against unem-
ployment C II : 21

REFUGEES, Jewish, etc. from Germany : org.
of assistance C II : 24, 28

SLAVERY P : 87

Finland

DELEGATION P : 14

See also Hjelt, P.
Holsti, Rudolf

Fiscal Committee

WORK and Rockefeller Grant C II : 42-3
C IV : 71, 126

Forces, Int. at Disposal of League, Question of P : 50

Forchhammer, Mlle. Hennl

Substitute delegate of Denmark C V : 5 ; C VI : 5
P : 13

CHILDREN, etc., reorganisation of Advisory
Comm. for protection C V : 27

REFUGEES, Russian, Armenian, Assyrian,
Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish C VI : 18

SLAVERY C VI : 9

Foreign Exchange Restrictions C II : 37, 39, 40, 42

Foreign Prostitutes : Repatriation C V : 17

Foreigners, Indigent
See Indigent foreigners

Foroughi, H. E. Mirza Abol-Hassan Khan

- Delegate of Persia C VI : 6 ; P : 20
- Vice-President of Assembly P : 25, 34
- LEAGUE of Nations : aims, activities, crisis and remedies P : 65-7
- MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews in Germany C VI : 55-7
- REPORT, annual, on work of League (general discussion) P : 65-7

Fotitch, Constantin

- Appointment as member of Administrative Board of Staff Pensions Fund C IV : 97, 170
P : 93
- Chairman of 4th Committee C IV : 6 ; P : 25, 34
- Delegate of Yugoslavia C IV : 7 ; C VI : 7 ; P : 24
- ADMINISTRATION and finances of League : rationalisation C IV : 29, 38, 40, 53
- ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C IV : 66
- BUDGET, 1934 : estimates for Secretariat C IV : 55, 63, 64, 66, 69, 70, 71-2, 73
- 4TH COMMITTEE : close of session C IV : 97
- CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears and recovery of contributions C IV : 21, 90
- MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews in Germany C VI : 55
- PENSIONS Fund, Staff : report of Administrative Board C IV : 96

Four-Power Pact. P : 29, 49, 64, 65

France

- DELEGATION P : 14-15
- See also* Bastid, Paul
- Bérenger, Henry
- Cahen-Salvador, M.
- Cassin, René
- Daladier, Edouard
- Delbos, Yvon
- Gautier, Jules
- Germain-Martin, M.
- Hubert, Lucien
- Malaterre Sellier, Mme.
- Marie, André
- Mistler, Jean
- Paul-Boucour, M.
- Plaisant, Marcel
- Réveillaud, Jean
- Tessan, François de

Frangulis, M. A. F.

- Delegate of Haiti C VI : 6 ; P : 16
- FORCES, int., at disposal of League P : 50
- MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews in Germany C VI : 32-4
- REPORT, annual, on work of League (general discussion) P : 50-1
- RIGHTS of men and citizens : proposal *re* World Conv. to ensure protection and respect P : 50-1

Freedman, Rabbi D. I.

- Substitute delegate of Australia C VI : 5 ; P : 10
- MANDATES C VI : 21

Frontiers

- GRECO-BULGARIAN : Pact of mutual guarantee, Ankara, 1933 P : 52-3
- between IRAQ and Syria C VI : 19, 68 (*report*)

G

Gajardo, Enrique

- Appointment as rapporteur for reorganisation of Advisory Comm. for protection, etc., of children, etc. C V : 8, 29
- Delegate of Chile C I : 4 ; C V : 5 ; P : 12
- CHILDREN, etc., reorganisation of Advisory Comm. for protection C V : 26, 27, 29, 36-8 (*report*) ; P : 91
- CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in campaign against crime C I : 15
- NATIONALITY of women. C I : 21-2, 22
- OPIUM and other dangerous drugs C V : 10

Gallavresi, Giuseppe

- Assistant delegate of Italy C II : 5 ; P : 17
- HEALTH Organisation : work C II : 9-10, 14

Gautier, Jules

- Delegate of France C V : 5 ; P : 15
- TRAFFIC in women and children C V : 17, 18

Genoa Conference, 1922 P : 51

Germain-Martin, M.

- Substitute delegate of France C II : 4 ; P : 14
- ECONOMIC situation : Monetary Conference C II : 15

Germany

- DELEGATION P : 9-10
- See also* Keller, Dr. von
- Neurath, Freiherr von
- Rheinbaben, M. von
- Ritter, Karl
- Tiling, Frau von
- Woermann, Herr Dr.

- Jews, treatment in
- See* Mandates : Palestine :
- Jewish National Home, etc.
- Minorities : Jews, etc.
- Refugees, Jewish, etc., coming from Germany

Goethe : "Conversation" at Frankfort C VI : 17

Gold

- GOLD Standard
- Abandonment by U.S.A. and effects C II : 38
- Re-establishment, question of C II : 40
- INTERNAL circulation of gold coins or certificates C II : 40

Gorgé, Camille

- Substitute delegate of Switzerland C I : 5 ; P : 22
- ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C I : 21
- CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in campaign against crime C I : 15

Graeff, Jonkheer A. C. D. de

- Delegate of Netherlands C II : 22 ; P : 20
- ARMAMENTS, reduction and limitation P : 47
- ECONOMIC questions : Monetary Conf. P : 47, 48
- LEAGUE of Nations : moral situation and activities P : 48, 49
- RATIONALISATION of League organs P : 48-9
- REFUGEES, Jewish, etc., from Germany : proposal *re* org. of assistance C II : 22-3, 27, 28 ; P : 48
- REPORT, annual, on work of League (general discussion) P : 47-9

Greece

- DELEGATION P: 16
See also Papadakis, B. P.
 Politis, Nicolas
 Raphaël, R.
 Tsaldaris, P.
 FINANCIAL situation: examination by Financial Cttee. and measures proposed. . . C II: 42
 POLITICAL and economic relations with neighbouring States P: 52-3

Guani, Alberto

- Appointment as rapporteur for question of assistance for refugees from Germany C II: 29
 Delegate of Uruguay C II: 6; P: 23
 ECONOMIC and financial questions: present situation; economic Confs. P: 51-2
 PAN-AMERICAN Congress, Montevideo . . . P: 52
 REFUGEES, Jewish, etc., from Germany: proposal *re* org. of assistance
 C II: 26, 27, 29, 47-8 (*report*); P: 89
 REPORT, annual, on work of League (general discussion) P: 51-2

Guatemala

- DELEGATE P: 16

Gwiazdowski, Thadée

- Substitute delegate of Poland . . . C II: 24; P: 21
 REFUGEES, Jewish, etc., from Germany: proposed *re* org. of assistance C II: 24

H

Haas, Robert (Director of Transit Organisation)

- TRIBUTE to his work P: 77

Hacking, Douglas H.

- Delegate of United Kingdom C II: 4; CV: 15; P: 11
 ECONOMIC and financial questions;
 Monetary Conf. C II: 15
 HEALTH Organisation: work . . . C II: 8-9, 12, 14
 PENAL and penitentiary questions . . . CV: 15-16, 19
 PUBLIC works C II: 19
 REFUGEES, Jewish, etc., from Germany: org. of assistance C II: 25, 27, 29
 WHALE, protection of: ratification of Conv. C II: 26

Haiti

- DELEGATION P: 16
See also Frangulis, M. A. F.

Hambro, Carl Joachim

- Delegate of Norway C IV: 7; P: 19
 ADMINISTRATION and finances of League;
 rationalisation C IV: 16-17
 CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears C IV: 17

Hammar skjöld, M. (Registrar of Perm. Court of Int. Justice)

- BUDGET of Court: estimates, 1934 . . . C IV: 82-3

Health, Epidemics and Prevention of Disease

- AFRICA, Central and South:
 Regional Health Conference, Capetown, 1932. C II: 8, 10, 30; P: 72
 BIOLOGICAL and serological products, *see that title*
 CARE of the sick, int. reciprocity in . . . C II: 8, 32
 CHILD of pre-school age, health, *see* Maternity, etc.

Health, Epidemics and Prevention of Disease (continued)

- in CHINA
 Central Field Health Station, Nanking:
 work C II: 30-1
 Cholera and malaria, campaigns against C II: 31
 Co-operation with Health Org. and tribute of Chinese repres. C II: 10, 11, 30; P: 72
 Medical training and hospital at Nanking C II: 31
 CHOLERA C II: 31
 COMMITTEE, Health
 Sub.-Cttee. of Experts appointed by, *see* Opium, etc.: Morphine, etc.
 Vice-Chairman (late): tribute to memory of M. Velghe C II: 7, 33
 CONFERENCE in Capetown, 1932, *see above* Africa, etc.
 CONVENTION, Sanitary, for Aerial Navigation: chapter *re* yellow fever, application . . C II: 30
 CZECHOSLOVAKIA. C II: 31; P: 72
 DIPHTHERIA. . . C II: 10, 33 (*resol.*); P: 72 (*resol.*)
 DISCUSSION C II: 8-12, 14; C IV: 26, 72
 P: 39, 44, 62, 64, 72, 94
 ECONOMIC crisis, effect on public health
 Enquiry C II: 8, 9, 10, 12, 31-2, 33
 Statement by representative of United Kgd. C II: 8-9
 EPIDEMIOLOGICAL Intelligence: Work of Singapore Bureau . . . C II: 9-10, 31, 33 (*resol.*)
 P: 44, 72, 72 (*resol.*)
 in INDIA (British): problems *re*: study by Regional Health Conf., Cape Town (1932)
 C II: 10, 30
 INFANT mortality, *see that title*
 INFANT welfare, *see* Maternity, infant welfare, etc.
 ITALY C II: 9
 MALARIA
 Centres, schools and scholarships C II: 9, 10
 China, campaign in. C II: 31
 Commission, Malaria: work
 C II: 9, 10, 31, 33 (*resol.*)
 P: 72, 72 (*resol.*)
 Conference, Geneva: work C II: 8
 Therapeutical treatment C II: 31
 MATERNITY, infant welfare and health of child of pre-school age, *see that title*
 MEDICAL officers: study tours and fellowships C II: 32
 NATIONAL co-operation in health work, tribute to C II: 8, 32; P: 72
 NUTRITION, *see that title*
 ORGANISATION, Health
 Budget estimates, 1934 C IV: 72, 127
 Competence, respective, of national health orgs. and C II: 8, 12
 Section of Secretariat
 Activities, rationalisation, reduction of staff C IV: 26, 103
 Statistical work, changes in, *see* Statistics: Centralisation, etc.
 Work
 Curtailment and choice of activities
 C II: 8, 9, 10, 12, 33
 Discussion C II: 8-12, 14; P: 72, 94
 Medical director's statement. . . C II: 11-12
 Rapporteur
 Appointment C II: 7, 14
 Statement by P: 72
 Report of 2nd Cttee. C II: 14, 30-3 (*text*)
 P: 72
 Report of Health Cttee. on work of 19th session (allusions) C II: 9, 11, 12, 33
 Resolutions
 of Assembly, Oct. 7, 1933 P: 72
 of 2nd Committee C II: 11, 33
 Tributes to C II: 8, 9, 10, 11, 33 (*resol.*)
 P: 72, 72 (*resol.*)

Health, Epidemics and Prevention of Disease (continued)

- PELLAGRA, study of C II : 10
 PLAGUE C II : 8, 30, 31
 POSTS, Far-Eastern : sanitary conditions and
 exchange of information C II : 10, 30, 31
See also above China
 PUBLIC HEALTH services
 of African countries : Conference, Nov.
 1932 : work C II : 8, 10, 30 ; P : 72
 Competence as compared with that of
 Health Org. C II : 8, 12
 Nationalisation of services and medical
 assistance C II : 9, 32
 Reorganisation of health services and
 assistance of Health Org.
 China C II : 10, 11, 30 ; P : 72
 Czechoslovakia C II : 31 ; P : 72
 Requests for assistance and gratitude
 expressed C II : 10, 11, 30, 31, 32, 33
 P : 72
 PUBLIC WORKS beneficial to public health
 C II : 12, 13, 33 ; P : 72, 76
 QUARANTINE C II : 10, 30
 QUININE C II : 9
 ROUMANIA C II : 10 ; P : 72
 RURAL hygiene, studies *re.* C II : 32
 SCHOOL, Int., of Advanced Health Studies,
 Paris : creation and funds C II : 14, 33
 SECTION of Secretariat, *see above under Or-*
ganisation
 * SICKNESS insurance in relation to protection
 of working classes C II : 9
 SMALLPOX C II : 30, 31
 TRIBUTE to memory of M. Velghe . . . C II : 7, 33
 TUBERCULOSIS C II : 10, 31, 33 (*resol.*)
 P : 72 (*resol.*)
 TYPHOID fever C II : 13, 32
 VENEREAL diseases C II : 31
 YELLOW fever C II : 8, 30

Heroin, Manufacture of C V : 39

Hesselgren, Mlle. Kerstin

- Chairman of 5th Committee C V : 5 ; P : 25, 34
 Delegate of Sweden C I : 5 ; C V : 6 ; P : 22
 CHILD welfare C V : 20-1
 NATIONALITY of women C I : 23
 OPIUM and other dangerous drugs . . C V : 10, 29
 PENAL and penitentiary questions . . C V : 14, 19

Historical Monuments

See Monuments, historical

Hjelt, P.

- Substitute delegate of Finland . . . C IV : 6 ; P : 14
 CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears and question of
 recovery C IV : 84

Hobbs, Sir Talbot

- Delegate of Australia C V : 5 ; P : 10
 CHILD welfare C V : 25
 OPIUM and other dangerous drugs . . . C V : 11
 PENAL and penitentiary questions . . . C V : 20

Hoel, M.

- Appointment as member of Administrative
 Board of Staff Pensions Fund . . . C IV : 97, 170
 P : 93

Holstein, Count Bent

- Substitute delegate of Denmark . . . C I : 4 ; P : 13
 NATIONALITY of women C I : 24

Holsti, Rudolf

- Appointment as rapporteur for question of
 minorities C VI : 42, 59
 Delegate of Finland C VI : 5 ; P : 14
 MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews
 in Germany C VI : 59, 60, 70-2 (*report*) ; P : 88

Hoo Chi-Tsal, Dr. V.

- Substitute delegate of China C II : 11 ; C V : 5 ; P : 12
 HEALTH Organisation : work C II : 11
 OPIUM and other dangerous drugs . . . C V : 12-13, 29

Hore Bellsha, L.

- Substitute delegate of United Kingdom . C IV : 6
 P : 11

ADMINISTRATION and finances of League :
 staff questions ; rationalisation
 C IV : 14-16, 47, 52-3, 53-4

BUDGET, 1934 : estimates for Secretariat . C IV : 61

CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears C IV : 14, 15

Horsburgh, Miss

- Appointment as rapporteur for traffic in
 women, etc. C V : 8, 28
 Substitute delegate of United Kingdom . C V : 5 ; P : 11
 CHILD welfare and reorganisation of Advisory
 Comm. for protection C V : 25, 27
 OPIUM and other dangerous drugs C V : 11
 TRAFFIC in women and children
 C V : 16-17, 20, 33 (*report*)
 P : 70-1 (*statement*), 87 (*statement*)

Hubert, Lucien

- Substitute delegate of France C II : 27 ; C VI : 5
 P : 14

MANDATES P : 74-5

REFUGEES, Jewish, etc., from Germany : org.
 of assistance for C II : 27, 28

SLAVERY C VI : 9

Hubleka, Mme. Hanna

- Appointment as rapporteur for child welfare
 C V : 8, 28
 Substitute delegate of Poland C V : 6 ; P : 21
 CHILD welfare and reorganisation of Advisory
 Comm. C V : 20, 23, 26, 26-7, 28, 35-6 (*report*)
 P : 88-9 (*statement*)
 TRAFFIC in women and children C V : 17, 28

Hungary

DELEGATION P : 16

See also Apponyi, Countess Albert
 Baranyai, Zoltán
 Szent-Istvány, Béla de
 Tánczos, General Gabriel

ECONOMIC and financial situation : work of
 Financial Cttee. C II : 42

MINORITIES in, *see under* Minorities

TRIBUTES to memory of late Count Apponyi . P : 31-2

Hüsni Bey, Cemal

- Delegate of Turkey C IV : 7 ; P : 23
 BUDGET of League, 1934 : estimates for
 I.L.O. C IV : 76-7, 77

I

Illegitimate Children C V : 22, 24, 35

Illicit Drug Traffic

See under Opium, etc.

Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions

C II : 37, 38, 39 ; P : 52, 54, 62
See also Protectionism

- "Index Translationum" P : 82
- Indexing Service of Secretariat**
See Archives, Registry, etc.
- India**
DELEGATION P : 16-17
See also Abdussamad Khan, Sahebzada
Bray, Sir Denys
Mehta, Sir Hormusji
Mitter, Sir Brojendra Lal
HEALTH, see under that title
- Indian Hemp, Illicit Traffic in** C V : 40
- Indigent Foreigners, Assistance of**
COMMITTEE of Cl. : study of question of mutual int. assistance to sick persons C II : 8, 32
- Industry**
PRICES of products compared with those of raw materials and foodstuffs . . C II : 16, 37, 46
PRODUCTION and marketing : co-ordination see that title
PROPERTY, industrial : protection C VI : 17, 66
SITUATION in various countries : improvement C II : 15, 37, 38, 44 (text)
- Infant Mortality**
CAMPAIGN against C II : 33
in ROUMANIA C II : 10
- Infant Welfare**
See Maternity, etc.
- Information Section of Secretariat**
BUDGET estimates, 1934 CIV : 118
FUNCTIONS, activities, rationalisation, reduction of staff CIV : 10, 11, 12, 20, 23-4, 24, 31, 37, 45-6, 104-5 (report), 117-18, 125 (report), 165 (report)
TRIBUTE to work of M. Comert P : 58
- Inland Navigation**
PRINCIPLE of freedom of navigation: documentation re application to inland waterways C II : 34
REGULATIONS in Europe, unification : initial study by Perm. Cttee. for Inland Navigation C II : 34
- Institution of Youth in Aims of League**
C VI : 12, 13, 65, 67, 67 (resol.) ; P : 80 (resol.)
- Insurance of League Officials**
CONTRACTS, insurance, establishment of joint contracts and extension to Court officials C IV : 108
INSURANCE scheme against accidents and illness : question of abolishing League contribution
Draft resol. of Indian del. C IV : 65 (text), 65-6, 166 (text)
- Insurance, Sickness**
PROTECTION of working classes as related to C II : 9
- Intellectual Co-operation**
For questions dealt with by Committee and Institute, see the subjects concerned
BUDGET estimates, 1934 C IV : 73, 128, 157, 168
COMMITTEE, Int., work, see below Organisation
"CONVERSATIONS" and "Correspondence"
C VI : 12, 15, 16, 17, 65, 67 (resol.) ; P : 80, 80 (resol.), 82
DISCUSSION C IV : 73 ; C VI : 11-17, 43 ; P : 62, 64, 67, 79-80, 81-3, 94
- Intellectual Co-operation (continued)**
INSTITUTE, Int., at Paris : work, see below Organisation
NATIONAL Cttees. C VI : 11, 12, 66
ORGANISATION, work of
Budget, 1934, see above
Discussion C VI : 11-17, 43 ; P : 79-80, 81-3
Financial restrictions, effect on C VI : 67 (resol.) P : 80-1 (resol.)
Programme of work 1933-34 C IV : 67 (resol.) P : 80 (resol.)
Propaganda section : proposed creation . . P : 67
Rapporteur
Appointment C VI : 8, 43
Statement by P : 79-80
Report of 6th Cttee.
Discussion and adoption C VI : 43 ; P : 79-80, 81-3
Text C VI : 65-8
Resolution of Ass., Oct. 9, 1933 P : 80-1
Resolution of 6th Cttee.
Adoption C VI : 43
Amendments proposed by various del. C VI : 13, 14, 15, 17, 43
Text C VI : 67-8
- PRESS, relation with Intell. Co-operation Org.**
C VI : 10, 11, 66
- REPORT and resol. of 6th Cttee., see above Organisation**
- SECTION of Intell. Co-operation and Int. Bureaux**
Functions C IV : 104
- Intellectual Rights**
C VI : 14, 16-17, 66, 67 (resol.) ; P : 81 (resol.)
- International Relations, Scientific Study of**
C VI : 66 ; P : 82
- Inventors' Rights** C VI : 14, 16-17
- Iraq**
DELEGATION P : 17
FRONTIER between Syria and C VI : 19, 68 (report)
- Irish Free State**
DELEGATION P : 17
See also Coyne, T. J.
Lester, Sean
O'Kelly, Sean T.
- Italy**
AGRICULTURE in C II : 20
DELEGATION P : 17-18
See also Aloisi, Baron Pompeo
Biancheri Chiappori, Augusto
Bianchi, Fausto
Bianchini, Giuseppe
Casalini, Enzo
Cavazzoni, Stefano
Fabbri, Sileno
Gallavresi, Giuseppe
Peppo, Ottavio de
Perassi, Tommaso
Piola Caselli, Count Edoardo
HEALTH in C II : 9
PUBLIC works in C II : 20-1
- J**
- Japan**
DISPUTE between China and Japan, see that title
- Jewish National Home**
See under Mandates : Palestine

Jews, Treatment in Germany

See: Mandates : Palestine : Jewish National Home, etc.
 Minorities : Jews, etc.
 Refugees, Jewish, etc., coming from Germany

Journalists

FACILITIES for ; professional standing and improvement in training. . . . C VI : 10 ; P : 84

Juvenile Courts and Delinquent Child C II : 20, 21-2

K

Keller, Dr. von

Delegate of Germany C VI : 5 ; P : 9
 MANDATES C VI : 21-2
 MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews in Germany C VI : 22-5, 41-2, 57, 59 ; P : 88
 PRESS, co-operation in org. of peace C VI : 10
 REFUGEES, Jewish and other coming from Germany : org. of assistance on an int. basis P : 57, 90

King, Wunz

Substitute delegate of China C II : 4 ; P : 12
 TRANSIT and communications : assistance of China C II : 13-14

Kluyver, Mme. C. A.

Substitute delegate of Netherlands C IV : 7 ; C VI : 6 ; P : 20
 ADMINISTRATION and finances of League ; staff questions ; rationalisation C IV : 28-9, 43, 47
 BUDGET, 1934 : estimates for Secretariat C IV : 59, 72, 73, 91-2
 4TH COMMITTEE : report to Ass. C IV : 97
 CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears and question of recovery C IV : 29, 88
 MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews in Germany C VI : 46
 PENSIONS Fund, staff ; report of Administrative Board C IV : 94, 96

Knowles, C.

Substitute delegate of New Zealand C IV : 7 ; P : 19
 BUDGET, 1934 : estimates for I.L.O. C IV : 76, 82

Komarnioki, Titus

Substitute delegate of Poland C VI : 6 ; P : 21
 INTELLECTUAL co-operation C VI : 13-14

Koo, V. K. Wellington

Delegate of China P : 12
 ARMAMENTS, reduction and limitation P : 46, 47
 DISPUTE between China and Japan. . . . P : 45-7
 LEAGUE of Nations : authority and prestige P : 46, 47
 REPORT, annual, on work of League (general discussion) P : 45-7

Kostrentchitch, Marko

Delegate of Yugoslavia C I : 5 ; P : 23
 CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in campaign against crime C I : 14

Kraft, Ole Bjoern

Substitute delegate of Denmark C II : 4 ; P : 13
 REFUGEES, Jewish, etc. from Germany : org. of assistance for C II : 25

Künzl-Jizerský, Rudolf

Delegate of Czechoslovakia C II : 4 ; C V : 5 ; P : 23
 CHILDREN, etc., reorganisation of Advisory Comm. for protection C V : 27
 HEALTH Organisation : work C II : 11
 PENAL and penitentiary questions C V : 19
 REFUGEES, Jewish, etc. from Germany : org. of assistance for C II : 24
 TRAFFIC in women and children C V : 18

Kurti, Leo

Delegate of Albania C VI : 5 ; P : 9
 MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews in Germany C VI : 50

L

Labour and Employment Questions

Prison labour C V : 14, 16, 19, 20, 31, 32 ; P : 71
 PUBLIC works, labour conditions in relation to C II : 19, 20
 REFUGEES : employment questions C II : 22, 23, 26, 27, 47 ; C VI : 17, 62, 63 ; P : 73
 UNEMPLOYMENT, *see that title*

Labour Office, International

BRANCH offices, *see that title*
 BUDGET, *see* Budget of League : Labour Org.
 CENTRAL Services : rationalisation ; working C IV : 110
 COLLABORATION with Secretariat, *see* Rationalisation : Co-operation, etc.
 DEPUTY Director, *see under* Principal Officers
 DIRECTOR, *see* Butler, Harold
 ESTABLISHMENT Service : creation proposed C IV : 112
 LIAISON Section with extra-European countries and Latin-American official for liaison work C IV : 77, 78, 168
 LIBRARY, *see under* Libraries
 PRINCIPAL Officers, *see that title*
 PUBLICATIONS C IV : 47-8, 80
 RATIONALISATION, *see that title and under the questions concerned*
 SALARIES, *see under* Budget : Labour Org. and Salaries of Officials, etc.
 STAFF, *see* Officials of League Orgs.
 TECHNICAL sections : collaboration with those of Secretariat C IV : 11, 109-10
 WORK in relation to financial restrictions C IV : 74-5

Labour Organisation, Int.

BUDGET estimates, 1934, *see* Budget of League : Labour Org., Int.
 CONFERENCE, Int. : credits 1934 C IV : 80
 GOVERNING Body
 Relations with Supervisory Comm. . . . C IV : 79
 Sessions : credits, 1934 C IV : 80
 LABOUR Office, Int., *see that title*

Lango, Christian L.

Appointment as rapporteur for mandates C VI : 22, 43
 Substitute delegate of Norway C VI : 6 ; P : 19
 COMMITTEES of Assembly : constitution . . . P : 32
 MANDATES C VI : 19-20, 43, 68-9 (*report*) P : 73-4 (*statement*)
 REFUGEES, Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish C VI : 18

Latin America, Liaison with

BUDGET estimates, 1934 C IV : 73-4, 128
 LIAISON with I.L.O. proposed C IV : 77, 78, 168

Latvia
 DELEGATION P: 18
See also Feldmans, Jules
 Munters, Wilhelms
 Salnais, Voldemars

Lausanne Conference, 1932 P: 52

Law
See Criminal law
 Private law

"League of Minds" C VI: 65

League of Nations
 ACTIVITIES, *see* Activities and policy, etc.
 COMMITTEES and Comms., *see that title*
 CRISIS, *see below* Moral position
 FORCES, int., at disposal of: question of . . . P: 50
 MORAL position, authority and prestige; present crisis,
 causes and remedies C IV: 23, 26, 27, 29, 49
 P: 28, 29, 30, 39-40, 41, 45, 47, 47-8, 53, 54, 55,
 55-6, 59-62, 64, 65, 65-7, 79, 81, 82, 95-6
 ORGANISATIONS, *see* Orgs. of League
 REPORT ON work since 13th Ass. session, *see*
that title
 REPRESENTATIVES; travelling facilities for:
 report of Supervisory Comm. C IV: 121
 UNITED STATES, collaboration of P: 29, 38
 UTILITY, views of States on; League crisis
 C IV: 23, 26, 27, 29, 49

Lebanon
See Mandates: Syria and the Lebanon

Lester, Sean
 Appointment as
 General rapporteur of 4th Cttee. C IV: 28
 Substitute member of Administrat ve
 Board of Pensions Fund C IV: 97, 170; P: 93
 Delegate of Irish Free State C IV: 6; P: 17
 ADMINISTRATION and finances of League;
 rationalisation: report of 4th Cttee.
 C IV: 40, 97, 162-70 (*report*)
 P: 92-3 (*statement*)

Letters
See Arts and letters

Level-crossings, Signalling at C II: 34; P: 75

Liberia
 DELEGATION P: 18
 SLAVERY in C VI: 9

Libraries
 CO-OPERATION of important libraries and
 archives P: 82
 of SECRETARIAT and Labour Office
 Joint Purchasing Cttee. C IV: 11, 109
 Secretariat: credits, 1934, etc. C IV: 74, 128
 WORKERS' leisure and public libraries C VI: 25, 65

Licensed Houses C V: 17, 33

Lighting of Coasts
See Buoyage and lighting of coasts

Limburg, J.
 Delegate of Netherlands C I: 5; P: 20
 Vice-Chairman of 1st Cttee. C I: 5, 6
 ASSEMBLY of League: simplification of pro-
 cedure C I: 17-18, 19, 20
 CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-ope-
 ration in campaign against crime C I: 10, 13
 NATIONALITY of women C I: 24

Lithuania
 DELEGATION P: 18

Liu Chieh, M.
 Expert, delegation of China C V: 5; C VI: 5
 P: 12
 CHILDREN, etc., reorganisation of Advisory
 Comm. for protection. C V: 27
 SLAVERY C VI: 58
 TRAFFIC in women and children C V: 18, 28

Lo, T. Y.
 Delegate of China C IV: 6; P: 12
 CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears. C IV: 88-9, 90

Loans, League
See under Debts, loans, and credits

London Conference, 1933
See Monetary and Economic Conf.

López Oliván, Julio
 Appointment as rapporteur on slavery C VI: 9, 59
 Substitute delegate of Spain. C VI: 7; P: 14
 SLAVERY C VI: 69 (*report*)

**Loveday, Mr. (Director of Financial Section
 and Economic Intelligence Service)**
 ECONOMIC situation, present world C II: 15-16

Luxemburg
 DELEGATION P: 19

M

Madariaga Y Rojo, Salvador de
 Chairman of 6th Committee C VI: 5; P: 25, 34
 Delegate of Spain C VI: 7; P: 13
 ARMAMENTS, reduction and limitation; traffic
 in arms P: 59-60, 61
 ARTS and letters: meeting of Perm. Cttee.
 at Madrid and study of 'future of civilis-
 ation' P: 62
 BUDGET of League P: 61-2
 6TH COMMITTEE: agenda C VI: 8
 DISPUTES between States Members of League
 submitted to League P: 59
 INTELLECTUAL co-operation C VI: 11, 16, 43
 LEAGUE of Nations: present crisis, causes
 and remedies P: 58-62
 MANDATES C VI: 10, 11
 MINORITIES, protection and question of
 Jews in Germany C VI: 57, 59
 PRESS, co-operation in org. of peace C VI: 11
 REFUGEES, Russian, Armenian, Assyrian,
 Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish C VI: 18
 REPORT, annual, on work of League (general
 discussion) P: 58-62
 SLAVERY C VI: 57-8
 TRIBUTE to memory of M. de Agüero y
 Bethancourt. P: 31
 TRIBUTE to work of M. Avenol, M. Comert
 and Sir Eric Drummond P: 58

Malaria
See under Health

Malaterre SELLER, Mme.
 Expert, delegation of France C I: 4; C V: 5; P: 15
 CHILD welfare and reorganisation of Advisory
 Comm. C V: 21, 26, 27
 NATIONALITY of women, C I: 22

Malkin, Sir William

- Substitute delegate of United Kingdom . . . C I : 4
P : 11
ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of pro-
cedure C I : 18
CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-
operation in campaign against crime C I : 13-14
NATIONALITY of women C I : 23, 24

Management Institute, Int.

See Scientific Management, etc.

Manchuria, Drug Situation in C V : 9, 45

Mandates

- BUDGET estimates, 1934 C IV : 72, 127, 128
COMMISSION, Perm. Mandates : number of
annual sessions C IV : 127
DISCUSSION C VI : 19-22 ; P : 39, 62, 73-4, 74-5, 94
ECONOMIC equality, principle of
C VI : 19, 20, 68 (report)
IRAQ, frontier between Syria and—
C VI : 19, 68 (report)
LEBANON, see below Syria and the Lebanon
PALESTINE
Economic and financial position : im-
provement C VI : 19-20, 21, 69 (resol.)
P : 73-4, 74 (resol.)
Immigration, see below Jewish National
Home, etc.
Jewish National Home, immigration
and question of admitting Jewish emi-
grants from Germany
Discussion C II : 22, 24, 25
C VI : 19, 20, 21, 21-2 ; P : 74, 75
Draft recomm. of Spanish delegate
C II : 24, 25
in Report of 6th Cttee. C VI : 68
PURCHASE of material and supplies for public
works, etc. by Mandatory Powers
C VI : 19, 68 (report)

RAPPORTEUR

- Appointment C VI : 22, 43
Statement by P : 73-4

**REFERENCE of question to 6th Cttee. (Nor-
wegian draft resol.) and inclusion in its
agenda C VI : 10 ; P : 37, 42-3**

- REPORT of 6th Committee presented by
M. Lange
Discussion and adoption C VI : 43
P : 73-4, 74-5
Text C VI : 68

RESOLUTIONS

- of Assembly, Oct. 7, 1933 P : 74
of 6th Committee C VI : 43, 68-9

SYRIA and the Lebanon

- Development and question of autonomy
C VI : 19, 21
Frontier between Iraq and, see above
Iraq, etc.

**TANGANYIKA : proposed administrative, Cus-
toms and fiscal union with Kenya and
Uganda C VI : 19, 20, 20-1, 21, 68 (report)**

Manion, Robert J.

- Delegate of Canada C IV : 6 ; C VI : 5 ; P : 12
ARMAMENTS, reduction and limitation P : 41-2
BUDGET, 1934 : estimates for Secretariat C IV : 62, 63
INTELLECTUAL co-operation C VI : 14
LEAGUE of Nations : activities, effect of crisis
on, financial situation P : 41, 42
MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews
in Germany C VI : 43-4
REPORT, annual, on work of League (general
discussion) P : 41-2

Manufacture of Arms

See Arms, munitions, etc.

Manufacture of Dangerous Drugs

See Opium, etc. : Manufacture

Marie, André

- Assistant delegate of France C II : 4 ; P : 15
HEALTH Organisation : work C II : 14

Maritime Questions. C II : 34 ; P : 62, 75

Marketing

See Production and marketing

Married Women, Nationality of

See Nationality of women

**Maternity, Infant Welfare and Health of Child
of Pre-School Age**

- RECOMMENDATIONS in Health Cttee.'s report
giving rise to certain objections
Amendments and draft resol. of Irish
Free State repres. C II : 10-11, 11 (resol.), 33

Medical Questions

See Health

Mehta, Sir Hormusji

- Substitute delegate of India C II : 5 ; C IV : 6 ; P : 17
ADMINISTRATION and finances of League ;
rationalisation C IV : 34
BUDGET, 1934 : estimates for Secretariat
C IV : 56-7, 58, 59-60, 61, 65, 66, 69
CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears C IV : 34, 84, 89
MONETARY and Economic Conf. : credits for
continuation of work C II : 17

Members of Section

See under Officials of League Orgs.

Men, Rights of

See Rights of Men, etc.

Messengers and Office-keepers of Secretariat

- RECOMMENDATIONS with view to rationalis-
ation C IV : 11, 107

Mexico, United States of

- DELEGATION P : 19
See also Castillo Najera, Francisco
Salinas, Léon

Mikoff, Dimitri

- Chairman of Agenda Cttee. P : 25, 34
Delegate of Bulgaria C VI : 5 ; P : 11
MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews
in Germany C VI : 47-8

Mining Trades. C II : 38

Minorities, Protection of

- BUDGET estimates, 1934 C IV : 71, 126
CONVENTION, general, involving the same
obligations *vs* minorities for all States,
see below Generalisation, etc.
CONVENTION, world, *vs* rights of man, etc.,
see below Rights of man, etc.
in CZECHOSLOVAKIA C VI : 40, 41, 50-1
DISCUSSION
Communication of minutes to Cl.
C VI : 59, 72 (resol.) ; P : 88 (resol.)
Text C VI : 22-31, 32-42, 43-53, 53-7, 59
P : 39, 44, 50, 51, 61, 88, 94

Minorities, Protection of (continued)

- DRAFT resolutions from delegations
 - France, *see below* Treatment of minorities, etc.
 - Haiti, *see below* Rights of man, etc.
 - Poland and Sweden, *see below under* Generalisation of system, etc.
 - Sub-Committee of 6th Cttee. appointed to examine
 - Composition. C VI : 57, 71
 - Reference of drafts to C VI : 57, 70
 - Work. C VI : 59, 71
 - United Kgd., Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, *see below under* Procedure
- ETHNIC nationality question, *see below* Jews, etc.
- GENERALISATION of system of protection
 - Discussion C VI : 24, 29, 31, 32, 33, 39, 42, 46, 47, 48, 71
 - Draft resol. of Polish del. (*re* Cttee. of Enquiry and general Conv.)
 - C VI : 31 (*text*), 39, 45, 46, 52, 70, 71, 72
 - Proposal of Swedish del. to Sub-Cttee. of 6th Cttee. (*re* legal obligations) C VI : 59, 71
- in HUNGARY C VI : 40, 51
- JEWs, treatment in Germany; question of Jews forming a minority; ethnic nationality
 - Discussion C VI : 23-4, 28, 29, 29-30, 33, 35-6, 38, 39, 42, 44, 48-50, 51-2, 53-4, 55-7, 59
 - Draft resols. of French and Haitian dels., *see below* Rights of man, etc. and Treatment of minorities, etc.
 - Report of 6th Cttee. C VI : 70, 71-2
 - See also* Mandates : Palestine : Jewish National Home, etc., and *below* Treatment of minorities, etc.
- PERMANENT Commission, appointment proposed. C VI : 26-7, 35
- PROCEDURE *re* protection and question of improvements
 - Discussion, *see that title above*
 - Draft resol. of United Kgd., Danish, Dutch and Norwegian dels.
 - See below* Non-receivability and Publicity
 - Sub-Committee to examine, *see that title above under* Draft resols.
 - Non-receivability
 - Information for petitioners *re* reasons (draft resol. of four dels.) C VI : 36 (*text*), 37, 45, 46, 50, 55, 57, 70, 71
 - Statistics of non-receivable petitions C VI : 26
 - Permanent Minorities Comm.: creation proposed C VI : 26-7, 35
 - Publicity for decisions of Minorities Cttees; publication of documents
 - Discussion, general
 - C VI : 25, 26, 27, 28, 36, 44, 47
 - Draft resol. of United Kgd., Denmark, Netherlands, Norway C VI : 36, 36-7 (*text*), 37, 45, 46, 50, 55, 57, 70, 71
 - Report of 6th Cttee., *see that title below*
 - Time-limit for communication of addit. information requested by Minorities Cttees. C VI : 37-8
- RAPPOORTEUR
 - Appointment C VI : 59-60
 - Statement by P : 88
- REFERENCE of question to 6th Cttee. (German draft resol.) and inclusion in its agenda C VI : 9; P : 35, 37
- REPORT of 6th Committee presented by M. Holsti
 - Discussion and adoption C VI : 59; P : 88
 - Text C VI : 70-2
- RESOLUTIONS
 - of Assembly, Oct. 11, 1933 P : 88
 - of 6th Committee C VI : 59, 72 (*text*)

Minorities, Protection of (continued)

- RIGHTS of men and of citizens, *see that title*
- in ROUMANIA C VI : 25-6
- SECTION of Secretariat, *see* Administrative Comms., etc.
- SUB-COMMITTEE of 6th Cttee., *see above under* Draft resols.
- TREATIES, minorities
 - Execution C VI : 23, 28, 29, 38, 39, 44, 46, 47, 48, 50, 55
 - Provisions *re* respect for rights of men and of citizens P : 50, 51
- TREATMENT of minorities by States not bound by legal obligations; exclusion of certain categories of citizens from benefit of provisions in minorities treaties
 - Resolution of Assembly, Oct. 11, 1933 P : 88
 - Resolution of 6th Cttee. (draft submitted by French del.)
 - Amendment to Resol. II and adoption with one abstention by 6th Cttee. C VI : 59, 72
 - Rejection of Resol. II by Ass., Oct. 11, 1933 P : 88
 - Text of resols. I and II and discussion C VI : 50 (*text*), 55, 59, 70, 71
 - in UPPER Silesia : Bernheim petition C VI : 28, 29, 41-2
- Minutes of Committees
 - ASSEMBLY Committees, *see under* Committees of Ass.
 - PRINTING of minutes of League Cttees. C IV : 127, 128, 134
- Mistler, Jean
 - Appointment as rapporteur for intellectual co-operation C VI : 8, 43
 - Assistant delegate of France C VI : 5; P : 15
 - INTELLECTUAL co-operation C VI : 11, 13, 16-17, 43, 65-8 (*report*) P : 79-80 (*statement*)
- Mitter, Sir Brojendra Lal
 - Delegate of India C I : 4; P : 16
 - ARMAMENTS, reduction and limitation P : 44
 - CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in campaign against crime C I : 9, 11
 - HEALTH : Eastern Bureau at Singapore P : 44
 - REPORT, annual, on work of League (general discussion) P : 44-5
 - TECHNICAL assistance of certain countries from League P : 44-5
- Modzelewski, Jean de
 - Appointment as subst. member of Administrative Board of Staff Pensions Fund C IV : 97, 170 P : 93
 - Delegate of Poland C IV : 7; P : 20
 - ADMINISTRATION and finances of League; staff questions; rationalisation C IV : 24-5, 39, 45, 46, 53
 - ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C IV : 67
 - AUDITED accounts of League, 1932 C IV : 9
 - BUDGET, 1934 : estimates for Secretariat C IV : 68, 69, 70
- Monetary and Economic Conference, 1938
 - BUDGETARY appropriations for future work. in 1934 budget and expenses of 1st session
 - Discussion C IV : 31, 49, 71-2
 - Letter, Oct. 2, 1933 from Chairman of 2nd Cttee. to Chairman of 4th Cttee. C II : 17
 - Letter, Oct. 5, 1933 from Chairman of 4th Cttee. to Chairman of 2nd Cttee. C II : 25
 - Reports of 4th Cttee. and Supervisory Comm. C IV : 91, 156-7 (*text*), 168
 - PREPARATORY Commission, work of C II : 37, 38, 40

Monetary and Economic Conference (continued)

REPORT and resolutions, allusions to . . . C II : 40, 41
 SUB-COMMITTEE appointed by: work . . . C II : 15, 19, 21, 39
 WORK and results . . . C II : 13, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 35, 36, 38-41
 P : 41, 43, 46, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 75, 76, 77, 95

Monetary Questions

BANKS, *see that title*
 CAPITAL, movement of C II : 37, 40
 CURRENCY fluctuations C II : 37, 40, 41, 42
 FOREIGN exchange restrictions, *see that title*
 GOLD, *see that title*
 RESTORATION of credit and monetary stability . . . C II : 38, 40
 SILVER, *see that title*

Monuments, Historical

COMMISSION, Int. Historical Monuments: creation and Athens Conference . . . C VI : 15-16, 16, 67 (resol.); P : 81 (resol.)

Moral Disarmament

DISCUSSION, general P : 83, 84
 DRAFT texts prepared by Cttee. on Intell. Co-operation . . . C VI : 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 83
 REPORT of 6th Cttee. C VI : 65
 RESOLUTION of Ass., Oct. 9, 1933 P : 81
 RESOLUTION of 6th Cttee. C VI : 13, 14, 15, 17
 Amendments proposed C VI : 43, 68
 Texts C VI : 43, 68
See also Press, co-operation in org. of peace

Moreseo, T.

Substitute delegate of Netherlands C V : 6; P : 20
 OPIUM and other dangerous drugs C V : 10

Morphine

See under Opium, etc.

Morstin, Paul

Expert, delegation of Poland . . . C V : 6; P : 21
 CHILD welfare C V : 24
 OPIUM and other dangerous drugs C V : 12
 PENAL and penitentiary questions C V : 16

Most-favoured-nation Clause C II : 39

Motor Transport

See Roads, road traffic

Motta, Giuseppe

Appointment as rapporteur for Assembly procedure, simplification of C I : 21
 Nationality of women C I : 24
 Chairman of 1st Committee C I : 4; P : 25, 34
 Delegate of Switzerland . . . C I : 5; C II : 28; C VI : 7
 P : 22
 ASSEMBLY of League: simplification of procedure C I : 16-17, 17, 44-5 (report)
 P : 85-6 (statement)
 COUNCIL of League: system of election of non-perm. Members C I : 7
 CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in campaign against crime C I : 10
 INTELLECTUAL co-operation C VI : 12
 NATIONALITY of women C I : 22, 23, 23-4, 46 (report)
 REFUGEES, Jewish, etc., from Germany: proposal *vs* org. of assistance C II : 28
 TRIBUTE to memory of Count Apponyi P : 31-2

Mowinckel, M.

Delegate of Norway P : 19
 President of Council P : 27
 14TH ASSEMBLY: opening speech P : 28-30
 CONFERENCES, int.: organisation and results P : 28-9
 DISARMAMENT Conference P : 28, 29
 ECONOMIC situation; unemployment; Monetary Conference P : 28, 29
 FOUR-POWER Pact P : 29
 LEAGUE of Nations: prestige, authority, activities and results P : 28, 29, 30
 SECRETARY-GENERAL of League: departure of Sir Eric Drummond and replacement by M. Avenol P : 28

Munters, Wilhelms

Delegate of Latvia C II : 5; P : 18
 PUBLIC works and campaign against unemployment C II : 13, 22

Museums Office International

WORK C VI : 15, 16, 66, 67 (resol.); P : 81 (resol.), 82

N

Nansen Int. Office for Refugees

See under Refugees, etc.

National Officials

SALARIES and subsistence allowances CIV : 22, 61, 165

Nationalism

See Policy of States

Nationalities, Representation on League Organisations

See under Officials, etc.

Nationality of Women

CONSULTATION of Govts. and Members of League and Council resol. of Jan. 24, 1933 . . . C I : 21, 22, 23, 24, 46 (resol.); P : 86 (resol.)
 DISCUSSION C I : 22-4
 EQUALITY of sex as regards nationality, principle of C I : 46
 Draft resol. of Chile to Hague Conf., 1930 . . . C I : 46
 Protocol proposed by Chilian Govt., 1933, *see below* Proposal of Chilian Govt. in Resolution of 1st Cttee. and Ass., Oct. 11, 1933 . . . C I : 23 (draft), 24, 46 (text)
 P : 86 (text)

HAGUE Conference, 1930

Convention: question of ratification and revision C I : 22, 23, 24
 Recommendation, No. VI: information required from Govts. *vs* application . . . C I : 46 (resol.); P : 86 (resol.)

INCLUSION of question in agenda of Ass. at request of Chilian del. C I : 21, 22, 23, 46

ITALY, legislation in C I : 24
 PAN-AMERICAN Congress of Montevideo, Seventh: inclusion of question in agenda C I : 22

PROPOSAL of Chilian Govt. (re-examination of question; Protocol *vs* equality between sexes) C I : 22-4
See also above Equality of sex, etc.
 Discussion C I : 22-4
 Letter from Chilian Govt. to Sec.-Gen.; July 22, 1933 C I : 21-2
 Resolution of 1st Cttee. and Ass., Oct. 11, 1933 (allusion in) C I : 23 (draft), 24, 46 (text); P : 86 (text)²

Nationality of Women (continued)

- RAPPORTEUR to Ass.**
 Appointment C I : 24
REPORT of 1st Committee C I : 46
RESOLUTIONS
 of Assembly, Oct. 11, 1933 P : 86
 of 1st Committee
 Discussion C I : 23, 24
 Procedure *re* adoption by Ass.: letter
 from Chairman of 1st Cttee. to
 President of Ass., Oct. 5, 1933 P : 86
 Text C I : 46
**WOMEN'S Consultative Cttee. on Nationality
 created by Cl.**
 Communication to Ass., Sept. 25, 1933
 submitting draft resol. C I : 45-6
 Note by Sec.-Gen. *re* its relations with
 Women's Int. Orgs. C I : 45
**WOMEN'S Int. Orgs., communication from
 representatives of certain, see above**
 Women's Consultative Committee

Navigation

- See* Inland navigation
 Maritime questions

Neculesa, Eugène

- Substitute delegate of Roumania C II : 6 ; P : 22
 • **HEALTH Organisation : work** C II : 13

Netherlands

- DELEGATION** P : 20
See also Graeff, Jonkheer A. C. D. de
 Kluyster, Mme. C. A.
 Limburg, J.
 Moresco, E.
 Patijn, J. A. N.

Neurath, Freiherr von

- Delegate of Germany P : 9
 Vice-President of Assembly P : 25, 34

New Zealand

- DELEGATION** P : 19
See also Knowles, C.
 Wilford, Sir Thomas

News, Inaccurate

- See under* Press, etc.

Nicaragua

- DELEGATE** P : 19

North Burma, Slavery in

C VI : 9

Norway

- DELEGATION** P : 19
See also Andvord, M.
 Birkeland, Hersleb
 Hambro, Carl Joachim
 Lange, Christian L.
 Mowinckel, M.

Nutrition

- in CHILE : study of popular nutrition C II : 30
 ENQUIRY by Health Org. C II : 10, 31

O

Office-keepers

- See* Messengers and office-keepers

Officer, Keith

- Adviser, delegation of Australia C I : 4 ; P : 10
 ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of pro-
 cedure C I : 21

Officials of League Organisations

- ADMINISTRATIVE Tribunal, see that title**
**CHIEFS of Section ; question of suppressing
 one post ; perm. posts replaced by
 temp. ; salaries** C IV : 16, 71, 75, 76, 113
**CLERICAL staff : rationalisation as applied to
 in I.L.O.** C IV : 110, 112, 113, 114
 in Secretariat, *see the sections concerned*
**COMPARISON between staffs of I.L.O. and
 Secretariat** C IV : 114
CONTRACTS, see below Recruitment, etc.
ENTERTAINMENT allowances, see that title
INSURANCE, see Insurance of League officials
**LOAN of staff and collaboration between Se-
 cretariat and I.L.O.** C IV : 109
**MEMBERS of Section : position from point of
 view of rationalisation (categories A and
 B ; salaries ; annual increments ; temp.
 and perm. posts, etc.)**
 Discussion C IV : 10, 20, 22, 24, 28, 30-1, 34, 35,
 36-7, 42-5
 Report of 4th Cttee. C IV : 165
 Report of Establishment Cttee. of I.L.O.
 C IV : 112-15 (*passim*)
 Reports of Supervisory Comm.
 C IV : 102-3, 110-11, 115-17
**NATIONALITIES, representation and difficulties
 connected with ; vacant posts in relation
 to** C IV : 9, 19, 24, 34, 36, 43, 76-9, 101, 104,
 129, 164, 167-8
**NEW establishment, institution by I.L.O.,
 see** Rationalisation, etc. : Measures taken
 by I.L.O.
PRINCIPAL Officers, see that title
PROMOTIONS, see below Recruitment and pro-
 motions
**RECRUITMENT and promotions ; type of con-
 tract**
 Contributions in arrears as factor in re-
 cruitment, *see* Contributions : in Ar-
 rears : Measures, etc.
 Discussion and work of Supervisory
 Comm. C IV : 27, 34, 35, 37, 44, 129, 133
See also above Nationalities, representa-
 tion of
**REDUCTIONS in number of staff ; changes in
 composition ; suppression of posts and
 economies due to**
 Discussion C IV : 10, 11-12, 13, 16, 20, 27, 35,
 49, 57, 71, 75, 76, 83
 Report of 4th Cttee. C IV : 163
 Report of Establishment Cttee. of I.L.O.
 C IV : 111-15 (*passim*)
 Report of Supervisory Comm. C IV : 101, 103,
 104, 106, 107, 110-11, 118, 124
SALARIES, see Salaries, etc.
STAFF Pensions Fund, see Pensions Fund
STAFF Provident Fund, see that title
STAFF Regulations : Art. 54
 Report of Supervisory Comm. C IV : 132-3
SUPPRESSION of posts, see above Reductions
 in number, etc.
TEMPORARY and perm. posts, see above Chiefs
 of Section and Members of Section
TRAVELLING allowances, see that title
**TRAVELLING facilities for : report of Super-
 visory Comm.** C IV : 121
VACANT posts, see above Nationalities, etc. :
 Recruitment, etc., and Reductions in
 number, etc.

O'Kelly, Sean T.

- Delegate of Irish Free State C II : 10 ; C VI : 6 ; P : 17
ARMAMENTS, reduction and limitation P : 55
DISPUTE between China and Japan P : 55
ECONOMIC situation, present ; Monetary Conf. P : 55
HEALTH Organisation ; work C II : 10-11

O'Kelly, Sean, T. (continued)

- LEAGUE of Nations : moral situation and States' responsibility P : 55-6
- MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews in Germany C VI : 44-5
- REPORT, annual, on work of League (general discussion) P : 55-6

Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs

- ADVISORY Committee
 - Members, increase in number C V : 10, 13, 45
 - Sub-Committee, Perm. on China : creation C V : 10, 11, 13, 41, 44, 45
 - Work during 16th session C V : 9, 11, 45 (resol.)
- ANNUAL reports of Govts.
 - Examination C V : 39
 - Form of report on prepared opium C V : 40
- BANGKOK Conference, *see below under* Opium-smoking, etc.
- BUDGET estimates, 1934. (supervision of traffic ; Central Board ; entry into force of Manufacture Conv.) C IV : 72, 127
- BULGARIA, situation in C V : 40, 44
- CENTRAL Opium Board, Perm.
 - Collaboration with Secretariat of Supervisory Body C V : 10, 11, 13, 43
- CHINA and foreign concessions, etc. : situation in
 - Discussion C V : 9, 9-10, 11, 12-13, 13, 29
 - Rapporteur's statement C V : 40, 41
 - Report of 5th Cttee. C V : 44, 44-5
 - Sub-Committee of Advisory Cttee. : creation C V : 10, 11, 13, 41, 44, 45
- CONVENTIONS, int.
 - 1912 Conv. (Hague) : ratifications C V : 41, 42
 - 1925 Conv. : ratifications C V : 12, 41, 42
 - 1931 Agreement, *see below under* Opium-smoking
 - 1931 Conv., *see below under* Manufacture
 - Draft Conv. on suppression of illicit traffic, *see below under* Illicit traffic
- CULTIVATION of opium poppy and cultivation and harvesting of coca leaf
 - Agreement between three producing countries C V : 9, 10, 41, 45, 46 (resol.)
 - Conference : preparations C V : 11, 12, 13, 41, 45, 46 (resol.)
 - P : 90, 90 (resol.)
 - General aspects C V : 9, 10, 12, 41
- DISCUSSION C II : 14 ; C IV : 72
- C V : 8-9, 9-11, 11-13, 28-9, 29
- P : 39, 62, 63, 64, 90-1, 94
- DRUG addiction : Scientific research C V : 40
- EGYPT, situation in C V : 40
- ESTIMATES of Govts. for drug requirements in 1934 C V : 29, 43
- ILLICIT traffic
 - Arms traffic, control as related to results *vs* illicit traffic C V : 9
 - Budget estimates, 1934, *see above*
 - in Bulgaria C V : 9
 - Convention, int., for suppression : preparation
 - Allusions to, in discussion and reports C V : 12, 13, 15, 40-1, 44
 - Resolutions of Assembly, Oct. 11, 1933 and 5th Cttee. C V : 46 ; P : 90, 90-1
 - Simplification of procedure *vs* negotiation : French draft resol. and Ass. resol., Oct. 11, 1933 C V : 12, 44 (text)
 - P : 90-1
 - Discussion, *see above*
 - in Indian hemp C V : 40
 - Penalties for offences C V : 9, 11, 12, 13, 44
 - P : 90

Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs (continued)

- ILLICIT traffic (continued)
 - Police authorities, int. co-operation between and creation of Int. Police Bureau
 - Draft Int. Conv. proposed by Int. Criminal Police Comm. C V : 14-15
 - Rapporteur's statement C V : 9, 40-1
 - Report of 5th Cttee. C V : 43-4 (text)
 - Seizures, *see below*
 - in Various countries, *see above-below the countries concerned*
 - in MANCHURIA. C V : 9, 45
- MANUFACTURE
 - Arms manufacture, control as related to results *vs* dangerous drugs C V : 9
 - Clandestine
 - C V : 9, 10, 11, 13, 40, 41, 44, 46 (resol.) P : 90
 - See also above-below the countries concerned*
 - Convention, 1931 : ratifications and entry into force ; budget, 1934 C IV : 72, 127
 - C V : 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 39, 41, 42, 46 (resol.) ; P : 90 (resol.) , 94
 - See also below* Report of 5th Cttee.
 - Estimates required for 1934 : request from Supervisory Body to 5th Cttee. C V : 29, 43
 - Model Administrative Code and application by Govts. C V : 8, 10, 40, 43 ; P : 90
 - of Morphine, heroin and cocaine C V : 39
 - Rapporteur's statement C V : 39-40
 - Reduction, recent, owing to application of Convs. C V : 39
 - Report of 5th Cttee. *vs* application of 1931 Conv. and new legislative measures C V : 42-3
 - Supervisory Body, *see that title below*
 - in Various countries, *see above-below the countries concerned*
- MODEL Administrative Code, *see above under* Manufacture
- MONOPOLY of narcotic drugs in Spain C V : 12, 43
- MORPHINE
 - Manufacture. C V : 39
 - Unification of methods of ascertaining morphine content in raw opium
 - Work of Sub-Cttee. of Experts C II : 14, 33
- OPIMUM-SMOKING, control, in Far East
 - Bangkok Agreement, 1931
 - Questions arising out of. C V : 40
 - Ratifications and importance of entry into force C V : 8, 28, 39, 46 (resol.)
 - P : 90 (resol.)
 - in Macao, Malaya, Siam. C V : 11, 13, 45
- PERSIA, situation in C V : 41, 42
- PREPARED opium : form of annual report C V : 40
- RAPPORTEUR
 - Appointment of rapporteur to 5th Cttee. and Ass. C V : 8, 29
 - Statements by. C V : 8-9, 39-41 (text) ; P : 90
- RAW opium : morphine content contained in, *see above* Morphine
- REPORT of 5th Committee
 - Discussion and adoption C V : 28-9 ; P : 90-1
 - Text C V : 41-6
- RESOLUTIONS
 - of Assembly, Oct. 11, 1933 P : 90-1
 - of 5th Committee C V : 29, 45-6 (text)
- SEIZURES C V : 9, 10, 43, 44
- SUPERVISORY Body
 - Establishment and collaboration between Secretariat and Central Board C V : 8, 10, 11, 13, 43
 - 1st Meetings and bodies represented on C V : 39-40
 - Request to 5th Cttee. *vs* estimates of drug requirements for 1934 C V : 29, 43
 - Supply of information by Govts. P : 90
- TURKEY, situation in C V : 9, 40, 41, 42, 44

Organisations of League

- INTERNATIONAL character, *see* Officials : Nationalities, Representation of
- NATIONALITIES, representation in, *see under* Officials, etc.
- OFFICIALS, *see* Officials, etc.
- PRINCIPAL Officers, *see that title*
- RATIONALISATION, *see that title*
- STABILITY of int. orgs., principle of . . . C IV : 19, 29

Ormsby-Gore, W. G. A.

- Representative of United Kingdom . . . C VI : 5 ; P : 11
- INTELLECTUAL co-operation C VI : 15-16
- MANDATES C VI : 20-1
- MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews in Germany C VI : 34-7, 57
- SLAVERY C VI : 9, 58

Osusky, Stefan

- Appointment as member of Supervisory Comm. C IV : 97, 170 ; P : 93
- Delegate of Czechoslovakia C IV : 6 ; P : 23
- ADMINISTRATION and finances of League ; staff questions ; rationalisation C IV : 9-12, 18-19, 35-8, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 51-2, 54, 55
- AUDITED accounts for 1932 C IV : 8, 9
- BUDGET estimates for 1934
 - Labour Org., Int. C IV : 79, 81
 - Nansen Int. Office for Refugees . . . C IV : 83-4
 - Secretariat C IV : 55-6, 56, 57, 58, 60, 90, 91, 92
- CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears C IV : 90
- PENSIONS Fund, Staff : report of Administrative Board C IV : 93-4, 94

Ottawa Agreements C VI : 14

Overseas Countries

- FINANCIAL problems : study by Financial Cttee. proposed C II : 16-17, 42

Oyargabal de Palencia, Mme. Isabel

- Substitute delegate of Spain C V : 6 ; P : 14
- CHILD welfare and reorganisation of Advisory Comm. for protection C V : 22-3
- OPIMUM and other dangerous drugs C V : 12
- PENAL and penitentiary questions C V : 19
- TRAFFIC in women and children C V : 17

P

Pacific Settlement of Disputes

- See* Arbitration, etc.

Pact of Paris P : 41, 46, 47, 50, 54

Palacios, Leopoldo

- Substitute delegate of Spain C IV : 7 ; P : 14
- ADMINISTRATION and finances of League ; rationalisation C IV : 23-4, 39, 40-1, 54
- ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C IV : 66
- BUDGET of League, 1934 : estimates for Secretariat C IV : 70, 73, 91
- PENSIONS Fund, Staff : report of Administrative Board C IV : 95

Palestine

- See under* Mandates

Pan-American Congress, Montevideo, 1933

- CONVOCATION and importance P : 52
- INCLUSION of question of nationality of women on agenda C I : 22

Panama

- DELEGATION P : 19

Papadakis, B. P.

- Substitute delegate of Greece C V : 5 ; P : 16
- CHILDREN, etc., reorganisation of Advisory Comm. for protection C V : 28

Paraguay

- DELEGATE P : 19
- DISPUTE between Bolivia and Paraguay, *see that title*

Parra-Pérez, C.

- Appointment as subst. member of Administrative Board of Staff Pensions Fund C IV : 97, 170 ; P : 93
- Delegate of Venezuela C II : 6 ; C IV : 7 ; P : 23
- Vice-Chairman of 2nd Cttee. C II : 4, 7
- ADMINISTRATION and finances of League ; rationalisation C IV : 41
- ASSEMBLY of League ; simplification of procedure C IV : 66
- BUDGET, 1934 : estimates for Secretariat . . . C IV : 92

Passports

- of JEWISH refugees coming from Germany . . C II : 22-3

Patijn, J. A. N.

- Delegate of Netherlands C II : 5 ; P : 20
- REFUGEES, Jewish, etc., from Germany : org. of assistance for C II : 29

Paul-Boncour, M.

- Delegate of France P : 14
- ARMAMENTS, reduction and limitation : Disarmament Conf. P : 64-5
- POLICY and attitude of great and small Powers ; agreements concluded ; situation of League P : 64-5
- REPORT, annual, on work of League (general discussion) P : 64-5

Peace, Press Collaboration in Organisation of

- See* Press, etc.

Pedroso, Manuel Martinez

- Substitute delegate of Spain C I : 5 ; P : 14
- ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C I : 17, 21
- CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in campaign against crime . . . C I : 14-15

Pella, M.

- Appointment as rapporteur for questions of Criminal law, unification, etc. C I : 6
- Penal and penitentiary questions C V : 8
- Substitute delegate of Roumania C I : 5 ; C V : 6
P : 22
- CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in campaign against crime C I : 7-9, 10-11, 15-16, 42-3 (*report*)
P : 69-70 (*statement*)
- PENAL and penitentiary questions C V : 14-15, 20, 30-2 (*report*)
P : 71-2 (*statement*)

Pellagra

- See under* Health

Penal and Penitentiary Questions

- BIOLOGY, criminal C V : 14, 32
- COMMISSION, Int. Penal and Penitentiary Continuation of work : recomm. of 5th Cttee. C V : 32 ; P : 71
- Work on Standard Minimum Rules, *see below* Rules, etc.

Penal and Penitentiary Questions (continued)

- COMMITTEE, perm.: proposal *re* establishment C V: 19
- CONVENTION, int, for improvement of penal administration: question of framing
C V: 14, 16, 19, 20, 30, 32; P: 71
- CORPORAL punishment C V: 13, 19, 20, 31
- CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in prevention and suppression of crime, *see that title*
- DEATH penalty C V: 20
- DISCHARGED prisoners (including foreign prisoners): assistance or repatriation
C I: 9, 35, 36, 39
C V: 14, 19, 20, 30, 32
- DISCUSSION C V: 14-16, 19-20; P: 71-2
- EXTRADITION of criminals, *see that title*
- HISTORICAL account of question C V: 14, 30
- JUVENILE courts and delinquent child C V: 20, 21-2
- LABOUR questions C V: 14, 16, 19, 20, 31, 32; P: 71
- LEAGUE organ to deal with criminal and penitentiary matters: question of establishment C I: 7, 8, 9, 11, 16, 35, 37, 39, 43 (*resol.*)
C V: 14, 15, 16, 31, 32; P: 70 (*resol.*), 71
- Loss of remission of sentence C V: 15
- ORGANISATIONS, seven int.: activities
C V: 14-15, 16, 30, 31, 32; P: 71
See also under Criminal law, etc.: Orgs. Int.
- POLITICAL prisoners in Czechoslovakia C V: 19
- "PRISONERS' FRIENDS": communication from, *re* establishment of perm. Cttee. under League auspices C V: 19
- RAPPORTEUR
Appointment C V: 8
Statement to Ass. P: 71-2
- REPORT of 5th Committee
Discussion and adoption C V: 19-20; P: 71-2
Text C V: 30-2
- RESOLUTIONS of Ass. and 5th Cttee. (adoption of report) C V: 32; P: 72
- RULES, Standard Minimum for Treatment of Prisoners (as prepared and revised by Int. Penal Comm.)
Discussion C V: 14-16, 19-20; P: 71
Report and resol. of 5th Cttee. C V: 30-2
Submission to Govts. for approval
C V: 14, 15, 16, 32 (*resol.*); P: 71
Views of Italian Govt. C I: 37
- SOLITARY confinement C V: 15, 16
- STATISTICS, organisation of C V: 14, 32
- TREATMENT of prisoners, rules *re*, *see above*
Rules, etc.
- UNIFICATION and execution of penalties
C I: 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 35, 37, 38, 39
- UNTRIED prisoners: limitation of duration of detention C V: 15-16, 32

Penha Garcia, Count de

- Delegate of Portugal C II: 5; C V: 6; C VI: 6; P: 21
- CHILD welfare C V: 23-4
- PENAL and penitentiary questions C V: 16
- PUBLIC works and campaign against unemployment C II: 19-20
- SLAVERY C VI: 9

Pensions Fund for Staff of League Organisations

- ADMINISTRATIVE Board
Chairman C IV: 159
Members
Election of three regular and three subst. members C IV: 97, 169, 170 (*resol.*)
P: 93 (*resol.*)
List of members attending May session, 1933 C IV: 159
Report to Assembly, *see below*

Pensions Fund for Staff of League Organisations (continued)

- ADMINISTRATIVE Rules: amendments adopted by Administrative Board C IV: 159
- ADMISSIONS to Fund C IV: 92, 159
- AUDITED accounts, 1932 C IV: 123, 159, 170 (*resol.*)
P: 93 (*resol.*)
- BUDGET estimates, 1934, *see* Budget of League: Pensions Fund
- CONTRIBUTIONS of officials to Fund
Case of officials on probation whose appointments are not confirmed C IV: 161
Case of officials whose salary is paid in depreciated currency, *see below* Pensionable emoluments paid in depreciated currencies
- INVALIDITY pensions C IV: 160
- INVESTMENTS and depreciation question
C IV: 93, 94, 95, 96, 123, 161, 169
- LEAGUE contributions: total
C IV: 162 (*report and resol.*), 170 (*resol.*)
P: 93 (*resol.*)
- PAYMENT of benefits C IV: 92, 160
- PENSIONABLE emoluments paid in depreciated currencies: position of certain officials
Discussion C IV: 92-7
Reports of
Administrative Board C IV: 160-1
4th Cttee. C IV: 169
Supervisory Comm. C IV: 169, 170
Resolution of 4th Cttee. and Ass., Oct. 11, 1933 C IV: 170; P: 93
- REPORTS of
Administrative Board
Discussion and adoption C IV: 92-7
P: 93 (*resol.*)
Text C IV: 159-162
4th Committee
Drafting Sub.-Cttee.: appointment and composition C IV: 97
Text C IV: 169
Supervisory Comm. C IV: 158
- RESOLUTIONS
of Assembly, Oct. 11, 1933 P: 93
of 4th Committee C IV: 170
Draft submitted by Administrative Board C IV: 162

Pensions for Judges of Hague Court

See under Court of Int. Justice, Perm.

Peppo, Ottavio de

- Delegate of Italy C V: 6; C VI: 6; P: 17
- OPIUM and other dangerous drugs C V: 10
- SLAVERY C VI: 58

Perassi, Tommaso

- Expert, delegation of Italy C I: 4; P: 18
- ASSEMBLY of League: simplification of procedure C I: 19
- NATIONALITY of women C I: 23, 24

Perne, Ivan

- Expert, delegation of Yugoslavia C IV: 7; P: 24
- ADMINISTRATION and finances of League; staff questions; rationalisation C IV: 34
- BUDGET, 1934: estimates for I.L.O. C IV: 77

Persia

- DELEGATION P: 20
See also Foroughi, H. E. Mirza Abol-Hassan Khan
Riazi, Colonel A.
- DRUG traffic in C V: 41

Peru
 DELEGATION P : 20
 DISPUTE between Colombia and Peru, *see that title*

Petite Entente P : 65

Photographs
 PROPAGANDA by Information Section by means of C IV : 46, 105

Physical Education
 WORK of Health Org. C II : 10

Phyto-pathological Questions C II : 40

Piola Caselli, Count Edoardo
 Appointment as rapporteur for question of system of elections to Cl. C I : 7
 Delegate of Italy C I : 4 ; C VI : 6 ; P : 17
 COUNCIL of League : system of election and non-perm. Members C I : 6-7, 28-9 (*report*) P : 67-8 (*statement*)
 CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in campaign against crime C I : 11-12
 INTELLECTUAL co-operation C VI : 14

Plague
See under Health

Plaisant, Marcel
 Assistant delegate of France C I : 4 ; P : 15
 CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in campaign against crime C I : 14

Ploy, Miroslav
 Delegate of Yugoslavia C V : 6 ; P : 23
 OPIUM and other dangerous drugs C V : 12

Poland
 DELEGATION P : 20-1
See also Gwiazdowski, Thadée
 Hubicka, Mme. Hanna
 Komarnicki, Titus
 Modzelewski, Jean de
 Morstin, Paul
 Raczyński, Edouard
 Rundstein, Simon
 Stebelski, Henri

Police
 CO-OPERATION in
 Campaign against drug traffic C V : 14-15
 Prevention and suppression of crime, *see Criminal law, etc.*
 CRIMINAL Police Comm., Int. *see that title*

Political Policy of States
 PRESENT policy ; nationalism ; interdependence of nations ; great and little Powers and responsibility for League situation P : 45, 49, 52, 55-6, 60, 61, 64-5

Political Section of Secretariat
 FUNCTIONS C IV : 104

Politis, Nicolas
 Delegate of Greece C I : 4 ; C VI : 5 ; P : 16
 ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C I : 16, 17
 INTELLECTUAL co-operation C VI : 14
 MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews in Germany C VI : 51-3
 REFUGEES, Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish C VI : 18

Popular Arts C VI : 15

Ports
 BANGKOK, port of : work of Siamese Govt. and Transit Org. *re* improvements C II : 35
 HEALTH conditions in Far-Eastern Ports, *see Health : Ports*

Portugal
 CANDIDATURE for non-perm. seat on Cl. : speech by M. de Vasconcellos, Oct. 2, 1933 P : 63
 DELEGATION P : 21
See also Avila Lima, José Lobo d' Penha Garcia, Count de Vasconcellos, Augusto de
 ELECTION as non-perm. Member of Cl., Oct. 9, 1933 P : 78-9
 TERRITORIAL and colonial importance ; economic development : co-operation in work of League P : 62-3

President of Assembly
See Te Water, C. T. *and under* Assembly of League : 14th Session

Press : Co-operation in Organisation of Peace
 CONFERENCES
 Copenhagen, 1932 C VI : 61
 Madrid, 1934 : agenda, convocation, etc. C VI : 8, 10, 10 (*draft resol.*), 11, 15, 61 (*resol.*) P : 84 (*resol.*), 84
 DISCUSSION C VI : 8, 10, 10-11, 15 ; P : 83-4, 84
 FREEDOM of the Press C VI : 10
 INACCURATE news, campaign against C VI : 10, 61 (*resol.*) ; P : 83-4, 84 (*resol.*)
 INTELLECTUAL Co-operation Org., relation between Press and C VI : 10, 11, 66
 JOURNALISTS, *see that title*
 LEAGUE work, swift supply of news to Press C VI : 10 (*draft resol.*), 21, 61 (*resol.*) ; P : 84 (*resol.*)
See also Information Section : Functions, etc.
 ORGANISATIONS of different countries, co-operation between C VI : 10, 11
 PRESS cards, int. C VI : 10
 PUBLIC opinion as affected by Press in times of crisis C VI : 10 ; P : 83
 RAPPOREUR
 Appointment C VI : 10, 11
 Statement by P : 83-4
 REPORT of 6th Committee presented by M. de Tessan
 Discussion and adoption C VI : 10-11 ; P : 83-4, 84
 Text C VI : 61
 RESOLUTIONS
 of Assembly, Oct. 9, 1933 P : 84
 of 6th Committee C VI : 11, 61 (*text*)
 Draft of French del. C VI : 10

Prices
 of RAW material and foodstuffs as compared with those of industrial products C II : 16, 37, 46
 WHOLESALE prices in 1933 as compared with 1932 C II : 46

Principal Officers of League Organisations
 CHANGES and reductions effected by Establishment Cttee. in I.L.O. C IV : 75, 112, 113, 114, 115
 DEPUTY Director of I.L.O. : suppression of post C IV : 75, 112-13
 ENTERTAINMENT allowances, *see that title*
 NEW section for use of Principal Officers : composition, functions, etc. C IV : 10, 24, 37, 103-4 (*report*)
 SALARIES, *see under* Salaries, etc.
 SECRETARIAT : composition, functions, etc. C IV : 10, 24, 103 (*report*)
 WORK of 13th Assembly, 1932 C IV : 9, 10

Prisoners, Treatment, Punishment, etc.
See Penal and penitentiary questions

Private Law, International : Codification
ALLUSIONS to C I : 10, 13, 14

Procedure of Assembly
RULES 4, 6, 14 (Proposed modification in event of adoption of suggestions *re* simplification of Ass. procedure) C I : 16, 18, 20, 21
RULE 7 (Chairman of 4th Cttee. also member of General Cttee.) C I : 17, 19, 45
RULE 22 (a) (election of non-perm. Members of Cl.) C I : 28
SIMPLIFICATION, *see* Assembly: Procedure, etc.

Production and Marketing : Co-ordination
WORK of Monetary Conf. C II : 16, 37, 39, 39-40

Profits of Enterprises operating in Several Countries
DRAFT Convention for prevention of double taxation C II : 42

Property
INDUSTRIAL, protection C VI : 17, 66
INTELLECTUAL, *see* Intellectual rights

Prostitutes, Foreign : Repatriation C V : 17

Protectionism, Direct or Indirect
WORK of Monetary Conf. C II : 37, 39, 40
See also Import and export prohibitions and restrictions

Public Works
COMMISSION of Enquiry : work C II : 19, 21, 35, 36 (*resol.*)
P : 75, 76 (*resol.*)
DISCUSSION C II : 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 21-2 ; C IV : 27
P : 75, 76-7, 94
HISTORY of question of public works of int. concern. C II : 18
MANDATORY Powers, purchase by, of material and supplies. C VI : 19, 68 (*report*)
MONETARY Conf., activities and appointment of Sub-Cttee. C II : 13, 15, 18, 19, 21, 21-2, 35-6, 36 (*resol.*) ; P : 75, 76 (*resol.*), 77
NATIONAL and int. public works and financial aspect of question C II : 13, 18-19, 19-21, 21-2, 35, 36 (*resol.*) ; P : 75, 76 (*resol.*), 77
RESOLUTIONS
of Assembly, Oct. 7, 1933 P : 76
of 2nd Committee C II : 18, 36
SANITATION, public works for increasing and improving. C II : 12, 13, 33 ; P : 72, 76

Publications of League
BUDGET estimates, 1934. C IV : 64, 80, 126
DOCUMENT Service, *see that title*
LABOUR Office, Int. C IV : 47-8, 80
LIST of publications edited and reprinted 1931 and 1932 C IV : 136
Official Journal C IV : 64
OVERLAPPING between publications of Court and I.L.O. : avoidance C IV : 108
PRINTING-PAPER, purchase C IV : 109
REPORT, sixth annual, of Publications Cttee. C IV : 132, 133-6 (*text*)
of SECTIONS of Secretariat, *see the sections concerned*
Treaty Series C IV : 64

Q

Quinine
See *under* Health
Quo Tal-ehi, M.
Delegate of China C V : 5 ; P : 12
OPIUM and other dangerous drugs C V : 9-10

Quota System
See Imports and export prohibitions, etc.

R

Raczyński, Edouard
Delegate of Poland. C VI : 6 ; P : 20
MANDATES C VI : 20
MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews in Germany C VI : 30-1

Railways
DISPUTES between railway companies C II : 34
in ITALY : electrification C II : 20
LEVEL crossings ; signalling C II : 34 ; P : 75

Raphaël, R.
Substitute delegate of Greece C IV : 6 ; P : 16
ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C IV : 67
BUDGET of League : estimates, 1934
Labour Org., Int. C IV : 77
Secretariat C IV : 70
4TH COMMITTEE : election of Vice-Chairman C IV : 8

Rappard, William
Appointed member of Administrative Board of Staff Pensions Fund C IV : 97, 170 ; P : 93
Delegate of Switzerland. C IV : 7 ; C VI : 7 ; P : 22
ADMINISTRATION and finances of League ; staff questions ; rationalisation C IV : 29-31, 40, 41, 42, 42-3, 44, 45, 47, 53, 54, 55
BUDGET of League : estimates, 1934
Labour Org., Int. C IV : 76, 77, 80, 81
Secretariat C IV : 62, 69-70, 71, 72, 91
4TH COMMITTEE : appointment of general rapporteur C IV : 28
CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears C IV : 30
MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews in Germany C VI : 53-5
PENSIONS Fund, Staff : report of Administrative Board C IV : 92-3, 94, 95, 96

Rationalisation and Reorganisation of Secretariat and Int. Labour Office
APPLICATION of recomms. of Supervisory Comm. ; control by officer trained in administrative matters C IV : 11, 107-8
COMMITTEE appointed by Supervisory Comm. Activities C IV : 11
Creation, composition, functions C IV : 105-6
CO-OPERATION between Secretariat and I.L.O. (Joint Cttees., collaboration between technical services) C IV : 11, 21, 24, 47, 108-10 (*report*), 165
DISCUSSION C IV : 9-14, 14-21, 22-8, 28-34, 35-8, 48-55, 57, 75, 76-9 ; P : 48-9
ENQUIRIES and recomms. of Int. Management Institute and of British expert (Mr. Robertson) and tributes to work C IV : 11, 28, 35, 37, 47, 106, 107, 108, 110, 113, 115, 165

Rationalisation and Reorganisation of Secretariat and Int. Labour Office (continued)

GENERAL considerations on rationalisation
C IV : 41-2, 101

MEASURES taken and future plans of I.L.O.
Application of Ass. decisions (1930):
arrangements made by Cl., April
1931, *see below* Report of Establish-
ment Cttee.

Discussion C IV : 11, 23, 24, 32, 47-8, 75, 76-9

Reports of
4th Cttee. C IV : 167, 168
Establishment Cttee. (approved by
Governing Body of I.L.O.) C IV : 111-15
Supervisory Comm. . . . C IV : 110-11, 129

REORGANISATION : work of Cttee. of Thirteen
C IV : 11, 19, 24, 28-9, 34, 35, 43, 44, 45,
100, 102, 113, 164

REPORT of 4th Cttee. . . . C IV : 164-5, 167, 168

• REPORTS of Supervisory Comm.
Annex : report of Establishment Cttee.
C IV : 111-15
Discussion chapter by chapter C IV : 38-45, 45-8
Discussion, general, *see above*
Texts . . . C IV : 99-111, 115-18, 124, 125

RESOLUTION of Ass., Oct. 17, 1932
C IV : 38, 39, 100 (*text*)

• SCIENTIFIC Management Institute, *see that
title*

Red Cross Conference, Int. (1921)

RESOLUTION on civil war in relation to int.
law and principles of humanity P : 44

**Refugees (Jewish and Other) coming from Ger-
many : Organisation of Assistance on an Int.
Basis**

CO-OPERATION of Governments and private
organisations with High Commissioner
C II : 27, 28, 29, 47, 48 (*resol.*) ; P : 89 (*resol.*)

COUNCIL of League : activities C II : 23, 29

CREDIT for setting up of institution to deal
with question 17, 23, 27, 47, 48

DISCUSSION C II : 22-5, 26-8, 29 ; P : 48, 50, 57, 75,
89, 94

• EMIGRATION to Palestine proposed, *see Man-
dates : Palestine : National Jewish Home*

EMPLOYMENT of refugees C II : 22, 23, 26, 27, 47

FINANCIAL aspect of question C II : 23, 27, 29, 47,
48 (*resol.*) ; P : 48, 57, 90 (*resol.*)

GOVERNING Body : composition, status, com-
petence and relations with High Com-
missioner C II : 29, 47, 48 (*resol.*) ; P : 89 (*resol.*)

HIGH COMMISSIONER : appointment, powers
and duties . . . C II : 27, 29, 47, 48 (*resol.*) ;
P : 89-90 (*resol.*)

INCLUSION of question in Ass. agenda : draft
resol. of Netherlands del. and adoption P : 50, 57

LEAGUE, competence to deal with question
C II : 23, 24, 27 ; P : 48

NATURE of problem and int. action suggested
C II : 22-3, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 47, 48 (*resol.*)
P : 48, 57, 89-90 (*resol.*)

NUMBER, financial situation and countries
harbouring them . . . C II : 22, 23, 24, 25

PASSPORTS C II : 22-3

RAPPORTEUR : appointment C II : 29

REFERENCE of question to
Agenda Cttee. P : 50
2nd Committee

Letter from President of Ass., Oct. 3,
1933 C II : 17
Report of Agenda Cttee. P : 57

REPORT of 2nd Cttee. to Assembly : text and
adoption C II : 47-8 ; P : 90

**Refugees (Jewish and Other) coming from Germany :
Organisation of Assistance on an Int. Basis (continued)**

RESOLUTIONS
of Assembly, Oct. 11, 1933 P : 89-90
of 2nd Committee C II : 47-8
of Netherlands del.

Discussion, *see above*
Reference to Agenda Cttee., *see that
title above*

Text C II : 17 ; P : 48

STATEMENTS by
German delegate C II : 23-4, 27-8
Netherlands delegate C II : 22-3 ; P : 48

STATES Members and non-members of
League : co-operation in action, *see above*
Nature of problem, etc.

SUB-COMMITTEE of 2nd Cttee.
Appointment and composition C II : 23, 25, 28
Report and resolution : discussion and
adoption C II : 26, 27-8, 29

**Refugees, Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-
Chaldean and Turkish**

ARMENIANS, settlement in various countries :
question of transfer to Erivan C VI : 17, 18, 62,
63, 64, 64 (*resol.*) ; P : 73, 73 (*resol.*)

BRAZIL, offer *re* colonisation C VI : 18, 63 ; P : 73

CONVENTION : draft, *re* protection : prepara-
tion by Conf., Oct., 1933 C VI : 18, 63, 64 (*resol.*)
P : 73, 73 (*resol.*)

DISCUSSION C VI : 17-18 ; P : 73, 94

EMPLOYMENT problem during economic crisis
C VI : 17, 62, 63 ; P : 73

EXPULSION C VI : 18, 63, 64-5 (*resol.*) ; P : 73, 73
(*resol.*)

FINANCIAL advances made by Nansen Office
to refugees C VI : 18, 63

FINANCIAL aid from Govts. or Orgs., with-
drawals and reductions C VI : 62, 64

NANSEN Int. Office for Refugees
Auditor's report for financial year, 1932 :
examination C IV : 119-20

Budget estimates, 1934, *see* Budget : Re-
fugees, etc.

Chairman, former, of Governing Body :
tribute to C VI : 18

Work C VI : 17-18, 62-4 (*report*), 64-5 (*resol.*)
P : 73, 73 (*resol.*)

PROTECTION, *see above* Convention, etc.

RAPPORTEUR
Appointment C VI : 9, 19
Statement by P : 73

REPORT of 6th Cttee.
Discussion and adoption C VI : 17-18 ; P : 73
Text C VI : 62-4

RESOLUTIONS
of Assembly, Oct. 7, 1933 P : 73
of 6th Committee
Amendments C VI : 18
Text C VI : 64-5

RUSSIAN and other refugees from Harbin,
settlement question C VI : 64

TOTAL number C VI : 17, 62 ; P : 73

Registry of Secretariat

See Archives, etc.

Repatriation

of DISCHARGED prisoners, *see under* Penal, etc.,
questions : Discharged prisoners

of FOREIGN prostitutes C V : 17

Reports and Resolutions of Assembly Committees

See under Committees of Ass.

Representatives of League

TRAVELLING facilities for : report of Super-
visory Comm. C IV : 121

Réveillaud, Jean

- Appointment as member of Supervisory Comm. C IV : 97, 170 ; P : 93
- Expert, delegation of France C IV : 6 ; P : 15
- ADMINISTRATION and finances of League ; rationalisation C IV : 31-3
- ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C IV : 67
- BUDGET of League : estimates, 1934
 - Labour Org., Int. C IV : 78
 - Secretariat C IV : 61, 62, 62-3, 63, 64, 65, 68-9, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 73-4
- 4TH COMMITTEE : report to Ass. C IV : 97
- PENSIONS Fund, Staff : report of Administrative Board C IV : 44-5, 95

Reynold, M. de (Rapporteur of Int. Committee on Intellectual Co-operation)

- INTELLECTUAL co-operation C VI : 11-12

Rheinbaben, M. von

- Substitute delegate of Germany . . . C IV : 6 ; P : 9
- Vice-Chairman of 4th Cttee. C IV : 6, 8
- ADMINISTRATION and finances of League ; staff questions ; rationalisation C IV : 22, 38
- ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C IV : 67
- BUDGET, 1934 : estimates for Secretariat C IV : 58, 64, 71

Riazi, Colonel A.

- Delegate of Persia C I : 5 ; P : 20
- NATIONALITY of women C I : 24

Riddell, Walter A.

- Delegate of Canada C II : 4 ; C V : 5 ; P : 12
- Vice-Chairman of 5th Cttee. C V : 5, 8
- CHILD welfare C V : 23
- ECONOMIC situation, present world : agreement proposed C II : 16-17
- FINANCIAL Cttee. : work C II : 16-17
- PUBLIC works C II : 21
- REFUGEES, Jewish, etc., from Germany : proposal *re* org. of assistance C II : 26

Rights of Men and Citizens

- WORLD Convention on : proposal of del. of Haiti
 - Reference to Agenda Cttee., and procedure proposed by President P : 56-7
 - Report of 6th Cttee. C VI : 70, 71
 - Statements by M. Frangulis and text of resol. C VI : 33, 34, 47 (*allusion*) ; P : 50-1
 - Text of draft resol. and statement of delegate of Haiti P : 50-1

Ritter, Karl

- Expert, delegation of Germany C II : 4 ; P : 9
- REFUGEES, Jewish, etc., from Germany : proposal *re* org. of assistance C II : 23-4 (*declar.*), 27-8, 28

Roads, Road-Traffic

- COMMERCIAL motor transport C II : 34, 34-5 ; P : 75
- COMMITTEE, Perm. : work C II : 34, 34-5 ; P : 75
- CONSTRUCTION of roads
 - Unemployment in relation to, *see* Public works
 - in Various countries C II : 19, 20, 31, 35
- ROAD signalling C II : 34

Rockefeller Foundation

- GRANTS for work on financial questions . . C II : 43
- C IV : 71, 118-19, 126

Roneo Service of Secretariat

- RATIONALISATION : enquiry and recomms. C IV : 11, 106, 107

Roumania

- DELEGATION P : 21-2
- See also* Antoniadu, Constantin
- Ciuntu, Edmond
- Neculcea, Eugène
- Pella, V. V.
- Vacaresco, Mlle. Hélène
- Visoianu, Constantin
- FINANCIAL situation and technical collaboration with League
 - Agreement between Roumanian Govt. and League Cl. C II : 41
- HEALTH in C II : 10 ; P : 72
- MINORITIES in, *see under* Minorities

Rowe-Dutton, E.

- Expert, delegation of United Kingdom C IV : 6 ; P : 11
- BUDGET of League : estimates, 1934
 - Labour Org., Int. C IV : 81
 - Secretariat C IV : 69, 91
- CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears and question of recovery C IV : 87
- PENSIONS Fund, Staff : report of Administrative Board C IV : 94

Roy, Philippe

- Delegate of Canada C IV : 6 ; P : 12
- ADMINISTRATION and finances of League ; rationalisation C IV : 26-7, 45-6
- CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears and question of recovery C IV : 27

Rules of Procedure of Assembly

- See* Assembly : Procedure

Rundstein, Simon

- Legal adviser, delegation of Poland C I : 5 ; P : 21
- ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C I : 20
- CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in campaign against crime C I : 12-13

Rural Hygiene C II : 32

Russian Refugees

- See* Refugees, Russian, etc.

S

Salaries of National Officials

- See under* National officials

Salaries of Officials of League Organisations

- ANNUAL increments of Members of Section, *see* Officials : Members of Section
- BUDGET estimates, 1934, *see* Budget of League *under the Orgs. concerned*
- of CLERICAL and general staff C IV : 105
- DISCUSSION C IV : 9, 13, 22, 30, 31, 35, 41, 44, 45, 49, 51, 56-8, 63, 64
- ENTERTAINMENT allowances as part of, *see* Entertainment allowances
- INCREASE as result of Assembly decisions, 1930 C IV : 112, 113
- of MEMBERS of Section, *see* Officials : Members of Section
- of PRINCIPAL Officers : reductions C IV : 58, 63, 64
- REDUCTION of existing salaries, question of C IV : 57-8, 63, 165

Salaries of Officials of League Organisations (continued)

- REDUCTION, ten per cent, of salaries of new or newly promoted officials
 - Discussion C IV : 13, 56-8, 63
 - Draft resol. of Indian del. *vs* application and date relating to of Ass. resol., 1932; withdrawal C IV : 56 (*text*), 56-8, 165 (*text*)
 - Reports of
 - 4th Committee C IV : 163
 - Supervisory Comm. . . . C IV : 111, 124, 133
- REPORTS of
 - 4th Committee C IV : 163, 165
 - Establishment Cttee. . . C IV : 111-15 (*passim*)
 - Supervisory Comm. C IV : 102, 105, 111, 124, 133
- TOTAL expenditure 1921-1934 C IV : 111

Salinas, Léon

- Delegate of Mexico C II : 5 ; P : 19
- PUBLIC works C II : 13

Salnais, Voldemars

- Chairman of Cttee. on Verification of Credentials P : 25, 30
- Delegate of Latvia P : 18
- AGGRESSOR, definition of : Protocol of London, July, 1933 P : 54
- ECONOMIC and financial crisis : gravity . . P : 53-5
- LEAGUE of Nations : position and prestige P : 53, 54-5
- POWERS of delegates to Ass. : report of Cttee. on Verification of Credentials P : 30
- REPORT, annual, on work of League (general discussion) P : 53-5

Salvador

- DELEGATE P : 22

Sandler, R. J.

- Delegate of Sweden C VI : 7 ; P : 22
- ARMAMENTS, reduction and limitation . . . P : 43
- ASSEMBLY of League : date of convocation . . P : 43
- CRIMINAL law and principles of humanity : resol. of Int. Red Cross Conf. (1921) P : 44
- ECONOMIC questions ; Monetary Conf. . . . P : 43
- MINORITIES, protection and question of Jews in Germany C VI : 28-30, 59 ; P : 44
- REPORT, annual, on work of League (general discussion) P : 43-4

Schiffner, E.

- Substitute delegate of Austria C I : 4 ; P : 10
- ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C I : 18
- CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in campaign against crime . . C I : 12

Schmidt, Auguste

- Appointment as rapporteur for economic and financial questions C II : 7, 26
- Delegate of Estonia C II : 4 ; P : 14
- ECONOMIC and financial questions ; world crisis ; work of League C II : 14, 16, 26, 37-43 (*report*) ; P : 77 (*statement*)
- PUBLIC works C II : 15

School Text-books, Revision

- C IV : 12, 65, 68 (*resol.*) ; P : 81 (*resol.*)

Schüller, Richard

- Delegate of Austria C II : 4 ; P : 10
- ECONOMIC crisis, world and improvement of situation C II : 15

Sciences, Political and Moral

- PROFESSOR Shotwell's proposal C VI : 13, 66, 67 (*resol.*) P : 80 (*resol.*), 82

Scientific Management, Int. Institute for

- AUDITOR'S report for financial year, 1932 : examination C IV : 119-20
- CONTRIBUTION of I.L.O. towards expenses and question of future of Institute C IV : 82, 168
- RATIONALISATION work, *see* Rationalisation : Enquiries, etc.

Secretariat of League

- ADMINISTRATIVE work of sections : recomms. of Supervisory Comm. C IV : 106
- BUDGET estimates, 1934, *see* Budget of League : Secretariat, etc.
- CENTRAL and administrative services, rationalisation, *see under* Rationalisation, etc., and the sections concerned
- COLLABORATION with I.L.O., *see* Rationalisation : Co-operation, etc.
- CONSTITUTION, functions, history C IV : 38, 100 (*text*)
- LIBRARY, *see under* Libraries
- OFFICIALS, *see that title*
- RATIONALISATION, *see that title and under the various questions*
- SECTIONS and services, *see the titles concerned*
- TECHNICAL sections, collaboration with those of I.L.O. C IV : 11, 109-10
- TRIBUTES to work P : 50, 93, 94

Secretary-General of League

- FIRST Sec.-Gen., *see* Drummond, Sir Eric
- PRESENT Sec.-Gen., *see* Avenol, Joseph

Security

- DISARMAMENT question as related to P : 38, 41, 43
- See also* Arbitration, security, etc.

Serological Products

- See* Biological and serological products

Sheehan, Henry John

- Delegate of Australia C IV : 6 ; P : 10
- ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C IV : 67
- BUDGET of League : estimates, 1934
 - Labour Org., Int. C IV : 78, 80, 81
 - Secretariat C IV : 64, 69, 73, 92

Shipping Subsidies C II : 39

Shotwell, Professor

- PROPOSAL, *see* Sciences, political and moral

Siam

- DELEGATION P : 22
- See also* Sompati, Phya Subarn
- PORT of Bangkok : technical assistance of League for improvement . . C II : 35 ; P : 44

Sienra, Adolfo

- Substitute delegate of Uruguay . . C V : 6 ; P : 23
- OPIUM and other dangerous drugs C V : 10

Signalling

- ROAD signalling, *see under* Roads, etc.

Silver

- WORK and recomms. of Monetary Conference C II : 16, 40, 41

Simon, Sir John

- Delegate of United Kingdom P : 11
- Vice-President of Assembly P : 25, 34
- ARMAMENTS, reduction and limitation . . P : 38, 39
- CHILD welfare P : 39

Simon, Sir John (continued)

- COUNCIL of League
 - Election of non-perm. Members: questions of procedure P: 35
 - Periodic meetings P: 37
- ECONOMIC and financial questions; Monetary Conf. P: 38, 39
- HEALTH questions P: 39
- MANDATES P: 39
- REPORT, annual, on work of League (general discussion) P: 37-40
- SLAVERY P: 39
- U. S. A., co-operation in work of League P: 38

Slavery

- ADVISORY Committee of Experts: constitution, powers and duties, etc.
 - Credits, 1934, 1935
 - C IV: 128; C VI: 69, 69 (resol.); P: 87 (resol.)
 - Discussion C VI: 8, 9, 58; P: 39, 95
 - Report of 6th Cttee. C VI: 69
 - Resolution of Ass., Oct. 11, 1933 and 6th Cttee. C VI: 69; P: 87
 - Rules of procedure, framing of
 - C VI: 58, 69 (resol.); P: 87 (resol.)
 - 1st Session, date and programme and credits (1935) for 1st biennial session
 - C VI: 69 (resol.); P: 87 (resol.)
 - Woman member, appointment proposed
 - C VI: 9, 58
- BRITISH Anti-Slavery Society: work C VI: 58
- BUDGET estimates, 1934 (Int. Slavery Conv.)
 - C IV: 73, 128
 - See also above under Advisory Cttee. of Experts
- CENTENARY of anti-slavery work in England
 - C VI: 9
- in CHINA and *mui-tsai* system C VI: 9, 58
- DISCUSSION C VI: 8, 9, 57-8; P: 39, 62, 94-5
- INFORMATION communicated by various Govts. C VI: 9, 58, 69 (resol.); P: 87 (resol.)
- in LIBERIA C VI: 9
- in NORTH BURMA C VI: 9
- RAPPORTEUR, appointment C VI: 9, 59
- REPORT of 6th Committee presented by M. López Oliván
 - Discussion and adoption C VI: 57-8; P: 86-7
 - Text C VI: 69
- RESOLUTIONS
 - of Assembly, Oct. 11, 1933 P: 87
 - of 6th Committee C VI: 58, 69 (text)
- in SUDAN C VI: 9

Smallpox

See under Health

Social Section of Secretariat

- BUDGET and functions after reorganisation of Advisory Comm. C V: 23, 26, 27, 37, 38 (resol.)

Sompatl, Phya Subarn

- Delegate of Siam C V: 6; P: 22
- OPIUM and other dangerous drugs C V: 13, 28

Souteneurs

See under Traffic in women, etc.

South Africa, Union of

- DELEGATION P: 9
- See also Andrews, H. T.
- Water, C. T. te

Spain

- DELEGATION P: 13-14
- See also Doussenague, José Maria
- Finat y Rojas, Hipolito
- López Oliván, Julio
- Madariaga y Rojo, Salvador de
- Oyarzabal de Palencia, Mme. Isabel
- Palacios, Leopoldo

Special Organisations of League

- BUDGET estimates, 1934, see Budget: Secretariat, etc.

Staff of League Organisations

See Officials, etc.

Staff Pensions Fund

See Pensions Fund, etc.

Staff Provident Fund

- LEAGUE contribution to (1934) C IV: 59

Statistical Services of League Organisations

- FUNCTIONS and question of centralisation
 - C IV: 11, 105 (report)

Stebelski, Henri

- Expert, delegation of Poland C II: 5; P: 21
- PUBLIC works C II: 22

Stenographic Service of Secretariat

- RATIONALISATION: enquiry and recomms.
 - C IV: 11, 28, 37, 47, 106

Stocks, Situation as regards

- C II: 16, 21 (statement), 38, 45

Stresa, Conference, 1932

- C II: 18; P: 40, 52

Subsidies

See Bounties and subsidies

Subsistence Allowances

See Travelling and subsistence allowances, etc.

Sudan, Slavery in

- C VI: 9

Supervisory Commission

- MEMBERS
 - Attending 52nd session C IV: 122
 - Election of MM. Osuský and Réveillaud
 - C V: 97, 169, 170 (resol.); P: 93 (resol.)
- RELATIONS with Governing Body of Labour Office C IV: 79
- REPORTS on work
 - Adoption of conclusions by 4th Cttee. and Ass., Oct. 11, 1933 C IV: 170 (resol.) P: 93 (resol.)
 - of 52nd Session
 - Examination and adoption C IV: 90
 - Text and Appendix C IV: 122-133, 133-6
 - 1st Suppl. report (54th session)
 - Examination and adoption C IV: 90
 - Text C IV: 115-121
 - 2nd Suppl. report
 - Examination and adoption C IV: 91-2
 - Text C IV: 156-8
 - on Technical concentration of League activities and rationalisation of services of Secretariat and I.L.O.
 - Appendix: report of Establishment Cttee. approved by Governing Body, of I.L.O. C IV: 111-15
 - Text C IV: 99-111, 115-18
- SECRETARY, allowance to C IV: 58
- STATEMENT of Chairman of 4th Cttee. C IV: 9-12
- TRIBUTES to work C IV: 14, 19, 28, 29, 34

Sweden

- DELEGATION P: 22
- See also Boheman, E. C.
- Hesselgren, Mlle Kerstin
- Pedroso, Manuel Martinez
- Sandler, R. J.
- Vougt, H. G. F.
- Westman, K. I.
- Wohlin, N. R.
- PUBLIC works in C II: 19

Switzerland
DELEGATION P: 22
See also Gorgé, Camille
 Motta, Giuseppe
 Rappard, William

Syphilis
See Health: Venereal diseases

Syria
 ARMENIANS, settlement in. C VI: 17, 62, 63
 MANDATE, *see under* Mandates

Szent-Istvány, Béla de
 Substitute delegate of Hungary C I: 4; C V: 5
 P: 16
 CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-
 operation in campaign against crime C I: 14
 NATIONALITY of women. C I: 23, 24
 • PENAL and penitentiary questions C V: 19

T

Tánczos, General Gabriel
 Delegate of Hungary C VI: 6; P: 16
 INTELLECTUAL co-operation C VI: 15
 TRIBUTE to memory of Count Apponyi P: 32

Tanganyika
See under Mandates

Tariffs
See Customs formalities and tariffs and Im-
 port and export restrictions

Taxation
 DOUBLE taxation and fiscal evasion, *see that*
title
 FISCAL Cttee., *see that title*

Tessan, François de
 Appointment as rapporteur for Press co-
 operation in org. of peace C VI: 10
 Assistant delegate of France. C IV: 6; C VI: 5
 P: 15
 BUDGET of League, 1934: estimates for
 Secretariat C IV: 92
 PRESS, co-operation in org. of peace
 C VI: 8, 10, 61 (*report*)
 P: 83-4 (*statement*)

Theodoli, Don Ugo (Secretary of Perm. Central
 Opium Board)
 OPIUM and other dangerous drugs C V: 12

Tiling, Fran von
 Expert, delegation of Germany C V: 5; P: 9
 • TRAFFIC in women and children C V: 18

Timber
 in AUSTRIA: negotiations with various coun-
 tries P: 40
 WORK of Monetary Conference. C II: 40

Tin
 WORK of Monetary Conf. C II: 40

Tobacco
 AGREEMENT between Greece and producers
 of oriental tobacco and creation of office P: 53

Trade
 IMPROVEMENT of situation. C II: 15-16, 45 (*table*)
 P: 77
 • MOST-FAVOURLED-NATION clause C II: 39

Trade (continued)

RELATIONS between agricultural countries of
 Central and Eastern Europe, *see* Bucha-
 rest Conference
 REMOVAL of impediments paralysing int.
 trade C II: 37, 38, 39
See also Imports and Exports, prohibitions,
 etc.
 Production and marketing
 Protectionism, etc.

Traffic in Arms, etc.
See Arms, munitions, etc.

Traffic in Opium, etc.
See Opium and other dangerous drugs

Traffic in Women and Children
 ANNUAL reports from Govts. C V: 16, 33
 BUDGET estimates, 1934. C IV: 72, 127-8
 COMMISSION of Enquiry on traffic in the East,
see below Enquiry in the East
 COMMITTEE on Traffic in Women and Children
 Functions C V: 26, 37
 CONVENTIONS, int.
 1904, 1910 Convs. C V: 17
 1921 Conv.: ratifications C V: 16, 17, 33
 Ratifications: draft resol. *re* rejected C V: 28
 1933 on Suppression of traffic in women
 of full age, *see below* Women of full
 age, etc.

DISCUSSION C V: 16-18, 20, 28; P: 70-1, 71, 87, 94
 ENQUIRY in the East
 New York Bureau of Social Hygiene:
 funds supplied by C V: 17, 33 (*resol.*); P: 88
 (*resol.*)

Report of Comm. of Enquiry and publi-
 city for C V: 16-17, 17, 33, 33 (*resol.*); P: 87,
 88 (*resol.*)

FOREIGN prostitutes, repatriation. C V: 17
 FULL AGE, women of, *see below* Women of full
 age, etc.

LICENSED houses, abolition C V: 17, 33

RAPPORTEUR
 Appointment C V: 8, 28
 Statements by P: 70-1, 87

REPORTS of 5th Committee
 Discussion and adoption C V: 20, 28; P: 87-8
 Text C V: 33, 33-4

RESOLUTIONS
 of Assembly, Oct. 7, 11, 1933 P: 71, 87-8
 of 5th Committee C V: 28, 33 (*text*), 33-4;
 P: 70-1

SOUTENEURS, penalties C V: 17

VOLUNTARY associations, work of C V: 16, 17, 18, 33

WOMEN of full age, suppression of traffic in
 Convention adopted by Diplomatic
 Conf.
 Signatures and completion by provi-
 sion *re* extradition C V: 34; P: 87

Diplomatic Conference
 Convocation and date of meeting
 C V: 18 (*resol.*), 20 (*resol.*), 33 (*resol.*), 34
 P: 70-1 (*statement*), 71 (*resol.*), 87, 88 (*resol.*)

Work, President, Govts. represented at
 Letter from President of Conf. to
 President of Ass., Oct. 11, 1933 C V: 34

Draft Protocol, *see also above* Convention
 Discussion C V: 17, 18
 Report and resol. of 5th Cttee.
 C V: 18, 33-4 (*text*)

Revised draft prepared by Sub-Cttee.:
 approval by 5th Cttee. and procedure
re C V: 20 (*resol.*)

Sub-Committee appointed to revise
 Composition. C V: 18; P: 71
 Work, *see above* Revised draft

Transit and Communications

- AIR navigation, *see that title*
- in CHINA, *see* China : Communications, etc.
- COMMUNICATIONS of importance to League at times of crisis, *see that title*
- DISCUSSION C II : 13-14, 21-2 ; C IV : 72 ; P : 62, 64, 75-7, 94
- INLAND navigation, *see that title*
- MARITIME questions, *see that title*
- ORGANISATION
 - Budget estimates, 1934 C IV : 72, 127
 - Budgetary situation and curtailment of work C II : 34, 36 (*resol.*) ; P : 75, 76 (*resol.*)
 - Work
 - Discussion C II : 13-14, 21-2 ; P : 75-7, 94
 - Rapporteur
 - Appointment C II : 7, 72
 - Statement by P : 75
 - Report of 2nd Cttee.
 - Discussion and adoption C II : 21-2 ; P : 77
 - Text C II : 34-6
 - Resolutions
 - of Assembly, Oct. 7, 1933 P : 76
 - of 2nd Committee C II : 36
- PUBLIC works, *see that title*
- RAILWAYS, *see that title*
- ROAD traffic, *see* Roads and road traffic

Travelling and Subsistence Allowances for Staff of League Organisations

- BUDGET estimates, 1934
 - Labour Org. C IV : 75
 - Secretariat, etc. C IV : 59-62, 165
- EXTENSION of leave journey privileges to officials' families C IV : 61-2, 132-3 (*report*)
- SUBSISTENCE allowances
 - Principal Officers C IV : 60
 - Reduction proposed by Indian del. in draft resol. C IV : 57, 59 (*text*), 60, 61, 166 (*text*)

Truce, Customs

See under Customs formalities and tariffs

Tsaldaris, P.

- Delegate of Greece P : 16
- GREECE : economic and political relations with other countries P : 52-3
- REPORT, annual, on work of League (general discussion) P : 52-3

Tsien Tai, Dr

- Substitute delegate of China. C VI : 5 ; P : 12
- INTELLECTUAL co-operation C VI : 12

Tuberculosis

See under Health

Turkey

- CONTRIBUTION to League, *see under* Contributions : Allocation, etc.
- DELEGATION P : 23
See also Hüsnü Bey, Cemal
- DRUG situation in, *see under* Opium, etc.
- REFUGEES, Turkish, *see* Refugees, Russian, Armenian, etc.
- RELATIONS with Greece and Ankara agreement, 1933 P : 52-3
- REPRESENTATION in League Orgs. C IV : 76, 77

Typhoid Fever

See under Health

U

Unemployment

- CAMPAIGN against, *see* Public works
- CAUSES, *see* Crisis : General discussion
- DISCUSSION, general, *see under* Crisis, etc.
- EFFECTS, *see* Children, etc. : Economic Crisis, etc.
Crisis, etc. : Repercussions
- REPORT of 2nd Committee (allusions) C II : 37, 38
- SITUATION in 1933 as compared with 1932 C II : 16, 45 (*table*)

Unforeseen Expenditure of League

See Budget *under the Orgs. concerned and under* Expenditure of League

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

- DELEGATION P : 11
See also Hacking, Douglas H.
Hore-Belisha, L.
Horsburgh, Miss F.
Malkin, Sir William
Ormsby-Gore, W. G. A.
Rowe-Dutton, E.
Sierra, Sir John

United States of America

- CONTRIBUTION to expenses of Disarmament Conf. C IV : 123
- CO-OPERATION with League P : 39, 38
- CRISIS as affecting C II : 15, 16, 37, 38
- DOLLAR depreciation : exchange losses caused to League by C IV : 121, 122, 167 (*reports*)

University Questions C VI : 15, 16, 66

Upper Silesia

MINORITIES in, *see under* Minorities

Uruguay

- DELEGATION P : 23
See also Castro, Alfredo de
Guani, Alberto
Sierra, Adolfo

V

Vacaresco, Mlle Hélène

- Delegate of Roumania C V : 6 ; C VI : 6 ; P : 21
- CHILD welfare and reorganisation of Advisory Comm. for protection. C V : 21-2, 27, 28
- INTELLECTUAL co-operation C VI : 12-13 ; P : 81-3
- TRAFFIC in women and children C V : 18

Valdés-Mendeville, Jorge

- Delegate of Chile C I : 4 ; C IV : 6 ; C VI : 5 ; P : 12
- ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C I : 20
- BUDGET, 1934 : estimates for I.L.O. C IV : 77, 79
- CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears and question of recovery C IV : 88
- INTELLECTUAL co-operation C VI : 14-15
- NATIONALITY of women. C I : 24

Vasconcellos, Augusto de

- Appointment as rapporteur for traffic in opium, etc. C V : 8, 29

Vasconcellos, Augusto de (continued)

- Delegate of Portugal . . . C II : 5 ; C V : 6 ; P : 21
 LEAGUE of Nations : activities, successes and failures P : 62, 64
 OPIUM and other dangerous drugs C V : 8-9, 13, 28, 39-41 (statement), 41-6 (report) ; P : 90 (statement)
 PORTUGAL, co-operation in work of League, colonial and economic importance . . . P : 62-3
 REFUGEES, Jewish, etc. from Germany : proposal re org. of assistance C II : 25
 REPORT, annual, on work of League (general discussion) P : 62-4
 REPRESENTATION of Portugal to Council . . . P : 63

Velghe, M. (Vice-Chairman of Health Committee)

- TRIBUTE to his memory C II : 7, 32 ; P : 72

Veneroal Diseases

- See under Health

Venezuela

- DELEGATION P : 23
 See also Escalante, Diógenes Parra-Perez, C.

Veterinary Questions C II : 40

Visolana, Constantin

- Substitute delegate of Roumania. . . C I : 5 ; P : 21
 ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C I : 18-19

Vitamines

- DEFINITION and standardisation C II : 8, 9

Vougt, A. G. F.

- Substitute delegate of Sweden . . . C V : 6 ; P : 22
 TRAFFIC in women and children C V : 18

W

War

- CIVIL war : resol. of Int. Red Cross Conferences, 1921 P : 44
 COMMUNICATIONS between League and its Members in case of, see Communications, etc.
 PACT of Paris, see that title
 "WHY War" C VI : 65

Water, C. T. to

- President of Assembly P : 25
 Election P : 30-1
 Speeches at opening and close of Ass. P : 31, 93-6
 ARGENTINE : definitive accession to League P : 36, 95
 LEAGUE of Nations : summary of activities : moral and financial situation P : 94-6
 TRIBUTE to work of M. Avenol and members of Secretariat P : 93-4

Waterways

- See Inland navigation

Werner, M. (Nansen Int. Office for Refugees)

- REFUGEES, Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish and budget of Nansen Office, 1934 C IV : 83 ; C VI : 18

Westman, K. I.

- Substitute delegate of Sweden . . . C I : 5 ; P : 22
 ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C I : 20, 21
 CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in campaign against crime C I : 15

Whaling, Regulation of

- RATIFICATION of Convention of 1931, question of C II : 25-6

Wheat

- See under Agriculture

Wilford, Sir Thomas Mason

- Delegate of New Zealand C I : 5 ; C IV : 7 ; P : 19
 ADMINISTRATION and finances of League ; rationalisation C IV : 21, 47-8
 ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C I : 19-20 ; C IV : 67
 BUDGET, 1934 : estimates for Secretariat C IV : 56, 57, 62, 63, 64, 91
 CONTRIBUTIONS in arrears and question of recovery C IV : 87-8
 CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in campaign against crime . . . C I : 10, 14
 NATIONALITY of women C I : 22
 SLAVERY C VI : 8

Williams, Mrs. Mary Jamieson

- Substitute delegate of Australia . . C V : 5 ; P : 10
 CHILD welfare C V : 24

Wireless Station, League

- AUDITOR'S report for financial year, 1932 : examination and adoption . . . C IV : 90, 119
 BUDGET estimates, 1934 C IV : 74, 128
 REPAYMENT to Working Capital Fund of sums drawn for expenses of station C IV : 33, 132, 169
 WORK C II : 35

Wireless Telegraphy

- See Broadcasting
 Wireless station, League

Woermann, Herr Dr.

- Expert, delegation of Germany C I : 4 ; C V : 5 ; P : 9
 ASSEMBLY of League : simplification of procedure C I : 18
 CHILD welfare C V : 25
 CRIMINAL law, unification and Govt. co-operation in campaign against crime C I : 14
 NATIONALITY of women. C I : 24
 OPIUM and other dangerous drugs C V : 13
 PENAL and penitentiary questions C V : 19

Wohlln, N. R.

- Appointment as rapporteur for work of Transit Org. C II : 7, 22
 Delegate of Sweden C II : 6 ; P : 22
 PUBLIC works and campaign against unemployment C II : 18-19
 TRANSIT and Communications Organisation : work C II : 13, 21, 34-6 (report) P : 75-6 (statement)

Women

- NATIONALITY of women, see that title
 TRAFFIC in women and children, see that title

Workers' Leisure and Popular Education C VI: 15, 65

Working Capital Fund

BUDGET estimates, 1934 C IV: 132
DISCUSSION, general . . . C IV: 16-17, 25, 26, 33, 50
POSITION, Aug. 31, 1933 C IV: 33, 123, 138
REPAYMENTS to Fund from budget surplus,
1932 C IV: 33, 90, 132, 169
SUM to be drawn from as advance to High
Commissioner for refugees from Germany
C II: 17, 23, 27, 47, 48
VOLUNTARY contributions to CIV: 139

y

Young People, Protection and Welfare of
See Children, etc.

Yugoslavia

DELEGATION P: 234
See also Fotitch, Constantin
Kostrentchitch, Marko
Perne, Ivan
Ploy, Miroslav

NUMERICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

PUBLISHED OR MENTIONED IN
the RECORDS of the FOURTEENTH ASSEMBLY (Ordinary)

Document number	Sales number	Volume and page	Document number	Sales number	Volume and page
Assembly : Simplification of Procedure			Intellectual Co-operation		
A.49.1933.V.	—	CI : 44 P : 85	A.14.1933.XII.	1933.XII.A.1	CVI : 13, 15, 16
Child Welfare			A.46.1933.XII.	—	CVI : 65 P : 79
A.54.1933.IV.	—	CV : 35 P : 88	A.45.1933.VI.	—	CVI : 68 P : 73
A.57.1933.IV.	—	CV : 36 P : 91	C.406.M.209.1933.VI.	1933.VI.A.1.	CVI : 19
C.247.M.129.1933.IV.	1933.IV.1	CV : 27	Minorities		
Council : Composition and System of Elections			A.52.1933.I.	—	CVI : 70 P : 88
A.8.1933.V.	1933.V.2	CI : 25	Nationality of Women		
[C.E.C.7.(1)]	—	—	A.15.1932.V.	—	CI : 23
A.31.1933.V.	—	CI : 28 P : 67	A.48.1933.V.	—	P : 86
A.43.1933.V.	—	P : 78	Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs		
Economic and Financial Questions			C.455.M.193.1931.XI.	1931.XI.8.	CV : 8
A.56.1932.II.	—	CII : 38	C.509.M.214.1931.XI.	1931.XI.10	CV : 12
A.42.1933.II.	—	CII : 37 P : 77	A.55.1933.XI.	—	CV : 41 P : 90
C.48.M.18.1933.II.	1933.II.Spec.1	CII : 37	A.V.4.1933	—	CV : 39
C.56.1933.II.A.	—	CII : 41	C.385.M.193.1933.XI.	1933.XI.1	CV : 9, 10, 12
C.435.M.220.1933.II.	1933.II.Spec.4	CII : 38	C.495.M.250.1933.XI.	1933.XI.4	CV : 9
Finances and Administration of League			O.C./A.R.1932/4 and 5	—	CV : 13
A.3.1926.X.	Ser.P. S.d.N. 1926.X.6	CIV : 142	O.C./A.R.1932/22	—	CV : 11, 12
A.5.1926.X.	—	CIV : 142	Penal Questions and Suppression of Crime		
A.16.1930	1930.General 3	CIV : 44	A.70.1931.V.	—	CI : 30
A.3.1933.X	1933.X.1	CIV : 8	A.58.1932.IV.	—	CI : 30
A.4.1933.X	A 4(b,d) 1933.X	CIV : 55, 64, 72, 74, 82	A.7.A.7(a),A.7(b). 1933.V.	1933.V.3,7,8	CI : 30
A.5.1933.X.	—	CIV : 122,138	A.23.1933.IV.	—	CV : 14, 15
A.5(a).1933.X.	—	CIV : 115	A.26.1933.IV.	—	CV : 14
A.5(b).1933.X	—	CIV : 156	A.37.1933.V.	—	CI : 42 P : 69
A.9.1933.	1933.V.2	CIV : 159	A.44.1933.IV.	—	CV : 30 P : 71
A.10.1933.X.	—	CIV : 99	Press : Co-operation in Organisation of Peace		
A.21.1933.X.	—	CIV : 137	A.36.1933.	—	CVI : 61 P : 83
A.21(a).1933.X	—	CIV : 147	Refugees, Jewish and Other, coming from Germany		
A.22.1933.X	—	CIV : 90	A.33.1933.	—	CII : 17
A.56.1933.X.	—	CIV : 147 P : 91	A.53.1933.II.	—	CII : 47 P : 89
A.58.1933.X	—	CIV : 162 P : 92			
A.IV/I.1933	—	CIV : 98			
Health					
C.473.M.202. 1931.III.	1931.III.11	CII : 13			
C.H.1060	1931.III.13	CII : 10, 11			
C.725.M.344.1932.III.	—	CII : 11			
A.13.1933.III.	—	CII : 9, 11, 12			
A.38.1933.III.	—	CII : 30 P : 72			

<i>Document number</i>	<i>Sales number</i>	<i>Volume and page</i>	<i>Document number</i>	<i>Sales number</i>	<i>Volume and page</i>
Refugees, Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish			Traffic in Women and Children		
A.39.1933	—	C VI : 62 P : 73	C.849.M.393.1932.IV. A.24.1933.IV. Annexes I,II	1932.IV.8 1933.IV.3	CV : 17 CV : 17
Report and Supplementary Report on Work of League since Thirteenth Session of Assembly			A.24(a).1933.IV. A.47.1933.IV.	1933.IV.4 —	CV : 17 CV : 33 P : 70
A.6.1933	1933.Q.G.2	C II : 12, 14 CV : 12	A.50.1933.IV.	—	CV : 33 P : 87
A.6.(a).1933	1933.Q.G.3	CV : 10	C.590.M.276.1933.IV.	1933.IV.5	CV : 20
Slavery			Transit and Communications		
A.51.1933.VII.	—	C VI : 69 P : 86	A.41.1933.VIII.	—	C II : 34, 41 P : 75