

# LEAGUE OF NATIONS

## *Official Journal*

---

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT No. 64

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# RECORDS

OF THE

NINTH ORDINARY SESSION

OF THE

ASSEMBLY

---

PLENARY MEETINGS

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TEXT OF THE DEBATES

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GENEVA, 1928

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## TELEGRAM OF CONVOCATION

ADDRESSED BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL  
TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS  
ON BEHALF OF  
M. URRUTIA,  
ACTING-PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL

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“ I have the honour, in accordance with Rules 1 and 3  
of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly of the League of  
Nations, to summon the Assembly to convene at Geneva  
at 11 a.m. on Monday, September 3rd, 1928.

*(Signed)* F. J. URRUTIA.”

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# AGENDA

## OF THE

### NINTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY

ADOPTED BY THE ASSEMBLY ON SEPTEMBER 3RD, 1928.

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

Election of the President.

Examination and Adoption of the Agenda.

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

Election of Six Vice-Presidents.

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

Maintenance in force, as an exceptional measure, for the 1928 Elections to the Council, of the Temporary Provisions (Article IV, paragraph 2), attached to the Rules adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926, for the Election of a Non-Permanent Member of the Council.

Election of Three Non-Permanent Members of the Council.

#### FIRST COMMITTEE.

Progressive Codification of International Law :

(a) Preparatory Work for the First Codification Conference (Report on the Work of the Preparatory Committee contained in the Report to the Assembly on the Work of the Council, on the Work of the Secretariat and of the Measures taken to execute the Assembly's Decisions).

(b) Proposal of the Delegation of Paraguay at the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly for the Preparation of a General and Comprehensive Plan of Codification of International Law.

(c) Work of the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law.

Resignation from the Permanent Court of International Justice of Judge John Bassett Moore and appointment of his successor.

#### SECOND COMMITTEE.

Question of Alcoholism : Proposal by the Finnish, Polish and Swedish Delegations.

Relations between the League of Nations and Institutes or Bodies set up under its Authority.

Report on the Work of the Economic and Financial Organisation, including the Work of the Economic Consultative Committee, and its Report on the Progress in the Execution of the Resolutions of the Economic Conference.

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

Report on the Work of the Health Organisation.

#### THIRD COMMITTEE.

Report on the Work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

Work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

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

Establishment of a League of Nations Radiotelegraphic Station : Report by the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit.

#### FOURTH COMMITTEE.

Allocation of the Expenses of the League.

Budget for 1929, including the Budgets of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Audit of Accounts for the Ninth Financial Period.

Reports of the Supervisory Commission, including a Report on the Cost of Living and Adjustment of Salaries.

Construction of an Assembly Hall, of New Buildings for the Use of the Secretariat, and of a Library: Report of the Committee of Five appointed to select a Plan.

#### FIFTH COMMITTEE.

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

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

- (a) Report of the Committee on Traffic in Women and Children.
- (b) Report of the Child Welfare Committee.

SIXTH COMMITTEE.

Slavery Convention : Annual Report by the Council.

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

*In the course of the Session the following items were added to the Agenda :*

- Question of the Revision of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.
- Question of the Procedure to be followed by the Council or the Assembly in requesting Advisory Opinions from the Permanent Court of International Justice.
- Enquiry into the Traffic in Opium in the Far East. Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish Refugees.
- Plan for the Establishment of Armenian Refugees in the Republic of Erivan.
- Mandates.
- Amendment to the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations.



LIST OF MEMBERS  
OF THE  
DELEGATIONS AT THE NINTH ORDINARY SESSION  
OF THE ASSEMBLY

ABYSSINIA.

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

Special Delegation :

His Excellency the Bettoadded Guetatcheou.  
Atō Woldé Maryam.

Ato Guebré Egzabeher.

ALBANIA.

M. Mehdi Frasheri (Minister of State).

M. Djafer Villa (Minister Plenipotentiary,  
Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign  
Affairs).

AUSTRALIA.

The Honourable Alexander J. McLachlan  
(Senator).

Major-General the Honourable Sir Granville de  
Laune Ryrie, K.C.M.G., C.B., V.D. (High  
Commissioner in London).

Sir William Harrison Moore, K.B.E., C.M.G.,  
B.A., LL.D.

Substitutes :

Mr. Richard Percy Clive Baillieu.

Mrs. Ethel McDonnell, J.P.

Personal Assistant to The Honourable Alexander  
J. McLachlan :

Major Keith Officer, O.B.E., M.C. (Department  
of External Affairs, Melbourne).

Secretary :

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

AUSTRIA.

His Excellency Monsignor Dr. Ignaz Seipel  
(University Professor, Federal Chancellor).

His Excellency M. Emerich Pflügl (Envoy  
Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary,  
Permanent Austrian Representative accred-  
ited to the League of Nations).

His Excellency M. Mâx Hoffinger (Envoy  
Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary  
accredited to the Swiss Confederation).

AUSTRIA (*contd.*)

Substitute :

Dr. Richard Schüller (Head of Section<sup>a</sup> at the  
Department for Foreign Affairs, Member  
of the Economic Committee of the League  
of Nations).

Press Service :

Dr. Iwo Jorda (Counsellor).

Secretary :

Dr. Franz Matsch.

BELGIUM.

His Excellency M. Paul Hymans (Minister for  
Foreign Affairs).

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

Viscount P. Poulet (Minister of State, Member  
and former President of the House of  
Representatives, former Prime Minister,  
Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitra-  
tion, Professor of International Law and  
Diplomatic History at Louvain University).

Count H. Carton de Wiart<sup>1</sup> (Minister of State,  
Member of the House of Representatives,  
former Prime Minister, former Minister for  
Justice).

Substitutes :

Baron Moncheur (Honorary Ambassador).

Baron Edouard Rolin-Jaequemyns (Member,  
of the Permanent Court of Arbitration,  
Member and former President of the Institute  
of International Law, former Minister for  
the Interior).

M. Fernand van Langenhove (Chef du Cabinet  
of the Minister for Foreign Affairs).

M. J. Mélot (Minister Plenipotentiary).

M. Henri Rolin (Barrister at the Brussels Court  
of Appeal, Legal Adviser at the Ministry for  
Foreign Affairs).

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

<sup>1</sup> During M. Hymans' stay at Geneva, Count Carton de Wiart  
acted as substitute delegate.

BELGIUM (*contd.*)

Secretary-General :

M. J. Mélot (Minister Plenipotentiary).

Secretary :

M<sup>r</sup>. Nicaise.

Attachée :

Mlle. Feron.

BRITISH EMPIRE.

The Right Honourable Lord Cushendun  
(Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster,  
Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs).

Sir Cecil James Barrington Hurst, G.C.M.G.,  
K.C.B., K.C. (Legal Adviser to the Foreign  
Office).

The Right Honourable Godfrey Locker-  
Lampson, M.P. (Parliamentary Under-  
Secretary, Foreign Office).

Substitutes :

Mr. A. Duff Cooper, D.S.O., M.P. (Financial  
Secretary to the War Office).

The Honourable Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, D.B.E.

Secretary-General :

The Honourable Alexander Cadogan, C.M.G.

Secretaries :

Mr. W. St. C. H. Roberts, M.C.

Mr. V. Cavendish-Bentinck.

Experts :

Vice-Admiral W. A. H. Kelly, C.B., C.M.G.  
(Admiralty).

Paymaster-Commander E. H. Wethey, R.N.,  
O.B.E. (Admiralty).

Colonel A. C. Temperley, C.M.G., D.S.O. (War  
Office).

Group-Captain W. F. MacNeece-Foster, C.B.E.,  
D.S.O., D.F.C. (Air Ministry).

Sir Sydney Chapman, K.C.B., C.B.E. (Board of  
Trade).

Sir Malcolm Delevingne, K.C.B. (Home Office).

Sir George Buchanan, C.B., M.D. (Ministry of  
Health).

Mr. G. H. S. Pinsent (Treasury).

Mr. C. R. Price (Dominions Office).

Mr. R. G. Somervell (Ministry of Labour).

Press Officer :

Mr. G. F. Steward, O.B.E. (Foreign Office).

Private Secretaries :

Mr. W. H. M. Selby, C.B., C.V.O. (Private  
Secretary to Lord Cushendun).

Mr. Nevile Butler (Private Secretary to Lord  
Cushendun).

Miss A. Dougherty, M.B.E. (Private Secretary  
to Sir Cecil Hurst).

Miss L. Freeland (Private Secretary to Dame  
Edith Lyttelton).

Mr. Mitchell Cotts (Private Secretary to  
Mr. Duff Cooper).

BULGARIA.

His Excellency M. Vladimir Molloff (Minister  
for Finance).

M. Dimitri Mikoff (Chargé d'Affaires in Switzer-  
land, Permanent Bulgarian Representative  
accredited to the League of Nations).

CANADA.

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King  
C.M.G., LL.D. (Prime Minister, President  
of the Privy Council of Canada, Secretary  
of State for External Affairs).

The Honourable Raouf Dandurand, C.R.,  
LL.D. (Senator, Member of the Privy  
Council of Canada, Minister of State, Repre-  
sentative of the Government in the Senate).

The Honourable Charles A. Dunning (Minister  
for Railways and Canals, Member of the  
Privy Council of Canada).

Substitutes :

The Honourable Philippe Roy, M.D. (Former  
Senator, Representative of Canada in  
France).

Mr. O. D. Skelton, M.A., Ph.D. (Under-  
Secretary of State for External Affairs).

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

Technical Adviser :

Lieutenant-Colonel George P. Vanier, D.S.O.,  
M.C. (Canadian Representative on the Per-  
manent Advisory Commission for Military,  
Naval and Air Questions).

Secretary-General :

Mr. Harry Baldwin (Secretary to the Prime  
Minister).

Secretaries :

Mr. E. D. McGreer.

Mr. Victor Lemire.

Miss L. C. Craig.

Miss M. M. Clark.

CHILE.

His Excellency M. Enrique Villegas (Ambas-  
sador at Rome, former Prime Minister,  
former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chilean  
Representative on the Council of the League  
of Nations).

His Excellency M. Luis V. de Porto-Seguro  
(Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Pleni-  
potentiary in Berlin).

His Excellency M. Pedro F. Iñiguez (Minister  
Plenipotentiary, former Minister for Justice  
and Education).

Substitute :

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

Secretaries :

M. Julio Prado-Valdés (Second Secretary at the  
Embassy in Rome).

M. Fernando Garcia Oldini (Consul at Geneva).

### CHINA.

His Excellency M. Wang-King-Ky (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Belgium, former Professor at the University of Pékin of the History of Treaties concluded between China and Foreign Powers).

M. Tsi-Tche (Chargé d'Affaires in France).

#### Secretary-General :

M. Samuel Sung Young (Consul-General at New York).

#### Experts :

Dr. Scie-Ton-Fa (First Secretary of Legation).

M. Lo-Huai (First Secretary of Legation).

M. Li Koue-Tsai (Doctor of Law in the Faculty of Law at Lyon).

M. Macrae Moir.

#### Secretaries :

M. Chen Ting (Secretary of Legation).

M. Yatse Wang (Secretary of Legation).

M. R. Fang (Secretary of Legation).

M. C. N. Lou (Secretary of Legation).

H. Houang Tchong (Secretary of Legation).

### COLOMBIA.

His Excellency Dr. Francisco José Urrutia (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former President of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies, Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland).

His Excellency Dr. Antonio José Restrepo (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, former Senator, Permanent Colombian Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

His Excellency Dr. Luis Samper-Sordo (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, former Senator).

#### Substitute :

M. Efraín Gaitán-Hurtado (former Director of the Diplomatic Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

#### Secretaries :

Dr. Germán Abadia Santamaría (Secretary to the Permanent Colombian Delegation accredited to the League of Nations).

Dr. Victor Vicente Olano (Attaché of Legation).

### CUBA.

His Excellency M. Rafaél Martínez Ortiz<sup>1</sup> (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency M. José M. Cortina<sup>1</sup> (Senator, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee).

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

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

### CUBA (contd.)

#### Substitutes :

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

His Excellency M. Carlos de Armenteros (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

His Excellency M. J. A. Izquierdo (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary).

M. Ramiro Hernández Portela (Counsellor of Legation in Paris).

#### Secretary-General :

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

#### Secretaries :

M. Carlos Blanco (Secretary of Legation at Berne).

M. J. de la Luz León (Consul).

M. G. de las Cuevas (Consul).

M. R. Justiniani (Vice-Consul).

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

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

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

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

#### Substitute :

Dr. Vladimír Slavík (Counsellor at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

#### Experts :

M. Jan Hájek (Head of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

M. Josef Chmelař (Counsellor at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

#### Secretary-General :

M. Arnošt Heidrich (Head of the Czechoslovak League of Nations Office).

#### Secretaries :

M. Alois Babka (Private Secretary to Dr. Beneš).

M. Karel Trpák (Secretary of the Legation at Berne).

Dr. Ladislav Radimský (Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

### DENMARK.

His Excellency M. Laust Moltesen (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

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

M. P. M. L. Birke<sup>1</sup> (Brigadier-General, Chief of the Staff, Senator).

<sup>1</sup> After the departure of M. Ortiz and owing to the absence of M. Cortina, M. Ferrara acted as first delegate and M. de Blanck as third delegate.

<sup>1</sup> During M. Moltesen's stay at Geneva, General Birke acted as substitute delegate.

DENMARK (*contd.*)

M. F. H. J. Borgbjerg (former Minister, Member of Parliament).

Substitutes :

M. P. Munch (Doctor of Philosophy, former Minister, Member of Parliament).

M. Holger Andersen (Member of Parliament).

M. William Borberg (Permanent Danish Representative accredited to the League of Nations).

M. Otto Wadsted (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary).

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

Secretaries :

M. Pierre Oesterby (Director of the Parliamentary Archives).

M. E. Blechingberg (Attaché to the Permanent Danish Representative accredited to the League of Nations).

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.

Dr. Tulio Franco Franco (Chargé d'Affaires in Paris, Rome and Berne).

Secretary :

M. Salvador E. Paradás.

ESTONIA.

His Excellency M. Hans Rebane<sup>1</sup> (Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

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

M. Otto Strandman (Minister at Warsaw, former Prime Minister, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

Secretary :

M. Jüri Sammul (Head of the Legal Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

FINLAND.

His Excellency M. Hjalmar J. Procopé (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency M. Rafael W. Erich (former Prime Minister, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary).

His Excellency M. Rudolf Holsti (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Finnish Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes :

M. E. Hynninen (Minister for Communications and Public Works).

M. Väinö Voionmaa (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Professor at the University of Helsinki).

FINLAND (*contd.*)

Mme. Tilma Hainari (President of the National Council of Women of Finland).

Baron Aarno Yrjö-Koskinen (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

M. Hugo Valvanne (First Secretary of Legation).

Secretary-General :

M. Hugo Valvanne (First Secretary of Legation).

Secretaries :

M. Erik Castren (Private Secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs).

M. Paul Hjelt (Attaché to the Permanent Finnish Delegation accredited to the League of Nations).

FRANCE.

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

M. Paul-Boncour (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister).

M. Jules Pams (Senator, former Minister).

Substitutes :

M. Louis Loucheur (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Minister for Labour, Health, Public Relief and Social Insurance).

M. Lucien Hubert (Senator).

M. François Labrousse (Senator).

Assistant Delegates :

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

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

M. Robert Sérot (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

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

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

Experts :

M. Jules Gautier (Councillor of State, President of the National Confederation of Agricultural Associations).

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

M. Clauzel (Minister at Vienna).

M. Cahen-Salvador (State Councillor, Secretary General of the National Economic Council).

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

M. de Chalendar (Finance Inspector, Chairman of the League of Nations Financial Committee).

M. Louis Aubert (Agrégé of the University).

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

<sup>1</sup> During M. Rebane's absence from Geneva, General Laidoner acted as President of the delegation.

FRANCE (contd.)

M. Hesnard (Press Attaché at the Embassy in Berlin).

M. Jérôme Lévy (former Deputy-Secretary-General of the French Delegation to the Economic Conference).

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

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

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

Secretary-General :

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

Assistant Secretary-General :

M. Amé Leroy (Consul-General at Geneva).

GERMANY.

M. Hermann Müller (Chancellor of the Reich).  
Dr. Carl von Schubert (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs).

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

Substitutes :

Count Johann-Heinrich von Bernstorff (Ambassador, unattached).

Dr. Rudolf Breitscheid (Member of the Reichstag).

Dr. Ludwig Kaas (Professor of Theology, Member of the Reichstag, Canon and Domestic Prelate to his Holiness the Pope).

Baron Rheinbaden (Member of the Reichstag, former Secretary of State).

Experts :

Dr. von Simson (former Secretary of State).

M. Gœppert (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary).

Mme. Lang-Brumann (Member of the Reichstag).

Dr. Zechlin (Director of the Press Office of the Reich).

Baron Freyberg (Rear-Admiral).

M. von Moltke (Privy Councillor).

Baron Weizsäcker (Privy Councillor).

Colonel von Bötticher.

M. von Knorre (Ministerial Councillor).

M. Imhoff (Ministerial Councillor).

M. Frohwein (Privy Councillor).

M. Völckers (Consul-General).

M. Krauel (Secretary of Legation).

Secretary :

M. Boltze (Counsellor of Legation).

GREECE.

His Excellency M. Alexandre Carapanos (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency M. Nicolas Politis (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris).

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

Substitutes :

His Excellency M. Vassili Dendramis (Minister at Berne).

His Excellency M. Jean Politis (Resident Minister, Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Experts :

M. Georges Matzavinos (Director of the Accounting Department at the Ministry for Finance).

M. R. Raphaël (Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Secretary-General :

M. B. Papadakis (Chief of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Secretaries :

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

M. J. Papayannis.

GUATEMALA.

His Excellency M. José Matos (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

HAITI.

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

HUNGARY.

His Excellency Count Albert Apponyi (former Minister).

His Excellency General Gabriel Tanczos (former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency Baron Joseph Sztérényi (former Minister for Commerce).

Substitutes :

Countess Apponyi.

His Excellency M. L. Gajzágó (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary).

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

Baron Gabriel Apor (Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

M. Joseph Vészi (Member of the Upper Chamber).

M. A. de Egry (Member of the Upper Chamber).

M. J. Lakatos (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

Count François Hunyadi (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

HUNGARY (*contd.*)

Experts :

- Colonel Géza de Siegler.  
Baron Miske-Gerstenberger (Chef du Cabinet of the Minister for Foreign Affairs).  
M. Béla de Szent-Istvány (Counsellor at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).  
M. Zoltán Baranyai (First Secretary of Legation).  
Count Etienne Csáky (Secretary of Legation, Assistant Head of the Press Department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).  
M. E. de Vladár (Secretary of Legation).

Secretary-General :

- M. Zoltán Baranyai (First Secretary of Legation).

INDIA.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Lytton, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. (former Governor of Bengal).

Captain His Highness Sir Tale Muhammed Khan Sher Muhammed Khan, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O. (Nawab of Palanpur).

Mr. S. N. Mallik, C.I.E. (Member of the Council of India).

Substitutes :

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

Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi (former Minister of Agriculture and Industries, Madras).

Mr. A. Yusef Ali, C.B.E., I.C.S. (Retd.) (Former Revenue Member, Hyderabad).

Secretary-General :

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

Secretaries :

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

Mr. L. E. Le Burn (India Office).

Private Secretary to the Earl of Lytton :

Count John de Salis.

Technical Adviser to His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur :

Mr. P. K. Wattal.

Private Secretary to His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur :

Rajkumar Fatehsinghji of Limbdi.

A. D. C. to His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur :

Captain Thakore Devisinghji.

Private Secretary to Mr. Mallik :

Dr. S. K. Datta.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. Ernest Blythe (Vice-President of the Executive Council, Minister for Finance).

Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald (Minister for Defence).

Professor John M. O'Sullivan (Minister for Education).

IRISH FREE STATE (*contd.*)

Substitutes :

Mr. John A. Costello (Attorney-General).

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

Substitute and Secretary-General :

Mr. Sean Murphy (Assistant-Secretary, Department of External Affairs).

ITALY.

His Excellency Professor Vittorio Scialoja (Minister of State, Senator, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency Count Lelio Bonin-Longare (Minister of State, Ambassador, Senator).

M. Fulvio Suvich (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry for Finance).

Substitutes :

His Excellency General Alberto de Marinis Stendardo di Ricigliano (Senator).

Count Antonio Cippico (Senator).

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

Baron Alessandro Sardi (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry for Public Works).

M. Cesare Tumedei (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

M. Dino Alfieri (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

M. Ermanno Amicucci (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

M. Ernesto Belloni (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

M. Gaetano Polverelli (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

M. Edmondo Rossoni (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

M. Augusto Rosso (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary (2nd Class)).

M. Massimo Pilotti (Counsellor at the Court of Cassation).

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

Count Manfredi Gravina.

Professor Giuseppe Gallavresi.

Experts :

Colonel Aldo Pellegrini (Italian Air Force).

Lieut.-Colonel Emilio Giglioli.

Secretary-General :

Count Luigi Orazio Vinci Gigliucci (Counsellor of Legation).

Secretaries :

M. Giunio Bocci (Consul).

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

M. Bartolomeo Migone (Consul).

### ITALY (contd.)

- M. Gino Ambrésetti (Vice-Consul).  
M. Carlo Andrea Soardi (Consular Attaché).  
M. Andrea Ferrero (Attached to the Diplomatic and Consular Service).

### JAPAN.

His Excellency M. Miñeitirô Adatci (Ambassador to France, Permanent Japanese Representative on the Council of the League of Nations, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, Vice-President of the Institute of International Law, Member of the Imperial Academy of Japan).

His Excellency M. Matsuzô Nagai (Ambassador to Belgium).

Baron Yoshiaki Fujimura (Member of the House of Peers, former Minister for Communications).

#### Substitutes :

His Excellency M. Isaburô Yoshida (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland).

His Excellency M. Naotaké Sato (Minister Plenipotentiary, Director of the Japanese League of Nations Office).

His Excellency M. Eiichi Kimura (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Czechoslovakia).

M. Saburô Kurusu (Consul-General at Hamburg).

#### Substitute and Secretary-General :

M. Nobumi Ito (Counsellor of Embassy, Assistant Director of the Japanese League of Nations Office).

#### Experts :

M. Heitarô Yokotaké (Commercial Counsellor of the Japanese Legation at Peking).

Dr. Tadashi Suzuki (Professor at the University of Kyoto).

M. Yasuji Yuki (Director of the Toho Electric Power Company.)

M. Kenjirô Hayashide (Secretary and Interpreter).

M. Shikô Kusama (Secretary at the Japanese League of Nations Office).

#### Secretaries :

M. Katsusaburô Sasaki (Secretary to Embassy).

M. Shikao Matsushima (Secretary to Embassy).

M. Shinrokurô Hidaka (Secretary to Embassy).

M. Denjirô Kato (Secretary to Legation).

M. Tamao Sakamoto (Secretary to Embassy).

M. Yoshitané Kiuchi (Secretary to Embassy).

M. Tsuruya Tamaki (Attaché to Embassy).

M. Mizuo Narita (Attaché to Embassy).

M. Kintarô Mase (Attaché to Embassy).

M. Masutarô Inoue (Attaché to Embassy).

M. Suémitsu Kadowaki (Attaché to Embassy).

M. Tsuru Kuwabara (Attaché to Embassy).

### LATVIA.

His Excellency M. Antons Balodis (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency M. Charles Duzmaas (Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative accredited to the League of Nations).

His Excellency M. Vilis Schumans (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris).

#### Substitute :

His Excellency M. Edvin Magnus (Minister for Justice).

#### Substitute and Secretary :

Dr. Peters Olinš (Director of the Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs dealing with Western Affairs).

### LIBERIA.

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

#### Substitute :

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

### LITHUANIA.

His Excellency Professor A. Voldemaras<sup>1</sup> (Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs).

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

His Excellency Dr. Dovas Zaunius (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Prague).

#### Secretary :

M. Juozas Sakalauskas.

### LUXEMBURG.

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

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

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

#### Substitute :

M. Charles Vermaire (Consul at Geneva).

#### Substitute and Secretary :

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

### NETHERLANDS.

His Excellency Jonkheer F. Beelaerts van Blokland (Doctor of Law, Minister for Foreign Affairs).

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

<sup>1</sup> During the absence of M. Voldemaras from Geneva, M. Sidzikauskas acted as President of the delegation.

### NETHERLANDS (*contd.*)

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

His Excellency Count J. P. van Limburg Stirum<sup>1</sup> (Doctor of Law, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin, former Governor-General of the Dutch Indies).

#### Substitutes :

M. Joseph Limburg (Doctor of Law, Member of the Council of State, former Member of the Second Chamber of the States General).

M. E. Heldring (President of the Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce).

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

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

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

#### Secretary :

Baron G. W. de Vos van Steenwyk (Doctor of Law, First Secretary of Legation).

### NEW ZEALAND.

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

#### Substitute :

Major-General Sir George Richardson, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G. (former Administrator of Western Samoa).

Private Secretary to Sir James Parr and Secretary to the Delegation :

Mr. C. Knowles.

Press Representative :

Mr. H. T. B. Drew.

### NICARAGUA.

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

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

### NORWAY.

His Excellency M. Joh. Ludwig Mowinckel (Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs).

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

M. Carl Joachim Hambro (President of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Storting).

### NORWAY (*contd.*)

#### Substitutes :

Dr. Christian L. Lange (Secretary-General of the Interparliamentary Union).

M. P. L. Kolstad (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Finance Committee of the Chamber of Deputies).

Mme. Ingeborg Aas (Doctor of Medicine).

Dr. Frede Castberg (Professor at the University of Oslo).

#### Expert :

M. I. J. H. Jorstad (Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

#### Secretary :

M. Rolf Andersen (Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

### PANAMA.

His Excellency M. Octavio Mendez Pereira (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris and London).

### PARAGUAY.

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

#### Secretary :

M. Luis Franco.

### PERSIA.

His Highness Mohammad Ali Khan Foroughi (Ambassador in Turkey, former Prime Minister).

His Excellency Hussein Khan Alâ (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, former Minister).

Dr. P. Parviz Khan Kitabgi (Legal Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

#### Substitutes :

M. Mohammad Khan Châyesteh (Chargé d'Affaires at Berne).

#### Secretary-General :

Dr. Hussein Khan Ghadimy (Head of the Persian League of Nations Office).

#### Secretaries :

M. Abbas Khan Eghbal.

M. Entezam Vaziri (Secretary of Legation at Warsaw).

#### Attachés :

M. Hussein Ali Khan Gharagieuzlou.

M. Djavat Khan Foroughi.

### POLAND.

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

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

His Excellency M. Hipolit Gliwic (Vice-President of the Senate, former Minister for Commerce and Industry).

<sup>1</sup> During Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland's stay at Geneva, Count van Limburg Stirum acted as substitute delegate.



POLAND (*contd.*)

Substitutes :

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

M. Witold Chodzko (Director of the State School of Hygiene at Warsaw, former Minister for Health).

His Excellency M. Jules Lukasiewicz (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Riga).

M. Sigismond Gralinski (Doctor of Law Member of the Diet).

Secretary-General :

M. Thadée Gwiazdowski (Counsellor of Legation at the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations).

Experts :

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

M. Adam Benis (Assistant Economic Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

M. Ladislas de Schwarzburg-Guenther (Head of Division at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

M. Thadée Holówko (Head of Division at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

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

M. Jean Mrozowski (President of the Supreme Court at Warsaw, Legal Adviser to the Delegation).

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

M. Simon Rundstein (Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and to the Delegation).

M. Ladislas Sokolowski (Doctor of Law, Assistant Head of Division at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Major Adam Steblowski (Air Delegate on the Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval and Air Questions of the League of Nations).

M. Marjan Szumlakowski (Chef du Cabinet of the Minister for Foreign Affairs).

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

Secretaries :

M. Paul Morstin (First Secretary of Legation at the Polish Delegation accredited to the League of Nations).

M. Stanislas Dygat (Rapporteur at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

PORTUGAL.

His Excellency Dr. Augusto de Vasconcellos (former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Secretary-General of the Portuguese League of Nations Service).

PORTUGAL (*contd.*)

His Excellency Dr. J. C. Franco Frazão, Count de Penha Garcia (former Minister for Finance, former President of the Chamber of Deputies, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration).

His Excellency Dr. Alberto d'Oliveira (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne and Brussels and accredited to the League of Nations).

Secretaries :

M. Francisco de Calheiros e Menezes (First Secretary of Legation, Head of the Portuguese Service accredited to the League of Nations).

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

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

ROUMANIA.

His Excellency M. Nicolas Petresco Comnène (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin).

His Excellency M. Constantin Antoniadé (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the League of Nations).

M. Mircea Djuvara (Professor at the University of Bucharest, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

Substitutes :

Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco (Member of the Roumanian Academy).

M. Vespasian V. Pella (Professor at the University of Jassy, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

Experts :

M. D. Draghicesco (University Professor, Senator).

M. Savel Radulesco (Director of the Economic Division at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

M. Alexandre Buzdugan (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

M. Eugène Filotti (Director of the Press Service at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Secretary-General :

M. Edmond Ciuntu (First Secretary of Legation).

Secretary :

M. Théodore Galitza (Attaché of Legation).

SALVADOR.

His Excellency M. Gustavo Guerrero (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France).

KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES.

His Excellency M. Voislav Marinkovitch (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency M. Milan Rakitch (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome).

KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS  
AND SLOVENES (*contd.*)

His Excellency M. Djordjé Djouritch (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London).

Substitutes :

M. M. Straznicki (Doctor of Law, Professor at the University of Zagreb).

M. Leonidas Pitamic (Doctor of Law, Professor at the University of Ljubljana).

General Michel Nenandovitch.

M. Constantin Fotitch (Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Experts :

M. Liouba Hadji-Djordjevitch (Head of the Press Bureau at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Commander Vladimir Mariachevitch.

Secretary-General :

M. Douchan Georgevitch (Head of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Attaché :

M. Radomir Marinkovitch (Attaché at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

SIAM.

His Highness Prince Charoon (Minister at Paris).

His Highness Prince Varnvaidya (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, Brussels and The Hague).

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

Secretaries :

Luang Chara (Third Secretary of Legation in Paris).

Prince Tongtor (Third Secretary of Legation in London).

Khun Prasert Maitri (Third Secretary of Legation in Paris).

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

Attaché :

M. R. Smaksman Krisdakara.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. J. S. Smit (High Commissioner in London).

The Honourable Albertus Johannes Werth (Administrator of South-West Africa).

Mr. Daniel Johannes de Villiers (Trade Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in Europe).

Secretary-General :

Mr. Karel Rood.

Secretaries :

Mr. N. Diederichs.

Mr. J. D. Smuts.

Mr. E. F. W. Gey van Pittius.

Private Secretary to Mr. J. S. Smit :

Mr. Karel Rood.

SOUTH AFRICA (*contd.*)

Private Secretary to the Administrator :

Mr. E. Hess.

Private Secretary to Mr. de Villiers :

Miss O. Verzocchi.

Assistant Private Secretary to Mr. J. S. Smit :

Miss A. Haumann.

SPAIN.

His Excellency M. José Quiñones de León (Ambassador in Paris).

His Excellency M. Emilio de Palacios y Fau (Ambassador in Brussels).

His Excellency Marquis de la Torrehermosa (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

Substitutes :

His Excellency M. Eduardo Cobián (former Under-Secretary at the Ministry for Finance, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

His Excellency M. Leopoldo Palacios-Morini (former Under-Secretary at the Ministry for Finance, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Professor at the University of Madrid, Director of the Social School).

His Excellency M. Cristóbal Botella (Doctor of Law, Legal Adviser to the Embassy in Paris, President of the Franco-German Mixed Arbitral Tribunal at Paris, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

His Excellency M. Julio Casares y Sánchez (Member of the Royal Spanish Academy).

Assistant Delegate :

Count de San Esteban de Cañongo (Minister Plenipotentiary, Chief of the Political Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Secretary-General :

M. Carlos de la Huerta (Resident Minister).

Secretaries :

M. Juan Arenzana (Consul at Geneva).

M. Román de la Presilla (Secretary of Embassy at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

M. Alberto de la Torre y Ruiz de la Prada, Marquis de la Torre (Attaché at the Embassy in Paris).

M. Eduardo Ortega Nuñez (Interpreter at the Embassy in Paris).

M. Luis Sanchez (Administrative Officer at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

SWEDEN.

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

M. B. Östen Undén (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Professor at the University of Upsal).

M. J. L. Widell (Head of the Civil Department of the Central Administration of the Army).

Substitutes :

Dr. T. M. Höjer (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Oslo).

M. K. I. Westman (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

SWEDEN (*contd.*)

Experts :

Mlle. K. Hesselgren (Senator).

M. J. de Lagerberg (Counsellor of Legation, Head of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Secretaries :

M. C. O. Johansson (First Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Baron H. G. Beck-Friis (First Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

SWITZERLAND.

His Excellency M. Giuseppe Motta (Federal Councillor, Head of the Political Department).

Colonel Gottfried Keller (Member of the Council of States).

M. Walthar Burckhardt (Professor at the University of Berne).

Substitute :

M. William Rappard (Professor at the University of Geneva).

Substitute and Expert :

M. Walter Stucki (Director of the Commercial Division in the Department of Public Economy).

Expert :

M. Reinhold Furrer (Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs).

Secretary and Expert :

M. Camille Gorgé (Head of Section in the Division for Foreign Affairs).

Secretary :

M. Maurice de Lavallaz (Attaché in the Division for Foreign Affairs).

URUGUAY.

His Excellency Dr. Alberto Guani, (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France).

His Excellency M. Pedro Cosío (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Germany).

His Excellency Dr. Alfredo de Castro (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland).

Secretary-General :

M. Adolfo Sienna (Secretary of Legation in Paris).

Secretary :

M. Manuel Luis Vieira.

VENEZUELA.

His Excellency M. César Zumeta (former Minister for the Interior, former Senator, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris and Berne).

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

His Excellency M. C. Parra-Pérez (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Rome).

Substitute :

Dr. J. M. Hurtado-Machado (Chargé d'Affaires at Berne).

Secretaries :

Dr. Manuel R. Egana (former Official in the Venezuelan League of Nations Office).

M. Julio Garmendia (Attaché at the Legation in Paris).

## PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSEMBLY

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*President :*

His Excellency M. Herluf ZAHLE (Denmark).

*Vice-Presidents elected by the Assembly :*

M. ADATCI (Japan).

M. BRIAND (France).

M. MÜLLER (Germany):

Lord CUSHENDUN (British Empire).

Mr. Mackenzie KING (Canada).

Monsignor SEIPEL (Austria).

*Vice-Presidents ex officio as Chairmen of Committees:*

M. SCIALOJA (Italy).

M. MOTTA (Switzerland).

Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium).

M. DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal).

M. José MATOS (Guatemala).

M. MARINKOVITCH (Kingdom of the Serbs  
Croats and Slovenes).

*The Secretary-General of the League of Nations :*

The Hon. Sir James Eric DRUMMOND.

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

In addition, the Assembly, in virtue of a decision taken on September 3rd, 1928, decided to appoint M. CABALLERO (Paraguay), Chairman of the Agenda Committee, as a member of the General Committee.

## TEXT OF THE DEBATES

### FIRST PLENARY MEETING

Monday, September 3rd, 1928, at 10.30 a.m.

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1. OPENING OF THE ASSEMBLY.  
Speech by M. Procopé, Acting President of the Council.
  2. COMMITTEE ON THE CREDENTIALS OF DELEGATES.  
Election of the Committee.
  3. APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS TO SERVE ON THE ASSEMBLY COMMITTEES.  
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  4. CREDENTIALS OF DELEGATES.  
Report of the Committee on Credentials.
  5. ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE NINTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY.
  6. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.
  7. ABSENCE OF SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN AND DR. STRESEMANN.
  8. DEATH OF M. WEISS, JUDGE AT THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE, AND OF M. BOKANOWSKI, MINISTER FOR COMMERCE OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.
  9. QUESTIONS OF PROCEDURE.
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#### 1. — OPENING OF THE ASSEMBLY.

M. Procopé, delegate of Finland, Acting President of the Council, and afterwards M. Zahle (Denmark) took the Chair.

#### The Chairman :

*Translation* : Ladies and gentlemen — Last year you did my country the honour of electing it to a seat on the Council, and that is why, as President of the fifty-first session of that body, I am opening your Assembly to-day. The fact that, under the established procedure, this mantle should have fallen on my shoulders is, I think, really a tribute

to the Assembly itself, because it is one proof among many that the League's machinery is working satisfactorily, and that its great principles are being loyally applied. It also demonstrates the juridical equality of all countries Members of the League, and shows that, side by side with the Covenant, a very complete organisation has come into being and is functioning, if I may say so, as well as any national Parliament.

During the past year the Council of the League held its fiftieth session. On that occasion the President briefly but brilliantly reviewed the ground covered since the first meeting, the meeting presided over by one of the founders of the League, a great statesman no longer among us — that apostle of international solidarity and justice, Léon Bourgeois. I offer a tribute to his memory from this platform, on which the Assembly itself has so often welcomed him with enthusiastic and respectful applause, when he, with other great statesmen like Lord Balfour and Viscount Ishii, who still occupy high positions in their countries and are universally respected, was fighting for the future of the League.

For the ninth time, the delegates of the Members of the League are now met together in ordinary Assembly for the common duty — freely undertaken — of maintaining peace, in virtue of the common obligations solemnly accepted by all. Like my predecessor last year, I welcome the Prime Ministers and Ministers for Foreign Affairs who, by their presence here, bear witness to their countries' devotion to the work of the League. I feel sure that I am speaking for every one of you when I say that we hope for the speedy and complete recovery of Sir Austen Chamberlain and Dr. Stresemann, who have been unable to come this year.

All the countries you represent, all the Members of the League, have solemnly undertaken to observe certain rules guaranteeing the untrammelled development of the various peoples of the world, the progress of civilisation, and the maintenance of

that essential factor of all progress — peace. They have agreed to resort to arbitration or to lay their case before the Council, to endeavour to settle international disputes by pacific means, to respect and to protect against all aggression the integrity of every Member of the League, to come to one another's assistance if need be, and to inaugurate new international relations founded on the publicity of treaties, the broadening of international law, and a common endeavour to solve the world's problems in the manner most advantageous for all.

After principles have been agreed upon, they must be applied. International co-operation and peace can only be ensured by a continuous effort and a long and sometimes toilsome struggle. In the international sphere there are many difficulties in the way of progress on any considerable scale. The principles of the Covenant are being applied, but only gradually, by the adoption of practical measures. Thus, you first of all entered into the solemn undertakings to which I have referred, and then, settling down to the practical work of securing peace and international co-operation, you began to render them perhaps an even greater service by establishing a wide network of organisations where a spirit is growing up which is destined one day to permeate the minds of all men.

Thus international co-operation has already developed to an extent that could not possibly have been foreseen before the League of Nations was created. Just as in each of our countries citizens take an interest in the national life, so Members of the League share — sometimes with most praiseworthy disinterestedness — the League's world responsibilities. In the Council, in its Committees, and in this Assembly, countries of all five continents are working together. European countries are helping to deal with problems peculiar to Asia or America; countries in those continents take part in the solution of disputes which seem, primarily at least, to concern Europe alone. All the Members of the League are pursuing the same ideal and are participating in the same work inspired by the idea of universality which is the essential characteristic of all the League's efforts.

The need for close international co-operation has long been felt. The desire of the nations to unite their efforts, the conviction that the individual interests of each State coincide with the general interests of mankind, each year grows stronger and stronger. The world war itself only set a temporary check to the growth of these sentiments, and forced the nations to thrust them for a while into the background; it did not destroy them. On the contrary, it only proved that their ultimate triumph was an imperative necessity. The marvellous progress made in our times has set these ideals on a basis of solid reality. We are living in a time when distance is gradually being annihilated, when a man's voice can be heard simultaneously in every quarter of the globe, when means of communication are becoming daily more numerous and more rapid; a time in which the material interests of the various peoples are bound to become knit ever closer together, regardless of the artificial boundaries of continents.

I know we are all convinced that, in view of this interdependence of material interests, international relations also should be better organised. May I venture to show you, by means of a few actual examples taken from last year's work, that the League spirit has made further progress and has obtained fresh successes, despite difficulties, which you yourselves will be called upon to discuss freely without sparing your criticism, since criticism bears its fruit?

In the first place, I rejoice with you at the good news received some time ago that Spain had decided not to withhold that valuable co-operation which she has afforded the League from the outset. The Government of Madrid is still nobly determined to help us fulfil the obligations to which I referred a moment ago — obligations which make every one of our countries a champion of arbitration, of the pacific settlement of disputes, and of mutual assistance, if the need for such assistance should ever arise.

Spain will, moreover, continue with us, in the atmosphere of confidence and friendship which surrounds the League, the daily work of international co-operation which is the duty of all Members of the League, and which constitutes beyond question the greatest service the League can render to the general cause of peace and the preparation of a better world.

Certain other countries, though Members of the League, are not at present represented in our midst. We can, however, refer to the loyal help given by the Argentine Republic in the League's work for security and the reduction of armaments; we can say how glad we should be to see that country's delegates here, and the delegates of Peru and Bolivia, for we know how devoted those countries are to that ideal of pacific co-operation which, with equal rights and equal duties, all Members of the League are seeking to attain by common effort. You are also aware that we have good reason to hope for the return of Costa Rica, and though we have had to note with regret that Brazil still refrains from resuming her place in the League, where she would certainly have received a unanimous ovation, we hope that her absence will not be prolonged.

Various non-Member countries have also, on several occasions, sent delegations to Geneva. This is true of that great Republic, the United States of America, both this year and in previous years; of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics also, whose delegations have taken part in the work for the reduction of armaments, and of Turkey, which is represented on the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and the Arbitration and Security Committee. I would point out also that, for the first time, the Mexican Government has decided to accept a League invitation, and is sending a delegation to the International Conference on Economic Statistics which will shortly meet, and that the Government of Ecuador, which had already been represented at various technical conferences held at Geneva, has acceded to certain international conventions concluded under the auspices of the League.

I would also draw your attention to the happy improvement which has taken place in the internal situation in China, that cradle of a civilisation universally recognised as one of the oldest and noblest civilisations in the world. The news has been welcomed by all of us with the hope and joy which such an occurrence is bound to engender in Members of a League bound together by a spirit of mutual aid and solidarity.

The results of the work which has been done in the twelve months following the last ordinary session of the Assembly are before you, set out with official succinctness, without persuasive commentaries or praise, in the report on the work of the Council and of that Secretariat whose admirable work is of such inestimable value to us and to the members of which, including its eminent head, I would like to express our sincere thanks. I venture to hope that you will be satisfied with all the details of this work. What particularly strikes me in this publication, as in the Council's agenda, is the great variety of

international subjects which it includes. The multiplicity of the aspects of world life which the League of Nations reflects is becoming increasingly clearer, and I think that if you merely consider the list of the problems with which your permanent organs are called upon to deal, and compare them with the problems of previous years, you will realise the progress the League is making. Governments are daily paying greater attention to the League; it is becoming, one might say, part of their very being.

In reviewing the work done during the past year under the auspices of the League and by its organs, our attention is drawn to two main groups of problems: first, the efforts that have been made in the economic sphere to establish cordial understanding and co-operation between nations; and secondly, the endeavour to create, by measures of an international political nature, that feeling of security without which the League's ideal cannot be attained.

In addition to these two main questions, we may note a number of other problems which constitute, so to speak, the daily task, the aim in every case being to ensure international harmony and establish peaceful relations throughout the world.

The work of the past twelve months is based essentially on the resolutions adopted at the last ordinary session of the Assembly: on the one hand, those which refer to the recommendations made by the Economic Conference of 1927, which the Assembly during its seventh ordinary session and on the proposal of France's distinguished representative, M. Loucheur, had decided to convene; on the other hand, the declaration condemning wars of aggression and the resolution concerning arbitration, the pacific settlement of international disputes, security, and the reduction of armaments. There can be no doubt that these problems at present form the pivot of the League's activity, and call for exceptional consideration and effort on our part, just as, during the past year, they have formed the primary object of our work. I think, then, I am justified in referring to them at some length in this brief survey of events. I should like first to draw your attention to the activity—the very considerable activity, I think—which has been displayed in the economic sphere, following on the resolutions of the World Economic Conference of 1927.

Last year, the Assembly unanimously congratulated that Conference on its work: it greeted with legitimate hope the programme of action proposed, the vital principles and the sound policy recommended to all Members of the League.

The task will be long and arduous; and here, as elsewhere, we must be neither over-hopeful nor too impatient. The economic problems now to the forefront in international life cannot be solved until certain concomitant, and by no means negligible, difficulties have also been overcome—this in itself being a lengthy process. We all know that full prosperity cannot be restored throughout the world by the wave of a magic wand; that health after sickness is only restored after a period of convalescence at which the unreflecting optimist naturally chafes. By resolutely eschewing hopes for the impossible we shall avoid such impatience, which is always, from the point of view of public opinion, the great and formidable enemy of all international endeavour.

From an economic point of view also we are, at the moment, witnessing an entire renewal of relations between States. I will not attempt to estimate in detail what has already been accomplished and what still remains to be done. Would it, however, be going too far to say that, just as the Brussels Financial Conference in 1920 paved

the way for a change of financial policy throughout the world, a new attitude is now becoming perceptible among the various countries with regard to their economic policy? Personally, I think we may say that that is so.

The Assembly during its eighth ordinary session decided to create a new organ, the Consultative Committee, consisting of a number of persons highly qualified in various economic questions. The task of this Committee is to follow the application of the recommendations of the 1927 World Conference. It met in May, and was able to note the first results obtained. Some fifty delegates, representing all the great commercial, industrial and agricultural interests, as well as labour and consumers, were present at this session.

In the course of the year, the Conference for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions had already been held, and its results bear witness to the effort that was made to reduce existing restrictions to a minimum. As an outcome of this Conference, there was held this summer a Conference on the Trade in Hides, Skins and Bones: this was a first attempt—and it is herein that its importance lies—to establish a multilateral Convention on the adoption of common tariff clauses by a number of States. The Consultative Committee has also asked the League to begin an enquiry into two questions—those of coal and sugar—which are of importance to our principal industries and to the general body of consumers respectively, and with which other countries as well as those of Europe are anxiously concerned. The Committee has also specified the industrial questions calling for investigation, and has secured closer co-operation on the part of agriculturists in the economic work of the League.

Such endeavours promote international co-operation and unite the peoples in a common task which must inevitably encourage the growth of mutual comprehension and the prevention of conflicts.

This, too, is the purpose of the daily work of the League organisations and of the Secretariat. Unostentatiously performed, often without the knowledge of the general public, this work is undoubtedly of vital importance, if the great ideal of the Covenant of the League is to become a reality. I would take this opportunity of paying a tribute to all who are devoting themselves unsparingly to the task of putting into practice the principles of the League.

Consider the work of the technical committees, and you will find them active in the Far East, in America, in Europe and elsewhere. You will find that work taking deep root in every soil and adapting itself to very varied circumstances, national interests and local difficulties. Thus, the Financial Organisation has paved the way for the stabilisation of the Greek currency; the Health Organisation, with the assistance of the Governments concerned, has inaugurated new activities in South America and in India. I give you these examples, but, as you well know, many more could be drawn from the work of these Committees during the year.

The machinery set up at Geneva in the early years of the League under the name of technical organisations is daily being better adapted to its numerous objects. Based on the principle of direct communication between Government departments and aided by the opinions of experts from every country, the technical organisations provide regular and frequent personal contact between the delegates of responsible administrations, and aim at distributing the benefits of every advance achieved over the vast system represented by the League.

This same care for universal interests is marked also by the work of other important Committees of the League: of the Mandates Commission, the activities of which concern immense territories in both hemispheres; the Child Welfare Committee; the Opium Committee, whose 1925 Convention, you will be glad to hear, has recently come into force; the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which has gone forward with its work of organisation with a view to facilitating scientific work, and has also devoted special attention to the instruction of the young in international matters and to the dissemination of information regarding the League.

Here this practical work links up with what I have described as the central work, which aims at the strengthening of mutual confidence in political relations.

Although, during the past year, the League's attention has been directed more largely than in the past to economic and financial problems and the organisation of economic peace, the absolute condition of union in prosperity, yet its essential task has been to seek political and legal settlements which may create a feeling of security sufficiently strong eventually — and, we hope, in the not too distant future — to triumph.

The League of Nations cannot hope, with a stroke of the pen, to settle every dispute and destroy all possibility of war. Yet, with untiring pertinacity, it is seeking to prevent any repetition in the future of the errors of the past, striving to close every loophole through which war has ever entered and to build an insurmountable barrier around the precious treasure of peace.

We often hear it said that all hope of preventing war is vain — that war is as old as the human race, and will last as long. Our first answer might be that this world already contains privileged spots which for long have enjoyed the inestimable blessing of continuous peace. I know well that the dearest hope of every one of us here is that the happy state of these centres of peace, whose very existence proves the strength of the ideal in past times, may eventually be enjoyed by the entire world.

At the same time there is another fact which the sceptics overlook: no such attempt as that represented by the League of Nations has ever before been made. Local attempts alone are known to history. Taught by the cruel experience of recent years, our Governments, all seeking the same ideal, are now enlarging the scope of their ambitions and endeavouring to expand into an international and universal rule that law of peace which they enforce within their frontiers, and which already in some cases operates over vast areas, such as South America and the countries of Northern Europe, where arbitration conventions hold sway.

Last year you asked the Council of the League and its Advisory Committees to endeavour to make a great advance towards international security, the acceptance of arbitration, and the reduction of armaments. You know the results that have been reached, you know what remains to be done, what differences of opinion have come to light, and what promises the future holds out. From this platform, in the Committees of this Assembly, you will be able to give us the benefit of your valuable advice.

In this respect I think I may say that the prospects at the opening of the present session of the Assembly are good. But before I tell you why I take this view, let me remind you of the important work that has been done this year by the Committee on Arbitration and Security. Faithfully adhering to the resolutions you adopted

last year, the Committee has prepared a series of documents which, within the limits of the Covenant, may afford most valuable assistance to nations desirous of defining the nature of their juridical relations and their duties as members of the community of peoples.

Work has been continued on the question of convening the Council at times of emergency; information has been laid before you on which to base the important decision you will be called upon to take in regard to the League's communications at times of emergency, which must guarantee the safe and speedy transmission of messages between the Secretary-General, the Members of the Council, and the States or Parties concerned. Most important of all, the Committee is presenting to you model conventions which it has prepared on the pacific settlement of international disputes, non-aggression and mutual assistance, and the strengthening of the means to prevent war, together with draft resolutions to operate in the event of their application, and reports on the execution of certain fundamental articles of the Covenant and on the scheme, which has for a long time been under consideration, for financial assistance.

Some years ago you initiated an admirable movement with the object of adding to the Covenant a universal treaty for the settlement of international legal relations as a whole, and of the question of armaments. As you know, this universal settlement has not come into operation. But in the three directions of arbitration, security, and reduction of armaments both the League itself and — let us say it with gratitude — some of its most powerful Members have continued working and making progress. One of the earlier Assemblies welcomed the Locarno Agreements. This Assembly will be called upon to express its views on model arbitration, conciliation and security agreements which follow those great treaties as far as is practicable, and develop further the laws laid down by the Covenant of the League — that Covenant which is sacred in all our eyes, and which in itself already constitutes a general treaty for arbitration or for the settlement of disputes by the Council, and an undertaking on the part of Members of the League to aid and support one another in the maintenance of peace should it be threatened. This Assembly will also consider the important draft convention for the strengthening of the means of preventing war which, on Germany's initiative, has been prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

Unquestionably none of these schemes, conceived, all of them, in a single desire to promote peace and good understanding, would ever have seen the light but for the existence of the League and the spirit it has created. Without the League they would be lifeless. Every line of them bears witness to the prestige of the Assembly and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and to the irreplaceable authority of the Council. Should a conflict be threatened, it is in you and in the Council of the League that the world would place its trust. It is due to the existence of the League that precautions could be taken to ward off the danger, and that the disputants would bow to these decisions.

Yet only a little while ago it was still feared that the Assembly, confronted once more with the problem of the reduction and limitation of armaments, would again encounter all the difficulties with which its predecessors, even down to last year, contended with all their skill and with all the force of their enthusiasm. The Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference has not been able to complete the draft General Convention which it began to draw up; but you are all aware both



of the reasons that prevented the success of that work and of the new hopes which are now held out.

In view of these prospects the Assembly has now before it the definite data it requires for its discussions. I was relying partly on this hope when I stated a moment ago that the Assembly was opening under happy auspices; but naturally I also have in mind the conclusion of the pact for the outlawry of war signed a few days ago in Paris. I may avail myself of this opportunity to send a cordial greeting to that great Republic, the United States of America, which, as you are aware, was chiefly responsible for preparing that Treaty. I feel sure that we must all regard this pact as a lofty manifestation of the will to bring about an international understanding, an act in keeping with the principles of the Covenant of the League, arising out of the same desire for universality and for united action to maintain peace. Is there anywhere a more splendid proof of the progress of the peace-ideal? I feel sure that you will wish me to congratulate warmly the authors of this pact, and above all those who primarily conceived it, Mr. Kellogg and M. Briand.

We greet the new Treaty as a triumph for the cause of peace and for our faith in the future of the League. The Treaty is a great and precious help to us in our work, a new encouragement to press forward to success. Proof that the ideas upheld in this Assembly are everywhere approved is furnished by this unanimous desire to register a solemn declaration, the same desire which, last year, was boldly embodied in the resolution — adopted on the proposal of the Polish delegation — condemning wars of aggression. We must carry into effect all the logical, natural and indispensable consequences of this resolution. The forces in favour of peace are daily increasing in number and in strength. Thus we may hope to attain victory at last, and our Assembly may now proceed, enthusiastically and confidently, to grapple with the tasks that lie before it.

These tasks are all linked up with the work of the past years, and they show that continuity inherent in all important social and international work. You are not merely formulating theories which, however liberal, logical, and well-conceived, could never exert more than a moral influence. You are preparing a programme of action; you have a political duty and you possess political power. These are great responsibilities. People are sometimes inclined to wonder, in the interval between your sessions, why the League of Nations does not succeed in solving its problems with greater rapidity. I think, however, that if the same people would only try to remember the similar discussions which took place in the time — not so very remote, yet so vastly different — before the creation of the League, they would realise that not only is the League bringing a friendly and cordial spirit to bear on international relations: it is also giving the idea of peace time to develop.

It is for you now to give a fresh impetus to this creative effort. Looking back, we may see much work accomplished; before us there no longer stretches a vista of despair. We can indeed already perceive the outline of future success.

I declare open the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

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

The Chairman :

*Translation* : Under Article 5 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, the Committee to report

on the Credentials of Delegates must be elected by the Assembly and submit its report without delay.

The Committee should consist of eight members. Does any delegation wish to submit to the Assembly proposals on the subject?

I call upon the delegate of Czechoslovakia, who desires to address the Assembly :

M. Beneš (Czechoslovakia) :

*Translation* : I propose that the Assembly adopt the following list of members to form the Committee on Credentials :

M. Aristides DE AGÜERO Y BETHANCOURT (Cuba),  
M. Rudolf HOLSTI (Finland),  
Captain H.H. Nawab Sir Tale Muhammed Khan  
SHER MUHAMMED Khan, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O.  
(India),  
M. Charles DUZMANS (Latvia),  
Baron Rodolphe Auguste LEHMANN (Liberia),  
M. Milan RAKITCH (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats  
and Slovenes),  
H.H. Prince VIPULYA (Siam),  
M. Diógenes ESCALANTE (Venezuela).

The Chairman :

*Translation* : Are there any observations in regard to this proposal? Does any member wish to propose any other candidate?

If there is no opposition, I declare the proposal adopted.

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

*The list proposed by M. Beneš was adopted.*

The Chairman :

*Translation* : The Committee on the Credentials of Delegates which has just been elected will meet at once in the President's room behind the platform.

Members of the Assembly who have not yet deposited their credentials with the Secretariat are requested to take them without delay to the room where the Committee on Credentials is to meet.

The plenary meeting of the Assembly will be adjourned during the meeting of the Committee on Credentials and will be resumed at 12 noon.

## 3. — APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS TO SERVE ON THE ASSEMBLY COMMITTEES: COMMUNICATION BY THE CHAIRMAN.

The Chairman :

*Translation* : Before adjourning the meeting I should like to ask the delegations to be good enough to hand in to the Secretariat this morning, if possible, the lists of members who are to represent them on the six Committees so that the Secretariat may circulate a complete list of the members of each Committee at the beginning of this afternoon's meeting.

*(The meeting was adjourned at 11.30 a.m. and resumed at 12.10 p.m.)*

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

The Chairman :

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

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

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

*Translation :* Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen — The Committee appointed by the Assembly to report on the credentials of delegates met to-day at 11.30 a.m. in the office of the President of the Assembly. I was elected Chairman and was entrusted with the duty of drawing up the report.

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

Abyssinia, Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, British Empire, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, India, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, New Zealand, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Salvador, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Siam, Union of South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, Venezuela.

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

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

Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Honduras and Peru.

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

**The Chairman :**

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

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

*The conclusions of the report were adopted.*

## 5. — ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE NINTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY.

**The Chairman :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the election of the President of the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly.

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

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

*(The votes of the delegates 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	50
Absolute majority	26
M. Zahle (Denmark)	44

I have the honour, therefore, in accordance with the Rules of Procedure, to announce that M. Zahle, delegate of Denmark, is elected President of the Assembly.

I am sure I am voicing the feelings of the whole Assembly in warmly congratulating the eminent representative of Denmark, a country whose zeal and devotion to the ideals of the League have always been assured. The zeal displayed by M. Zahle himself has never failed, while his long experience of the work of this great organisation has shown him to be admirably qualified for the important task and responsible duties which he has been called upon to assume. These qualities have already enabled him to occupy important positions in the League and are the soundest guarantee of the excellence of your choice.

I am glad to have this opportunity of offering my personal congratulations to M. Zahle, the representative of a nation which, like my own, belongs to the northern States of Europe.

I call upon M. Zahle to take the chair as President of the Assembly.

*(M. Zahle took the Presidential Chair.)*

## 6. — PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

**M. Zahle** (Denmark), President of the Assembly :

*Translation :* Ladies and gentlemen — I am deeply touched by the great honour you have just done me in appointing me to preside over the discussions of the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations. Allow me to acknowledge first the tribute you have thus paid to my country, always a confident and faithful adherent of the high principles of international peace and justice which have throughout inspired the League.

At the same time I cordially thank His Excellency M. Procopé, Acting President of the Council, for the very kind terms in which he has just referred to my country and myself.

The task which you have called upon me to fulfil is an important and responsible one. I need not recall the names of my distinguished predecessors who have conferred such prestige upon this office.

You may rest assured, ladies and gentlemen, that I shall endeavour to justify the confidence you have placed in me, but now that I am about to place myself at your disposal and enter upon my duties, may I claim your kind indulgence and appeal to you for the valuable support which is so necessary for me ?

In conclusion, let me express the ardent hope that our work may be fruitful and productive of benefit to mankind.

## 7. — ABSENCE OF SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN AND DR. STRESEMANN.

**The President :**

*Translation :* Before passing to our agenda, I feel sure I shall be voicing the feelings of my colleagues here present in associating myself, on behalf of the Assembly, with the deep regret so eloquently expressed by His Excellency M. Procopé, at the absence on this occasion of the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the German Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I venture to propose that I should be authorised to telegraph to Dr. Stresemann and to Sir Austen Chamberlain, conveying to them the Assembly's deep regret at their unavoidable absence and its sincerest wishes for the speedy and complete recovery of both these eminent statesmen.

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

*The proposal was adopted.*

8. — DEATH OF M. WEISS, JUDGE AT THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND OF M. BOKANOWSKI, MINISTER FOR COMMERCE OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

The President :

*Translation :* A few days ago we heard of the death of M. Weiss, Judge at the Permanent Court of International Justice. The loss of this eminent French jurist, whose great abilities and high moral qualities are universally recognised, filled us with profound grief.

I am sure I shall be interpreting the unanimous feelings of the Assembly if I request the French delegation to accept our deep sympathy and at the same time our expression of the horror with which, on the eve of this our first meeting, we received the news of a terrible catastrophe, which resulted in the loss of several lives and deprived France of one of the most eminent and popular members of the French Government in the person of M. Bokanowski, Minister for Commerce.

9. — QUESTIONS OF PROCEDURE.

The President :

*Translation :* As it is now very late, you will probably agree that I should postpone to this afternoon the adoption of the agenda for the present session of the Assembly. I propose, therefore, to adjourn the meeting.

Allow me first, however, to add a few words. The next meeting will begin at 4 o'clock this afternoon. It will be devoted to the adoption of the agenda of the Assembly and the constitution of the General Committee. The Assembly will also have to set up its Committees and to allocate to them the various questions on the agenda.

In order to facilitate the Assembly's decisions on these four points, I shall venture to circulate to the delegations a number of suggestions in regard to procedure. After adjourning the meeting for an hour and a-half to enable the Committees to appoint their Chairmen, I shall inform the Assembly of the results of the elections. I shall then propose that the Assembly proceed to elect the six honorary Vice-Presidents. In this way the General Committee of the Assembly, consisting of the President, the Chairmen of the six Committees and the six honorary Vice-Presidents, will be constituted to-day. If, as I assume, the Assembly desires to follow the usual practice, the Chairman of the Agenda Committee will also be a member of the General Committee.

*The Assembly rose at 12.50 p.m.*

## SECOND PLENARY MEETING

Monday, September 3rd, 1928, at 4 p.m.

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10. AGENDA : EXAMINATION AND ADOPTION.
11. CONSTITUTION OF COMMITTEES.
12. AGENDA COMMITTEE : APPOINTMENT.
13. APPOINTMENT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE AS A MEMBER OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY.
14. AGENDA : DISTRIBUTION OF ITEMS AMONG THE COMMITTEES.
15. PROCEDURE TO BE ADOPTED FOR THE ELECTION OF THE CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES.  
Communication by the President.
16. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES.
17. ELECTION OF THE SIX VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSEMBLY.
18. PROGRAMME OF MEETINGS OF THE COMMITTEES :  
Communication by the President.

President : M. ZAHLE.

10. — AGENDA : EXAMINATION AND ADOPTION.

The President :

*Translation :* I have circulated to all the delegations a note containing the proposals which

I should like to submit in regard to the various items on the agenda of the present session. My intention in circulating this note in advance was to simplify the procedure as far as possible and to expedite the preliminary work of the Assembly.

As members of the Assembly have the note before them I shall proceed with the first question on the list which has been circulated, namely, the adoption of the agenda for the present session.

Acting in accordance with precedent, and in order to save time — unless any delegation wishes for a vote — I propose that the Assembly adopt the agenda *en bloc*, that is, Items 1 to 21 of the document circulated to the Assembly, together with the supplementary list of items circulated in accordance with Rule 4, paragraph 3, of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly under numbers 22, 23 and 24 of the said document.

If there is no objection, I shall consider the agenda of the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly adopted in accordance with my suggestion.

*The agenda was adopted (Annex 1).*

The President :

*Translation* : The Acting President of the Council has sent me the following letter dated September 1st :

" I have the honour to inform you that, at its meetings on August 31st and September 1st, the Council of the League of Nations decided to refer the following questions to the Assembly :

" 1. Proposal by the British Government relating to the supervision of the use of opium for smoking in the Far East.

" 2. Private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war.

(Signed) PROCOPE,  
President of the Council."

The Council's proposal, then, is that the following items should be placed on the agenda of the present session of the Assembly :

1. The proposal of the British Government relating to the supervision of the use of opium for smoking in the Far East.

2. The question of the private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war.

I do not think the Assembly will have any objection to including these two questions in the agenda, this being wholly in accordance with the practice followed at previous sessions.

*The proposal was adopted.*

#### 11. — CONSTITUTION OF COMMITTEES.

The President :

*Translation* : The second item on the agenda is the constitution of the Committees. Before the General Committee of the Assembly can be constituted, the Committees must have elected their Chairmen, as the latter, together with the six Vice-Presidents, form the General Committee.

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

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

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

*The proposals were adopted.*

The Secretariat has already distributed forms on which the delegations are asked to enter the names of their delegates and substitutes to sit on the various Committees. I would ask the delegations which have not already sent in these lists to do so as soon as possible.

The Committees will meet presently in this hall to elect their Chairmen.

#### 12. <sup>5</sup> AGENDA COMMITTEE: APPOINTMENT.

The President :

*Translation* : In accordance with the practice followed by the Assembly at previous sessions, I suggest that a small Committee of eight members be appointed to examine the procedure to be followed with regard to the inclusion of new items on the agenda.

If the Assembly agrees, and if no other names are put forward for this Committee, I would venture to propose the following list :

COUNT LAGARDE, duc d'ENTOTTO (Abyssinia).  
Sir William MOORE (Australia).  
Sir Cecil HURST (British Empire).  
Dr. Ferdinand VEVERKA (Czechoslovakia).  
Count BONIN-LONGARE (Italy).  
Jonkheer VAN EYSINGA (Netherlands).  
M. CABALLERO (Paraguay).  
M. DE PALACIOS (Spain).

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

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

The President :

*Translation* : At its last two sessions the Assembly 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 Committees of the Assembly and the six Vice-Presidents elected by the Assembly.

Is the Assembly of opinion that the Chairman of the Agenda Committee should, as on these previous occasions, sit as a member of the General Committee of the Assembly ?

If there is no objection, I shall consider this proposal adopted. (*Adopted.*)

The Agenda Committee is asked to elect its Chairman as soon as possible, in order that he may attend the first meeting of the General Committee of the Assembly.

#### 14. — AGENDA: DISTRIBUTION OF ITEMS AMONG THE COMMITTEES.

The President :

*Translation* : As regards the distribution among the Committees of the various items on the agenda, the simplest procedure would be, I think, for the President, according to custom, to submit suggestions.

I do not think this question will give rise to differences of opinion, and the members of the Assembly will have seen from the note already circulated what suggestions I intend to place before them.

I propose that the various items be distributed as follows :

First Committee : Items 10 (a), (b) and (c).  
Second Committee : Items 11, 12, 14, 15 and 16.  
Third Committee : Items 22 and 23.  
Fourth Committee : Items 13 and 20.  
Fifth Committee : Items 17, 18 (a) and (b).  
Sixth Committee : Items 8 and 19.

\* As you will have seen from my note, I suggest that, by way of exception, we should refer Item 19 of the agenda — " Report on the

Work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation" — to the Sixth Committee. As I mentioned, this suggestion is prompted simply by considerations of expediency. The Second Committee's programme is already very heavy, and we thought it advisable not to overburden it if this could be avoided, feeling sure that the members of the Sixth Committee would not decline the very important task of examining and reporting to the Assembly on the work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

This decision will not constitute a precedent binding upon the Assembly in future years, but seems to me to be in keeping with the wish of all delegations to distribute the items among the various Committees in such a way as to ensure that they shall have the best possible conditions for their work.

If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly approves these arguments and accepts the suggestion that Item 19 be referred to the Sixth Committee.

If no delegation desires to make any observations on the distribution of the various items, I shall consider that distribution approved. (*Adopted.*)

**Count Apponyi (Hungary) :**

*Translation :* It seems to me, Mr. President, that the question of alcoholism, which it is suggested should be referred to the Second Committee, belongs rather to the agenda of the Fifth Committee, which has to deal particularly with health and social questions.

A further point is that all such questions, without exception, should come before those of our colleagues who are particularly concerned with them.

I propose then that the question of alcoholism be referred not to the Second but to the Fifth Committee.

**The President :**

*Translation :* May I point out that this question was dealt with last year by the Second Committee, and that is why I thought it best to adopt the same course again.

**M. Procopé (Finland) :**

*Translation :* Ladies and gentlemen — I have no intention at present of going into the substance of the question of alcoholism or of explaining why I consider it necessary to examine it quite impartially.

I think the matter could be studied by the Second Committee just as well as by the Fifth. I see no difference. But I should like to point out that the question has several aspects.

It is in the first place, if I may say so, a question of commercial health. Do not laugh, gentlemen. All the representatives of the northern countries know that this matter is bound up with important economic interests. The chief problem is to suppress smuggling, which is detrimental to wine-growing and other countries alike.

Then, again, the question has a social aspect.

I think, therefore, that any one Committee might experience some difficulty in dealing with the problem as a whole. I would propose then that the Committee to which the question is referred should ask the advice of the other Committee in question ; for example, if the substance of the question is referred to the Second Committee, the latter would consult the Fifth Committee, or vice versa.

**M. Loucheur (France) :**

*Translation :* Gentlemen — If I understand the matter aright, Count Apponyi proposes that we refer to the Fifth Committee the question of

alcoholism, which was discussed last year by the Second Committee, while the President of the Assembly, quoting this precedent, suggests that it should again be placed on the Second Committee's agenda. M. Procopé has no objection to this suggestion.

I think then that we may agree as regards the first point, that is, that the question of alcoholism be retained on the agenda of the Second Committee.

As regards the question whether the Fifth Committee should be consulted, as M. Procopé suggests, we must surely leave the Second Committee to do that, if necessary. Probably during the discussion, if we approach the question from the point of view of health, we shall find it necessary to appeal for assistance to our colleagues on the Fifth Committee. But if, as is possible, the discussion is conducted on quite a different basis, a decision might be reached without its being necessary to consider the health aspect.

I propose therefore — on the understanding that we shall not thereby be prejudicing the discussion in any way — that the question be left on the agenda of the Second Committee, the latter being free to determine whether it should or should not consult the Fifth Committee. That is the course always adopted in regard to such matters.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The General Committee's interpretation of this proposal is the same as that given by M. Loucheur.

**M. de Vasconcellos (Portugal) :**

*Translation :* The question was raised last year, and we agreed that this subject should be examined first of all by the Second Committee. I therefore support M. Loucheur's proposal that the Second Committee should continue to deal with it. Moreover, every Committee has an inherent right to consult the Fifth or any other Committee.

I therefore formally propose that this subject be again examined by the Committee which dealt with it last year.

**M. Procopé (Finland) :**

*Translation :* I made no definite suggestion as regards any Committee ; there is thus no difference between my proposal and M. Loucheur's.

**Count Apponyi (Hungary) :**

*Translation :* I have no intention of asking for a vote on this question ; I will therefore not press the matter further.

**The President :**

*Translation :* I note, then, that the distribution I suggested is approved by the Assembly.

I have just received the following note from His Excellency M. Loudon, delegate of the Netherlands :

" I think it desirable, Mr. President, to inform you that, in connection with the report on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat, I shall propose that the chapters of the General and Supplementary Reports bearing upon the question of the reduction of armaments be referred to the Third Committee. "

M. Loudon will, I presume, duly lay a formal proposal before the General Committee in the course of the discussion on the general report.

The Assembly has just decided, in accordance with the Council's request, to add two supplementary items to its agenda. I do not think the Assembly will have any objection to the reference of these two items to Committees

forthwith. Accordingly, I suggest that that relating to the British Government's proposal concerning the control of the use of opium for smoking in the Far East should be referred to the Fifth Committee, while the question of the private manufacture and the publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war should be referred to the Third Committee.

If there is no objection, these proposals will be adopted and the two additional items will be referred to the two Committees indicated. (*Assent.*)

In the note which I decided to communicate in advance to the members of the Assembly I announced that I proposed to except three items of the agenda from those to be allocated forthwith to the six Committees, namely :

No. 9. — Construction of an Assembly Hall, of New Buildings for the Use of the Secretariat and of a Library : Report of the Committee of Five appointed to select a Plan.

No. 21. — Resignation from the Permanent Court of International Justice of Judge John Bassett Moore : Question of the Appointment of a Successor (Article 14 of the Statute of the Court).

No. 24. — Maintenance in force, as an exceptional measure, for the 1928 Elections to the Council, of the Temporary Provisions (Article 4, paragraph 2) attached to the Rules adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926, for the Election of a Non-permanent Member of the Council.

All three items appear to require preliminary examination by the General Committee, which should be asked to submit suggestions to the Assembly as to the procedure to be followed, in accordance with Rule 8, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly.

This procedure will, I think, facilitate the subsequent work of the Assembly, and I therefore trust my proposal will meet with the approval of the delegations.

If there is no objection, I shall consider this proposal adopted, and consequently Items Nos. 9, 21 and 24 will first of all be examined by the General Committee, which will be invited to submit as soon as possible suggestions as to the procedure to be adopted. (*Adopted.*)

**15. — PROCEDURE TO BE ADOPTED FOR THE ELECTION OF THE CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES: COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT.**

The President :

*Translation* : In order to enable the Committees to proceed forthwith to the election of their respective Chairmen, I propose that the Assembly adjourn for an hour and a-half. (*Assent.*)

The members of the Committees are requested to meet in this hall at intervals of 15 minutes in the following order :

- First Committee at 5 p.m.
- Second Committee at 5.15 p.m.
- Third Committee at 5.30 p.m.
- Fourth Committee at 5.45 p.m.
- Fifth Committee at 6.0 p.m.
- Sixth Committee at 6.15 p.m.

The Agenda Committee is also requested to meet at 6.15 p.m. in the room behind this hall reserved for the General Committee of the Assembly, for the purpose of electing its Chairman.

The Assembly will resume its sitting at 6.25 p.m., when the names of the Chairmen elected by the six Committees and by the Agenda Committee will be communicated to the Assembly, which will then proceed to the election of its six Vice-Presidents.

The meeting will now adjourn.

(*The meeting was adjourned at 5 p.m. and was resumed at 6.25 p.m.*)

**16. — ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES.**

The President :

*Translation* : I now have to inform the Assembly of the result of the voting by the Committees :

Committee	Chairman
First :	M. SCIALOJA (Italy),
Second :	M. MOTTA (Switzerland),
Third :	COUNT CARTON DE WIART (Belgium),
Fourth :	M. DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal),
Fifth :	M. JOSÉ MATOS (Guatemala),
Sixth :	M. MARINKOVITCH (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes).
Agenda Committee : M. CABALLERO (Paraguay).	

**17. — ELECTION OF THE SIX VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSEMBLY.**

The President :

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

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

I call upon M. Motta, delegate of Switzerland, Chairman of the Second Committee, and M. Matos, delegate of Guatemala, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, to be good enough to act as tellers.

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

I wish to remind delegates that voting papers should include only the names of six members, and that no country should be mentioned.

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

The President :

*Translation* : The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of States voting . . . . .	42
Voting papers valid . . . . .	42
Majority required . . . . .	22

The analysis of voting is as follows :

M. Adatci (Japan) . . . . .	40 votes
M. Briand (France) . . . . .	38 "
M. Müller (Germany) . . . . .	38 "
Lord Cushendun (British Empire). . . . .	37 "
Mr. Mackenzie King (Canada) . . . . .	33 "
Mgr. Seipel (Austria) . . . . .	24 "

In accordance with the Rules of Procedure, therefore, I have the honour to declare the following delegates Vice-Presidents of the Assembly : M. ADATCI, M. BRIAND, M. MÜLLER, LORD CUSHENDUN, Mr. Mackenzie KING and Mgr. SEIPEL.

The General Committee of the Assembly is now constituted as follows :

The six Chairmen of Committees :

M. SCIALOJA (Italy),  
M. MÖTTA (Switzerland),  
Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium),  
M. DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal),  
M. José MAZOS (Guatemala),  
M. MARINKOVITCH (Kingdom of the Serbs,  
Croats and Slovenes),

together with M. CABALLERO (Paraguay), Chairman of the Agenda Committee, and the six Vice-Presidents who have just been elected :

M. ADATCI (Japan),  
M. BRIAND (France),  
M. MÜLLER (Germany),  
Lord CUSHENDUN (British Empire),  
Mr. Mackenzie KING (Canada),  
Mgr. SEIPEL (Austria).

#### 18. — PROGRAMME OF MEETINGS OF THE COMMITTEES : COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President :

*Translation* : In order to avoid loss of time, I propose that the Committees meet to-morrow

morning at the offices of the Secretariat; in the following order :

The First, Second and Sixth Committees at 10 a.m. :

The Third, Fourth and Fifth Committees at 11 a.m.

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

Finally, I suggest that the General Committee of the Assembly should meet at noon to-morrow in the Secretary-General's Office.

I wish to call the attention of members of the Assembly to the following point : the agenda of the plenary meeting to-morrow afternoon includes the opening of the general discussion of the report on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat. It is desirable that I should be informed as soon as possible of the names of members of the Assembly who intend to take part in the discussion, and I would therefore ask those who wish to speak to be good enough to send in their names to me as soon as possible.

As we have now concluded our agenda, I will close the meeting.

*The Assembly rose at 7 p.m.*

## THIRD PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, September 4th, 1928, at 4 p.m.

#### CONTENTS :

19. INDISPOSITION OF PRINCE CHAROON.
20. RESIGNATION FROM THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE OF JUDGE JOHN BASSETT MOORE : QUESTION OF THE APPOINTMENT OF HIS SUCCESSOR.  
Proposals of the General Committee of the Assembly.
21. REQUEST BY CHINA FOR RE-ELIGIBILITY FOR ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL.
22. REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE SECRETARIAT.

President : M. ZAHLE.

#### 19. — INDISPOSITION OF PRINCE CHAROON.

The President :

*Translation* : Before beginning the agenda, I have to inform the Assembly that the General Committee has just received a communication from the Japanese delegation stating that His Highness Prince Charoon, first delegate of Siam, is at present seriously indisposed.

The Assembly will learn this news with deep regret, and will, I feel sure, desire to associate itself with the wishes already expressed by the General Committee for the speedy recovery of the distinguished delegate of Siam, who may be assured of the sympathy of everyone here. (*Assent.*)

#### 20. — RESIGNATION FROM THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE OF JUDGE JOHN BASSETT MOORE : QUESTION OF THE APPOINTMENT OF HIS SUCCESSOR : PROPOSALS OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The President :

*Translation* : The Assembly will remember that it decided at its last meeting to refer to the General Committee, for preliminary examination, the question to be found under Item No. 21 of the agenda of the present session : "Resignation from the Permanent Court of International Justice of Judge John Bassett Moore : Question of the appointment of a successor".

At its meeting this morning the General Committee discussed the procedure which the Assembly should be recommended to adopt in the matter.

The General Committee adopted a note which I will now read to the Assembly :

"The Assembly will undoubtedly be unanimous in regretting the departure of this eminent jurist, who has rendered such signal services in the exercise of his duties at the Permanent Court of International Justice. The General Committee presumes, however, that the Assembly, like the Council, will decide to accept his resignation and elect a successor to fill the vacancy which has occurred.

"The General Committee feels sure that the Assembly will wish to instruct the Secretary-General to express to Mr. Moore its appreciation of his eminent services and to convey to him its very cordial thanks.

"If the Assembly concurs in this view, the General Committee would propose that, concurrently with the Council, it should proceed shortly to the election of Mr. Moore's successor. Under the terms of the Statute of the Court, the person thus appointed will remain in office until December 31st, 1930, the expiry of Mr. Moore's term of office.

"The Secretary-General has called for nominations, which must precede the election, in accordance with the Statute of the Court. The list of persons thus nominated has been submitted to the Assembly and the Council in document A.32.1928.V. Annex II of this document contains the provisions of the Statute of the Court governing the election. Annex III contains the procedure adopted by the Assembly and Council at previous elections.

"The General Committee has no modification of these rules to propose, and suggests accordingly that they should be followed on the present occasion.

"It proposes, further, that the Council and the Assembly should meet simultaneously on the afternoon of Saturday, September 8th, with a view to proceeding with the election."

The Assembly is therefore asked to signify its approval of the acceptance by the Council of Mr. John Bassett Moore's resignation. The Council has decided to accept his resignation, subject to the concurrence of the Assembly.

If no one has any observations to submit, I shall interpret the delegations' silence as signifying that the Assembly, concurrently with the Council, accepts Mr. John Bassett Moore's resignation.

*Mr. John Bassett Moore's resignation was accepted.*

#### The President :

*Translation :* The Assembly will, I am sure, desire to express its regret at Mr. Moore's decision to resign his office.

In appointing him a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the Assembly and the Council well knew what signal proof of his great abilities this eminent lawyer would display in the new field they were opening to him.

This expectation has not been disappointed, and I think I am voicing the feelings of the whole Assembly when I say how very much all the delegations appreciate the great services he has rendered as a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

I will ask the Secretary-General to transmit to Mr. John Bassett Moore, on behalf of the Assembly, an expression of its regret and also of its great appreciation and its deep gratitude. (*Approved.*)

The Assembly now has to fix a date upon which it will, simultaneously with the Council, elect a successor to Mr. Moore for the remainder of his term of office — that is, until December 31st, 1930.

You have all received document A.32, which contains a list of the candidates nominated by the national groups. Annex III of this document indicates the procedure adopted by the Assembly and the Council for the election of members of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

These elections must be held by the Council and the Assembly simultaneously. We have therefore to fix a date for the election of Mr. John

Bassett Moore's successor. The General Committee has decided to propose to the Assembly the meeting on Saturday afternoon next, September 8th, 1928.

If no one has any remarks to offer, I shall consider the General Committee's proposal adopted, and this election will accordingly be held simultaneously by the Council and the Assembly on Saturday afternoon next, September 8th. (*Assent.*)

#### 21. — REQUEST BY CHINA FOR RE-ELIGIBILITY FOR ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL.

##### The President :

*Translation :* Before proceeding with the agenda I wish to read to the Assembly the following letter, dated September 4th, 1928, which I have just received from the Chinese delegation :

"In pursuance of the terms of Articles 2 and 4 of the rules for the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926, I have the honour to ask you to lay before the Assembly the request of the Government of the Chinese Republic that China be declared re-eligible.

"I have no doubt that the Assembly will be mindful of the fact that China fulfils all the conditions requisite for retaining the seat on the Council reserved for Asia, from the point of view alike of geographical situation, race, type of civilisation, religion and economic wealth (recommendation adopted at the third ordinary session of the Assembly on September 29th, 1922).

"Endowed as she is with a new national and democratic regime, China is ardently desirous of co-operating more effectively in the work of peace, and she would be glad to record on the first pages of the history of her foreign relations that, on the morrow of her advent as a modern State, the Assembly of the League of Nations invited her, with a goodwill and confidence which she will be the first to appreciate, to keep her place on the Council.

(Signed) WANG-KING-KY.

*First Delegate of China.*"

The text of this letter will be communicated to the delegations.

The Assembly has to consider a request for re-eligibility from a non-permanent Member of the Council. This request has been submitted in accordance with the rules laid down in the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926, for the election of the nine non-permanent Members of the Council, their term of office, and the conditions of re-eligibility.

Paragraph 3 of the resolution provides that 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 Chinese Government's request having been submitted in proper form, the Assembly will vote upon it at an early meeting, without debate and without referring it to a Committee.

As regards the date when the vote might be taken, I may quote the rules adopted by the Assembly



on September 8th, 1927, at the suggestion of the General Committee. The Assembly will therefore be invited to pronounce upon the requests for re-eligibility now before it on the day fixed for the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council.

## 22. — REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE SECRETARIAT.

The President :

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the general discussion of the Report to the Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations on the Work of the Council, on the Work of the Secretariat, on the Measures taken to execute the Decisions of the Assembly, and on the Supplementary Reports.

I have ventured more than once to ask the members of the delegations now present to send in their names if they wish to take part in the general discussion, but, so far, my request has met with no response ; I have not yet received any names.

My intention was, if no one asked to speak at the present meeting, to propose that the next

meeting of the Assembly should take place to-morrow at 10.30 a.m. If, however, I do not receive by this evening any request to speak, I propose that no meeting be held to-morrow morning.

You will be informed in to-morrow morning's *Assembly Journal* whether the Assembly will meet at 10.30 a.m. or not.

I would ask the members of the General Committee to meet at 6 o'clock this evening in the Secretary-General's room.

Mr. Dandurand (Canada) :

*Translation :* Should there be no Assembly meeting to-morrow morning, could it not be announced in the *Journal* that the Committees will begin work immediately ?

The President :

*Translation :* I will lay Mr. Dandurand's suggestion before this afternoon's meeting of the General Committee. If by this evening no one has asked to speak, you will find in the *Assembly Journal* a notice stating which Committees will meet on Wednesday morning.

*The Assembly rose at 4.50 p.m.*

## FOURTH PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, September 5th, 1928, at 10.30 a.m.

### CONTENTS :

#### 23. REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE SECRETARIAT.

Continuation of the Discussion.

Speeches by M. Wang-King-Ky (China), Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland (The Netherlands), M. Undén (Sweden).

President : M. ZAHLE

#### 23. REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE SECRETARIAT : CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President :

*Translation :* The first item on the agenda is the general discussion of the report on the work of the Council, on the work of the Secretariat and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly (Annexes 2, 2a and 2b, Documents A.6 and A.6 (a) 1928).

M. Wang-King-Ky, first delegate of China, will address the Assembly.

M. Wang-King-Ky (China) :

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — It is not my intention to weary you with a long speech. Other speakers, more able than myself, will discourse upon the activities of the League.

We are only too ready to acknowledge the importance of the work already accomplished by the League. If it did no more than render possible this periodical contact between the delegates of

all the nations in an atmosphere of conciliation and cordiality, it would still deserve the world's gratitude.

This contact will bring about harmony in international relations and thus prompt the nations of the world to draw closer to one another — for are we not all one in this Assembly? — and unite them in a common love of peace, the supreme aim of the League, which does but faithfully reflect the ever-growing desire of all nations.

But the League has done more than this. His Excellency M. Procopé, our distinguished President, reminded us in his inaugural speech of the masterly work of the International Economic Conference, which met last year, and referred to the League's extended activities in the economic sphere in 1928 in pursuance of the resolutions adopted by that Conference.

He drew a striking picture of the work of the technical committees, whose activities extend to the Far East, to America, to Europe and to every part of the world ; and he touched also upon the work of the other important committees of the League — the Mandates Commission, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and others.

He gave us a glimpse of new tendencies in the economic policies of States, which are coming to realise more and more that the individual interests of each nation and the general interests of humanity are one.

Again, he emphasised the fact that while the League of Nations cannot hope with a stroke of the pen to settle every dispute and destroy all possibility of war, the exclusively national spirit is gradually being replaced by an international spirit, which is bringing us nearer to the ideal of our dreams.

We welcome this promise of better things, for this international spirit must lead inevitably to moral disarmament.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will play its part in this work; but let us not forget that before moral disarmament can be made possible, every nation must be secure in the conviction that in the exercise of its inviolable sovereign rights it will be safe from outside attack or interference.

It would be rash indeed to say that nothing had yet been done in this direction: two hundred treaties containing arbitration clauses, the Locarno agreements which impose upon seven Powers obligations exceeding those of the Covenant, the Briand-Kellogg pact, the first instrument for the outlawry of war, which was signed immediately by fifteen States and to which very many accessions are still being received — these treaties, all concluded, if not under the direct inspiration, at all events in the spirit of the League, bear witness to what has already been attempted and successfully achieved.

Lastly, the return to Geneva of that noble country, Spain, and the likelihood of other nations returning, justify us in the hope that the League is making further progress towards universality.

Modern China, the direct heir of that ancient China, "the cradle of a civilisation universally recognised as one of the oldest and noblest civilisations in the world" — let me take this opportunity of publicly thanking our President for his graceful reference last Monday — is emerging victorious from the crisis which is to complete her unification and modernisation, and will welcome with profound joy the echoes which reach her of the League's work.

These joyous echoes will produce a deep impression on the shores of the Pacific. They will silence critics, convince sceptics and rally the intellectual classes of China in support of the League, whose strength and vitality are becoming more apparent every year.

When the League has definitely attained this character of universality to which I have just referred and which indeed constitutes its essential purpose, and has won universal recognition of its beneficent influence, the great institution of Geneva will have no more fervent supporter than China, a nation of husbandmen and artisans — pacifists by nature and by tradition.

I bring you the assurance here and now that my Government has no more earnest desire than to collaborate with you yet more closely in the work of peace and concord which the League is pursuing with such zeal and tenacity, a work in which our learned Confucius may rightly be considered a pioneer.

Some readjustments in our economic relations with certain foreign Powers have still to be made, but, given sincerity and goodwill — and the atmosphere of friendly cordiality which we feel around us here is a sure guarantee that neither will be lacking — these difficulties will easily be overcome.

Then, when the antiquated barriers which have hitherto prevented closer co-operation between China and the outside world have disappeared, China will welcome the technical and financial assistance of the West.

There is a big opening for such assistance in our country, and the work of international co-operation which is the very essence of the League can be pursued in the Far East, once more exemplifying the rule of interdependence between nations from which in future no country can remain exempt.

I am still an optimist, and am convinced that if the Far East and the Western world are to meet on common ground — for these two types of civilisation are designed to supplement and not to rival one other — the League must be their intermediary.

When the League, as an impartial body outside and above the private interests of a narrow group, has removed the moral barrier which has too long separated China from Europe, and has helped to cure the grievous ills from which our country has been suffering since its first contact with the outside world; when, by its deeds, the League has brought calm and serenity to a nation of 436 million anxious and perturbed people, knowing not where to turn in search of help and sympathy, when it has successfully accomplished the great and noble task of mediator which awaits it, then indeed it will once again deserve well of mankind.

#### The President :

*Translation :* Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland, first delegate of the Netherlands, will address the Assembly.

#### Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland (Netherlands) :

*Translation :* The circumstances attending the opening of the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League would seem more favourable for the reduction of armaments than those at the beginning of last year's session, when a feeling of anxiety and a mood of scepticism were predominant in the public mind. At our last session I ventured to draw the Assembly's attention to the growing current of opinion, particularly in overseas countries, in favour of the outlawry of war. As a result of the action taken by the French Government, which met with a ready response from the Government of the United States of America, we now have the profound satisfaction of being able to welcome the conclusion of a general pact by which war is repudiated as an instrument of national policy.

As M. Briand very truly said on the day the pact was signed, such a war is now finally divested of its most dangerous feature — its legality.

I do not think I need indulge in any lengthy eulogy of this pact; I need only say that, as a result of the invitation addressed to it by the United States Government, the Netherlands Government has taken the necessary steps to secure the approval of the States-General to its accession to this pact.

There is another event which has taken place outside Geneva and which augurs well for the work of disarmament. I refer to a recent announcement by the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (whose absence we all very sincerely regret), concerning a compromise reached between his Government and the French Government on the limitation of naval armaments.

On more than one occasion M. Loudon, the President of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, drew your attention to the fact that it was urgently necessary for those Governments whose views were most divergent to reach a preliminary agreement in order to enable real progress to be made in the work for the Disarmament Conference.

Whilst paying a sincere tribute to the British and French Governments for the step they have thus taken, I venture to express the hope that their agreement will help to expedite the work of the Disarmament Commission.

If we now survey the work which has been accomplished in this field by the organs of the

League themselves, since our last session, we turn first to the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security. This Committee has communicated to us, as a result of the three sessions it has held, an extremely interesting document. This document, which contains a large number of model conventions for arbitration and conciliation, treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance, and proposals concerning various articles of the Covenant, will of course be closely studied by the competent Committees of this Assembly.

These Committees will be called upon *inter alia* to consider to what extent the clauses relating to non-aggression will be affected by the pact against war. For the moment I merely desire to pay a tribute to the successful efforts of the members of the Committee and to express the hope that their work will do much to promote the reduction of armaments.

As regards the manufacture of arms and ammunition, the Assembly, during its last ordinary session, reaffirmed the importance of establishing a convention which would enable non-producing and producing countries to be placed on an equal footing. It requested the Council to invite the Special Committee to expedite its work in order to agree upon a single text which would enable the Council to convene an international Conference as speedily as possible. The Assembly on that occasion expressed its conviction that the establishment of a convention for the supervision of private manufacture was of the highest importance for the putting into force of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War.

The Netherlands Government desires to emphasise the interdependence that exists between these two Conventions. It considers itself specially entitled to do so because it did not itself await the conclusion of a convention on the manufacture of arms before requesting and obtaining from the Netherlands Parliament the necessary authorisation to ratify the Convention on the International Trade in Arms.

I need not emphasise again how much the coming into force of this latter Convention will help the work of disarmament.

During its June session the Council, when dealing with a question of which I need not remind you, took occasion to emphasise once again how important it is, in the interests of mutual confidence between States and consequently for the consolidation of peace, to put into effect as rapidly as possible this Convention on the Supervision of the Trade in Arms.

The Special Committee set up by the Council to elaborate a draft Convention on the supervision of the manufacture of arms met recently at Geneva. I am afraid the result of its work cannot be regarded as satisfactory, since the Committee was unable to reach agreement on matters which are of fundamental importance.

The Netherlands delegation trusts that the discussions held during the present session of the Assembly will help to reconcile differences of opinion which still exist in this sphere. Once the obligations in regard to publicity for armaments laid down in Article 8, paragraph 6, of the Covenant have been fully recognised, this should not be difficult.

When we are reviewing the different factors which govern the problem of disarmament, our attention is naturally drawn to a question which we have been accustomed to call economic

disarmament. In that respect we have every reason to rejoice at the declarations concerning the improvement of economic conditions, and the application of the resolutions of the Economic Conference, held in 1927, put on record by the Consultative Committee at its first session.

In this connection I will merely mention the conclusion of a Convention relating to import and export prohibitions, and the two Protocols concerning the export of hides, skins and bones, which constitute a first step towards the concerted reduction of Customs tariffs and, consequently, an improvement in international trade.

The Committee was also glad to note that, during the past year, a large number of commercial treaties have been concluded, which have not only had the effect of lowering the tariff rates between the contracting parties but have also extended the benefit of those reductions to third parties by the application of the most-favoured-nation clause.

The Consultative Committee believes it is in a position to state that the results of the Economic Conference have already checked the upward movement of tariffs which was so marked a feature in May 1927. This reassuring news must not, however, blind us to the fact that certain tariffs are actually higher than they were a year ago, and that constant and concerted action will be necessary if a move is to be made in the opposite direction.

The task of the Economic Committee is to give effect to the policy recommended by the International Conference. The work done by that Committee during the past year, which is deserving of our gratitude and our highest praise, affords the best possible assurance as regards the execution of its future tasks. Apprehension has been shown in certain quarters as to the magnitude of the programme of investigation which the Consultative Committee would like to see undertaken by the Economic Committee. I shall, I am sure, allay this apprehension if I remind you that the Consultative Committee itself said that we must trust the Economic Committee to determine the best order of priority for its future work, and I think myself that our confidence is fully justified.

Before concluding, I venture to refer to one question which, we are all agreed, is of the highest importance for the consolidation of European peace — I refer to the protection of minorities.

This problem is so vast, so complex and so delicate that I think it would be not only undesirable but impossible to discuss it in its entirety, and I shall merely offer a few remarks suggested to me by my personal experience as a member of Minorities Committees and also by the discussions of the Twelfth Assembly of the International Union of League of Nations Societies, which met at The Hague in July last. In a resolution adopted by that body it was suggested, *inter alia*, that the League of Nations should set up a permanent committee for minorities. The idea is by no means new. It was proposed to the Assembly during its second ordinary session by Professor Gilbert Murray, and was the subject of a resolution adopted in 1923 by the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Professor Gilbert Murray withdrew his proposal on seeing the resolution of October 25th, 1920, by which the Council instituted what we usually term the "Minorities Committees" or "Committees of Three", consisting of the Acting President and two other members of the Council appointed by him to examine petitions from minorities.

This first resolution of the Council was supplemented in subsequent years by a large number of other resolutions, so that we now have a complete system of procedure.

The Minorities Committee is now a recognised organ, I might almost say a tradition, of the League. This institution has in its time been the target of much criticism, coming, for the most part, from outside the League. That criticism was largely unfounded, or greatly overstated, but this need be no cause for surprise when we consider the prominent part which political feeling plays in questions of this nature. If, therefore, I venture to submit for your consideration some remarks concerning the working of these Committees of Three, it is in no spirit of criticism, which would indeed be most unfitting on my part, but simply to point out certain difficulties which I think I have observed and for which we might endeavour to find a solution.

The Committees meet during the sessions of the Council, that is to say, at a time when the members of the Council are all overwhelmed with work. The result is that very often representatives on the Council are compelled at the last moment to appoint another member of their delegation to represent them on the Committee of Three.

In view of the responsibility of the Committee of Three towards the Council, this state of affairs cannot be fully satisfactory. Moreover, it is often very difficult for a member of the Council to form an exact idea as to how far a petition is or is not justified, even when he can consult the clear and useful memoranda which are supplied in good time by the Minorities Section of the Secretariat. In these memoranda the Minorities Section is only able to give a summary of the petition and of any observations which the Government concerned may have made, together with any texts of laws or other documents which the Committee may require.

The Secretariat cannot and ought not to draw any conclusions or offer any suggestions as to what action might be taken with respect to any petition, and we cannot but admire and respect the scrupulous care taken by the members of the Section to avoid any departure from that practice.

The question as to how far the difficulties I have pointed out could be removed without going beyond the terms of existing treaties is a very delicate and difficult one. Care must be taken, on the one hand, to safeguard all the rights of the Council in the matter of minorities, and on the other to prevent malicious persons from taking the opportunity to convert the minority system into an instrument of political agitation, a result which would be directly contrary to the aim for which it was instituted. These considerations clearly suggest the desirability of instituting a permanent committee for minorities.

Doubtless the creation of such an organisation would not be without risks. Nevertheless, if we consider how the Permanent Mandates Commission has interpreted its duties in respect of petitions, I am led to wonder whether it would not be possible to create a similar organ and provide it with all the necessary guarantees to which I referred just now.

I do not wish at the moment to submit any proposal to the Assembly regarding this matter. There may be other methods of attaining the desired object. I will merely ask my colleagues to think over these questions and inform us of the result of their reflections.

I am fully aware that the remarks I have just submitted for the consideration of my colleagues

are far from covering the whole field of the League's activities.

I have merely touched upon certain questions which appear to me to merit special attention. Other speakers will, I am sure, give us their views on the problems we are asked to solve. Such an exchange of views is, I think, essential to enable us to prepare the field in which we are asked to take action. May I express the hope that, in our sincere desire for co-operation, we shall find means to reconcile our different views, and travel another stage towards that lofty ideal which must be the final goal of all our endeavours?

#### The President :

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

#### M. Undén (Sweden) :

*Translation* : The report under discussion affords us striking proof of the variety and importance of the work now being undertaken by the League of Nations. Year by year the League is extending its activities to fresh fields, in which there is a compelling need for international co-operation. In view of this steady development of the League's sphere of activity and of the strenuous work carried out by its different organisations, it must be recognised that the League has gradually consolidated its position as an instrument of international co-operation, which has now become quite indispensable.

Important as the various branches of its technical and administrative work undoubtedly are, we must never forget that our main concern should be to consolidate the League as an organisation set up for the maintenance of peace. Accordingly my Government received with keen satisfaction the drafts prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security with a view to widening the sphere of arbitration and conciliation. The programme drawn up by the Committee in this field includes the conclusion of a collective convention on arbitration and conciliation. By adopting it, the Assembly would in a large measure be helping to carry on the work already done in the past — so far mainly by means of bilateral treaties — to secure the pacific settlement of international disputes.

In this connection, allow me to express the hope that the Council will lend its powerful support to the idea of arbitration — indirectly, but none the less effectively — by applying to the Permanent Court of International Justice for advisory opinions on any disputes of a legal character that may arise. Can it be that the hesitation which the Council appears to have felt in applying to the Court is due to the prevailing uncertainty as to whether a unanimous decision is required before this course can be adopted? If so, it is difficult to understand why the Council has not left the Court to decide for itself whether it had been seized in due form. The Court alone would appear to be qualified for the purpose, especially when the point to be settled is whether a ruling given by an arbitral tribunal shall be annulled on the plea of *ultra vires*.

To Sweden, which is a party to a large number of arbitration treaties, the question of the competence and powers vested in arbitral tribunals is of vital importance, and my Government necessarily views with the greatest anxiety any tendency to apply the doctrine of *ultra vires*, unless we have the strongest possible guarantees to preclude abuse.

The Swedish Government has considered with the greatest interest the model treaty drawn up by the Committee on Arbitration and Security with a

view to strengthening the means of preventing war, and hopes that this draft may lead to positive results. I should also like to take this opportunity of expressing my Government's keen satisfaction at the action so nobly taken by the President of the United States and the French Minister for Foreign Affairs which led to the conclusion of a universal treaty of non-aggression. If, as I hope, all States, both Members and non-Members of the League, accede to this pact, it will serve as an expression of the growing spirit of solidarity among nations and of their collective will to consolidate peace. Even to Members of the League who have, in various connections, assumed still wider undertakings to prevent war and to resort to peaceful methods for the settlement of international disputes, the new pact represents an additional safeguard, and one entirely in keeping with the spirit of the Covenant.

I am sorry to say that there is one part of the report now before us with which we are profoundly disappointed — I refer to the part dealing with the reduction of armaments. The discussions of the Preparatory Commission have not brought about any progress in disarmament since the Assembly's session last year, and have had to be adjourned on account of the sharply divergent views which were put forward in regard to certain preliminary questions.

It almost seems as if every year fresh hindrances occur to bar the way to disarmament — that more and more obstacles are arising to prevent the fulfilment of the promises solemnly given by the Members of the League under Article 8 of the Covenant. In the years immediately following the creation of the League, all its Members alike proclaimed the necessity of establishing without delay a convention on the reduction of armaments.

The Assembly, at its session of 1920, unanimously expressed its conviction that "the maintenance of peace demands the reduction of armaments, in accordance with the principles set forth in Article 8 of the Covenant and in the preamble of Part V of the Treaties of Peace, which declare that the disarmament of certain Powers signatory to those Treaties be provided for 'in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations'."

The Assembly, at its session of 1921, requested the Temporary Mixed Commission to draw up, before the meeting of the Assembly in the following

year, a detailed draft treaty on disarmament. But as yet the work for the establishment of this draft has not advanced sufficiently to enable a date to be fixed for the summoning of any general conference which could usefully discuss how far armaments might be reduced.

Everyone, however, admits the danger of delay. If the work of the Preparatory Commission does not very soon produce definite results, public opinion will begin to conclude that mutual mistrust and rivalry still exist between the Governments despite the Covenant of the League, despite the Treaties of Locarno, despite the Kellogg pact. If all these solemn undertakings to renounce war, to resort to arbitration for the settlement of all disputes which may arise between States, to take joint action in applying sanctions against an aggressor — if all these promises are sincere, how can we convince the world, impatient as it is to see some definite result after so many efforts, that a mere feeling of security is not enough to carry us past even the first stage on the road to disarmament?

On the other hand, if this work does not progress, how can we help arousing a dangerous suspicion that the Governments of the Great Powers attach no real importance to all their solemn promises?

We learned recently that the negotiations initiated between certain Powers to facilitate the continuance of the work of disarmament have resulted in an agreement. It is to be hoped that this agreement will help us to swing past the dead centre at which the preparatory work for disarmament has already stopped too long, and that it will prove a real advance towards the achievement of the aim laid down in the Covenant of our League.

#### The President :

*Translation* : No more speakers have sent in their names for to-day's meeting.

I therefore propose to adjourn the discussion on the report on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat until the plenary meeting to-morrow morning at 10.30.

*The Assembly rose at 12.10 p.m.*

## FIFTH PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, September 6th, 1928, at 10.30 a.m.

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26. MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEES OF THE ASSEMBLY.  
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President : M. ZAHLE

24. — APPOINTMENT OF SUBSTITUTE DELEGATES TO THE FINNISH AND VENEZUELAN DELEGATIONS AND OF A FULL DELEGATE TO THE URUGUAYAN DELEGATION.

The President :

*Translation :* I have received several communications concerning the appointment of substitute delegates for certain delegations.

In conformity with the first paragraph of Rule 6 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, the Finnish delegation has appointed as substitute delegates :

Baron Aarno YRJÖ-KOSKINEN, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ; and M. Hugo VALVANNE, Secretary of Legation.

The Venezuelan delegation has also notified me of the appointment of Dr. J. M. HURTADO-MACHADO, chargé d'affaires at Berne, as substitute delegate.

Lastly, the delegation of Uruguay has informed me that its Government has appointed Dr. A. DE CASTRO, formerly a substitute delegate, as full delegate.

25. — MESSAGE OF THANKS FROM Dr. STRESEMANN.

The President :

*Translation :* I should like to communicate to the Assembly the kind message just received by Sir Eric Drummond from Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, in reply to the telegram addressed to him at the beginning of our session, on behalf of the whole Assembly, conveying our best wishes for his speedy recovery.

Dr. Stresemann's message is as follows :

" The good wishes you sent me on behalf of the Assembly of the League of Nations on the occasion of its ninth session have given me great pleasure, and I beg you to convey my most sincere thanks to the President and members of the Assembly. Although, under my doctor's orders, I am unable myself to be at Geneva, you may rest assured that I am following the proceedings of the Assembly with keen interest, and that my best wishes accompany the progress of the session.

(Signed) STRESEMANN. "

The Assembly will be as pleased as I am to find in the cordial terms of this message a fresh proof of Dr. Stresemann's attachment to the League, and of the sympathy with which he is following, even though far away, the work of this Assembly.

26. — MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEES OF THE ASSEMBLY : PROPOSAL BY THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The President :

*Translation :* At its last meeting the General Committee of the Assembly decided to submit to the delegations for approval the following arrangements concerning the framing of the Minutes of Committees. In making this proposal, which is based on similar proposals adopted by the Assembly at previous sessions, the General Committee thought it advisable to put its suggestion

in the form of a principle, which might be regarded to some extent as a rule to be followed by future sessions of the Assembly, until such time as the Assembly might decide otherwise.

The following is the text of the General Committee's proposal :

" While the accounts of the plenary meetings of the Assemblies are verbatim records, the Minutes of the Committees consist only of a summary of the principal points of the discussions. Delegates should not, therefore, expect to find in these Minutes a verbatim record of the observations which they have made, but a summary to which they may request that the necessary corrections be made.

" The provisional Minutes of each meeting will be distributed, as far as possible, before the following meeting. The corrections which the delegates may desire to make should be forwarded to the Secretariat before the meeting which immediately follows that during which the Minutes were distributed. The Chairman may, if he thinks it useful, submit the corrections to the Committee, and it will be for the Committee to decide on the final text of the Minutes and to authorise their publication.

" As a rule, no Minutes are taken of meetings of Sub-Committees. "

You will understand the spirit in which this proposal is made : its purpose is to convert into a rule what has so far been the regular practice followed by this Assembly, so that the General Committee need not have to make the same suggestion every year.

If no one has any remarks to offer, I shall take it that the Assembly approves these arrangements in the sense in which I have just interpreted them. (Adopted).

M. Hambro (Norway) :

Mr. President, I have no objection to the general principle, but I would ask the Secretary-General to provide for better Minutes than we have had in the Committees. All the other reports have been very good, but it has often been remarked among the members that the Minutes of several of the Committees were prepared in a way of which no journalist could approve. There is no objection to the principle proposed by the General Committee but we must be careful that the summary prepared by the stenographers is edited by a member of the Secretariat of the Committee concerned.

The President :

*Translation :* I take note, on behalf of the General Committee, of the observations made by the delegate of Norway, and will request the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to carry out M. Hambro's suggestion.

27. — ELECTION OF THE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL : PROPOSALS OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY REGARDING ITEM 24 OF THE AGENDA OF THE SESSION.

The President :

*Translation :* The Assembly will remember that at its meeting on the afternoon of Monday, September 3rd, it decided to refer to the General Committee, for examination, item No. 24 of the agenda of the present session.

This item is as follows :

"Maintenance in force, as an exceptional measure, for the 1928 Elections to the Council, of the Temporary Provisions (Article IV, paragraph 2) attached to the Rules adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926, for the Election of a non-Permanent Member of the Council."

The General Committee, having studied the proposal made by the British, French and German Governments, came to the conclusion that it could not do better than adopt the proposal unanimously.

It has therefore invited me as President to submit to the Assembly, in the name of the General Committee, a communication accompanied by a draft resolution.

The following is the text of the General Committee's proposal :

- "The General Committee, having considered the temporary provisions of Article IV, paragraph 2, contained in the Rules adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926, for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council and the exceptional circumstances under which they were adopted, unanimously recommends the Assembly to apply, without reference to a Committee, the same temporary provisions for the 1928 election as an exceptional measure required by the recurrence of circumstances analogous to those of 1926.

"The General Committee therefore submits to the Assembly the following resolution :

"The Assembly :

"Having in mind the discussions which took place at the session of 1926 resulting in the unanimous adoption of Rules of Procedure for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council :

"Decides, in virtue of the powers conferred on it by Article IV, paragraph 2 *bis* of the Covenant, that the temporary provisions for the election of 1926 contained in Article IV, paragraph 2, of the resolution of the Assembly of September 15th, 1926, shall also apply to the election of 1928.

"By the application of Article 14, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, this resolution is adopted without reference to a Committee."

The text which I have just read will be printed and circulated to the delegations.

If there is no objection, I intend to open the discussion on the General Committee's proposal at the beginning of to-morrow morning's meeting. The Assembly will then be invited to take a decision with reference to the adoption of this proposal, in conformity with the Rules of Procedure.

*The proposal of the President was adopted.*

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

The President :

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

Mr. McLachlan, first delegate of Australia, will address the Assembly.

Mr. McLachlan (Australia) :

I speak as the representative of Australia, one of those countries favoured by fortune, in that it has never been the scene of war. But we took our part in the great war and paid the price in the lives of our young men, and we are most earnestly determined to do all that lies in our power "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security".

I believe that the necessary prelude to disarmament and the surest way to ensure peace is to give the nations a reasonable promise of security and to offer them some substitute for war as a means of settling disputes. I have come here from Paris, where I have just had the privilege of signing, on behalf of Australia, the pact for the renunciation of war. If, however, nations renounce war as the mode for settling their disputes, some other means must be provided. Arbitration is a suitable method for disputes of a juridical nature, and some form of conciliation is necessary for disputes which do not lend themselves to settlement by arbitration or by the decision of the Permanent Court.

I welcome the report on the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security, because I believe that its work in preparing model treaties will serve as a useful stimulant and a constant reminder to States of how such treaties, providing for arbitration and conciliation, can contribute towards strengthening the guarantees of security by increasing co-operation between States. We yield to none in our belief in the value of arbitration treaties, although we prefer the bilateral type to the general.

It is because I believe that the League's principal aim should always be to increase international co-operation as a means of safeguarding the peace of the world that I am prompted to speak to-day and to point out how its great work might be endangered. Every country desires to be master of its own internal policy, and this fact should be kept constantly and clearly in view. All the States Members have bound themselves by the Covenant to submit to the authority of the League except as regards matters of domestic jurisdiction in those cases covered by Article 15, paragraph 8. This submission applies to problems which are more or less critical and likely to disturb the peace of nations. But there are many other matters of general interest in which international co-operation is desirable, but regarding which a League decision is not binding on its Members, and in connection with which too great activity is to be deprecated. This is especially the case in the economic field.

Up to 1927 very little of the work done at Geneva in that field could be said to have intimately concerned Australia. In 1927, however, the World Economic Conference gave a new impetus and a new direction to the economic work of the League. The position now is that, in common with all other countries, Australia is forced to study the activities which the Financial and Economic Organisation has already undertaken, or is about to undertake, or, indeed, which certain enthusiasts are urging should be undertaken. These activities can be grouped under three heads, namely : European reconstruction, commercial policy, and intelligence work.

The work of European reconstruction has been carried out mainly by the Financial Committee. This is work of which Australia recognises the

great value and importance, but to which, faced as she is with her own immense developmental problems, she cannot make any valuable contribution. At the same time, she realises its world-wide significance and also that, in common with all other countries, she may expect to reap such general benefit as will arise from the return to prosperity of the assisted European nations.

Interest in the many problems which have been included under the term commercial policy has been greatly stimulated by the World Economic Conference. A sharp line divides activities of this group into two distinct types. On the one hand, efforts have been made to improve the facilities for international trade, and, on the other, attention has been drawn to the very complex problem of Customs tariffs.

Where attempts have been made to improve the facilities for international trade, the work has been straightforward and is proving successful. The object has been to clear away the obstacles which hinder trade, and to prepare the ground for international agreements.

Countries have developed, in some respects, in isolation from one another. The result has been that regulations and ordinances directly affecting their commercial relationships have been framed on divergent lines, and for this reason trade has been greatly hampered. The Economic Organisation has brought together a great deal of information on this subject, and is taking appropriate action in regard to such matters as the divergencies of national law on bills of exchange, anomalous Customs formalities, differences in the drawing up of tariff nomenclature, differences in methods whereby arbitration may be brought to bear on commercial disputes. All these constitute a legitimate and safe field for international action, because its purpose is simply to ensure the smooth working of the machinery which enables international commerce to be carried on.

In passing from this work to the question of Customs tariffs, we are facing an entirely different problem. It is a long step from activities designed to improve the machinery of trade to those which, in proposing to deal with Customs tariffs, strike deep into the heart of national policies.

There are many reasons why it is a dangerous, even a hazardous, undertaking for the League to concern itself actively with the question of Customs tariffs. So essentially are Customs tariffs regarded by the constituent nations of which the League of Nations is composed as part of national policy, that it is inconceivable that the League should make any direct representation to nations on the subject of the level or nature of their tariffs.

The method of direct approach having been ruled out, there remains the possibility of international conferences called by the League to consider either the general question of the level and incidence of tariffs or the particular question of the effect of tariffs on some given commodities, or groups of commodities. I should like for a moment to point out the dangers of such conferences. It is only necessary for me to remind you of the essentially different stages of development which the States Members of the League have reached, and to emphasise that, in connection with any given commodity, some

States are interested as producers, others as consumers, and some merely as traders or carriers, in order to make it clear that international conferences definitely called to consider the effect of tariffs on certain commodities might easily cause irritation rather than promote amity.

Having regard to these considerations, the utmost that I can say in regard to the League's economic activities concerning tariffs is that I am unfeignedly glad to have noticed the cautious way in which the Economic Organisation has approached this problem. This very cautious attitude shows that the Economic Organisation realises that Customs tariffs are essentially national problems. Whatever may occur in the future, the time has not yet arrived when the League can safely enter into this field.

Let me emphasise again the purpose for which the League was created — "to seek peace and ensure it"; and let us realise that, for the League to exercise to the highest possible degree its great function, it must carefully guard its prestige, and so be doubly, nay trebly, careful before it embarks on some economic adventure which, however desirable it may appear to some nations, may prove not merely a stumbling-block but even a cause of offence to others.

Up to this point my remarks have been mainly of a critical, perhaps negative nature, and might suggest that my country did not desire to encourage the work of the Economic Organisation. This, however, is far from being the case, for I have now reached the third group of the League's economic activities, namely, its work on behalf of the whole world, with a view to obtaining clearer information and better knowledge of the progress of commerce, industry and agriculture.

We cannot emphasise too much our vigorous approval of this side of the League's work, and the great importance of a really effective Intelligence Service on economic affairs. The great necessity is for the preparation and presentation, in readable and intelligible form, of information and statistics by the League Economic Organisation itself, and this over and above the work which it is necessary to carry out to persuade countries to adopt comparable methods of preparing statistical information. A nation such as Australia, dealing with the vast problem of developing its resources, needs to be able to gauge its progress by reliable data regarding the conditions in other countries. In order that one nation may develop along lines most profitable to the world as a whole, the fullest possible information on production and industry throughout the world must be available.

I am glad to say that the League has already done some excellent work along these lines. By the publication of memoranda covering a wide range of subjects, such as Currency and Banking and International Trade, very valuable information has been made available. This is work for which the League, as an international body, is peculiarly suited, and work which Australia hopes will be continued in the future. If this work can be carried out, it will enable the leaders of thought, in commerce, in industry and in agriculture in all countries to assess their progress and to discover what is, after all, from an international point of view, the most important thing — how they can best contribute to the material welfare of the world.



It is because of my desire to see the League prosper that I have sounded this note of warning. Let every effort be made to collect and disseminate information, so that each State Member may be in a position to understand the results of its tariff policy, but let us be very cautious how we approach the problem of securing a general reduction of tariffs, lest in our efforts to encourage economic welfare we antagonise some States Members and weaken the power of the League to achieve international peace and security.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Mowinckel, first delegate of Norway, will address the Assembly.

**M. Mowinckel (Norway) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — No country places greater hopes in the League of Nations than the one I have the honour to represent. None realises more fully that the peace of the world depends upon the authority which the League acquires. To replace might by right in human relations, and consequently in relations between States, is in our view the most imperative duty of our time. Norway, wishing to emphasise this conception, has signed a series of arbitration treaties without restriction or reserve. She has thereby sought to obtain further guarantees that, in accordance with the true spirit of the League Covenant, legal methods shall be followed in her relations with other States.

Our country and our Government have followed with the greatest interest the efforts made to bind as many States as possible by similar treaties providing for judicial settlement and arbitration in all international disputes. In this connection I will only mention the draft collective arbitration treaty submitted by the Norwegian delegation to the last ordinary session of the Assembly, and the Norwegian Government's memorandum submitted to the Secretary-General of the League on December 30th, 1927. The Norwegian Government therefore cordially welcomed the first results of the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security set up by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. We earnestly hope that a whole system of treaties providing for judicial settlement and arbitration will be brought into being as a result of these efforts, so that confidence and trust in the maintenance of peace between the nations may thereby be enhanced; for it is upon confidence and trust that all our efforts for peace must ultimately rest.

We must confess, however, that the League's position as the inspirer of this confidence is not as strong as we could have desired. This fact is of paramount importance. We must therefore conscientiously enquire into the reasons for it; we must point out, and as far as possible remedy, any defects that may exist. The first and most important condition necessary to enable the League to safeguard peace and to create an atmosphere of confidence in peace is undoubtedly that its authority should be scrupulously and firmly respected by all its Members. Members must feel very sure that the League's action is based on justice and equity and that the League is determined to enforce its decisions. Nothing could be more injurious to the world-wide prestige which is vital

to the League than weakness in carrying out its noble task as a mediator between nations. All Members must feel that the League is above party, that it stands above divergences of view and the clash of political interests.

The Council, which, as it were, permanently directs the League's work, has an important part to play and heavy responsibilities to bear. It is by the action of the Council that the world largely gauges the authority of the League, and its power to enforce that authority. The composition of the Council ought therefore to reflect, as faithfully and as fully as possible, the composition of the League itself.

This condition is essential if the Council's decisions are to command universal respect. I say this because in recent years an impression has sometimes been felt that the Council is inclined to rest content with temporary expedients instead of endeavouring to find permanent solutions for the serious political problems submitted to the League.

In view of the importance I attach to the Council's duties, the Norwegian Government is naturally opposed to the suggestion to reduce the number of the annual sessions of the Council. We are also somewhat averse to proposals or requests for re-eligibility. In so doing we are mindful both of the Council's position, as representing the varied interests of States, and of its authority. We have already expressed these views at previous Assemblies. We are convinced that if our suggestion were followed the interests of all States without a permanent seat on the Council would ultimately be better safeguarded.

The continuity of the Council's actions for the settlement of major international disputes should be further safeguarded by the more frequent use of the procedure, already employed on several occasions, whereby one or more members of the Council are instructed to follow the development of a dispute during the interval between the sessions of the Council, so that the latter may be kept informed of the position.

I am also of opinion that the League's authority as an instrument for peace would be increased by a speedy settlement of the question whether the Council is entitled to ask the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion on legal matters *by a majority vote*, or whether *unanimity* is required, with or without the votes of the parties to the dispute. This question should be decided by the Permanent Court. On this point I am entirely in agreement with my learned colleague, M. Undén.

I have now to say a few words with regard to the administration of the League. It must be made quite clear that the Secretariat should be an impartial body and that it and its officials must serve the League and no one else. There has latterly been an impression that the various States tend to regard those members of the Secretariat who are their nationals as to some extent representing their special interests and their political aims.

This is a disturbing development. Naturally, when a man enters the service of the League of Nations, he cannot be expected to forget his own nationality; but he must always bear in mind that he is in the service of an institution which represents all its Members equally. He must never forget that the mission of that institution is to act as an impartial adviser and arbiter between nations. The heads of the Secretariat should bear this in mind, in their own interest as well as in that of the

League, and for the same reason States should refrain from calling on their nationals in the League's service to promote their special interests.

It is unfortunately clear that the general situation, the general feeling in regard to peace, is not as favourable to-day as might be desired. It is ten years now since hostilities ended, and we all remember how we tried to formulate the lesson of the war in the words: "Lest we forget". Yet to-day many facts have taught us that men are slow to learn and that they forget quickly. We had hoped for great things from the disarmament expressly mentioned in the Peace Treaty. Where do we stand now? Military budgets are swelling; deadlier engines of destruction are being devised for use on land and sea and in the air. There is no comparison between the submarines which struck terror into men's hearts during the world war and the monster submarines now being built.

The aircraft which at that time spread death and destruction were harmless in comparison with the new birds of prey, which are capable of destroying the capitals of the civilised world in a few hours. We learn from England that, in the recent air manoeuvres, the aircraft which attacked London could have dropped twenty-three tons of high-power explosives on that city in less than 24 hours. The gases which during the war brought suffering and death upon hundreds of thousands of soldiers were innocuous compared with the clouds of invisible gas which could now annihilate the civilian population of a large city in a few hours. Even in peace time we have occasional warnings: a gasometer may explode and may in a few seconds endanger the lives of men miles away. An army division may be engaged in manoeuvres with tear gas; suddenly the wind changes, and in a few moments the innocent inhabitants of some village are made to suffer torments. — "Lest we forget!"

The newspapers refer to war manoeuvres, on land, on sea and in the air; armoured tanks advance, bearing down all obstacles; the sky is darkened by hundreds of bombing aircraft; clouds of poison-gas cover the countryside; submarines and torpedo-boats combine to make sea-routes impracticable. — "Lest we forget!"

Why is the international atmosphere still so overcast? Why do the nations, despite all that has happened in the past, still appear to regard war as the *ultima ratio*? The explanation lies, I think, in the tragic fact that unfortunately we have not yet succeeded in making the League of Nations great and powerful enough to allay the fear and mistrust with which the nations still regard each other.

In place of these feelings there should be a firm conviction that legal methods will be followed and that by these methods alone can security be obtained for all countries. The world must place its hopes in the authority of the League, in the League's firm resolve to eradicate the malady of war. Every proof of the existence of this resolve is received with joy and confidence. Public

opinion has followed, with the greatest satisfaction and hope, the great and promising work of the League in the humanitarian, social and economic fields.

As regards the economic field, I should like to add that the Norwegian Government has renounced the reservations it made on signing the Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions.

Public opinion, however, is primarily interested in political questions. The 1924 Protocol marked out the road to be followed, and the efforts made to promote arbitration, security and disarmament are watched with eagerness and with high hope. Every step taken to lessen tension and remove sources of conflict between nations is joyfully welcomed on all sides as heralding the dawn of a new day.

Locarno was the Bethlehem of the new gospel of peace, and M. Briand's noble plea that arms must be replaced by conciliation has found an echo in all our hearts. For these reasons we were overjoyed to hear of M. Herriot's visit to Cologne and of his cordial speech there, and also of Dr. Stresemann's visit to Paris and his warm reception in that city.

We hope and believe that the greetings exchanged on these occasions will do much to advance the cause of peace and will strengthen international understanding and co-operation. True peace can only be attained through confidence and frankness.

We therefore regard the initiative of M. Briand and Mr. Kellogg in the matter of the Peace Pact — to which my country, like so many others, has acceded — as the presage of a brighter future, when popular conviction and the authority of the League shall cause war to be regarded as a crime as heinous as murder.

But in order to achieve this object we must no longer live under the old dictum: "*Si vis pacem para bellum*". We must replace these words by those engraved on the pen presented by the city of Havre to Mr. Kellogg for the signature of the Pact against war: "*Si vis pacem para pacem*".

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Hymans, first delegate of Belgium, will address the Assembly.

**M. Hymans :**

*Translation :* Ladies and gentlemen — To-day, on my return to this platform I see before me many familiar faces. But to my profound grief one figure is missing, one whom we shall never see again, the figure of a much loved and honoured statesman, a man of singular charm, who was one of the builders of the League and whose name will always be associated with what is among the greatest international achievements of our age — the Red Cross. I wish to pay a last tribute to the memory of M. Gustave Ador, here at Geneva, where he lived.

Ladies and gentlemen, I desire to place before you the impressions of one who, despite two years' absence, has never ceased to follow your work and efforts from afar, who has perhaps been able to view them more objectively than if he had been living in the special atmosphere and climate of Geneva, which make themselves felt so swiftly and so keenly by every visitor to this city.

I should like to express my country's views on the work and progress of the League and the part it has played. In Belgium, as elsewhere, we have our

extremists. There are the mystics of peace, who believe that the League of Nations can accomplish anything and everything, as has sometimes been said about Parliaments; and there are the sceptics, whose scepticism amounts almost to hostility. Since, given bad faith, any pact can be violated, they regard the most solemn treaties as idle and worthless. Theirs is the religion of force. They have developed a philosophy of mistrust and have adopted it as their political creed.

But what I want to convey is the average opinion of my country, the opinion of those competent to observe and reason without prejudice, the opinion of a small country, which, if it is to live, develop and fulfil its destiny, wants peace. My country must have peace and security. It has nothing to gain by war, and everything to lose. Its heart is set on peace. It hears from afar the echoes of the great debates of the Assembly. It may doubtless be tempted to view our oratorical efforts as part of a spectacular display or consecrated rite. But these very speeches proclaim and familiarise us with the idea of peace and serve to demonstrate the striking unity of purpose of those whose task it is to shape world politics.

Again, public opinion is becoming better informed in regard to the steady conciliation and co-ordination of interests effected by the technical Committees and special Conferences held at Geneva and at the Secretariat, which has become a real international ministry.

Belgium, though no longer a Member of the Council, has taken no less an active share in the work of the League, and it is gratifying to note the part played in it by a number of eminent Belgians.

Sir Eric Drummond, who visited the Belgian Government last spring, accompanied by M. Sugimura, could judge, by his cordial reception, of the growing sympathy felt for the League in my country, especially among young people, to whom the cause of peace offers an ideal in these days of doubt and uncertainty.

Personally, far from Geneva, and surrounded as I have been by this opinion of the country at large which I wish to convey to you, but at the same time not without some experience, I feel that, despite a certain amount of hesitation and abortive effort, and even disappointment, the past two years have, taken as a whole, been marked by an appreciable degree of progress. The League has given proof of its vitality, it has extended its radius of action—particularly in the economic sphere—it has grown apace, it has effectively pursued its task, which is, in the terms of the Covenant, to promote international co-operation and thus achieve international order and peace.

Many times in the course of these last three years I have heard talk of a crisis, or a number of crises in the League.

The League has never known a crisis. Difficult and delicate problems have sometimes come before the Council, which could not be solved simply by a word or by a stroke of the pen. What could be more natural? The people who announce these crises in the League are the same people who imagine that it has power to reconcile the most divergent interests by means of immediate and binding decisions. They know nothing of world conditions or conditions in the individual States. There are many questions which can only be touched with a light hand, which must be treated with the greatest care because they arouse the most delicate susceptibilities. More radical treatment might serve to aggravate the evil; premature resolutions might provoke dangerous developments. Prudence, diplomacy, aided by time and psychological factors, often prove more successful than hasty and peremptory methods. An eminent diplomat has

very truly said of the League: "Its contribution to the cause of peace will be to give nations time, at certain moments, to stop and think".

The League's permanent service in the cause of peace is to draw the peoples together by teaching them to know one another better, to realise the solidarity of their political, economic, intellectual and social interests, and to organise those common interests.

Two great events, from this point of view, stand out in recent times,—the Locarno Treaties and the Economic Conference.

The treaty of mutual guarantee signed at Locarno and known as the Rhine pact constitutes a solid and stable foundation for peace. It was conceived in accordance with the principles laid down by the League, and it is to the League and the spirit of the League that it owes its being.

In the economic sphere, considerable progress has been made, sufficient to justify the highest hopes.

I do not propose to recall the work of co-operation and reconstruction, which belongs to the early days of the League; the Brussels Financial Conference, the financial reconstruction of Austria and Hungary, and many other social undertakings in Eastern Europe.

But stress should be laid upon the recent effort, so happily brought to fruition, to regularise, consolidate and modernise international commercial relations.

Until the world Economic Conference held in May 1927, the idea of which was due to M. Loucheur, who suggested it to the Assembly three years ago, nobody had dared to meddle with Customs policies, which were regarded as the exclusive concern of the individual States, in virtue of their sovereign powers. The Conference advanced boldly within this hitherto prohibited domain.

The Conference, be it noted, was composed not of Government delegates bound by ties of official reticence, but of persons selected from the ranks of the most competent technical experts. I venture to remind you that it was one of my compatriots and friends, M. Theunis, who presided over those discussions.

The conclusions arrived at by the Conference were couched in bold and unambiguous terms. It declared that "tariffs, though within the sovereign jurisdiction of the separate States, are not a matter of purely domestic interest but greatly influence the trade of the world."

Having enunciated this principle, it proceeded to state the corollaries, foremost among which was the necessity of arresting further tariff increases and gradually effecting reductions. It then outlined a plan for international action.

Many Governments followed the movement—my Government, I am proud to say, was one of the first—and gave their adherence to the recommendation of the Conference, whose spirit and whose work have now devolved upon the Consultative Economic Committee. This body of technical experts and representatives of vast interests, presided over by M. Theunis, constitutes as it were a tribunal of public opinion. Every year the commercial policy of the States will be passed in review and considered in the light of the resolutions of the Conference. It would be a mistake to regard this examination simply as a formal sanction.

Another successful venture, for which we have to thank Italy, has produced very definite and noteworthy results: I refer to the Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions.

With patience and method which were bound to inspire confidence, the League prepared a

programme, and this was duly submitted to the Governments.

An International Conference met at Geneva on October 17th last. It was confronted by difficulties which appeared insurmountable, but these were vanquished by common sense and systematic endeavour. The Conference recognised certain *de facto* situations and admitted a number of provisional exceptions. The first general Convention was signed by some twenty States on November 7th, 1927. A second Conference met on July 3rd, 1928, and in a Supplementary Agreement laid down the procedure to be followed for reservations made, and defined the conditions for putting the Convention into force, while special Protocols for the abrogation of prohibitions concerning certain groups of States were drawn up at separate conferences. To me, the most interesting point is that this was the first collective commercial treaty ever concluded.

Thus, owing to the sure methods employed and to the authority and great ability of M. Colijn, the President, the first attempt to conclude a collective commercial treaty proved eminently successful.

I particularly desired to throw into relief the League's activities in the economic and commercial sphere, for the League is a definite factor in the material progress and pacification of the world. It serves the cause of peace by eliminating causes of rivalry and, conversely, by strengthening the foundations of peace, it lessens the protectionist tendencies of States.

The League's economic work is rich in promise; Belgium believes in it and sees in it precious guarantees of peace and prosperity.

One grave problem is still outstanding, and that is what is commonly called the problem of disarmament. This description, which, though incorrect, is the one generally employed, inspires excessive hopes in some and inordinate anxiety in others. According to the terms of the Covenant, the purpose in view is the limitation of armaments, or, to be more precise, the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety.

Everybody realises the terrible danger which would result from a competition in armaments. Lord Grey, in his Memoirs, has shown how vast armaments, bred of a concern for security, really end by jeopardising and compromising that very purpose, for they produce in some a kind of intoxication of power and provoke in others suspicion and a spirit of competition.

In questions which concern national defence, the League must necessarily proceed slowly and with caution. But the ultimate aim is still kept in view. Some progress was made last year, when the League created the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and the latter achieved still further progress by preparing various model draft treaties of conciliation and arbitration, a draft treaty of mutual guarantee and, lastly, a most important draft treaty designed to strengthen the authority and means at the disposal of the Council for the prevention of war.

The adoption of such measures by States would be an appreciable factor in security. For security is what we are all chiefly concerned about. My compatriot, M. de Brouckère, speaking here last year expressed himself as follows:

"My country, my little, hard-working, peaceful country, is dominated by a passionate love of freedom and a passionate love of peace. Its freedom it is resolved to safeguard and defend so long as it is exposed to any risk whatever, and I need not say that, like all of us, I regard the

problem of disarmament as a function of the problem of security."

I can only confirm what he said, and looking around me and afar, at the countries of Europe and at the whole world, I venture to repeat the words used just now in the stirring speech of the Norwegian delegate: only confidence, that is, a feeling of security, of guaranteed, stable and lasting security, can lead the nations on along the road to disarmament, which is the end and aim of our endeavours. There are many who in their impatience would fain spring to the conclusion at one bound.

But we need only look at the problem as it presents itself to the League to realise that no other will ever prove more difficult to solve. It is the biggest, the most complex problem conceivable, for, according to the Covenant itself, account must be taken of the political and economic circumstances of every State; to quote the expressive term used by M. Paul-Boncour, the war-potential of every State has to be estimated, the dangers attaching to its geographical position must be gauged, the budget and effectives of each country must be fixed, and, lastly, a general system of supervision has to be organised.

An immense undertaking of this kind obviously required minute and patient study and enquiry — technical, legal and political; where the ground to be covered is so rough it is clear that progress can only be gradual.

Yet perseverance is essential. It would be a great mistake, however, to represent disarmament as the cardinal problem on which the League should concentrate and to which it should devote its chief attention. Some people think that, because it has not solved the problem in a few months, the League is faced with failure. They forget the realities of life; they forget the passions that the world reveals, the interests, the rivalries, the ill-will, all the factors that give rise to discord and engender hostility.

The League's mission is to conciliate, to calm, to assuage, to moderate, to accustom Governments and the public to resort to discussion and deliberation in lieu of violence, to organise international life, linking together the interests of the nations in the fields of politics, business, trade, industry and science.

It is thus paving the way for security and peace. The work of peace, however, calls not merely for lengthy diplomatic negotiations and legal transactions, but for a whole code of procedure which has rightly been termed the "technique of peace". It requires, too, spiritual preparation, a transformation, an adaptation of national mentality. Peace, as Mr. Coolidge has said, is a great spiritual conquest.

It is the League of Nations that guides the public mind towards ideals of solidarity and justice. It has created, and it is fostering, an international conscience. What Government indeed would nowadays dare to brave the League's opinion — the world's opinion, which the League reflects — by venturing upon wars of conquest, on what have been termed wars of aggrandisement? To what hazards would not a nation's policy be exposed if, scorning all right and principle, it were, in M. Jules Cambon's phrase, bereft of a moral purpose?

The League of Nations, then, educates the minds of men against war, and instils into them slowly — the process requires time — the practical necessity and the duty of maintaining peace.

The pact against war which we have just signed at Paris at the instance of the United States, following upon the noble proposal put forward

by M. Briand, is of inestimable value in that it brings together politics and morality, it introduces into the code of international diplomacy a moral law, the principle that war shall henceforth be condemned, and with it the unjustified use of force. It is a categorical imperative, a moral obligation, the positive value of which lies in the international public opinion it will create regarding the consequences to which those who might violate it would be exposed.

Briefly, when we look back upon the stages safely passed during the last two or three years, we find evidence of stabilisation, we find an affirmation of the spirit of peace, we find an ever-growing resolve to save future generations from the horrors of war and its disastrous aftermath, — anarchy, revolution, ruin and the exhaustion of an age-long civilisation.

No careful watcher can fail to see the causes of disquiet and unrest which still exist in the world. On the other hand, it is only fair to recognise that the forces of peace — moral forces, economic forces, spiritual forces — are gaining in strength.

Belgium welcomes these hopeful signs and, within her modest means, will co-operate loyally in all the undertakings of the League of Nations, to which she reaffirms her unswerving allegiance.

#### 29. — MANDATES : DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE PORTUGUESE DELEGATION.

The President :

*Translation :* The Portuguese delegation desires to submit a draft resolution to the Assembly. Count de Penha Garcia, delegate of Portugal, will address the Assembly.

Count de Penha Garcia (Portugal) :

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have the honour, in accordance with the procedure of the Assembly, to submit the following draft resolution :

“ The Assembly :

“ Following the precedent already established in previous years :

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

The President :

*Translation :* This draft resolution will be printed and communicated to the delegations through the *Assembly Journal*.

I propose, at a later meeting, to submit to the Assembly suggestions as to the disposal of this draft resolution.

#### 30. — REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS : DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION.

The President :

*Translation :* Jonkheer Loudon, delegate of the Netherlands, will address the Assembly.

Jonkheer Loudon (Netherlands) :

*Translation :* Mr. President — I have the honour to submit to the Assembly the following draft resolution, which is similar to the one that I proposed last year :

“ That that part of the report and of the Supplementary Report on the Work of the Council and of the Secretariat which deals with the question of the reduction of armaments be referred to the Third Committee.”

The President :

*Translation :* The draft resolution will be printed and communicated to the delegations through the *Assembly Journal*.

I propose at a later meeting to submit to the Assembly suggestions as to the disposal of this draft resolution.

*The Assembly rose at 12.50 p.m.*

## SIXTH PLENARY MEETING

Friday, September 7th, 1928, at 10 a.m.

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31. APPOINTMENT OF SUBSTITUTE DELEGATES TO THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION.

32. MANDATES :

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Continuation of the Discussion.

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Continuation of the Discussion.

Speeches by His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur (India), M. Adatei (Japan), M. Mendez Pereira (Panama), M. Politis (Greece).

President : M. ZAHLE.

31. — APPOINTMENT OF SUBSTITUTE DELEGATES TO THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION.

The President :

*Translation :* Before proceeding with the agenda of to-day's meeting I have a communication to bring to the notice of the Assembly.

programme, and this was duly submitted to the Governments.

An International Conference met at Geneva on October 17th last. It was confronted by difficulties which appeared insurmountable, but these were vanquished by common sense and systematic endeavour. The Conference recognised certain *de facto* situations and admitted a number of provisional exceptions. The first general Convention was signed by some twenty States on November 7th, 1927. A second Conference met on July 3rd, 1928, and in a Supplementary Agreement laid down the procedure to be followed for reservations made, and defined the conditions for putting the Convention into force, while special Protocols for the abrogation of prohibitions concerning certain groups of States were drawn up at separate conferences. To me, the most interesting point is that this was the first collective commercial treaty ever concluded.

Thus, owing to the sure methods employed and to the authority and great ability of M. Colijn, the President, the first attempt to conclude a collective commercial treaty proved eminently successful.

I particularly desired to throw into relief the League's activities in the economic and commercial sphere, for the League is a definite factor in the material progress and pacification of the world. It serves the cause of peace by eliminating causes of rivalry and, conversely, by strengthening the foundations of peace, it lessens the protectionist tendencies of States.

The League's economic work is rich in promise; Belgium believes in it and sees in it precious guarantees of peace and prosperity.

One grave problem is still outstanding, and that is what is commonly called the problem of disarmament. This description, which, though incorrect, is the one generally employed, inspires excessive hopes in some and inordinate anxiety in others. According to the terms of the Covenant, the purpose in view is the limitation of armaments, or, to be more precise, the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety.

Everybody realises the terrible danger which would result from a competition in armaments. Lord Grey, in his Memoirs, has shown how vast armaments, bred of a concern for security, really end by jeopardising and compromising that very purpose, for they produce in some a kind of intoxication of power and provoke in others suspicion and a spirit of competition.

In questions which concern national defence, the League must necessarily proceed slowly and with caution. But the ultimate aim is still kept in view. Some progress was made last year, when the League created the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and the latter achieved still further progress by preparing various model draft treaties of conciliation and arbitration, a draft treaty of mutual guarantee and, lastly, a most important draft treaty designed to strengthen the authority and means at the disposal of the Council for the prevention of war.

The adoption of such measures by States would be an appreciable factor in security. For security is what we are all chiefly concerned about. My compatriot, M. de Brouckère, speaking here last year expressed himself as follows:

"My country, my little, hard-working, peaceful country, is dominated by a passionate love of freedom and a passionate love of peace. Its freedom it is resolved to safeguard and defend so long as it is exposed to any risk whatever, and I need not say that, like all of us, I regard the

problem of disarmament as a function of the problem of security."

I can only confirm what he said, and looking around me and afar, at the countries of Europe and at the whole world, I venture to repeat the words used just now in the stirring speech of the Norwegian delegate: only confidence, that is, a feeling of security, of guaranteed, stable and lasting security, can lead the nations on along the road to disarmament, which is the end and aim of our endeavours. There are many who in their impatience would fain spring to the conclusion at one bound.

But we need only look at the problem as it presents itself to the League to realise that no other will ever prove more difficult to solve. It is the biggest, the most complex problem conceivable, for, according to the Covenant itself, account must be taken of the political and economic circumstances of every State; to quote the expressive term used by M. Paul-Boncour, the war-potential of every State has to be estimated, the dangers attaching to its geographical position must be gauged, the budget and effectives of each country must be fixed, and, lastly, a general system of supervision has to be organised.

An immense undertaking of this kind obviously required minute and patient study and enquiry — technical, legal and political; where the ground to be covered is so rough it is clear that progress can only be gradual.

Yet perseverance is essential. It would be a great mistake, however, to represent disarmament as the cardinal problem on which the League should concentrate and to which it should devote its chief attention. Some people think that, because it has not solved the problem in a few months, the League is faced with failure. They forget the realities of life; they forget the passions that the world reveals, the interests, the rivalries, the ill-will, all the factors that give rise to discord and engender hostility.

The League's mission is to conciliate, to calm, to assuage, to moderate, to accustom Governments and the public to resort to discussion and deliberation in lieu of violence, to organise international life, linking together the interests of the nations in the fields of politics, business, trade, industry and science.

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by M. Briand, is of inestimable value in that it brings together politics and morality, it introduces into the code of international diplomacy a moral law, the principle that war shall henceforth be condemned, and with it the unjustified use of force. It is a categorical imperative, a moral obligation, the positive value of which lies in the international public opinion it will create regarding the consequences to which those who might violate it would be exposed.

Briefly, when we look back upon the stages safely passed during the last two or three years, we find evidence of stabilisation, we find an affirmation of the spirit of peace, we find an ever-growing resolve to save future generations from the horrors of war and its disastrous aftermath, — anarchy, revolution, ruin and the exhaustion of an age-long civilisation.

No careful watcher can fail to see the causes of disquiet and unrest which still exist in the world. Or, the other hand, it is only fair to recognise that the forces of peace — moral forces, economic forces, spiritual forces — are gaining in strength.

Belgium welcomes these hopeful signs and, within her modest means, will co-operate loyally in all the undertakings of the League of Nations, to which she reaffirms her unswerving allegiance.

#### 29. — MANDATES : DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE PORTUGUESE DELEGATION.

The President :

*Translation :* The Portuguese delegation desires to submit a draft resolution to the Assembly. Count de Penha Garcia, delegate of Portugal, will address the Assembly.

Count de Penha Garcia (Portugal) :

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have the honour, in accordance with the procedure of the Assembly, to submit the following draft resolution :

“The Assembly :

“Following the precedent already established in previous years :

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

The President :

*Translation :* This draft resolution will be printed and communicated to the delegations through the *Assembly Journal*.

I propose, at a later meeting, to submit to the Assembly suggestions as to the disposal of this draft resolution.

#### 30. — REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS : DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION.

The President :

*Translation :* Jonkheer Loudon, delegate of the Netherlands, will address the Assembly.

Jonkheer Loudon (Netherlands) :

*Translation :* Mr. President — I have the honour to submit to the Assembly the following draft resolution, which is similar to the one that I proposed last year :

“That that part of the report and of the Supplementary Report on the Work of the Council and of the Secretariat which deals with the question of the reduction of armaments be referred to the Third Committee.”

The President :

*Translation :* The draft resolution will be printed and communicated to the delegations through the *Assembly Journal*.

I propose at a later meeting to submit to the Assembly suggestions as to the disposal of this draft resolution.

*The Assembly rose at 12.50 p.m.*

## SIXTH PLENARY MEETING

Friday, September 7th, 1928, at 10 a.m.

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President : M. ZAHLE.

31. — APPOINTMENT OF SUBSTITUTE DELEGATES TO THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION.

The President :

*Translation :* Before proceeding with the agenda of to-day's meeting I have a communication to bring to the notice of the Assembly.

The first delegate of the Netherlands informs me that the following have been appointed substitute delegates :

M. W. G. VAN WETTUM, Government Adviser for International Opium Questions.  
Mme. C. A. KLUYVER, Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

**32. — MANDATES: REFERENCE TO THE SIXTH COMMITTEE OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE PORTUGUESE DELEGATION.**

The President :

*Translation* : You will remember that at yesterday morning's meeting I said that I might have suggestions to put forward as to the action to be taken with regard to the draft resolution submitted by the Portuguese delegation.

The text, which is as follows, has been printed and circulated to the delegations :

“ The Assembly :

“ Following the precedent already established in previous years ;

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

In accordance with the procedure adopted at the last ordinary session of the Assembly, I propose that the Assembly should adopt this resolution and should accordingly refer to the Sixth Committee the various documents dealing with the mandated territories.

If no objections are raised, this procedure will be adopted. (*Adopted.*)

**33. — REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS: REFERENCE TO THE THIRD COMMITTEE OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION.**

The President :

*Translation* : The Assembly will remember that, at its meeting yesterday morning, a draft resolution was submitted by the Netherlands delegation.

In this case also I said that I might have suggestions to submit to the Assembly as to the steps to be taken with regard to the draft resolution.

The text, which is as follows, has been printed and circulated to the delegations :

“ That that part of the Report and of the Supplementary Report on the Work of the Council and of the Secretariat which deals with the question of the reduction of armaments be referred to the Third Committee. ”

In order to expedite the procedure, and in conformity with the course approved at former sessions, I propose that the Assembly adopt this draft resolution and refer to the Third Committee those parts of the report and of the supplementary report on the work of the Council which relate to the reduction of armaments.

If there are no objections, I shall regard this proposal as adopted. (*Adopted.*)

**34. — ELECTION OF THE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL: PROPOSALS OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY REGARDING ITEM 24 OF THE AGENDA OF THE SESSION: CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.**

The President :

*Translation* : The next item on the agenda refers to proposals of the General Committee regarding Item No. 24 of the agenda of the present session :

“ Maintenance in force, as an exceptional measure, for the 1928 Elections to the Council of the Temporary Provisions (Article IV, paragraph 2) attached to the Rules adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926, for the Election of a Non-permanent Member of the Council. ”

At its meeting yesterday morning the Assembly approved the suggestion which I had ventured to put forward, and agreed to examine at the beginning of this morning's meeting the General Committee's proposal, which I will now read again :

“ The General Committee of the Assembly, having considered the temporary provisions (Article IV, paragraph 2) contained in the Rules adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926, for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council, and the exceptional circumstances under which they were adopted, unanimously recommends to the Assembly to apply without reference to a Committee the same temporary provisions for the 1928 elections, as an exceptional measure required by the recurrence of circumstances analogous to those of 1926.

“ The General Committee therefore submits to the Assembly the following resolution :

“ The Assembly, having in mind the discussions which took place at the session of 1926 resulting in the unanimous adoption of the rules of procedure for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council, decides, in virtue of its powers under Article 4, paragraph 2bis, of the Covenant, that the temporary provisions for the elections of 1926, contained in Article IV, paragraph 2, of the resolution of the Assembly of September 15th, 1926, shall also apply to the elections of 1928.

“ In application of Rule 14, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, this resolution is adopted without reference to a Committee. ”

The Assembly will notice that this draft resolution involves a twofold decision :

First, a decision on a question placed on its agenda at a plenary meeting, without previous reference to a Committee, in application of Rule 4, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, and, secondly, a decision to adopt, in virtue of Article 4, paragraph 2bis of the Covenant, temporary provisions concerning the conditions of re-eligibility of non-permanent Members of the Council.

Both these decisions must be taken by a two-thirds majority.

The Assembly could, by a single vote, decide on the proposal as a whole. If, however, any member applied for a separate vote, the Assembly could decide on the two points successively, priority being given of course to the point bearing on Rule 14, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure.



The Assembly has then to consider a draft resolution submitted by the General Committee which I have just explained. The discussion is now open and I call upon the first member who has asked to speak. M. Undén, delegate of Sweden, will address the Assembly.

**M. Undén (Sweden) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President — According to the statement which you have made, the General Committee did not simply decide a question of procedure, which was the only point submitted to it the other day by the Assembly, but thought fit to lay before us a proposal affecting the substance of the matter.

As regards the procedure involved, I cannot agree with the General Committee, whose proposal deals with a draft amendment affecting one of the League's constitutional principles, which, according to the Covenant, can only be modified by a majority of two-thirds of the number of votes cast.

This fact seems to me to show clearly that changes ought not to be made hastily, but only after mature reflection. In these circumstances I am of opinion that the ordinary procedure should have been followed.

As regards the question of substance, I should like to say that the regulation concerning elections to the Council was adopted in 1926 after lengthy and arduous discussion, and only after mutual concessions had been made by States holding widely divergent views on the matter.

I have no intention of opening a discussion on the substance of the question. I merely venture to remind you that during the discussion which took place in 1926 the representative of Sweden said he could not accept the proposed compromise unless it were clearly understood to constitute a *final and complete* settlement of the whole problem. If we allowed fresh exceptions to be made, we should be setting up a precedent which, in all probability would certainly be cited before very long.

In view of the above considerations, and of the principles which my Government has always advocated, the Swedish delegation cannot see its way to support the proposal submitted by the British, French and German Governments.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Mowinckel, first delegate of Norway, will address the Assembly.

**M. Mowinckel (Norway) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I wish to refer to what I said in my speech yesterday concerning the Norwegian Government's opinion regarding the re-eligibility of the non-permanent Members of the Council — an opinion which Norway has already taken occasion to express — and I have asked to speak in order to give my support from this platform to the view which M. Undén has just put forward. I need not say that our attitude is not animated by ill-will towards any country. We take no sides in the matter. Our attitude is based on principle ; it is dictated solely by a conviction to which we feel we must steadfastly adhere.

Only for the most urgent reasons should the Assembly depart from the rules of election which it laid down two years ago, after mature reflection and exhaustive discussion. We do not agree that such reasons exist. The rules at present in force enable the widest possible consideration to be given to the desires of individual States without there being any need to resort to exceptional measures.

I would add that any deviation from these rules might easily be cited in the future as a precedent, and would thus endanger the stability and consistency indispensable to maintain the authority of our institution.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Villegas, first delegate of Chile, will address the Assembly.

**M. Villegas (Chile) :**

*Translation :* The Chilean delegation welcomed the rules which were adopted in 1926 after lengthy discussion by the Special Committee, for we thought they would provide a settlement for certain political problems to which we attached great importance. A similar problem has arisen to-day in exactly the same form, and I see no reason why we should not apply now the measures which were regarded as wise and equitable in 1926.

In the life of the League, as in the history of nations, two years are but a moment's space, and what we have temporarily discontinued we are now resuming after a very short interval.

I therefore strongly support the proposal that, as an exceptional measure, we should apply to the 1928 elections the temporary provisions of 1926, without referring this proposal to a Committee.

**The President :**

*Translation :* Does anyone else wish to speak ?

The discussion is closed.

As no application has been received for the vote to be taken separately on each question, the Assembly will now decide by a single vote on the entire proposal submitted by the General Committee. The decision, which must be taken by a two-thirds majority, will have the twofold result of indicating whether the Assembly desires to take a decision, without previous reference to a Committee, on the draft resolution submitted to it, or whether, in virtue of Article 4, paragraph 2*bis*, of the Covenant, the Assembly intends to adopt the draft resolution itself.

The vote will now be taken. Unless a request is made for it to be taken by members rising in their seats, it will be taken by roll-call.

In conformity with Rule 20 (a) of the Rules of Procedure, the name of each delegation will be called. Members of the Assembly who are in favour of the resolution will reply "Yes"; those who are opposed to it will reply "No" and those who desire to abstain will reply "Not voting".

The result of the vote will be recorded and announced to the Assembly.

*The vote was taken by roll-call.*

**The President :**

*Translation :* The result of the voting is as follows :

Number of States voting . . . . .	49
Abstained . . . . .	1
Two-thirds majority required . . . . .	32
Votes in favour . . . . .	44
Votes against . . . . .	4

In accordance with the Rules of Procedure and with Article 4, paragraph 2*bis* of the Covenant, I declare that the Assembly has decided in the affirmative, and by the required majority, on the entire proposal of the General Committee as I have defined it.

I therefore announce that the temporary provisions governing the 1926 elections and contained in Article IV, paragraph 2, of the Assembly resolution, dated September 15th, 1926, shall likewise apply to the 1928 elections.

(Adopted.)

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

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the general discussion of the report on the work of the Council, on the work of the Secretariat, and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly.

His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur, delegate of India, will address the Assembly.

**H. H. the Nawab of Palanpur (India) :**

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — It is with feelings of diffidence and respect that I, a stranger, come before this great gathering of international statesmen and I earnestly trust that I may count upon your indulgence in the discharge of the responsibility which devolves upon me on this occasion as a member of the Indian delegation, within which I represent more particularly the ruling Princes of India.

India, with her ancient civilisation and culture, and her well-known assimilation of noble ideas, is genuinely interested in the aims and objects of the League of Nations, and is most anxious to promote, as far as lies in her power, the growth of the ideals and activities of the League. This growth has continued during the past twelve months.

Ever since the foundation of the League, attempts have been made in various parts of India to bring into existence societies to develop interest and knowledge of League matters. Such societies did useful work, but they lacked initiative and guidance. A central branch of the League of Nations Union has now been organised in Delhi, which will co-ordinate and federate the work of the smaller organisations in the various provincial centres, and give the movement the stimulus which it requires.

The social welfare and public health activities of the League have always commanded India's admiration, sympathy and support, and I may be permitted to tender my tribute of praise and gratitude to all workers on behalf of the League in these directions. The interchange of public health officers which was conducted under the auspices of the League and terminated in India in February last was greatly welcomed by public health workers in India, as affording them an opportunity of profiting by contact with workers on similar problems in other countries. Similar beneficial results are anticipated from the acceptance by the League Malaria Commission of the invitation of the Government of India to visit India in the near future.

The inclusion of rural hygiene in the programme of the Health Committee is also of special interest to India. The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India has just reported on this subject, and I feel sure that any material which the more extensive investigations of the League Organisation may be able to place at the disposal of the Indian authorities will be of the utmost value and importance to them.

Similar remarks apply to questions connected with infant mortality, which is also receiving the attention of the Health Committee. As infant mortality is, unfortunately, high in India, any practical suggestions which may result in the lowering of such mortality will be received with the greatest relief and interest by my countrymen.

With regard to the child welfare activities of the League, my two distinguished predecessors, H.H.

The Maharajah of Patiala and H.H. the Maharajah of Kapurthala expressed apprehension in the Assembly regarding the danger which might attend international action in these matters owing to vast differences which exist between different communities and nations, differences which are deeply rooted in religion, national customs and conventions. It would be of interest to the Assembly to learn that, in spite of these difficulties and drawbacks, the Government of India has recently appointed a strong Committee of non-officials to undertake a comprehensive survey of the question of raising the age of consent. I may also mention in passing that Infant-Marriage Prevention Laws have been adopted already in some Indian States.

With regard to opium, India has for a very long time pursued an altruistic policy, and imposed upon herself obligations conceived in accordance with the highest humanitarian ideals, even when she could least afford to bear the heavy financial burden involved in such a policy. Now that the Opium Convention has received the necessary number of ratifications, and the Central Board is also to be set up, India has every reason to hope that she will receive the support and co-operation of the States Members of the League in suppressing the illicit traffic in cocaine in India, which is stated to be as much as forty times the legitimate imports, and which, on account of the large gains involved, flourishes in spite of vigorous administrative efforts to suppress it. We consider it to be of the utmost importance that the personnel of the Central Board should be as strong and independent as possible.

I trust that what I have just said will serve to show that India is taking an ever-increasing interest in the activities of the League, and it would be a matter of genuine concern if that growth of interest were checked by irritation at continued increase in the annual contribution of India to the funds of the League — a contribution which is actually heavier than that of any State which does not occupy permanently a seat on the Council.

Public opinion in India also looks forward to the time when some of my fellow-countrymen will rise to high office in the League, worthy of the great country of our birth. We are particularly gratified that within the last twelve months India has acquired a seat on the Economic Committee and has been honoured by the appointment of one of her most distinguished countrymen as Vice-President of the Economic Consultative Committee. I have no doubt that further progress on these lines would accelerate the pace of Indian co-operation in the League, and the spread of interest in India in League politics.

You are no doubt aware that, in certain quarters in the East, there is a suspicion that the League is intended for use as an instrument for perpetuating the hegemony of the races which are of European origin over the other races. I do not believe that this view can be honestly entertained by anybody who studies the facts deeply and without prejudice. But the suspicion exists, and suspicions, even when unfounded, may produce mischief if not dispelled by the solid evidence of facts.

We are indebted to the Committee on Arbitration and Security for its valuable studies of the forces which produce insecurity, and of the means of counteracting them. It has naturally concerned itself with the practical problems which immediately confront the Western world. But there is, so it appears to me, a possible cause of insecurity lying even deeper, and capable

of producing results even more disastrous than those which we now hope so earnestly to avert. I refer particularly to those sentiments of racial inequality which may, unless appeased, again divide the world into hostile camps.

The League itself is based on the conception of universal equality, and I think that the words in the message just addressed by the Council to the Government of Costa Rica, "equal obligations and equal rights", should be welcomed and appreciated in other continents besides that of America. Great possibilities for the continuance of the beneficent work of the League will, I am sure, come into view as soon as a general conviction exists in the Orient, that the League is, in the fullest sense, an association of equal peoples, with equal obligations and equal rights, affording equal opportunities to all its Members, irrespective of racial origin, to work harmoniously together for the great humane objects laid down in the Covenant.

**The President :**

*Translation :* His Excellency, M. Adatei, first delegate of Japan, will address the Assembly.

**M. Adatei (Japan) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Among the various fruitful activities of the League during the past year, the work of the technical organisations undoubtedly occupies a most important place, while the efforts devoted to economic problems are deserving of special consideration.

The Conferences for the abolition of import and export prohibitions, held in October 1927 and July 1928, resulted in the conclusion of an international convention and of a supplementary agreement. These instruments constitute the first step in the abolition of the economic measures taken since the great war; thanks to them the most formidable of the obstacles to freedom of commerce can at last be removed. I am very glad to see that this return to freedom of trade has been effected under League auspices.

At its last ordinary session, the Assembly, by a happy inspiration, set up a body to supervise the application of the resolutions adopted by the Economic Conference in 1927. The body in question, which held its first meeting last May, is composed of distinguished economic and financial experts, and the resolutions passed by this Committee are thus of the greatest importance.

The Economic Committee has also pursued its efforts with a view to carrying into effect the resolutions in regard to commercial matters adopted by the Economic Conference. Thanks to the Committee's initiative the thorny problem of Customs tariffs is now being investigated with the object of bringing about a general reduction in Customs duties by means of concerted international action.

This, I am well aware, is an extremely delicate matter; until now, indeed, no one has ever ventured to approach the problem, except through bilateral negotiations. Now for the first time an attempt has been made to solve part at least of this Customs question by means of concerted action between States. I am particularly glad to see that the League has embarked upon this vast work, which plays so important a part in world economic life.

The very nature of the problem calls for patience and caution on the part of those who have ventured to approach it. We cannot expect

immediate or all-embracing results, but any achievement, however modest, in this sphere, must I am sure be a big step in the direction of freedom of trade.

The Japanese delegation has repeatedly affirmed the necessity of tariff reduction, and it is our earnest hope that the efforts of the League's Economic Organisation will prove completely successful.

As to the way in which the League deals with economic questions, may I venture to submit a few observations, with the object of shedding some light on the immense task which we hope the Economic Organisation may be able to undertake? Before the world cataclysm, European prosperity was based to a large extent on export to countries overseas. Since the war, the economic and financial conditions of those countries have changed considerably. We cannot look for a return to former conditions, but at the same time Europe would undoubtedly benefit by a greater demand from overseas markets.

Any increase in the purchasing power of these consumers must depend upon a corresponding increase in the prosperity and economic development of the countries in question. Hence it is essential that the technical organisations of the League, when examining these problems, should take careful note of the conditions and needs of non-European countries and should not devote themselves exclusively to relations between European countries.

May I take this opportunity of drawing your attention to the most important resolution adopted by the Consultative Committee, recommending an enquiry into economic principles and tendencies which might help to create conditions favourable to peace?

Any investigation into economic questions should in our view have a twofold object: it should be designed in the first place to increase the prosperity and material welfare of the nations, and should, in the second, contribute to the establishment of material conditions favourable to the maintenance and consolidation of peace all over the world. The part played by economic factors in the maintenance of world peace undoubtedly constitutes a most important and most intricate problem. The League, whose chief mission is to maintain peace, will be discharging one of its most important duties if it investigates this problem and pursues its researches into the economic conditions which influence the preservation of peaceful relations between its various Members. That is the real meaning of the Consultative Committee's resolution.

I venture to suggest, therefore, that the League's technical organisation should take up the matter without delay and should devote constant study to it. By assiduous effort we should be able to demonstrate to the world what economic obstacles stand in the way of international co-operation, and thus enable the Members of the League to view the whole question and take the proper measures to promote this friendly co-operation between nations.

The material conditions of existence, important though they are, constitute only one side of life. If friendly co-operation between all nations is to become a reality, and peace is to be established on a solid foundation, some improvement in the moral sphere is necessary.

During the past year the League has been extremely active in this direction. In virtue of a resolution adopted a year ago, a Security Committee was set up, which, after lengthy and detailed discussions, framed a number of model draft bilateral and multilateral treaties designed to promote the pacific settlement of international disputes.

Arbitration, conciliation, non-aggression, and guarantees, and the conservatory measures to be taken in times of crisis, were exhaustively considered. All these questions have been placed on the agenda of the present session of the Assembly.

The discussions upon which we are about to embark may suggest certain improvements, but, without overrating the scope of the Security Committee's recommendations, the results of these investigations, even as they stand, can surely be regarded as a valuable contribution towards the organisation of peace. If these proposals were intelligently and voluntarily applied there would be a big improvement in the political situation in certain parts of the world where a need is felt for special guarantees of security. I say that they must be intelligently and voluntarily applied, because it will be necessary to vary the methods in deference to the requirements of peace organisation in different parts of the world.

Take the case of an arbitration treaty: there are countries such as mine which like to act on bilateral lines, whilst others prefer multilateral arrangements. The recommendations of the Security Committee must therefore be carried out intelligently and adjusted to the needs of the different countries and their peculiar circumstances and moral aspirations. Freedom of choice must be respected in a question such as this, in which the spontaneity of the act enhances its value.

We have to realise that the security of any country or any nation is as much a psychological as a material question, the psychological element being perhaps the more important of the two. Moral pacification creates in a nation a corresponding feeling of security to the extent that these two factors are harmonised. The setting-up of machinery for the pacific settlement of disputes is a valuable guarantee of security between nations which are desirous of living at peace with one another, and is thus calculated to strengthen the moral basis of international relations.

To take the region of the Pacific alone, there is a Washington treaty which lays down that certain territories belonging to the Contracting Parties in those vast latitudes shall be respected and safeguarded. The treaty also provides for joint consultation between the High Contracting Parties if the necessity should arise. Up to the present, there has fortunately been no occasion for this, no doubt because the mere conclusion of such a treaty has produced a wholesome psychological effect upon the peoples concerned.

For these various reasons the Assembly would be acting both wisely and efficaciously if it approves the results of the work of the Security Committee, and advocates measures designed to facilitate the execution of those recommendations on the lines that I have ventured to suggest.

The League would thereby achieve a marked advance in its endeavour to increase among its Members that feeling of serenity which constitutes the real basis of peace.

While speaking of peace, I cannot pass over in silence the general pact for the renunciation of war which has just been signed in Paris. Although this solemn agreement was not negotiated under the auspices of the League, we hasten to applaud the

determination and the generous spirit with which the great North American Republic has striven for the conclusion of this important instrument of international peace. By this great act the United States have shown their firm intention of contributing to world peace. I should also like to take this opportunity of paying a special tribute to the genius of our distinguished French colleague, M. Briand, who first took the initiative of proposing this world peace pact to the United States.

Nor must we overlook the fact that, at the last ordinary session of the Assembly, the Polish delegation made a similar proposal, which led to a resolution in the form of a solemn declaration condemning all wars of aggression.

During the past year the League has worked zealously to promote friendly co-operation between nations in the sphere of material interests and to bring about moral disarmament in the political life of the various States. We can only hope that these efforts will be carried still further, and will assist us in reaching an agreement for the reduction of armaments, the need for armaments diminishing as pacific action extends its scope.

As you are aware, the League's work in the matter of disarmament has been carried out on the lines laid down by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. A preparatory stage in the work had been reached which necessitated direct negotiations between the countries concerned, more particularly with regard to naval problems.

We have now heard that an agreement has been reached regarding this matter between the two countries which previously held very divergent views.

Any agreement of this kind, we think, is calculated to facilitate the work of the Preparatory Commission. Accordingly we welcome the conclusion of a Franco-British agreement and trust that it may contribute to the success of the Preparatory Commission's work.

These are some of the main features of the League's work which have specially attracted our attention since the last Assembly. Are they not such as to encourage us? Do they not entitle the League to the gratitude of mankind, which is seeking with eager but uncertain steps the path to peace?

The Japanese delegation, confident in the future of the League, and firmly attached to the ideal of peace, is determined to spare no effort to ensure the success of the present session, which has opened under such favourable auspices. We shall be only too happy to collaborate in the great work of international co-operation and international understanding.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Mendez Pereira, delegate of Panama, will address the Assembly.

**M. Mendez Pereira (Panama) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Panama, as a result of her position at the great cross-roads of the world, is as deeply interested as any other State — perhaps even more interested — in this work of international concord and fellowship which is being carried out by the League of Nations.

Bolivar, the great American liberator and the prophet of our destiny, once said that if the world had to choose a capital, its choice would inevitably fall upon the Isthmus of Panama.

At Panama, all lines of communication cross, all the races of the world meet, all human interests unite and mingle; and it was at Panama that the most notable achievement of the genius of two great peoples, France and the United States, was carried out by the junction of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

In connection with the admirable work of intellectual co-operation which is being pursued under the League's auspices, I desire to draw your attention to the privileged position of Panama in this respect, and to the fact that that Republic is at present endeavouring to establish a modern international university which will provide an intellectual centre for all the movements and ideals of the American continent, a platform for new doctrines and a means of diffusing culture and intellectual and moral co-operation throughout the New World.

My country is also endeavouring to set up alongside and as an adjunct to this university, a large organisation for the publication, translation and circulation of books, with the object of promoting a better understanding between nations. Through such knowledge alone can we hope to bring about the understanding and sympathy which are the sole bases of social harmony and peace among men.

If we can obtain the moral support of the League, for which I desire to appeal from this platform, with a view to obtaining universal free postage for books of an educational and scientific nature, as well as for books exchanged between libraries, we shall be able to develop this work to the full. I am sure that such an institution will be regarded by the League as a means of supplementing its work and of encouraging the American nations to take a more active interest in its achievements.

Our Republics have many problems — economic, social and other — which differ in some respects from those which the League has hitherto solved; but all problems of an intellectual character the solution of which is undertaken at Geneva are of real interest to those American nations, which can never forget that Europe is their intellectual birthplace and the continent to which they always turn in search of culture.

If the League gives its moral support to this enterprise, which has been inaugurated by Panama in her desire to obtain the effective co-operation of Latin-American Republics in the work of the League, it will not only have performed a graceful act in the intellectual field, but, through the medium of the problems of intellectual co-operation, it will have taken a step which will be regarded by all as of great political importance and will have the effect of bringing the Governments and public opinion of all the Latin-American countries into fresh contact with the work of the League in general.

#### The President :

*Translation :* M. Politis, delegate of Greece, will address the Assembly.

#### M. Politis (Greece) :

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — It has already been observed from this platform that the work of the Assembly has begun this year in a very different atmosphere from that of last year.

The difference is indeed striking; last year's disappointment has given place to hope; doubt has

become confidence. Thanks to these changes, the examination of the report on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat has been pursued without a trace of acrimony. A general feeling of satisfaction appears to me to pervade this Assembly.

What are the reasons for this? Speaking generally I think that everyone is glad to find that the League organisation, whose activities seemed last year to have fallen off a little, has resumed its normal course, and with most excellent results.

Not one of the three organs we created last year has fallen short of our expectations.

The work done by the Economic Committee is truly remarkable, and has rightly been praised by several speakers who have preceded me on this platform.

The Preparatory Committee for the first Codification Conference resumed its work with a diligence, zeal and ability deserving of the highest praise, and we can now rest assured, I think, that the programme for the Conference will before long be completed. I most earnestly hope that the Assembly will confirm its resolution of last year urging that the first Codification Conference should meet some time in 1929.

Lastly, the Committee on Arbitration and Security has held three sessions, in the course of which, after having attempted, as it were, to establish the assets and liabilities of security on the basis of the guarantees furnished by the League Covenant and by individual undertakings, it framed a series of model treaties, the value of which you will have an opportunity of appreciating. Personally I feel convinced that if these models meet with your approval they will serve to increase the guarantees of security and will lend a vigorous impulse to the progress of compulsory arbitration.

But over and above these reasons for satisfaction there is another, a much more important reason, which explains and justifies our content. I refer to the conclusion at Paris, only a few days ago, of the treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. Fifteen Powers have already signed this pact, thirty-five States have acceded to it, and other accessions will follow, so that it will become a powerful instrument of world policy.

We have, I think, a double reason for rejoicing; first, we can claim with legitimate pride that the Paris pact is both the product of our work here and the natural corollary of that work.

For five years, on three separate occasions, and in different forms, we have proclaimed as a principle of international law that a war of aggression shall be regarded as a crime. Last year, on the proposal of the Polish delegation, the Assembly expressed this principle in a unanimous resolution, the terms of which were taken from the Declaration of Paris of 1856 providing for the abolition of privateering. No one last year could have imagined that less than a year later, again at Paris, our resolution would be found in the form of a solemn undertaking, which was to constitute a general world law.

We have a second reason for gratification at the conclusion of the Paris treaty, and this reason is, in my view, the more important of the two: the treaty serves to strengthen the League, and opens up immense possibilities for the extension of its authority. This point I regard as deserving of our fullest attention, and I will, therefore, with your permission, dwell upon it in some detail.

The great merit of the Paris treaty as compared with the League Covenant is that it fills the chief gap in the last-named instrument: it fills in the notorious "fissure" in Article 15, paragraph 6,

of our Covenant. It realises a reform which for the last five years we have sought in vain. It lays down as a rule of positive law the essential principle, the fundamental principle, of the Geneva Protocol of 1924, which had hitherto come into force only as between certain States and in virtue of special agreements. The principle of which I speak is the prohibition of what we have always called here wars of aggression.

This great result, be it noted, has been achieved without any sacrifice of our guarantees under the League Covenant: the right of legitimate defence remains intact, the system of sanctions and obligations in regard to assistance and guarantees laid down in special agreements remains absolutely untouched. True, the prohibition of wars of aggression is not accompanied by the supplementary guarantees which must be required if the Paris treaty is to be regarded as a complete system for the organisation of peace: it does not make arbitration compulsory, it does not provide for any system of sanctions, or any obligations in regard to mutual assistance; there is no guarantee of a definitive decision in the event of serious disputes between the Contracting States, and in extreme cases there is a risk that the undertaking not to resort to war may for that reason prove very uncertain of fulfilment. Lastly, the individual Contracting States can in the main only count for their defence on their own forces, so that they cannot at once agree to reduce those forces as they might have done had they received a promise of assistance in case of aggression. But as it stands, and despite its gaps and imperfections, the Paris treaty constitutes a great international instrument, the scope and significance of which are of the highest importance.

For the first time in the history of mankind States have agreed to renounce war. They have agreed to renounce all resort to arms as a means of enforcing their claims. For the first time sovereign States have agreed to abandon what had hitherto been regarded as the essential prerogative attaching to sovereignty.

This, I may surely say, represents something more than a great innovation in international relations; it represents a veritable revolution, a revolution the untold consequences and manifold repercussions of which on the life of the nations cannot yet be estimated. Certain consequences, however, already claim our attention because they will, I think, follow immediately. Certain consequences are all-compelling, and, as such, call for notice now.

Countries no longer have the right to resort to force as a means of imposing their will, and accordingly will not in future be able openly to employ — as they once did without restriction, and as they could still do to some extent, despite the League — countries, I say, will in future be unable openly to employ their superior forces as a means of imposing their will on weaker States.

The old idea of safeguarding national interests regardless of law, with the possibility of recourse to pressure and violence constantly in the background — that idea is past and gone. Henceforth the safeguarding of national interests may only be attempted within the framework of the international organisation, with the resources provided by the League, by means of conciliation and agreement, by a truer comprehension of the interests and aspirations of the opposing parties.

An entirely new international policy is emerging, and countries will be all the more inclined to follow

it when they find that it holds a vital interest for them in that it safeguards their right of self-defence. Let me explain what I mean.

It has been said that now, thanks to the pact signed at Paris, private obligations in regard to assistance and guarantees will operate more slowly and less easily, because in actual fact resort to force will not be possible, even in self-defence, without what may be termed the moral consent of the other contracting States. That view is exaggerated and fundamentally wrong; but it contains this much truth, that the States signatories to the Paris pact will now find it in their best interest not only to live peacefully, but — most important of all — to make their pacific attitude manifest, so that if they are attacked and obliged to resort to arms, the whole world will realise at once that they are merely utilising their right of legitimate defence.

That is the first consequence of this great change. Pessimists and sceptics may say: "The value of the Paris pact is bound to be purely moral; its real efficacy appears doubtful". In my view they are very much mistaken, because they fail to allow for the growing power of public opinion as a force set on peace. Henceforth, if a State is attacked and is obliged to resort to arms in self-defence, it will, as I say, be forced to make its innocence quite clear and to show that its attitude is really pacific.

You will see how this strengthens the procedure laid down in Article 11. That procedure, one of the most important, if not the most important, in the whole Covenant, is well designed to bring out the respective attitudes of the parties to a dispute, and, thanks to the new spirit which is to govern the world, it will in future be easier, when employing that procedure, to show the world beforehand who is the real aggressor.

But there is more than this. Any State foolish enough to fly in the face of its own interests and criminal enough to break its plighted word and be the first to resort to arms would assuredly have to face the wrath and execration of world opinion. Even apart from the possible hostility of the other contracting parties, any country which in future resorts to arms will have to reckon with this force of public opinion, which will certainly be such as to give it pause. This very hesitation must constitute one of the surest guarantees for the preservation of peace, because it will give public opinion time to bring pressure to bear on the Governments to find a settlement for the dispute.

The effect of the delay prescribed in Article 12 of the Covenant is thus immensely strengthened, since, according to that article, after the expiration of the prescribed period war becomes legitimate, whereas under the terms of the Paris pact, whatever the period allowed, a war of aggression will in all cases be illicit and prohibited.

There is, I repeat, a tendency to undervalue the influence of public opinion, which, we must all admit, is growing in force. The essential strength of the Covenant itself, I would point out, lies in the fact that the publicity of the discussions in the Council and Assembly renders world opinion the supreme judge in international disputes.

Under the Paris pact the influence of public opinion in times of emergency will be far greater. Under the Covenant, public opinion can only condemn a disputant State which has been shown by pacific procedure to be in the wrong. It cannot condemn a country if its claims have been shown

by such procedure to be legitimate. According to the Covenant, such a country has the right, after the expiry of a certain period, to declare war. How can you arouse world opinion against a war that has been declared legitimate?

But with the Paris pact the situation is quite different. Whatever the facts, world opinion would invariably be aroused against whichever country first resorted to arms. On each occasion that country would stand condemned, since it could not possibly claim to be exercising a right of any kind.

This is a fundamentally different situation, which must be carefully noted. The Paris pact itself is evidence of the force of public opinion. I need not recall in what circumstances it was negotiated and concluded. Suffice it to say that it is the outcome of a shrewd interpretation of the world desire for peace, and that its conclusion was the result of pressure brought to bear by public opinion. I may say in all sincerity and with deep conviction that the Paris pact will remain a reality so long as the world preserves its will to peace.

This shows us how vital it is to shield that will to peace against every turn of fortune, how important it is to intensify it so that it becomes not merely a considered opinion but an acquired and ineradicable habit of the nations.

A great and noble task lies before the League in this education of public opinion. It is the League's duty to further the instruction of the youth of all countries in its aims by encouraging and promoting the work undertaken in this field by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. It is the League's duty, too, to

provide the Press, whose lofty mission it is to enlighten and guide public opinion, with all means of information necessary to enable it to accomplish this mission in a truly international spirit. It can, and, in my opinion, it should, carry on the work already begun by the International Conference of Press Experts, by offering facilities to the diplomatic correspondents of the principal newspapers of the world to visit Geneva and ascertain and judge on the spot the inestimable value of the work done by the Secretariat and by the League.

As public opinion sees more clearly what immense possibilities are offered by the League for the fulfilment of its will to peace, it will better realise the need to develop this international organisation, and it will feel impelled to bring pressure to bear on all Governments until the progressive evolution of the League is an accomplished fact.

Public opinion will be at once the guide of the nations and the arbiter of their disputes. As we press forward with the work of organising peace, we shall find therein, more and more, as I firmly believe, a confirmation of that eternal truth proclaimed by a great Roman orator, that all laws are vain unless they be in full accord with morality.

President Coolidge expressed the same idea in his inaugural speech a little more than three years ago, when, seeking for a peace formula, he said: "Parchment will fail, the sword will fail. It is only the spiritual nature of man that can be triumphant".

*The Assembly rose at 12.40 p.m.*

## SEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

Friday, September 7th, 1928, at 4 p.m.

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Draft Resolution proposed by the French Delegation in the Name of Twenty Delegations to the Assembly.

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Continuation of the Discussion.

Speeches by Herr Hermann Müller (Germany), The Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King (Canada), M. Guerrero (Salvador), M. Mehdi Frasheri (Albania).

Draft Resolution proposed by the Delegate of Salvador.

President : M. ZAHLE.

36. — QUESTION OF THE REVISION OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE : DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE FRENCH DELEGATION IN THE NAME OF TWENTY DELEGATIONS TO THE ASSEMBLY.

The President :

*Translation :* Before we resume the general discussion on the report to the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly, I wish to inform you

that M. René Cassin, a member of the French delegation, this morning submitted a draft resolution to the General Committee of the Assembly, on behalf of the following twenty delegations : Belgium, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Poland, Roumania, Salvador, Spain, Switzerland.

The draft resolution is as follows :

" Experience seems to show that, whether by reason of the ever-growing number of matters referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice, or by reason of certain defects revealed by eight years of work, it would be an advantage, before renewing the terms of office of the members of the Court in 1930, to examine the present terms of the Statute for the purpose of introducing any amendments which may be considered advisable.

" Under Article 14 of the Covenant it is for the Council to draw up the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and to submit it to the Assembly for approval.

" It therefore seems to be for the Council to carry out the task contemplated above.

" Nevertheless, the value of the proposals made by the Council in this connection might

be greatly enhanced if the Assembly took the initiative in drawing the Council's attention to this question.

"Accordingly, the undersigned have the honour, on behalf of their respective delegations, to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolution :

"The Assembly :

"Considering the ever-growing number of matters referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice ;

"Deeming it advisable that, before the renewal of the terms of office of the members of the Court in 1930, the present provisions of the Statute of the Court should be examined with a view to the introduction of any amendments which experience may show to be necessary ;

"In view of Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, under which the Council is responsible for preparing the Statute of the Court with a view to its submission to the Assembly for approval,

"Draws the Council's attention to the advisability of proceeding, before the renewal of the terms of office of the members of the Permanent Court of International Justice, to the examination of the Statute of the Court with a view to the introduction of such amendments as may be judged desirable, and to submitting the necessary proposals to the next ordinary session of the Assembly."

(Signed) for the:

French delegation	.....	AR. BRIAND.
Italian	.....	Vittorio SCIALOJA.
German	.....	MÜLLER.
Greek	.....	N. POLITIS.
Japanese	.....	M. ADATCI.
Roumanian	.....	N. P. COMNÈNE.
Belgian	.....	P. HYMANS.
Netherlands	.....	BEELAERTS VAN BLOKLAND.
Swiss	.....	G. MOTTA.
Norwegian	.....	Joh. Ludwig MOWINCKEL.
Finnish	.....	Rafael ERICH.
Czechoslovak	.....	Dr. E. BENEŠ.
Spanish	.....	QUINONES DE LEÓN
Chilian	.....	E. VILLEGAS.
Colombian	.....	Francisco José URRUTIA.
Serb-Croat-Slovene delegation	.....	RAKITCH.
Polish	.....	Auguste ZALESKI.
Paraguayan	.....	R. V. CABALLERO.
Canadian	.....	R. DANDURAND.
Salvador	.....	Gustavo GUERRERO."

In accordance with the usual procedure, the text of this resolution will be printed and circulated to the delegations.

In order to expedite matters, however, I propose that the Assembly refer the draft resolution immediately to the Agenda Committee, which will as soon as possible submit suggestions as to its disposal.

If there are no objections, I shall regard the proposal as adopted.

*The proposal was adopted.*

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

The President :

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the general discussion of the Report

on the Work of the Council, on the Work of the Secretariat and on the Measures taken to execute the Decisions of the Assembly.

Herr Hermann Müller, first delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly.

Herr Müller :

*Translation :* May I begin with an observation of a personal nature ? I desire most particularly to express my profound regret that my honoured colleague, Dr. Stresemann, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Reich, who two years ago inaugurated in this hall the participation of Germany in the work of the League, and who has since officiated as first delegate of Germany at the meetings of the Council and of the Assembly, is on this occasion prevented from acting as spokesman for Germany.

In his telegram in reply to the expressions of sympathy conveyed to him by the Assembly, he has told you of the deep interest with which he follows your discussions and of his regret that he is unable to be with you at Geneva, taking an active share in the work of the League, which he has so deeply at heart.

Allow me to say at once that, if this year I am undertaking to interpret the views of the German people, I am inspired by the same desire and resolve to work within the organisation of the League in frank and sincere co-operation with other nations for the maintenance of world peace, and that I desire to recognise one law only as governing international relations — the law of conciliation and peaceful understanding.

Already the discussions have clearly shown which questions at present occupy the foremost place in the League's programme. These questions are of vital importance, and for that reason I am anxious to-day to state in a few words the attitude Germany is adopting in regard to them.

With that object in view, I take as my starting-point the great international event which we have just witnessed at Paris, and which is so intimately associated with the aims we are seeking to pursue at Geneva. Several of the delegates who have spoken before me have already emphasised the importance of this pact for the outlawry of war which has just been signed in the French capital. I can only express my heartfelt and entire agreement with all they have said.

In all countries the great mass of the people desires the outlawry of war, nor should the Governments responsible feel a moment's doubt of the importance in practical politics of this act by which the nations have subscribed to a solemn and binding contract renouncing war for all time as an instrument of national policy, thereby eliminating it as a legitimate means of shaping international relations. The far-seeing statesmen to whose initiative the conclusion of this pact is due are entitled to our deep gratitude, and I am in no way detracting from that gratitude in pointing out that the best guarantee for the efficacy of the pact resides in the fact that in the last analysis its roots are struck, not in arbitrary decisions of Cabinets, but in those sentiments which to-day inspire all mankind. To-day, more than at any other period of history, political acts of fundamental importance such as this are dictated by the great living forces which animate the peoples of the world.

The world is seeking to-day for new forms of international life, for it realises with increasing clearness that the factors, determining the general



evolution of the world are largely new. It sees that we can no longer be content with the methods which were formerly preferred as instruments of policy.

In the light of these considerations the rôle of the modern statesman is merely to ensure that the living forces which govern the activities of the nations should be free to assert themselves at the right time and in the right form. His task, however, thereby loses none of its importance, nor of its difficulty. He must keep in close touch with international sentiment, must read the signs of the times and must work for the removal of the obstacles which obstruct the free course of evolution, and he must above all avoid himself setting up obstacles in its path.

The pact for the outlawry of war also has thus created new tasks for the statesman. That is not a proof of imperfection in the pact; rather is it proof of its fecundity. We are led to assume these new tasks by the simple force of logic. If any further proof were necessary that the Paris pact was begotten of the vital needs of our age or that it constitutes an organic element in evolution to-day, that proof must be found in the fact that the new tasks arising for us out of that pact are entirely in harmony with the very subjects which are given the greatest prominence in the agenda of this Assembly.

If we are genuinely resolved to renounce force as a means of solving international differences, we shall be compelled to devote ourselves more intently to the search for means of achieving the pacific settlement of such disputes. If we are genuinely resolved to renounce war, that resolve cannot fail to exercise a decisive influence on our conception of armaments.

We fully appreciate all the hard work that has been done, in pursuance of the resolutions of the last ordinary session of the Assembly, by the Committee on Arbitration and Security. That Committee has carefully explored the wide field assigned to it, and has revealed to the nations a variety of ways by which they may provide new guarantees of peace. Germany is glad to be able to assert that by the Locarno agreements, by the system of her arbitration treaties, and by the signing of the Optional Clause of the Hague Statute she for her part has carried out in advance the recommendations of that Committee. Nevertheless, Germany participated with the greatest zeal in the work of the Committee and endeavoured to introduce a new element into the discussion by submitting suggestions based upon an idea which in my view is fundamental, namely, that, in order to prevent war, it is not so important to organise war against war as to prevent any outbreak of hostilities.

Though we may hope that the dangers to which both the German suggestions and the proposals of the Committee based on those suggestions refer, have become far more remote since the signing of the Paris pact, nevertheless this part of the Committee's work still appears deserving of the Assembly's attention. The League of Nations has been actively considering this aspect of the peace problem during the past year, but the same cannot be said of the other aspect of the problem, namely, the abolition of armaments.

I say frankly that I view the present situation of the disarmament question with serious concern. We have to face the incontestable fact that the prolonged discussions that have taken place at

Geneva have not so far produced any positive results. For nearly three years the Preparatory Commission has been holding one session after another; but it has not seriously attacked, far less completed, the work assigned to it. In view of the important resolutions adopted at our session last year, we were justified in expecting that those resolutions would at last enable practical and immediate results to be achieved.

The much-discussed problem of the relations between security and disarmament had found a solution in the form of a compromise between the two opposing schools of thought, and so appeared to offer an assurance of practical results.

Our expectations have once more been disappointed. The President of the Council informed us in his opening speech that we were justified in entertaining fresh hopes, and one of the previous speakers has mentioned, as grounds for those hopes, the Paris pact and the agreement which has been concluded between the French and British Governments.

As regards the significance of the Paris pact, as far as disarmament is concerned, I have already agreed with that view. As regards the compromise to which I referred just now, I shall be glad if it too proves to be a suitable means of helping to solve the disarmament problem. But the Assembly cannot be content to-day simply to say that there is still ground for hope. In my view its most urgent duty is to adopt resolutions which can transform those hopes into realities.

Yesterday we heard, consecutively, two important speeches which revealed markedly divergent conceptions of the question of disarmament. It is one of the objects — and one of the main advantages — of our discussions to provide opportunities for us to learn each other's views, and it is far better to state frankly such of our differences as may still exist than to endeavour by one means or another to conceal them. But I confess I was greatly struck at hearing one speaker describe in impressive terms, which gave a remarkably true picture of the reality, the symptoms and the dangers of an unfettered armaments policy; whereas the other speaker, if I rightly understood him, maintained that undue importance was often attached to the problem of disarmament; that this problem was so to speak of a secondary nature; that it was too early to expect immediate results, and that such results could only be looked for when individual countries were fully reassured as to their security, an assurance which as yet they did not possess.

I venture to hope that the latter view will not commend itself to the League of Nations; such an attitude would be the negation of all the resolutions adopted by the Assemblies of previous years. In any case, as the representative of Germany, I feel I am entitled, and indeed bound in all frankness, to maintain a contrary opinion.

Obviously a country like Germany, which has been completely disarmed, must feel keenly the failure of the disarmament discussions. I ask you to realise the effect on a people which, having by a mighty effort effected complete disarmament, still finds itself constantly subjected to the gravest insinuations and reproaches from certain quarters in foreign countries, and is even accused of being a menace to the peace of the world, while it sees

other countries steadily increasing their own armaments without blame or remonstrance.

The disarmament of Germany cannot possibly continue to be a unilateral act the outcome solely of the power wielded by the victors in the world war. The promise that Germany's disarmament would be followed by general disarmament must be fulfilled, and, finally, the article of the Covenant which incorporates that promise as a basic principle of the League of Nations must be carried into effect.

Whether this process is described as a reduction of armaments or simply as disarmament is, in my view, of little material consequence, since we all know perfectly well what is meant. Can there be any doubt that the failure of the League to solve this disarmament question is bound to produce the most serious consequences?

I am reluctant, as no doubt we all are, to consider any such consequences as even a remote contingency. The League must not fail in that task. The nations must not be disappointed in their hope that a time will come when their destinies will no longer be decided by guns and bayonets. The great advance which the world made in creating the League of Nations must not be changed to a retreat, with the certain result of a fall in the standard of international life; for it would be all but impossible to rekindle a second time the confidence thus destroyed.

Nor can I agree that so vast and difficult a problem is incapable of solution in a relatively short time. I will not remind you that immediate disarmament was not considered impossible for those who were vanquished in the world war; but I must emphasise the fact that Germany has never attempted to make any impossible demands.

From the outset she agreed that this problem should be solved step by step, and the resolution of 1926, as well as the confirmatory resolution of last year, clearly and definitely declared that the conditions necessary for accomplishing the first stage do in fact exist. The only point of importance is that we should realise effectively the resolutions of the last years.

That first stage can and must include an appreciable reduction of the present standards of armament, a reduction which would extend to armaments of all classes — military, naval and air — and would also provide for full and complete publicity in regard to all categories of armaments. I would therefore urge the Assembly to adopt a definite decision with regard to the convening of a first disarmament conference, and to take steps to bring to an end immediately and without delay the technical work of the Preparatory Commission.

I listened with the greatest interest to the observations of one of my colleagues the day before yesterday on the protection of minorities. The suggestions then made on the procedure to be adopted in regard to petitions from minorities are in my view deserving of careful attention, and I hope to see them receive further consideration. Indeed I consider the protection of minorities, which the existing treaties have entrusted to the League of Nations, as an important duty, and the League may devote itself the more wholeheartedly to that duty because it is so entirely in accord with its general aim — the

maintenance of peace. If all the parties concerned applied the law on minorities in the spirit in which that law was instituted, they would thereby create a bond between the different countries and would promote mutual understanding between the nations.

Allow me now to add a few words in regard to economic questions, to which reference has been made on various occasions in this discussion. A great advance has been made along the path marked out by the World Economic Conference of 1927, thanks to the energetic and effective efforts of the Economic Committee and the Consultative Committee.

The movement for the abolition of prohibitions and restrictions on exports and imports, which hamper the liberty of international trade, and for a general and systematic reduction of Customs tariffs, has already produced tangible results. The collective conventions which a large number of nations signed at Geneva in July last show that, even in a field as difficult as that of Customs tariffs, agreements can be reached by means of international conferences of experts at which a large number of States are represented, and can be reached by this means more easily perhaps than by bilateral negotiations.

It seems easier at the moment to reach agreement in economic matters than in the other fields in which the League is engaged, and accordingly a venture which holds out particular promise of success for the League would be to explore as rapidly and completely as may be these possibilities of agreements.

The German Government notes with great satisfaction the results already achieved, and will at all times do its utmost to second the League's efforts in this sphere. It has already taken the necessary steps with a view to the ratification of the conventions to which I have just referred, and it expresses the earnest hope that not only will these conventions be ratified by a sufficiently large number of countries but that considerable progress will also be made in the coming years by means of international agreements.

Not until countries learn in economic affairs not to work one against another, but to co-operate, shall we succeed in removing one by one the great obstacles which still hamper trade in so many fields, and in avoiding fresh economic conflicts and disasters.

If we survey the whole field of the League's activities, and consider what hope we can really draw from such a survey, we are always led back to the same point — the necessity of mutual trust. We must not, however, regard such trust merely as our ultimate aim; it is rather the first and the most important prerequisite of success. The League of Nations is an institution in which the individual Governments can voice their views. More than any other human institution it draws its strength from the confidence of the peoples themselves.

The peoples, who follow our discussions with such hope and solicitude, observe first and foremost the attitude which the Governments, as Governments, adopt towards the League. How can the great masses of the people, on whom all ultimately depends, feel confidence in the League, and in

the other great peace pacts which have been concluded in the spirit of the League, if they see that the Governments themselves have no confidence in the efficacy of these international efforts?

How can we counteract the scepticism so often expressed by the public if the Governments themselves, in the pursuit of their policies, act as if all these guarantees of peace were non-existent, or at any rate as if they were devoid of any practical value?

The man in the street argues simply, and therefore soundly. He reads on the one hand that the Governments solemnly undertake to maintain peace. He sees on the other hand that the same Governments remain entrenched in their old positions and are even seeking to conquer new ones. He reads that in international negotiations the principle of mutual trust between States is proclaimed in eloquent terms, and that the idea of understanding between peoples is constantly exalted. He sees on the other hand that in practice matters go on as before, and that it has not even been possible to abolish entirely the barriers raised as a result of the world war. We must not be surprised if he comes to the conclusion that international policy is double-faced.

Indeed it is impossible to take both roads. The Governments must choose one or the other, and there can be no doubt whatever as to which they must choose if they wish to further the progress of humanity and civilisation. That is not empty idealism; it is practical politics in the truest sense of the term.

**The President :**

*Translation :* Mr. Mackenzie King, first delegate of Canada, will address the Assembly.

**The Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King (Canada) :**

In the addresses which have been delivered before the Assembly, reference has been made by most of the speakers to the Treaty for the renunciation of war which was signed at Paris on August 27th as an instrument of national policy. This was to have been expected, for whatever hopes or fears may be entertained with respect to the efficacy of its provisions, there can be no two opinions as to the solemnity of the engagement into which the signatories of the Treaty have entered, and the far-reaching significance of the Treaty itself.

His Majesty's Government in Great Britain has brought the Treaty formally to the attention of the Members of the League by communicating to the Secretary-General copies of the correspondence conveying its acceptance of the Treaty. His Majesty's Government has indicated its belief that acceptance of the Treaty would not conflict in any way with the obligations of the Covenant of the League.

So completely are the principles of the Treaty in harmony with the main objects for which the League was founded that I feel sure it is the hope and conviction of this Assembly that the Treaty will prove an historic and enduring contribution to the development of mutual confidence among nations, which the Assembly has ever regarded as the sure foundation of permanent peace.

The Pact of Paris, as it has been called, is essentially an endeavour to develop and focus world opinion against war. The nations which accept it renounce war as an instrument of national

policy, and agree that the settlement of all disputes of whatever nature or origin which may arise among them will never be sought except by peaceful means. That is all, but it is the very brevity and simplicity of that solemn renunciation which give the pact its unique force and value. Its purpose is to rally the imagination and conscience of mankind to the recognition of the fact that war is an obsolete and futile means of settling international disputes and to proclaim a new guarantee of world peace. In seeking to form a world opinion, simplicity is essential, and in the drafting of the Treaty care has been taken to avoid complicating the issue with obscuring detail.

There is no royal road to peace, but there are many paths which lead in that direction. Along each some progress may be made towards the common goal. It has been the object of this Assembly to explore many of these paths. The League's contributions to peace to-day are manifold. By bringing every year representatives of fifty nations to take counsel together, it is breaking down prejudice and building up confidence. In a variety of ways, it is enforcing publicity in world affairs. It is creating machinery for the adjustment of differences. It is seeking to remove one of the causes of war by promoting more rational economic relations. It is making progress, slow but real, towards disarmament.

Its efforts may often seem vain, but never is a good act wholly lost. By a process of experiment and trial, the most feasible lines of advance are eventually found. The Treaties of Mutual Guarantee, the Protocol of Geneva of 1924, may appear to have failed; in reality, they served to develop thoughts and ideas which found expression in the Treaties of Locarno, in the Treaties of Arbitration and Conciliation and in the Pacts of Non-Aggression and Mutual Assistance which are to receive the attention of this Assembly.

These paths are all in the right direction: all, perhaps, are essential. They are the expression in one form or another of a growing world opinion, which they themselves have helped to form, against war as a means of settling international differences. The Treaty signed at Paris on August 27th is a parallel expression of this growing sentiment against the recurrence of war.

If I venture to stress somewhat the significance of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty, it is because of the immediate association of the Treaty in its inception more particularly with France and the United States, and the relationship which Canada bears to each of these countries; also because of the experience of Canada under an agreement entered into over a century ago, which agreement was essentially in the nature of a renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy.

Samuel de Champlain, the founder of Canada, was a son of France. For a century and a-half Canada was a French dominion. In the more than a century and a-half during which Canada has been a British dominion, the descendants of the two races who fought on the Plains of Abraham have lived side by side, enjoying a like measure of freedom in their personal and social

life, and in the development of their political institutions — forgetful of the enmities of the past and rejoicing in the vastness of their common inheritance. The only monument commemorating the event which occasioned the great transition is the simple shaft erected at Quebec and dedicated to the memory alike of Wolfe and Montcalm, the two Generals who led the opposing forces. Our country is a land of reconciliation. In achieving racial concord within our borders, we have for more than a century successfully exemplified the fulfilment of at least one fundamental principle of the League.

In another particular, namely, in achieving international peace with our great neighbour, we have fulfilled for more than a century another fundamental principle of the League. If we are united to old France by past association and the many ties to which it has given rise, equally are we linked by long association and kindred ties with the great country which is our neighbour to the south, and with which we divide so large a portion of the continent of North America.

For a distance of over three thousand miles, stretching from the waters of the Atlantic Ocean on the east to those of the Pacific Ocean on the west, the frontier of Canada is divided from that of the United States by a boundary which is undefended from coast to coast. This undefended frontier is a symbol as remarkable in its way as the shaft erected at Quebec to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm. It is a joint possession not made with hands, but is the creation and expression of the minds and hearts of the peoples of the respective countries.

Of that undefended frontier of more than three thousand miles, I should like to say just a word, for it is intimately related to the subject-matter of the Treaty recently signed at Paris. It symbolises the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. Let me describe its character, and how it came into being more than a century ago.

Shortly after the war of 1812-14, during which there had been considerable fighting on the great lakes and the St. Lawrence River, which separates the eastern portion of Canada from the United States, there threatened the beginnings of a policy of competitive arming between the United States and Canada, as the North American portion of His Britannic Majesty's Dominions.

Fortunately, there were in Great Britain and in the United States men wise enough and with vision enough to foresee where that policy of competitive arming was likely to lead if permitted to continue. They met together and entered into an agreement. It was not termed a treaty, it was not named a convention, it was merely called "an arrangement", and an arrangement which might be terminated on six months' notice on the part of either of the parties.

That arrangement was to the effect that the naval force to be maintained upon the Great Lakes by His Majesty and the Government of the United States should be confined, on the part of each, to four vessels in all, distributed over the several lakes, each not to exceed one hundred tons burden, and each to be armed with but one 18-pounder cannon. All other vessels on the lakes were to be forthwith dismantled, and no other vessels of war were to be built or armed there.

That arrangement, known as the Rush-Bagot agreement, like the Treaty recently signed at Paris, is the very embodiment of brevity and simplicity. It was formally proclaimed in the year 1818. It has remained in existence ever since, and for more than a century it has provided a means of escape from competitive arming for the two

countries, not only on the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River, but across the entire stretch of three thousand miles of frontier which defines the boundary between them.

So far, therefore, as the relations between Canada and the United States are concerned, the signing in Paris of the Treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy was but the placing of the seals of their approval upon a policy which has been theirs in practice for more than a century, and the fruits and blessings of which have been known and enjoyed over that period of time.

It is not to be assumed that in that period of more than a century no differences have arisen between the two countries. There have been differences, some of them might conceivably have led to war, had not war been renounced as an instrument of national policy, and with it the instruments of war. Ceasing to rely upon force, we have looked to reason as the method of solving our differences, and reason has supplied us from time to time with conference, conciliation or arbitration in a form all sufficient to settle our various differences as they have arisen.

To conference and conciliation as a means of adjusting international differences we have given permanent expression in what is known as the International Joint Commission, established in 1911 in accordance with a treaty negotiated in 1909, a tribunal upon which both the United States and Canada are represented and to which is referred for settlement by enquiry and report all differences, particularly as to boundary waters, and by special agreement all differences of any kind between the two countries which prove to be difficult of adjustment by direct negotiation.

The Commission has all the powers of a court of law; its recommendations are submitted to the two Governments for their acceptance; it meets twice a year, or more often if necessary. In the twenty three cases in which differences have been referred to this tribunal during the seventeen years of its existence, the Commission has been unanimous in its recommendations in every case but two, and every award has been accepted.

I think I may say that, so far as our two countries are concerned, it would be difficult to imagine any situation arising which could not be amicably settled by this method of adjustment which has come to be an accepted practice between us.

May I say one further word which bears in a practical way upon the fruits of this policy?

Much is heard in the old world of the prosperity of the new. Doubtless, there are economic causes which account in no inconsiderable measure for that prosperity. There are, however, other causes scarcely less important. Of these, I am inclined to put first and foremost the elimination of all fear of aggression, which has been brought about in the manner I have described.

Canada is a country vast in territory but, as yet, small relatively in population. We have not yet a population of ten millions. The United States have a population of over a hundred and ten millions. Have our fears been increased or have they diminished in virtue of the policies to which I have been referring? That is the question which, in all its significance, I should like this Assembly to consider. We have no armaments of any sort, on water or land, along that three thousand and more miles of frontier which divides us; no armed vessels, no fortresses or forts of any kind. Do we live in greater fear of our neighbour on that account, or have we less fear

because we have put our faith in the appeal to reason rather than in the appeal to force?

All I can say, speaking for the Government of my country, is that the element of fear never enters into any of our calculations. The Minister of Finance, in presenting his budget to the Cabinet and to Parliament, does not so much as suggest the expenditure of a single dollar through fear of American aggression. The public monies which, but for the policies I have mentioned, would have had to be voted annually for the constitution and maintenance of naval and land forces along the international frontier, are saved and utilised for the purposes of productive industry. There, I believe, is the key to our prosperity. That is why we believe as we do in disarmament, not only as a means of preventing war and maintaining peace, but as an essential of prosperity. It is the reason why we are proud to be numbered among those nations which belong to the League of Nations which aims at providing effective guarantees for the peace of the world; it is the reason why we welcome, from any and every source, any and every instrument which gives promise of eliminating fear and establishing confidence in the relations of nations with each other.

It would ill become me, with my limited knowledge of world affairs, to attempt to tell the nations represented here what, for them, may or may not be good policy. I can only speak of the experience of my own country and of its attitude born of its experience. When I say that Canada is behind the League of Nations in its efforts to further and maintain international peace, I speak for no party or class or section, I speak for the whole of Canada. I speak equally for the whole of Canada when I say that our experience leads us to favour, in so far as Canadian questions are concerned, the reference to arbitration of all international disputes of a judicial or legal nature and the settlement, by methods of conciliation or arbitration, of all other differences that may arise between Canada and any other nation.

I might add that our experience in the international settlement of industrial and international differences alike has led us to put our faith very strongly in compulsory investigation as the most satisfactory of all methods of adjustment. Compulsory investigation might be defined as the reliance upon an informed public opinion. Public investigation is the best of methods for getting at the truth, and truth and justice are allied. To compel the parties to a dispute, whether it be an industrial or an international dispute, to meet together, and to provide the machinery for getting at the truth when they are together are the all-important steps.

It must never be forgotten that there are some evils which publicity is better able to remedy than penalty, and evils which affect the interests of third parties belong to this category, whether as in an industrial dispute, the third party is the community, or whether as in an international dispute, the third party consists of other countries. Once the truth is known, the third party may be expected to exert its influence in the direction of justice, for "Justice", as Edmund Burke has said, "is the common concern of mankind". Never were those words more pregnant with meaning than they are in their application to the affairs of nations to-day.

**The President :**

*Translation :* His Excellency M. Guerrero, delegate of Salvador, will address the Assembly.

**M. Guerrero (Salvador) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — It has become quite a tradition for me to address you each year on the supervision of the manufacture of arms, and yet every year I imagine that I am speaking about it for the last time, since the resolutions adopted by the Assembly are always so emphatic as regards the convening of the Conference that is to draft an international convention on this question.

At an earlier meeting we heard His Excellency the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs express his regret at the result of the deliberations of the Special Commission appointed to prepare a draft Convention on the supervision of private manufacture and the publicity of State manufacture. I do not doubt that in associating myself with his regret I am voicing the opinion of the whole Assembly.

It is essential that we should persist in the efforts which were begun so long ago and should endeavour to come to an agreement on this vital question, so that the aims of the League may be realised — aims, moreover, for which it was created.

May I mention a few of the reasons which make it imperative that this Convention on supervision should be framed? They are as follows:

- (1) Producing and non-producing States must be placed on an equal footing;
- (2) The obligation laid down in Article 8 of the Covenant must be fulfilled;
- (3) Real progress must be made in the limitation of armaments;
- (4) The proposed convention would facilitate the entry into force of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War.

As regards this last point, we must not lose sight of the fact that the Convention just mentioned was drawn up in 1925, and has been ratified so far only by four States; the others have abstained from ratifying it pending the holding of a new Conference to extend the scope of supervision to the manufacture of arms. Far from regarding this as a sign that it may be difficult to arrive at an agreement, we must, on the contrary, trust that the States which have shown their readiness to accept the abolition of war in theory will be quite as prepared to adopt practical measures to preclude the possibility of war.

With this hope in view, I have the honour to submit to the Assembly the following draft resolution for reference to the Third Committee :

"The Assembly :

"Having taken note of the report and preliminary draft Convention drawn up by the Special Commission appointed to prepare a draft Convention on the supervision of the private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war, as also of the resolution adopted by the Council on this subject on August 30th, 1928 ;

"Observes with regret that, owing to fundamental differences of opinion which still exist, the Commission has not found it possible to submit a single final text as desired by the Assembly ;

"Being convinced of the urgent necessity of drawing up a Convention which, while placing

non-producing and producing countries on an equal footing, would facilitate the ratification of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War, signed at Geneva on June 17th, 1925 :

" Refers to its successive resolutions passed at each of its previous ordinary sessions, beginning with the first session in 1920, in which resolutions it has constantly urged the importance of the problem of the manufacture of arms and the necessity of convening a conference as speedily as possible, and refers also to the numerous resolutions adopted by the Council on the same question ; and,

" Requests the Council to exert its influence with the States Members of the League of Nations in order to overcome the obstacles which have hitherto prevented the holding of such a conference, and thus make it possible to convene a conference in the spring of 1929. "

#### The President :

*Translation :* The Assembly has to consider a draft resolution submitted by the delegate of Salvador. This will be printed and circulated to the delegations.

I shall make suggestions at a future meeting as to its disposal.

M. Mehdi Frasherri, first delegate of Albania, will address the Assembly.

#### M. Mehdi Frasherri (Albania) :

*Translation :* Ladies and gentlemen — Before the creation of the League of Nations the smaller States were excluded from membership of major political conferences. If the necessity arose, they could attend as suppliants, as spectators or, at the very most, in a consultative capacity.

Now, thanks to the League, the smaller States have been accorded the right of free speech ; they have been placed on an equal footing with the great world Powers. This is a great step in the direction of international justice, for which we are most deeply grateful.

Should we become the victims of aggression or any other form of injustice, we now have at least the right to bring a complaint freely and openly against our oppressor. This constitutes a guarantee of great significance as regards our development, nay, our very existence itself. It represents most welcome progress in the evolution of human justice.

Many eminent statesmen have taken the opportunity afforded by the report on the work of the League, which was submitted to the Assembly by the Acting President of the Council, to deal with the great problems with which the Assembly is chiefly concerned.

Of these problems, the foremost in the eyes of the whole world is the question of disarmament, or rather the limitation of armaments with a view to the future maintenance of peace.

The horrors of the world war are still a vivid memory to those who suffered from them, and the consequences of that war press heavily and will perhaps continue to press heavily, for we know not how long, upon all the peoples of the earth. Thus peace and the possibility of assuring it in the future are the subjects that come most readily to the lips of all, no matter where.

The smaller States are eager for peace, and the very smallness of their population means that they are disarmed. Those who are disarmed would like to see others in a similar condition, but their desires and present realities lie far apart.

From time immemorial the question of universal peace has haunted the minds of the great thinkers and the founders of religions, such as Jesus Christ and Mahomet. Christ sought to establish universal peace by proclaiming the Kingdom of Heaven : Mahomet would fain have brought peace to the world by the conquest of the whole earth. Their purpose was one ; their methods diametrically opposed.

What has been the result of their doctrines from the point of view of peace ? The disciples of the Great Pacifist, mankind's Sublime Victim, have invented and are still inventing the most formidable engines of war. It was they who taught those other faithful followers the art of modern warfare. The followers of Christ, the Pacifist, have conquered the world, while the servants of Mahomet, the Conqueror, have for the most part become their conquered vassals. So great is the difference between creed and practice !

You will forgive me if I speak frankly, here on this platform where frankness is a duty. If we talk too much of disarmament, I am afraid we may produce the opposite result. Nations must be under no illusion in the matter, for sooner or later disillusionment is bound to follow with all its disastrous consequences.

Remember that Communism, which is bent upon the destruction of justice and social order, is on the watch for any signs of disillusionment, and is waiting eagerly to take advantage of it.

I wish to pay my tribute to the noble sentiments of previous speakers, who have so ably defended the cause of peace and disarmament. They were moved by nobility of purpose and are therefore entitled to our respect ; but in my humble opinion the cause of peace would be better served and there would be more hope of carrying out the League's ideals if post-war problems could be dealt with from a practical, common-sense standpoint, instead of in an atmosphere of poetic illusion. Armaments are a means of war, not its chief factor or its purpose. As long as the factors that make for war and the purpose it has in view exist, the means of waging war will not be hard to find. War began when men simply threw stones at one another. The story of Cain and Abel proves it.

To cure a sick person, we first have to diagnose the case and then endeavour to remove the causes of the disease. Otherwise there is a risk of killing the patient, especially if he is suffering from a chronic disease. A cure should be slow, methodical and gradual. There is an Italian proverb which runs : "*Chi va piano va sano ; chi va sano va lontano*".

The great problems of humanity can only be solved by studying human nature, both in its individual and in its collective aspects as revealed in the pages of history. Man's natural instinct led him to the discovery of arms, first as means of self-defence and then in order to attack his fellow-creatures.

Our first step, then, must be to eliminate those factors which are the outcome partly of human nature, partly of faulty education.

We none of us know who invented needles, with the help of which we have learned to clothe ourselves, but every elementary school child learns the names of Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Caesar and Napoleon.

In the matter of disarmament the League should, I think, consider the following points :

(1) As regards the right to arm, or the limitation of that right, all nations should be placed on a footing of perfect equality. Either they must all be allowed to arm or they must all be required to disarm.

(2) The League Covenant guarantees the independence and integrity of every Member State. If this principle were properly respected in such a way as to inspire confidence among the nations, that confidence alone would assist enormously in the limitation of armaments.

(3) Armed conflicts are generally the result of encroachment by the strong upon the rights of the weak. In order to avoid this, the main cause of conflict, recourse to arbitration and to international justice should be compulsory for all States Members of the League.

(4) The League's organisation for intellectual co-operation should exercise some sort of supervision over the teaching of civics and history in the countries Members of the League.

I feel sure that if these four principles were loyally carried out they would do much to promote peace and hence the voluntary limitation of armaments. Let us not forget the inevitable law of progress, and here, where truth and justice must reign supreme, let me repeat the immortal words of Danton: "De l'audace, encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace!"

*The Assembly rose at 6.40 p.m.*

## EIGHTH PLENARY MEETING

Saturday, September 8th, 1928, at 10 a.m.

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38. — APPOINTMENT OF DR. CHODZKO, SUBSTITUTE DELEGATE OF POLAND, AS MEMBER OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO DEAL WITH QUESTIONS OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION: LETTER FROM THE POLISH DELEGATION.

The President :

*Translation :* I have received the following letter from the Polish delegation :

"I have the honour to inform you that M. Witold Chodzko, substitute delegate to the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations has been designated

to represent Poland on the Sixth Committee on questions of Intellectual Co-operation.

*(Signed) Auguste ZALESKI.*"

39. — APPOINTMENT OF A SUBSTITUTE DELEGATE TO THE DANISH DELEGATION: LETTER FROM THE DANISH DELEGATION.

The President :

*Translation :* I have received a letter from the Danish delegation, as follows :

"The Danish delegation has the honour to inform you that in virtue of Article 6, paragraph 1, of the Rules of Procedure M. Otto Wadsted, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, has been appointed as substitute delegate."

40. — CANDIDATURE OF PERSIA FOR ELECTION AS A NON-PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL: COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President :

*Translation :* I have received from the Persian delegation accredited to the League of Nations a letter formally submitting the candidature of Persia for election to a non-permanent seat on the League Council. This letter will be translated, printed and circulated to the delegations as soon as possible.

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

The President :

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the general discussion of the report on the work of the Council, on the work of the Secretariat and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly.

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

M. Motta (Switzerland):

*Translation:* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen.—I should like in the first place to express my profound gratitude to M. Paul Hymans, first delegate of Belgium, for his moving reference to the noble figure of Gustave Ador, a former President of the Swiss Confederation and at one time a member of the Swiss delegation to the League of Nations.

I am one of those — there are fewer of us every year — whose privilege it has been to be present at every session of the Assembly since the foundation of the League. The special characteristics of each of those sessions are vividly before me.

I am therefore very glad to note the calm and tranquil atmosphere which pervades this year's Assembly. I need only mention one most striking fact: we have among us seven acting and seven former Prime Ministers and eighteen acting and seven former Ministers for Foreign Affairs. This proves conclusively that the importance of the Assembly, far from diminishing, tends to increase every year. It is no exaggeration to say that the League is to-day one of the organic factors in international affairs.

Spain's return to our midst was therefore a cause of general rejoicing, and also the fact that the Argentine Republic has sent an observer — a prelude, I hope, to the definite return of that country.

Nor do we despair of obtaining the renewed participation of Brazil in our work. We have all read with interest the Council's recent letter explaining the interpretation placed by the League on the Monroe doctrine and the scope given to that doctrine in Article 21 of the Covenant.

I was delighted yesterday evening to read that the Republic of Costa Rica had sent a favourable reply to the Council's new invitation.

In 1926, when the rules for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council were drawn up, an assurance was given to the Latin-American States that three non-permanent seats on the Council would be reserved for them. May I suggest that this assurance, which has been faithfully carried out, is in our view an additional reason why the South American countries which are Members of the League but have not been sending delegates for the last few years should be told how much we should appreciate their active co-operation?

The League of Nations and the Pan-American Union are undoubtedly the two most important international institutions of the age. The majority of Latin-American countries are fortunately members of both organisations and form a link between them, preventing any rivalry or dangerous antagonism.

The Paris pact for the outlawry of war has caused us the greatest satisfaction. The Swiss Federation and its Government readily declared that the Federal Assembly would accede to the pact, and this for two reasons.

The first is this: the very fact of Switzerland's permanent neutrality means that she condemns war

and has renounced it for ever as an instrument of national policy.

The second reason is that no State could have less difficulty in accepting the principle that all disputes between States shall be settled by pacific means. This is borne out by the whole trend of the policy of arbitration which we are endeavouring to apply in international life.

At the same time, while we agree that the Paris pact contains not merely moral undertakings but solemn political and legal undertakings as well, we would add that to proclaim the desire for peace is not enough: this desire must be fostered and peace must be properly organised. Our acceptance of all draft collective treaties relating to conciliation, judicial settlement and international arbitration is assured in advance.

The League, by preparing, fostering and organising the world's will for peace has become a supremely important institution, and the significance, efficacy and merit of its efforts in the campaign against war are indeed unrivalled.

If we peruse the documents submitted to us by the Secretariat, wherein we find a record of the work of the Council, the work of the Secretariat and the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly, we cannot but feel the greatest admiration and gratitude for all that has been done.

Economic, financial, and currency problems, political and legal problems — they are legion, and each is more formidable than the last. Sometimes, perhaps, we may have the impression that the work is somewhat heterogeneous and diffuse, but none of us can help feeling that we have here a new world, slowly evolving, destined to fulfil all the hopes of humanity. It is, I believe, still too early to pass a final judgment upon the results of the reorganisation of the Council; yet I think I may venture to say that certain fears which were quite legitimately expressed in 1926 have proved unfounded.

I might perhaps suggest that, whenever occasion arises, the Council should remember that Article 4 of the Covenant affords an excellent opportunity of summoning before the Council, on an equal footing with the other Members, any State whose interests are specially affected by the question under consideration. A liberal and generous application of this provision would facilitate the solution of many of the problems which arise every year in connection with the elections to the Council.

I would venture also to emphasise the importance of more frequent, more confident, and more courageous recourse — what I am saying does not imply the very slightest criticism of the Council — to the advisory opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice. We all know the obstacle that lies in the way. It involves a question of prime importance to the League that has not yet been properly cleared up: Can the Council apply to the Permanent Court for an advisory opinion under Article 14 of the Covenant except by a unanimous decision? The view appears already to be fairly generally held that the votes of the States parties to the dispute should not be counted in any such decision. I think that the Covenant could easily be interpreted so as to support the principle which is both wise and sound and ensures considerable progress in international jurisprudence — that the Council should be able by a majority vote to apply to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion.



I wish to submit to the Assembly a resolution which has already been drafted, and which I will ask the President to read at the close of my speech, recommending the Council to consider whether it would not be desirable to submit to the Permanent Court, for an advisory opinion, the question whether a simple majority vote is sufficient when applying for an advisory opinion.

The Court's opinion on this point would be conclusive. I leave all considerations of expediency entirely to the discretion of the Council, but I was anxious, the Swiss delegation was anxious, to raise this question, the solution of which will facilitate access to the Permanent Court and will enlarge the possibility of finding legal solutions for political problems and inter-State disputes.

Questions concerning the reduction of armaments occupy an important place in the report on the work of the Council. For reasons that are known to all, Switzerland has not hitherto played a very active part in the investigation of this weighty problem. Switzerland's military system is on the lines of a militia and is essentially defensive in character. I am glad to note — and you will all understand my satisfaction — a tendency in other States to model their armies on the Swiss pattern, and perhaps when the ideal we have already attained has become a universal fact, the question of the reduction of armaments and purely defensive armies will have been solved for all mankind.

I am not one of those who maintain that the very existence of the League depends on its future success in this vast problem of disarmament. Many say, and I understand their point of view, that the League will find itself paralysed if it cannot discover an equitable solution for this problem. I would not go so far as that, but I agree that the matter is one of capital importance, that the nations will be bitterly disappointed if the League proves powerless, and that their disappointment would shatter the very foundations of world confidence.

The Federal Council had this in mind when it laid before you a proposal for the establishment at Geneva of a wireless station. I do not intend to discuss the matter to-day, but I wish to emphasise the fact that in proposing to the Assembly that she should herself establish a station, subject to certain guarantees, for the use of the League — particularly at times of crisis — Switzerland desired to demonstrate her readiness to co-operate with and her friendship for the League.

A few words more and I have finished. I should like to mention the minorities question. The first delegate of the Netherlands, speaking with the authority attaching to his name and to that of the country he represents, said he would support any action on the part of the League for the better protection of minorities. He even suggested that the question of the appointment of a Minorities Commission on the lines of the Permanent Mandates Commission should be considered. The Swiss delegation would view with sympathy any movement in this direction.

Public opinion in Switzerland is keenly alive to the minorities question, and follows it with profound interest. We are not deaf to the complaints that are sometimes heard in certain parts of Europe and in other regions of the world. We know that various provisions of the treaties of peace have to

be carried out by the League. Switzerland had some difficulty in accustoming herself to the idea that, as a Member of the League, she was jointly responsible, up to a point, for their execution: but she is happy to find in the peace treaties themselves guarantees for minorities which make for conciliation and protection.

That is the spirit in which we propose to study these problems. Freedom is an inherent and ineradicable need of human nature. Through freedom all citizens of the world are partakers of the spirit. Respect for religious convictions, respect for differences of language and customs — these are sacred. It is the duty of minorities to display prudence and moderation, and still more is it the duty of majorities to give proof of equity and justice.

Myself, a citizen of a country where majority and minority fraternise and co-operate on a footing of perfect equality and mutual understanding, a member of the Italian minority in Switzerland, and thus a representative of one of the most ancient and glorious civilisations of the world, I am perhaps entitled to declare here on this platform that the impartial application of treaties relating to the rights and guarantees of minorities is and must always be one of the chief concerns of all who have at heart the realisation of the League's ideals.

#### The President :

*Translation :* The Assembly has before it a proposal by the Swiss delegation concerning advisory opinions of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The text of the proposal submitted by M. Motta on behalf of his delegation is as follows :

"The Assembly recommends the Council to consider whether it would not be desirable to submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice, for an advisory opinion, the question whether the Council or the Assembly can, by a simple majority, request an advisory opinion under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations."

I will arrange for the proposal to be printed and circulated to the delegations as soon as possible, and in order to expedite matters I propose that the Assembly refer it direct to the Agenda Committee.

His Excellency Monsignor Seipel, first delegate of Austria, will address the Assembly.

#### Mgr. Seipel (Austria) :

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The General Report which summarises the activities of the League of Nations since the last ordinary session of the Assembly reveals to our eyes a rich and varied picture. We are glad to see that the assiduous co-operation of the Members of the League, and the active and devoted work of the Secretariat, have achieved striking and valuable results in many important fields. These results form a strong testimony in favour of the League. But for the League, but for the constant co-operation of the nations and their rulers, for which we are indebted to the League, the numerous and varied questions arising after the war, or revived by it, could not be attacked with any prospect of success.

The political and economic life of the world is becoming more and more complex. It calls for periodical contact between leading statesmen, such as is provided by the League, and this contact constitutes progress of inestimable value from the point of view of the technique of international politics.

There are probably few countries in which the League's activities are more carefully followed than in Austria. Since her reconstruction, happily carried out under the League's auspices, Austria's relations with the League have been of a very special character. It is true that this work of reconstruction brought benefits to all the parties concerned; to the League itself, because the successful solution of so important a task clearly redounded to its credit; to Austria, because, after balancing her budget, she was able to reconstitute her economic and social life on a sound basis; last but not least, to those who, by lending us their money, are obtaining a liberal return, while enjoying the best security ever offered by a loan. Yet it would be a mistake to regard this as entirely a business transaction. This was the first time since the devastation of the war that the spirit of fraternal solidarity and mutual assistance showed itself among the peoples gathered under the aegis of the League. The reconstruction of Austria by the League is an exemplary and historic instance of the success of international co-operation, a model which has since been adopted in dealing with other countries.

But even this is not the most important aspect of the case. We can only understand the full significance of Austria's reconstruction by the League when we remember that Austria — after the war one of the very weakest States from the economic standpoint — had to be saved by international aid — to be saved from a financial, political and social collapse which might have disturbed the peace of Europe, since it would inevitably have raised questions which the world was then incapable of solving or even of discussing. The reconstruction of Austria was therefore not an act of secondary importance to the League; it was part of its main task — that of keeping the peace, since the peace of the world is the very life-blood of the League. The League will stand or fall by what it does or fails to do to guarantee world peace.

I have already said that among us in Austria the League's work is followed with particular interest. I must add, however, to be quite truthful, that this is not due only to gratitude and to the happy experience we have had of the League in the case of which I have just spoken. The principal reason for our interest is that we attach particular importance to the establishment and organisation of lasting peace.

Austria, situated as she is in the centre of Europe, and accustomed by her history and her economic conditions to maintain the closest relations with her neighbours, is painfully sensitive to the repercussions of every disturbance, conflict or commotion which may occur in any part of Europe. Hence, in the present report on the work of the Council, nothing interests me so much as the parts which concern all that has or has not been done for the direct purpose of consolidating peace.

Happily there are already definite facts to be noted. Last year's Assembly solemnly proscribed wars of aggression. Since then a pact has been concluded, not directly by the League, but on the joint initiative of one of its most eminent protagonists, M. Briand, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, and of Mr. Kellogg, Secretary of State of the United States. This pact is open to accession by every country, and all who sign it or

accede to it renounce war as an instrument of national policy. These are results for which we would not have dared to hope twenty years ago. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that despite all these favourable symptoms, much hard work will still have to be done to banish the feeling of disquiet and insecurity which is harassing the whole world, and particularly Europe — a feeling which is evinced particularly by the increase in armaments.

The noble task of allaying this feeling of insecurity, in so far as it can be done by juridical methods, falls to the Security Committee, which has met under the efficient guidance of Dr. Beneš, the Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs, and has submitted to us a most valuable report drawn up with the latter's personal and energetic assistance.

Austria is ready to co-operate in any action likely to consolidate peace. She is also prepared to conclude with any and every State treaties of arbitration, security and conciliation. The Austrian Government acceded to the Kellogg pact on August 30th last, only three days after being invited to do so. Austria was one of the first countries to sign and ratify the optional clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and thus to recognise the general and compulsory jurisdiction of that Court. Austria warmly congratulates Germany on having been the first great Power to take a similar step, which gives her a special place in the history of the development of the International Court.

We are very glad to learn that the League's work in preparation for the first International Conference on the Codification of International Law is so far advanced that that Conference will be able to meet next year.

That is all I wish to say as regards the formal guarantee of peace.

A question of much greater importance, however, is that of the work to be done to establish the material basis necessary to lasting peace. In this direction also the League has achieved valuable results.

The security afforded by peace in the political field can be effectively strengthened by peace in the economic field — as long as economic peace is not assured there can be no lasting peace. The Financial Conference convened by the League at Brussels in 1920 helped greatly to restore the monetary systems the stability of which had been destroyed after the war. On the French delegation's proposal, and thanks to the personal initiative of its distinguished member, M. Loucheur, the first world Economic Conference took place last year. Although barely a year has elapsed since then, that Conference has already produced results which could hardly have been hoped for before it met. All we have to do now is to await further developments.

The one Conference which the world has for years been awaiting in eager expectation, a Conference dealing with a group of questions of the highest importance, the Conference for the reduction of armaments, has not yet taken place, despite numerous resolutions on the subject passed by the Assembly of the League at previous sessions. We have been disappointed with the manner in which the League has so far dealt with the problem of disarmament, or rather — not to be unfair — we should say how much we regret that it has revealed to us the slender means at the League's disposal for dealing with the disarmament question.

I do not intend to go once more over ground familiar to us all, namely, that the Treaties of Peace explicitly promise general disarmament to all the States which were compelled to disarm immediately; that owing to the huge development in the technical means of warfare since the world war, the general level of armaments is now far higher than in pre-war years; that, although the desire for peace has become intensified in most countries in the past ten years, armaments yet continue to be a permanent danger and an ever-growing menace to peace.

All nations want disarmament. The divergencies of opinion existing in regard to questions of detail ought not to blind us to the main and ultimate aim. I appeal to this Assembly not be satisfied with dilatory resolutions on this question, but to take a decisive step forward. The whole world is waiting for this, and the League's prestige is essentially dependent upon it.

The feeling of political insecurity which pervades the world is due to many causes. One of the most important and the most dangerous of these, in my opinion, is the intolerance caused by the inflammation of the nationalist spirit, in all that that term implies, whether the word "nation" be taken to mean all the citizens of any one country or all persons of common race and language. During the last decades we have seen throughout the world a vehement expansion of national sentiment in both senses of this term. Such an expansion was indeed inevitable, not only among the peoples in a majority within a national State but also in the minorities scattered among such States.

Obviously this sentiment is strongest among those who in the past belonged to nations forming majorities within a State, and who, in virtue of a new frontier line, suddenly find themselves national minorities, and this without any corresponding evolution from within.

Owing to the Treaties of Peace themselves, the minorities question has become an international question, like many others the inclusion of which in the Treaties has since made itself disagreeably felt. For it is by the Treaties of Peace that the formal right of minorities has been introduced into the sphere of international law, although in a somewhat elementary and therefore wholly inadequate form.

It is vital that the right held by minorities — held indeed by all peoples without exception — the right to retain their mother-tongue, the manners and customs of their forefathers and all the sources of their special civilisation, as well as the right to declare openly and freely their membership of their race, whether these rights be laid down in treaties or not — it is vital, I repeat, that these rights should be definitively acknowledged by the conscience of the world and recognised by the fundamental stipulations of international law.

As early as the second session of the Assembly of the League, in 1921, Professor Gilbert Murray declared from this platform "that the welfare, the contentment, of these minorities is one of the common interests of Europe." A year later, the Rapporteur on the question of minorities, our distinguished colleague and friend, M. Motta, declared "that the League should become as it were the guardian of minorities throughout the world." At its third session the Assembly of the League adopted the resolution with which you are all familiar, a resolution which 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 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."

In the light of the existing treaties, and while appreciating the efforts I have just mentioned on the part of the League, I cannot help wondering why, in spite of all, the treatment of the minorities question should still be in such an unsatisfactory position, and I suddenly see the real cause of the trouble from which we are all suffering: *We unfortunate mortals do not understand each other.* I address you in German, owing to my inadequate knowledge of French or English: but the difficulty of comprehension is easily overcome, thanks to our excellent interpreters. But unfortunately we often fail to understand each other even when language is not the cause of the difficulty.

If we consider Europe alone, we see that it may be divided into different regions, according to the standpoint adopted. We may speak of south and north, or east and west. We may speak of a Latin zone, a Germanic zone, a Slav zone, and since 1918, if it is insisted upon, we may divide it into victors and vanquished.

Europe is, however, also divided by a line which separates two entirely different conceptions of the idea of the "nation." On one side of that line are the peoples for whom the State is everything, and who understand national sentiment as a great enthusiasm for the State to which they, of their own free will or otherwise, belong. On the other side of that line of demarcation, the sentiment of civilisation, of a common tongue and a common origin preponderates, nor does this sentiment affect in the slightest the loyalty felt to the State. For the first, the protection of minorities is but a transitory measure born of a humanitarian idea, and intended to render less painful the assimilation of racial and linguistic minorities to the people of the State on which they depend, owing to the fact of their having settled there or to some other historical event. For the others it is a natural right, a sacred and inalienable right, a right they could not give up even if they wished to do so.

Confronted with this state of affairs, what attitude do we adopt, we who meet here in the League of Nations? Either we avoid speaking of these matters for fear of offending each other or those in our own countries who read our speeches, or else — and this is still worse, as it borders on the ridiculous — we do speak of them and we pretend we understand one another. We use words which we can translate superficially and vaguely with the help of our linguistic knowledge or of dictionaries; but we do not know, or do not wish to know, that the same words mean different things to each one of us.

We must not imagine that we have made great progress towards the pacification of the world so long as we fail to understand the very elements of the "science of peace." In the minorities question, at any rate, we have not yet grasped these elements. Convinced as I am of this, I do not wish to make any concrete proposal to-day, but I should like to advise you all to weigh in your own minds the different conceptions of the expressions "nation", "minority" and "rights of minorities." Once we have done this we can meet again and tell each other frankly, and with all the authority at our command, how the minorities question really stands. But we must reflect and state our views

quickly, lest anything happen meanwhile to prejudice the great ideal of peace.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Zaleski, first delegate of Poland, will address the Assembly.

**M. Zaleski (Poland) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — In addressing you to-day I should like to add my country's name to those on whose behalf tribute has been or will be paid here to the work done by the League of Nations during the past year.

I shall not attempt any detailed analysis of the Secretary-General's report, but I am glad to see from it that great progress has been made during the year, in the course of which the League's influence and activities in the various spheres of international life have been extended still further.

I think that the year 1927-28 may rightly be included among those in which the most highly important work has been carried out by the League work which will doubtless prove of very great assistance in consolidating and strengthening peace, and will accordingly help us to attain the object we all have at heart.

I say unhesitatingly that future generations will undoubtedly regard the past year, during which war has twice been outlawed, as one of the greatest years in the history of the peace movement, and that it will inaugurate a new era in international relations — an era I hope of rapidly increasing confidence, mutual understanding and international collaboration.

The Polish Government and people attach the very greatest importance to the pact condemning war which was signed a few days ago in Paris. In substance this pact is identical with the solemn declaration made last year by all the Members of the League. We realise, of course, that it does not absolutely guarantee peace, since it provides no sanctions against the crime of violating peace. Nevertheless we welcome it with joy and with profound satisfaction, for we feel that it may form the moral foundation on which we can build the noble edifice of peace.

The Kellogg pact, although negotiated outside the League and without any formal connection with it, marks, I think, a logical and necessary stage in the League's development, and the latter should, as it were, adopt it — though that does not mean, of course, that we dispute the undeniable rights of the great American democracy to its paternity.

When I said that the pact for the outlawry of war might serve as a basis for our future work for the promotion of peace, I was referring to work in connection with security and disarmament; this has already been begun and considerable progress has been made. The accession of Members of the League to the pact of non-aggression will be of the greatest assistance to us in our efforts to organise security and general disarmament.

Many speakers have already made special reference to the scope of the work undertaken by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and I fully concur in all they have said.

I would especially draw your attention, however, to the proposed regional conventions for mutual

assistance, to which my Government attaches special importance. In 1925, when the attempts to conclude a general convention of this kind failed, we were of opinion that the best way out of the difficulty would be to conclude regional conventions.

We are glad to see that this idea is gaining fresh supporters among the Members of the League, and we hope that it will soon become a concrete fact. We are convinced that the conclusion of regional agreements for mutual assistance will really enable an important reduction to be made in national armaments.

This does not mean, however, that the preparatory work for disarmament cannot go forward until such regional agreements have been concluded. On the contrary, we consider this work to be highly desirable, and we appreciate the value of that already done by the Preparatory Commission, which must not be underrated.

The work of this Commission has thrown light on the problem of disarmament in all its aspects. It has cleared up misunderstandings, which have often proved only apparent, and has helped forward the agreements which are a necessary preliminary to the summoning of the Disarmament Conference, which will, I trust, be held shortly.

We should apply to the work of the Preparatory Commission that wise Italian proverb: "*Chi va piano va sano.*"

That is why I for one cannot share the feeling of disappointment in connection with the League's work in the field of disarmament expressed by the delegates of Sweden, Norway, Germany and Austria in their bold and interesting speeches.

Nor do I agree with the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics that all that is needed to guarantee world peace is that the nations should immediately meet together at Geneva for a few days or a few weeks and there and then decree universal and complete disarmament.

Life does not permit of these autocratic methods. We cannot bring about disarmament merely by saying: "Let there be disarmament!"

Any reform, if it is to be permanent and lasting, must be carefully and gradually prepared. The disarmament we desire is not a matter of hasty propaganda; it is a problem which we are approaching in all seriousness and with a real intention of solving it. We must therefore not abandon the methods hitherto followed, which consist simply in patient and steady effort. This, in my view, is the only effective and practical method.

Let us not forget that any unconsidered action might hinder rather than help disarmament.

May I take this opportunity to refer to two questions already mentioned by previous speakers, namely, national minorities and economic problems?

The former problem was dealt with in the very interesting speech of the Netherlands representative. I fully agree with M. Beelaerts van Blokland that we should make it impossible for the minorities system to be used by ill-intentioned persons as an instrument for political agitation. The necessity of eliminating the political element from minority questions and of preventing them from becoming the subject of inter-State disputes has more than once been urged by the Council, and was specially referred to in a report by the Secretary-General adopted by the Assembly in 1925.

I am sorry, however, that I cannot agree with the Netherlands Foreign Minister, whose views are supported by the German Chancellor and M. Motta. M. Beelaerts van Blokland put forward, in the interest of minorities, a suggestion the application of which would not only be most dangerous at the present time — as he himself admitted — but which also is not based on any clause in the minorities treaty. May I remind you that the Committees of Three were set up for the express purpose of ensuring that petitions from minorities should be carefully considered? The Governments which signed the treaties have acquiesced in the practice of referring petitions to Committees, although, from a strictly legal standpoint, this practice might be open to question. But surely you can hardly ask them to go further and accept a Permanent Minorities Commission.

There is no analogy whatever between the mandates question and the minorities question as regards the proposal to appoint a permanent organ of enquiry and control. The Permanent Mandates Commission was set up under Article 22 of the League Covenant, whereas the appointment of a Permanent Minorities Commission would not be based on any international undertaking. If our colleagues wish us to consider their suggestion, let us do so by all means, but in that case we must also consider another proposal which has already been made several times in the Assembly and was also mentioned in the resolutions passed by the twelfth Assembly of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at The Hague. I refer to the suggestion that the principle of the protection of minorities should be made general. If all States Members of the League are prepared to adhere to a general convention to that effect I am sure there will be no objection to a Permanent Minorities Commission.

But if, in the desire to improve the present system for the protection of minorities, you attempt too much, you may achieve a diametrically opposite result and destroy the system altogether.

I should now like in conclusion to say a few words with regard to the economic work of the League.

Our political mission will have scant hope of success unless it is accompanied by an improvement in the economic situation. Fortunately, despite all the obstacles and difficulties it has encountered, the League's Economic Organisation is courageously pursuing its task of economic reconciliation.

The Polish Government desires to pay a tribute to the remarkable results that have been achieved in this field, and is ready to give its full support and goodwill to the promotion of better international economic relations. It has given ample proof of this during the past year. I need not dwell upon our favourable attitude towards the work of economic reconstruction, but we feel that care must be taken not to make matters too difficult for countries which are still in process of evolution and whose situation thus differs from that of the great industrial Powers.

In its commercial policy, my country has had and will continue to have due regard for the interests of what we have agreed to call the international economy; but at the same time it expects the powerful factors which determine international activity to respect the vital needs of others. Mutual sacrifices must be made. We must be fair to all. We must encourage in the

economic sphere the growth of the conciliatory spirit which is only just beginning to appear in international political life.

Mutual understanding in economic affairs, equality of benefits, mutual sacrifice — these are the three pillars that uphold the economic work of the League.

**The President :**

*Translation.* M. Voldemaras, delegate of Lithuania, will address the Assembly.

**M. Voldemaras (Lithuania) :**

*Translation:* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — It is only after a review of the past and consideration of the future that the work of the League of Nations can be fully understood.

In considering the past there is ground for satisfaction, for the work of the Council and of the technical organs of the League has covered a wide field and produced very beneficial results. I will not repeat what has already been said with justice, and in great detail, concerning the work accomplished in the past and especially during last year.

Progress, however cannot be arrested. If the League does not wish to be out-distanced by events it must constantly look to the future; and from this standpoint I must say frankly that I see clouds looming on the horizon.

The breath of life is already beginning to leave the League. What is the main purpose for which this organisation was set up? That purpose is set forth in the Preamble and above all in Article 11 of the Covenant. The League is bound to do its utmost to make war impossible. Can it do so, however, under its present Covenant?

The Covenant allows the possibility of war. I do not blame its authors. Conditions at the time were such that the States could not possibly advance further than the stage represented by the Covenant. The League itself has desired to go further, and on two occasions this desire has been translated into action. In the first place the so-called Geneva Protocol was drafted as a further step towards abolishing war. We all know what was the fate of the Protocol.

Last year the Polish delegation submitted a resolution condemning wars of aggression, which was unanimously adopted.

In communicating this resolution, the Council pointed out that the States Members of the League were under an obligation to accept the two principles underlying the Polish proposals. What were those obligations? Were they of a legal nature? By no means. And they were not so because the Covenant has not been changed. Any change in the Covenant must be ratified by the States Members, as laid down in the text of the Covenant itself, and as this resolution has not become an article of the Covenant, the obligation is merely a moral one. Its significance is doubtless very wide, since it shows that world public opinion condemns all wars, and is satisfied, for the time being at least, with preventing wars of aggression.

As I have said, precedents have not been lacking in the history of the League itself when the Assembly has clearly expressed its opinion on this vital matter of war. But the world situation made it impossible to go further.

Conditions are changed now. What objections are there to-day to modifying the pact in this direction? Formerly such objections would have been quite intelligible, for the League was not

world-wide ; there were great Powers — there are still — outside it, and from a military point of view these Powers represent a formidable force. In those circumstances nobody would risk adopting a rule of positive international law forbidding war, still less reducing armaments.

But the situation is now entirely changed. It was on the bold initiative of M. Briand that Mr. Kellogg, Secretary of State of the United States of America, proposed a treaty which, after negotiation and amendment, was signed at Paris.

This pact contains a provision formally outlawing war. Is this a moral obligation ? Surely not ; it is a legal one. I know there are pessimists who believe that the Briand-Kellogg pact has only a moral value, but I venture to point out that the same could be said of any international treaty.

Of course from the point of view of the internal law of States this pact lacks sanctions. In this respect it is what the old Roman jurists used to call a *lex imperfecta*. But, as I have just observed, this imperfection is inherent in every international treaty. When Plato, the greatest philosopher of antiquity, was evolving his bold conception of the ideal republic, what problem did he set himself to solve in order to ensure that his creation should endure ? “ *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes ?* ” Either the League or some other international organ is set up to safeguard international peace. Very good : but Plato's problem still remains : “ *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes ?* ” The question will be asked till the end of time. It is impossible to form any international organisation to include, besides the States composing it, an institution to supervise the execution of its decisions.

This supreme “ *custos* ” will be found in faith alone. Since the day when the human race was first divided into different States, ever since the organisation of civilised life, in fact, this question has existed, and international treaties have been placed under divine sanction. The sanction must always be a moral one.

Those, therefore, who allege that this pact is merely a moral obligation thereby admit that it is in every way similar to any and every other international treaty. Few modern international treaties acknowledge in fact that an infraction renders the contravening party liable to sanctions. The majority, the overwhelming majority, of all these treaties, are and will ever remain *leges imperfectæ*. That is a fact inherent in the very essence of things.

This being so, what must be done to secure the recognition of this obligation as an entirely legal one ? A purely formal step — ratification. Nothing is substantially changed. When the ratifications have been exchanged, the Briand-Kellogg Pact will become a positive international law.

In that case a supreme duty devolves upon the Members of the League : the Covenant must not be allowed to fall behind these new developments. It must be adapted to the present state of positive international law. Formerly, it was legally impossible to proscribe war ; the Paris pact has now made this possible.

That should be the League's chief preoccupation. If it undertakes this task, if it succeeds in solving this problem, it will have justified the hope which the world places in it.

Much has been said concerning the Paris pact, but it has been spoken of as something lying outside

the League and as having, so to speak, no juridical connection with it. There is moral sympathy if you like, but the pact has not been looked at from the purely legal standpoint. The Lithuanian delegation thinks the time for this has now come, and accordingly has the honour to submit a draft resolution to that effect, which I will read and afterwards explain :—

“ The Assembly :

“ Learning with deep emotion that the United States of America and several States Members of the League of Nations signed a Pact for the renunciation of war on August 27th, 1928, in Paris ;

“ Noting that several other States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations have already acceded to the said Pact :

“ Recognising that the acceptance of the Pact for the renunciation of war by the Members of the League of Nations goes further than their obligations in this respect contained in the Covenant of the League of Nations and supplements them, thus necessitating changes in the fundamental provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations :

“ Recalling the Assembly resolution of September 24th, 1927, condemning wars of aggression ;

“ Requests the Council to initiate an enquiry into the amendments which should be introduced into the Covenant of the League of Nations on the above-mentioned lines, and to submit these amendments to the Assembly at its next session.”

The only possible objection to this resolution may be summarised as follows : The Paris pact has been signed, it is true, and a number of States have acceded to it. But it has not yet been ratified and therefore has not yet become a legal fact. It will only be possible to deal with it effectively when the necessary ratifications have been deposited at Washington.

This objection is a purely formal one. It need not modify the Assembly's attitude in the slightest, for either the pact will become an international treaty or it will not. In the former case, the League will have gained time by keeping abreast of events. In the second case, the Assembly will always be able to say that it has done its best to help the pact to become an international treaty, and should the pact fail to do so it will have been through no fault of the League. In either case the League's moral prestige is bound to be increased.

I believe, nevertheless, that the whole civilised world is certain that this pact really will become an international treaty ; for not only are the signatory States Members of the League, but other Great Powers have already given their adherence, such as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. There can be no doubt that the ratifications will be forthcoming.

I do not know how many Members of the League have already adhered to the pact, but I am sure every Member will adhere, more especially when I remember that the Polish resolution condemning wars of aggression was unanimously adopted here last year. There can therefore be no doubt that all the Members of the League will sign the Briand-Kellogg Pact, and once this has been done the situation will be radically changed. What is the business of the Council of the League and of the various Committees appointed by the different Assemblies, if not the preservation of peace ? If

we go through all their reports, what do we find to be the main preoccupation? A constant anxiety to avoid a crisis.

We are talking — the subject has been mentioned from this platform to-day — of installing a wireless station at Geneva. Is not this intended to enable Members of the League to be summoned without delay in times of emergency?

Such anxiety was quite legitimate so long as war was a recognised instrument of international policy. Henceforth this preoccupation will be superfluous, nay harmful, for if we show ourselves unduly anxious as to the possibility of summoning meetings rapidly should an emergency occur, we imply that we place little faith in the pact we have signed. But if our faith is firm, why spend our time on contingencies that might have arisen in the past but will be impossible in the future? That fact alone will modify the work of the various Commissions, and the consequences will be far-reaching.

Much has been said concerning the reduction of armaments. Of course, before the signature of the Paris pact the problem appeared almost insoluble. It was, as it were, an equation with many unknown quantities.

But what could be simpler now? If all the countries in the world agree by treaty not to resort to war, armies, those national guardians of peace, become obsolete. Once this has been brought about, disarmament will come of itself. Nations do not lightly assume heavy financial burdens; they submit to them only because they believe themselves to be threatened. Once confidence in peace has been restored, disarmament will follow as an economic necessity.

Does this confidence exist? That is the serious problem. It is a purely moral one. There are many arguments in favour of confidence; either you have confidence or you have not, but nobody can prove you wrong if you do not possess it.

We are surrounded everywhere by armed police, and when we walk past them we have no fear of their turning their arms against us. Quite the contrary indeed: if, being disarmed, we feel ourselves threatened, we call upon them for help. To possess arms is not in itself incompatible with confidence. If, taking other matters into consideration, that confidence is great, if it is unlimited, then there is no harm in armaments. The evil only becomes a pregnant menace for the future if there is no confidence.

Here we reach a point where all further argument is useless. I would merely like to give examples of that sturdy faith — examples which invite us all to follow the same path.

If post-war France, after so many trials and triumphs, has voluntarily renounced war as an instrument of policy, if she has taken the initiative of enlarging the field wherein war will henceforth become impossible, by concluding the Locarno Treaties, whereby war was excluded in respect of

a more limited region, and later by suggesting to the greatest Power in the world, the United States of America, the conclusion of a treaty for the outlawry of war, then I truly believe that the policy of peace is a possibility, since there is real faith in peace. If this much has been accomplished it has been through a genuine faith in the possibility of settling international disputes by peaceful means. Events to-day have justified this faith, and I think the future will justify it even more fully. Why then cannot we too follow this example and effect an immediate change in our positive law by amending the Covenant? These are the main questions at issue.

I should like, however, to mention another problem which I consider vital to peace and to the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

What is the usual cause of war? Why is war considered the sole instrument of national policy? It is because the economic point of view is not appreciated at its just value. Nations strive to ensure their prosperity, to obtain outlets for their products and to win new markets. And what are the means they employ? Force of arms.

This idea was quite logical in olden times. The Power that had the strongest army and the best military equipment could really conquer the world. But that is no longer true at the present stage of human development. It is quite evident that those nations which devote themselves wholly to economic development, to the exploitation of their wealth, are far more powerful than the others, even from a military point of view. It is unfortunate that even now some countries have failed to realise what are their true national interests in this respect. When they do realise it, many causes of dispute will disappear and military power will be relegated to the background. Already such a state of affairs has quite clearly come to pass in many countries, though it is not so evident in others; but the general trend of the world to-day is in this direction.

For that reason the League is truly working for peace when it takes up economic problems.

Those are my views of the future. All the Members of the League should face the future with unshaken faith, and now that world conditions permit, we must pass from words to deeds.

#### The President :

*Translation :* The Assembly has before it a proposal submitted by the first delegate of Lithuania, which will be printed and distributed to the delegations.

In order to expedite the procedure, I venture to suggest to the Assembly that M. Voldemaras' proposal should be referred direct to the Agenda Committee.

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

*The Assembly rose at 1.45 p.m.*

NINTH PLENARY MEETING

Saturday, September 8th, 1928, at 4.30 p.m.

CONTENTS :

- 42. ELECTION OF A MEMBER OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE TO SUCCEED JUDGE JOHN BASSETT MOORE (RESIGNED).
- 43. QUESTION OF THE REVISION OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.  
Draft Resolution submitted by the French Delegation in the name of Twenty-four Delegations.  
Report of the Agenda Committee.  
Reference to the First Committee.
- 44. QUESTION OF THE PROCEDURE TO BE FOLLOWED BY THE COUNCIL OR THE ASSEMBLY IN REQUESTING ADVISORY OPINIONS FROM THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.  
Draft Resolution proposed by the Swiss Delegation.  
Report of the Agenda Committee.  
Reference to the First Committee.

President : M. ZAHLE.

42. — ELECTION OF A MEMBER OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE TO SUCCEED JUDGE JOHN BASSETT MOORE (RESIGNED).

The President :

*Translation* : The first item on the agenda is the election of a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice to succeed Judge John Bassett Moore, who has resigned.

At its meeting on Tuesday, September 4th, the Assembly agreed to the General Committee's proposal concerning the procedure for the election and the question of the duration of the appointment of the judge to be elected, in conformity with the Statute of the Court.

The Assembly has before it document A.32.1928, containing the list of candidates nominated by the national groups and also, in Annex III, page 5, the procedure adopted by the Assembly and Council at previous elections of members of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The Assembly has noted the letter from M. Negulesco, one of the nominees, intimating his desire that his candidature should be withdrawn.

The Assembly has also received a letter, dated September 3rd, 1928 (document A.42.1928), from the Canadian delegation, concerning the candidature of Mr. Duff and Mr. Lafleur.

The rules laid down for this election are familiar to the delegations, and I do not think I need read them again.

While the Assembly is taking the vote, the Council also will proceed with the election. The result of the Council's vote will be communicated to me immediately, and I will then announce it to the Assembly.

May I ask M. Motta, first delegate of Switzerland, and M. Guani, first delegate of Uruguay, to be good enough to act as tellers ?

(M. Motta and M. Guani came to the platform.)

I would remind delegates that only one name should appear on their voting papers.

The candidate who obtains an absolute majority of the votes cast in both the Assembly and the Council will be declared elected.

The vote will be taken by roll-call.

One member of each delegation, as the name of his delegation is called, will come to the platform and deposit his voting paper in the ballot-box.

The voting will now begin.

(The vote was taken by roll-call.)

The President :

*Translation* : Before announcing the result of the ballot, may I first thank the tellers for their kind assistance ?

The result of the voting is as follows :

Number of States voting .....	48
Absolute Majority required .....	25

The analysis of the voting is as follows :

Mr. Charles Evans HUGHES .....	41
M. Walther SIMONS .....	5
Justice Sir Johannes Wilhemus WESSELS	1
Sir Abdur RAHM .....	1

I therefore declare elected by the Assembly Mr. Charles Evans HUGHES, former Secretary of State of the United States of America and former Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of America.

I have received the following letter, bearing today's date, from the Acting President of the Council, informing me of the result of the election by the Council :

" I have the honour to inform you that the Council, in conformity with Article 8 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, has proceeded to elect a successor to Mr. John Bassett Moore.

" Mr. Charles Evans Hughes was elected unanimously.

(Signed) PROCOPÉ."

Accordingly, Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, former Secretary of State of the United States of America and former Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of America, having been elected both by the Assembly and the Council with the necessary majority, I proclaim Mr. HUGHES elected as member of the Permanent Court of International Justice.



43. — QUESTION OF THE REVISION OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE: DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE FRENCH DELEGATION IN THE NAME OF TWENTY-FOUR DELEGATIONS: REPORT OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE: REFERENCE TO THE FIRST COMMITTEE.

The President :

*Translation :* You will remember that, at yesterday morning's meeting, the Assembly decided to refer to the Agenda Committee, for preliminary examination, the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly by M. René Cassin, delegate of France, on behalf of twenty delegations.

Since then four other delegations, namely, those of Panama, Guatemala, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic, have associated themselves with the originators of this proposal.

The Agenda Committee has acted promptly in the matter. It met this morning and has already submitted its report, which I will now read to the Assembly. The text is as follows :

"The Agenda Committee met on September 8th, 1928, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Ramon V. Caballero.

"It considered the draft resolution submitted by M. René Cassin in the name of twenty delegations, relating to the examination by the Council of the possible amendment of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

"This draft resolution was referred to it in conformity with a decision of the Assembly dated September 7th.

"As a result of its preliminary examination, the Committee unanimously decided to propose to the Assembly that the following draft resolution should be placed on the agenda of the present session and should be referred to the First Committee and, if necessary, to the Fourth Committee :

"The Assembly :

"Considering the ever-growing number of matters referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice ;

"Deeming it advisable that, before the renewal of the terms of office of the members of the Court in 1930, the present provisions of the Statute of the Court should be examined with a view to the introduction of any amendments which experience may show to be necessary ;

"In view of Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, under which the Council is responsible for preparing the Statute of the Court with a view to its submission to the Assembly for approval,

"Draws the Council's attention to the advisability of proceeding, before the renewal of the terms of office of the members of the Permanent Court of International Justice, to the examination of the Statute of the Court with a view to the introduction of such amendments as may be judged desirable, and to submitting the necessary proposals to the next ordinary session of the Assembly."

The Agenda Committee proposes, first, that the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly be included in the agenda of the present session, and, secondly, that it be referred to the First Committee for examination, and later, if required, to the Fourth Committee.

If no one has any observation to offer, I shall consider the Agenda Committee's proposal adopted. (*Adopted.*)

44. — QUESTION OF THE PROCEDURE TO BE FOLLOWED BY THE COUNCIL OR THE ASSEMBLY IN REQUESTING ADVISORY OPINIONS FROM THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE: DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE SWISS DELEGATION: REPORT OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE: REFERENCE TO THE FIRST COMMITTEE.

The President :

*Translation :* At its meeting this morning, the Assembly also referred to the Agenda Committee, for preliminary examination, a draft resolution submitted by M. Motta on behalf of the Swiss delegation.

The Agenda Committee examined this draft resolution after the plenary meeting this morning. I have already received its report, which I will now read. It is as follows :

"The Agenda Committee met on September 8th, 1928, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Ramon V. Caballero.

"It considered the draft resolution submitted by M. Motta in the name of the Swiss delegation at the morning meeting of the Assembly on September 8th.

"As a result of its preliminary examination, the Committee unanimously decided to propose to the Assembly that the following draft resolution should be placed on the agenda of the present session and should be referred to the First Committee :

"The Assembly, recommends the Council to consider whether it would not be desirable to submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice, for an advisory opinion, the question whether the Council or the Assembly can, by a simple majority, request an advisory opinion under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations."

The Agenda Committee proposes, first, that we include this draft resolution in the agenda of the present session of the Assembly, and, secondly, that it be referred to the First Committee for preliminary examination.

If no one has any observations to offer, I shall regard the Agenda Committee's proposal as adopted. (*Adopted.*)

*The Assembly rose at 5.10 p.m.*

## TENTH PLENARY MEETING

Monday, September 10th, 1928 at 10 a.m.

### CONTENTS :

- 45. MODIFICATIONS IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE CUBAN DELEGATION.
- 46. VOTE ON THE REQUEST BY CHINA FOR RE-ELIGIBILITY FOR ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL.
- 47. REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE SECRETARIAT.  
Continuation of the Discussion.  
Speeches by M. PROCOPE (Finland), MR. BLYTHE (Irish Free State), M. BRIAND (France).

President : M. ZAHLE

#### 45. — MODIFICATIONS IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE CUBAN DELEGATION.

The President :

*Translation* : A telegram has just been received by the Secretary-General from the Cuban Ministry for Foreign Affairs announcing that M. Guillermo de Blanck, substitute delegate of Cuba to the Assembly, has been appointed delegate, pending the arrival at Geneva of Dr. Manuel Cortina.

A communication has also been received from the first delegate of the Cuban delegation to the Assembly, stating that M. J. A. Izquierdo, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, has been appointed a substitute delegate.

#### 46. — VOTE ON THE REQUEST BY CHINA FOR RE-ELIGIBILITY FOR ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL.

The President :

*Translation* : The first item on the agenda is the vote on China's request for re-eligibility.

You will remember that at the meeting held on the afternoon of Tuesday, September 4th, I informed the Assembly that I had received a letter of the same date from the Chinese delegation submitting a request for re-eligibility. There is no need for me to read the letter again, as the text has been circulated to all the delegations in document A.41.

I found that China's request for re-eligibility was submitted in proper form and within the time-limits laid down in the Assembly resolution of September 15th, 1926.

The Assembly will therefore have to vote upon this request in accordance with the provisions of the above-mentioned resolution of September 15th, 1926, laying down the rules for the election of the nine non-permanent Members of the Council, their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility.

It may be well to recall the rules applicable in the present case. The text of Article II, paragraphs 1 and 2 of the resolution, is as follows :

“ A retiring Member may not be re-elected during the period between the expiration of its term of office and the third election in ordinary session held thereafter unless the Assembly, either on the expiration of the Member's term of

office or in the course of the said period of three years, shall, by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast, previously have decided that such Member is re-eligible.

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

The Assembly will therefore vote by secret ballot. As the name of each delegation is called, a representative of that delegation will come forward and deposit his voting-paper in the ballot-box.

May I ask M. Müller, first delegate of Germany, and M. Scialoja, first delegate of Italy, to be good enough to come to the platform and act as tellers?

Those members of the Assembly who are in favour of the request for re-eligibility will write “ Yes ” on their voting-paper ; those who are against the proposal will write “ No ”.

(M. Müller and M. Scialoja took their places on the platform as tellers.)

The President :

*Translation* : We will now proceed to a ballot by roll-call.

(The ballot was taken.)

The President :

*Translation* : The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of votes cast.....	50
Voting papers valid in counting the votes required .....	50
Number of votes required for acceptance .....	34
Number of votes in favour.....	27

The majority required for re-eligibility has therefore not been obtained.

I wish to thank M. Müller and M. Scialoja for their kind assistance in acting as tellers.

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

The President :

*Translation* : The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the general discussion of the report on the work of the Council, on the work of the Secretariat and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly.

His Excellency M. Procopé, first delegate of Finland, will address the Assembly.

M. Procopé (Finland) :

*Translation* : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Before making a few brief remarks arising out of the annual report on the work done during the past year under the League's auspices, may I say, speaking on behalf of the Finnish delegation, how

satisfactory this report appears to us to be? Remarkable results have been achieved in several branches of the League's activities; in others, valuable preparatory work has been done. In one particular sphere, however — the preparatory work for the limitation of armaments — no tangible results have been achieved as yet. This is a fact, a regrettable fact, which has to be admitted.

On the other hand, we must remember that in the life of nations one year and even several years, count as very little, and we must hope that, even in those spheres in which we cannot yet point to tangible results, the League's persistent and untiring efforts will eventually lead to practical solutions and thus promote and foster good international relations.

Unless I am much mistaken, one of the chief questions likely to occupy the Assembly is this very point, the limitation of armaments as a means of establishing peace on a permanent basis.

As regards this second issue, one result, a moral result, calls for immediate mention here and now, although no practical consequences have yet ensued from it. This result is apparent to me in the fact that the nations are coming to realise more and more that success in our great work must be based, can only be based, on the threefold principle of disarmament, security and arbitration. This conviction, representing as it does public opinion all over the world, is, in my view, of the utmost importance.

The past year has been devoted primarily to a consideration of the question of security. The report of the Security Committee lies before us, and we all know what that Committee has done. The Finnish Government submitted various memoranda containing observations concerning the model draft conventions drawn up by the Committee.

I will not take up your time now by repeating these observations; but I recommend them to your careful consideration, especially the one relating to the very wide scope of the reservations admitted by the draft conventions.

The Finnish delegation quite realises the difficulties with which the Committee was faced when framing these models; but I feel it my duty to point out that the more concessions and reservations we allow, the more we tend to limit the field of international jurisdiction and the more difficult we shall find it to achieve our purpose.

The work of the Security Committee during the past year, and these carefully framed models, refer more particularly to three main groups of questions: non-aggression, mutual assistance and the pacific settlement of international disputes.

The Finnish Government fully appreciates the importance of these three factors of the Committee's work, both in themselves and as a means of facilitating the reduction of armaments. While demonstrating the interdependence of these three factors, however, I wish to consider their relative merits from the standpoint of international organisation and its future progress.

First, as regards non-aggression, I recognise the great value of such an undertaking, subject to certain conditions. True, it may perhaps be claimed that in itself this undertaking implies primarily a negative obligation — an agreement not to fight — and that its scope is thereby limited. This is perfectly sound reasoning up

to a point, but it does not go far enough. Non-aggression also implies far-reaching consequences in certain cases, particularly in view of its corollary that excessive armaments and provocative or threatening military preparations are incompatible with such an undertaking.

But, viewed as a means for the comprehensive settlement of international relations, an undertaking in regard to non-aggression is not sufficient in itself. Non-aggression is intimately bound up with the question of mutual assistance. It represents to a certain extent an obligation provided for under Article 10 of the Covenant, namely, to respect the territorial status and political independence of a State.

Mutual assistance represents a second obligation under the same article, namely, that of causing the political and territorial integrity of a State to be respected. Mutual assistance represents the positive aspect of international interdependence and is an expression of international solidarity.

Article 10, however, implies a further obligation which must be mentioned. We may, indeed we must, infer from it that Members of the League cannot recognise as final or admissible a situation resulting from an act of aggression or from any other act incompatible with the provisions of the article itself. The Finnish delegation raised the point before the Security Committee, which, I am glad to say, confirmed the correctness of this view.

Nevertheless, we have to admit that, even in their widest application, non-aggression and mutual assistance are not sufficient guarantees for a system based on justice, equity and the observance of international undertakings. The only adequate solution lies in the pacific settlement of international disputes, reinforced by non-aggression and international solidarity. Any results obtained must be supplemented by recourse to an international court, and only by agreeing to settle international disputes by pacific means will it be possible to ensure real and general disarmament, organised on a permanent basis.

The scheme drawn up by the Security Committee is based in the main on the pacific settlement of disputes, which eventually implies a wide application of the principle of arbitration and judicial settlement. Certain countries, those of Northern Europe, for example, my own among them, have already adopted or are prepared unreservedly to adopt this principle as paramount in the conduct of their international relations.

At the same time, I do not deny the force of the arguments against the extension of compulsory arbitration on the ground that the existing rules are still inadequate. But surely this very fact is also a powerful argument in favour of continuing to deal with one very important question already included in the League's programme, namely, the progressive codification of international law.

The great work of codification has been approached on sound lines. A good beginning has been made, but this is only the first step. If, in spite of divergent views and other obstacles, we can manage to establish by means of codification certain rules of general practical value, dealing with such questions as nationality, territorial waters and the responsibilities of States, this will be conclusive proof of goodwill on the part of the States, and should be a happy augury of future progress in the matter of codification, which

undoubtedly has a most important, even if an indirect, bearing on the problem of security.

In this connection there is another point I should like to emphasise: codification must aim at the establishment of universal rules. If it is to fulfil its purpose, any conventions drawn up and agreed to must constitute an integral part of universal international law; otherwise, international customary law will still persist, instead of *jus scriptum*, and there will always be the dualism arising out of special treaty provisions and real international customary law.

Another question deserving of attention in connection with the subject of arbitration might, I think, be studied in conjunction with the development of compulsory arbitration.

International arbitration implies essentially that judgments and arbitral awards shall be executory and shall be carried out in good faith. In the case of Members of the League, it is the duty of the Council, under the terms of the Covenant, to see that decisions are properly carried out.

Experience has shown, however—we have just had a recent instance of this—that one or other of the parties may sometimes be unwilling to recognise an award as final and binding, on the grounds of some alleged flaw in the proceedings. But it cannot be left solely to the judgment of the party concerned to decide whether such an allegation is correct. Accordingly, with the development of compulsory arbitration, it is becoming increasingly important to determine whether it may not be necessary to consider the possibility of an appeal, in order that States may have the best possible guarantees as regards the powers of the court. In this connection, various methods of procedure exist. In any case, we have the Permanent Court of International Justice as the highest international tribunal. Even now an arbitration convention might be drafted so as to provide that, subject to certain conditions—for instance, if the arbitrators fail to agree, or one of the parties puts forward a plea of *ultra vires*—any party may appeal to the Court.

The right in question might, of course, be confined to disputes in regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights, but this would not preclude an agreement providing that any legal point connected with the substance of the question or the procedure might be submitted to the Court.

I said just now that, in the matter of disarmament, efforts had been mainly devoted during the past year to the problem of security, and I referred to the model draft conventions of non-aggression, mutual assistance and arbitration framed by the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

In this connection there are two further proposals which I regard as deserving of special attention. There is, first, the model treaty to strengthen the means of preventing war, framed by the Committee in accordance with the German delegation's suggestions, the underlying idea—a perfectly sound one—being that it is essential in the interests of peace that practical use should be made of the principles laid down in Article 11 of the Covenant. The model treaty in question contains a series of undertakings which, if only they obtain the approval of States—the Finnish Government is strongly in favour of them—will, I feel sure, mark a considerable advance in our

efforts to deliver mankind from the scourge of war.

The second proposal I have in mind has the same object in view. It deals with financial assistance to States victims of aggression. I am convinced that, if it were put into effect, it would furnish an additional and most effective means of preventing war, and would increase the feeling of security. I am glad to note the attention devoted to this proposal during the past year, and I trust it may lead to practical results.

Without being unduly optimistic, I think we may claim that the past year has produced much that is encouraging. The most significant event is, in my view, the signing of the Briand-Kellogg pact for the outlawry of war, and the number of States that have acceded to it in the last few days. I agree with those who regard this pact as an encouraging manifestation of the general desire for peace, and am happy to say that my Government has already adhered to it in principle. This it did wholeheartedly, being convinced that the pact will prove of invaluable assistance in the cause of peace, and satisfied that it will in no way affect the rights or obligations of States Members of the League.

Before concluding, I should like to deal with certain aspects of the economic and financial activities of the League. I shall not attempt to go into them in detail; I simply wish to direct your attention to certain facts to which I attach particular importance.

First, I would refer to the investigations during the past year into the questions of coal and sugar, and also the purchasing power of gold, a matter of fundamental importance from the world economic standpoint. These are tremendous undertakings, and my country, I am sure, would welcome similar investigations into other important economic questions. Timber and the products of the timber industry constitute a problem which, in my view, should certainly be examined.

They play a big part in various other industries and in economic life in general. Such an investigation, carried out in a spirit of conciliation, would, I am sure, smooth over many difficulties which weigh upon seller and buyer alike.

The League's practical efforts on these lines to improve conditions in the different countries will tend to promote international understanding and establish cordial relations.

Again, there is the valuable work carried out through the League's financial organs: I have in mind the measures taken to facilitate the floating of State loans, to reorganise State finances, or to stabilise currency; measures to provide for the economic needs of populations transported from one country to another, and other such activities. It has been my privilege at recent sessions of the Council to submit reports upon financial questions, and I desire to pay a sincere tribute to the work done by the Financial Committee and by the Financial Section of the Secretariat, under the most able direction of Sir Arthur Salter.

While speaking of practical questions, I should like to touch upon one matter which has been placed

on the agenda and is even dealt with in the annual report — the question of alcoholism. In the annual report, for instance, we find it mentioned in connection with the work of the Mandates Commission. The Minutes of that Commission and of the Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children show clearly, to my mind, that the question comes within the purview of the League.

The Finnish, Polish and Swedish Governments have submitted a proposal with which the Governments of Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Denmark have also associated themselves.

Allow me first to define the exact nature of this proposal. It is not intended in any way as propaganda — let me emphasise that point. One of the signatories of the proposal, Finland, is certainly a "dry" country, but there is no question here of prohibition. In point of fact, the signatories include countries which have adopted quite a different policy in regard to the question of alcohol — there are even wine-producing countries amongst them.

We thus have no intention of engaging in prohibition propaganda, nor are we asking the League to do so.

Secondly, I want to make it quite clear that this proposal concerns alcoholism, not the consumption of alcoholic liquors in general. To define alcoholism I cannot do better than refer you to the definition given in the proposal submitted by the signatories last year, which reads as follows :

"By alcoholism is understood, for the purposes of this proposal, the abuse of alcoholic beverages and the harmful effects on the individual and society resulting therefrom."

In view of this definition I trust that this time the proposal will be examined thoroughly from a practical point of view. To facilitate examination I would point out that the question falls into two parts.

The first has to do with the prevention of the smuggling of alcoholic liquors. This, in my view, concerns the wine-producing countries just as much as the receiving countries, for contraband imports consist not of their first-class alcohols but of worthless, harmful products.

Smuggling is international in character, and it is difficult to avoid it without recourse to measures of an international order. I should like to give a few examples of this.

With a view to the suppression of the contraband traffic, the States on the Baltic littoral and Norway concluded a convention giving any one of the contracting parties the right to search vessels engaged in such traffic outside territorial waters, within twelve nautical miles of the coast. This, of course, does not affect all alcoholic liquors, but only those with an alcoholic content of more than 22 per cent. The treaty expressly limits the right to small vessels under one hundred tons and cannot, therefore, interfere with the big international shipping lines. The convention, which is applicable to the merchant vessels of the contracting States, has given satisfactory results. In order to avoid being searched, however, smugglers — still using the old vessels — now fly the flag of a

State which is not signatory to the convention and whose vessels rarely, if ever, put in at Baltic ports. They sometimes even fly the flag of a State which has no mercantile marine.

Such a condition of affairs is inconsistent with good inter-State relations and calls for international investigation.

The second aspect of this question concerns social matters and matters of health. The proposal obviously does not aim at placing alcoholic liquors in the same category as harmful drugs, but it is equally clear that alcoholism, the results of alcoholic excess, can become a real scourge — both for private individuals and for entire populations. Alcoholism calls for investigation by the League just like any other social scourge or disease.

Last year, I was glad to note, the representative of France stated in the Second Committee that "the French delegation . . . would agree to the problems arising out of the abuse of alcohol being referred to the Health Committee."

In view of all these considerations, I venture to hope that the proposal concerning alcoholism may meet with the sympathetic consideration of this august Assembly and its organs, and will result in some positive, practical solution being found satisfactory to all parties.

I repeat, it is not a piece of propaganda in favour of any particular system : it is a measure designed in the interest of commercial and social health.

**The President :**

*Translation :* Mr. Blythe, first delegate of the Irish Free State, will address the Assembly.

**Mr. Blythe (Irish Free State) :**

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I do not intend to take up the time of the Assembly with an attempt to survey the excellent work that is being done in many directions by the League and its various organisations. The main matters to which I wish to refer are the policy in relation to tariffs that emerged from the Economic Conference and the steps that are being taken for the prevention of war. Before dealing with these topics, however, I should like to call attention to certain aspects of what might be called the internal policy of the League.

The action which it was necessary to take last week in regard to the re-eligibility of the elected Members of the Council shows that a satisfactory method of filling the non-permanent seats has not yet been found. Only one conclusion can be drawn from the decisive vote of the Assembly on Friday, and that is that the present rules are unsuitable, for it is useless to close our eyes to the probability that fresh demands for suspending the ordinary regulations will be made in coming years. No cogent reason can be adduced for limiting exceptional measures to the present session. The continuation of a state of affairs in which the normal procedure is likely in one way or another to be set aside year after year can result only in causing general and increasing dissatisfaction.

In the opinion of my Government, the difficulties which have been encountered, or are likely to be encountered, would be overcome if elections to the Council were conducted in accordance with the system of proportional representation known as that of the single transferable vote ; it would then be unnecessary to have any provisions even against the election of a country for two successive terms.

Due representation of geographical and other groups would be secured without even an informal allocation of seats, and no nation could have a grievance if it failed to secure election.

The objections usually urged against the system of election by proportional representation do not apply to its use in an Assembly like this, where little more than fifty votes have to be cast. If the League is not prepared to adopt proportional representation, there is grave danger that the action taken last week on the recommendation of the Bureau of the Assembly will lead ultimately to our being thrown back into the position of having a Council on which all seats are, in practice, permanent.

So far as the administration of the League is concerned, I should like to express agreement with the views advanced by the delegate of Norway. In my opinion, great care should be taken by the Secretary-General and the Council to see that nothing is done to lend colour to the view that certain States have prescriptive rights to particular posts in the Secretariat. It is to be hoped that a time will come when officers of the League will be appointed and promoted solely on their personal merits and qualifications without reference to any question of nationality. At present, however, we must recognise that such a thing is not possible; national jealousies and suspicions are still too strong.

I think, however, that the time has arrived when precautions should be deliberately taken to ensure that the international character and outlook of the civil service of the League and its undivided loyalty to this great international organisation will be permanently maintained.

I venture to suggest one method which, though it may be open to some objection, would at least be an improvement on what appears to be the present practice. I think it should be a rule that when a higher official of the League leaves its service, he should always be replaced by a citizen of some other country. Such a procedure would not prevent any country from having approximately the same number of its nationals on the Secretariat as at present, but it would prevent any member of the staff from thinking, or prevent it being thought, that the office which he held was in the gift of his Government. It would also tend to increase the efficiency of the Secretariat by causing a greater number of candidates to be considered on the occurrence of a vacancy than may be the case at present, and it would ensure that the discretion of the Secretary-General was not hampered by the steady growth of a tradition which gave a preponderating importance to national claims.

I do not agree with the speaker who on Thursday last suggested it was improper and perhaps dangerous for the League to deal in any way with the complex problem of Customs tariffs. It is obviously not enough that the League should strive to bring about the reduction of armaments and to prevent war when disputes have arisen which involve the danger of war; the League must endeavour to dissuade nations from the adoption of policies which are likely to produce exasperation or a sense of injury among their neighbours.

It seems to my Government, therefore, that the work which has been taken up by the Economic Conference and the Economic Committee of the League is work which ought to be welcomed and which should receive the assistance of all countries, so long as it is not carried to unreasonable lengths and so long as it is clear that it is not intended to operate to prevent the development

of countries which historical circumstances have left economically backward.

It is unfortunate that the recommendation of the Economic Conference in regard to tariffs should have been so worded as to call on countries which have low tariffs, equally with countries which have excessively high tariffs, to move in the direction of a reduction. Such a recommendation is unacceptable to my country as well as, I believe, to many others, and seems to indicate that the Conference did not sufficiently bear in mind the difference between the needs of countries which have reached a high stage of development and the needs of countries which are at the beginning of their industrial growth.

In the opinion of my Government, the attention of the League of Nations, and of the Economic Committee which it has created, ought to be directed towards the reduction of any tariffs the object of which is not solely the economic development of the countries by which they are imposed; that is to say, the League ought to try to persuade the countries concerned to abandon what are called bargaining tariffs as well as retaliatory tariffs and tariffs which have a political object; but when a country imposes tariffs with the sole purpose of building up industries which it believes itself well adapted to carry on, the League of Nations ought not to run the risk of creating, in that country, the opinion that it desires the present geographical distribution of industry to become stereotyped.

We cannot accept the view which, although not set out in the report, appears to have animated many of the speakers in the Economic Conference, namely, that tariffs should be no higher than revenue requirements demand, and that by a process of rationalisation the manufacturing industries of the world should be forced to concentrate in a few favoured countries, and that other countries should be left dependent on the basic industry of agriculture, the depression of which has been deplored without any serious suggestion of a remedy.

The Irish Free State has a low tariff and admits many important classes of manufactured goods free of tax, but it does not regard itself as an indifferent Member of the League of Nations because it is likely not to reduce but to increase its tariffs.

In connection with the problem of world peace there are two factors which are calculated to give us comfort. In the first place, the feeling in this Assembly is, as has already been pointed out, more optimistic than in a number of its predecessors; and, in the second place, it seems likely that the Paris pact will be accepted by practically all the countries of the world.

This pact is of signal importance in relation to the primary task of the League, namely, the preservation of international peace and the establishment of a rule of order and justice among nations. If it had been proposed at a juncture when pessimism was in the ascendant, the prospect of its success would have been far less favourable. Skill and wisdom have been shown in choosing the right moment for action.

With the signature of the Kellogg pact and its general ratification it becomes the law of civilised society that resort to war is an outrage; that a State has no more right than a private individual to attack and kill its neighbours. Members of the Assembly will not attempt to minimise the importance of the pact because it was formulated by the Government of a great country which has declined to enter the League. I am sure that we all welcome this great and impressive effort to save humanity from a possible renewal of the horrors of war.

While in Ireland, Mr. Kellogg pointed out that a few statesmen could not ensure the peace of the world, but that, if the people were determined to have peace, they would have it. I believe that the pact, if its influence is given free play, will have an incalculable effect in producing all over the earth a deeper realisation of the essential criminality of war, and in changing the widespread desire of people for peace into a firm resolve to have peace.

My country is bound by close ties to the people of the United States, and as one of the original signatories of the pact, which it accepted unreservedly, my Government is anxious to avail itself of the opportunity to express its high appreciation of the work of the United States Government in the cause of universal peace.

The delegate of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King, on Friday last recalled to us, that his country had many years ago agreed with the United States that any disputes that might arise between them should be settled by arbitration, and that in fact many disputes had been so settled. He added, to the gratification of the Assembly, that experience led the people of Canada to favour, in so far as Canadian questions were concerned, the reference to arbitration of all international disputes of a judicial or legal nature, and the settlement by methods of conciliation or arbitration of all other differences which might arise between Canada and any other nation.

I do not hesitate to say that the Irish Free State is no less strongly in favour of arbitration than Canada. It is the duty of all the Governments which have signed the Kellogg pact to endeavour to bring about the conditions under which it can most surely achieve its object. They must work for the establishment of goodwill and the removal of mistrust among nations. The new agreement demands of the Members of the League which accept it that the work of all peace organisations shall be intensified. It is a new summons to the nations to bestir themselves in solving their gravest problems.

The answer of the League should be plain. The general Disarmament Conference has been too long postponed. The League cannot expect the peoples of the world to believe in the seriousness of the efforts made to guarantee peace unless the Governments give concrete proof that peace through new methods — not self-aggrandisement — is the object they have before them.

There can be no approach to the certainty of peace until a serious beginning has been made with general disarmament. In almost every country the great social evils of poverty and unemployment are creating new elements of disturbance. The vast war organisations are diverting the resources of the nations into wasteful channels. A definite limit in time should be set to the work of the Preparatory Commission, and the Council should be requested to call the Disarmament Conference before the next ordinary session of the Assembly. It is better, for the object in view, that the full publicity of a Conference should be given to the difficulties which may continue to exist after the work of the Preparatory Commission has been terminated. Only through such publicity will it be possible for the public opinion of the world to exercise its proper and decisive influence on their solution.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Briand, first delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

**M. Briand (France) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I should like to put before you as briefly as possible the views of the French delegation. I propose to deal with the two subjects with which, I think, the Assembly is most seriously concerned, and on which, accordingly, various speakers have expressed their views with particular emphasis. I refer to the problem of minorities and the problem of disarmament — or, to be more precise, the problem of the limitation of armaments.

But I must first of all affirm my ardent and unswerving faith and my unshaken trust in the League. I regard it as the sole refuge in the world to shield the nations against war; and of this I am sure, that every nation regards the slightest attack upon their trust in it as an attack upon our work for peace.

In all circumstances, then, above all at a critical hour, and even though moved by a feeling of impatience which may perhaps be quite reasonable and intelligible, I shall carefully avoid saying anything that might detract from the value of the League's work, or — most important of all — anything that might misrepresent it.

When I look back upon all that the League has done since it first came into existence, when I think back to the hour of its creation — and this is an intellectual pilgrimage which I invite everyone to make, and often — when I remember the condition of the world, and of Europe, at that time; when I recall those disquieting phantoms that wandered through the world, when I think of all the seeds of discontent, of resentment, of wrath, that were like to be sown then; when I think of all the possible causes of anxiety for the future of peace, I see that, had the League never been created, had it not given the peoples of the world the chance to meet and discuss together their ideas of peace and to toil unremittingly to carry them into effect, more than one conflict would inevitably have arisen. Several have already been prevented by the League; it has even stayed some that had already begun.

In all frankness I ask you this, those of you who are animated by the League spirit: At what time in the history of the world has any institution ever before been able to play such a part?

But for the League, the Chancellor of the Reich and the French Minister for Foreign Affairs would not be here together in the same Assembly, examining the questions which concern their respective countries. But for the League and the spirit it has created, there would never have been a Locarno. More recently still, there would never have been a Paris pact. The problems we are studying would never have gone a step forward towards solution.

I can understand the impatience some of you must feel; I admit that some countries may justifiably feel more impatience than others, and I can make great allowance for the manner in which they have given expression to it. But it would be disastrous indeed if in our discussions we started misunderstandings which, re-echoed by the countries we represent, aroused public opinion in those countries to the pitch of irreconcilable antagonism.

We who are gathered here are no party men, though we may be party men at home. This is not an "Internationale" of parties; it is an "Internationale" of peoples, of men who represent

their countries, responsible men who are required to act. They cannot work to purely theoretical doctrines, which allow of easy and simple proposals such as are necessary even for propaganda purposes. They must reckon with every contingency, every difficulty. They are pursuing a definite aim. The one essential is to have a common goal, and, once a path has been discovered, there must be no wandering along others. I would point out to the Chancellor of the Reich that we must all follow one road, and above all there must be a common goal. And when we have found the right road — and I feel that the League is on that road — we must not be surprised if we find that it is not perfectly smooth and easy, if there are ruts, if obstacles bar our way, and if a League such as this, a League of fifty nations, has to make its way through this maze of difficulties with slow and wary steps.

In our eagerness to serve the League we should by all means hasten its progress — we are doing so in our discussions — but we must use fatherly care, and we must take heed lest, by urging it forward too fast, we bring about a fall fatal to it. For its sake and in its interest we should keep watch for obstacles and difficulties, and once they are sighted we must all do our best to remove them. I feel that my country has gone forward as boldly as it could in this direction, and has contributed a personal share to the cause of peace that it would be unfair to deny.

Peace speeches are easy to make : there are plenty of men in the world who can make fine speeches. Upon occasion, I believe, I have indulged in them myself, for what they were worth ; indeed, my political enemies have often told me that I find talking easier than acting.

I will not say the same of the speech we heard from the Chancellor of the Reich ; it was measured in tone and was inspired by a desire for cordial negotiation to which I gladly pay tribute. Yet — perhaps because I am a little sensitive — I thought there were certain rather direct references to my alleged facility of speech and disinclination for action.

That is a reproach I do not deserve. Locarno was no mere speech : it was an act. The Paris pact, in which I co-operated to the best of my ability and power, was no mere speech : it was an act. These are important steps towards our common goal. Are they enough ? Should we pause to talk over the advantages we have gained ? No : we must not overestimate what these instruments can do. As Mr. Kellogg himself and others after him have said, these instruments are worth precisely what the nations choose to make of them. But if the nations are to make them decisive as instruments of peace, we must not begin by shaking the nations' faith in them. We must tell them, and above all we must tell the more impatient : "But see, the ideas you favour are coming to fruition in the League".

When speaking of disarmament it is easy enough to say : "What prevents us from disarming ?" We have set our faces towards peace : we became reconciled at Locarno, we have just made friends at Paris. Why should these events not lead to an immediate manifestation whereby the peoples of the world would cast away their weapons ? If only it were so ! But what statesman, I ask, what delegate in this Assembly, conscious of his responsibilities, would desire — would hope, rather

— for such a dramatic demonstration ? It could be done in words ; great proclamations could be made, and I can readily imagine the enthusiasm such an outburst would arouse throughout the whole world.

But once the purely emotional side of the question was settled, there would still be the practical realities — painful, difficult realities — which would ruthlessly cast the dreamer from his pinnacle down into the abyss.

Whatever may have been said from this platform — and this much has been said — it is not true that armaments have increased since the war, and above all since the League was formed. I have carefully examined the question, and I say that it is not true.

There is perhaps one country in Europe — one that is not yet a Member of the League — where this is the case ; a country which flaunts its increase in armaments, its armies and its war material. That is the country which is ready to make an impressive dramatic gesture in favour of the disarmament of others, and wants that disarmament to be unreserved, complete, absolute. That country has just signed the Paris pact. It renounces war. What war ? Does it simply mean the war which has stained almost every page of history with blood ? Or the war which, as the handmaid of national ambition, leads one nation to attack another ? That kind of war is outlawed. But there is another kind of war which, I think, does not thus stand condemned. That country, believing itself a prophet bearing the true gospel to all nations, sees it as a kind of holy war to enforce this truth upon the world.

Is that kind of war any nobler than the others ? Perhaps. But the results it brings upon countries which resist or try to resist are no less terrible and no less sanguinary.

I say that if the delegates in this Assembly, faced by the problem of disarmament, ignored this mental attitude and this situation, it would really be because they had failed to visualise the full scope of their duty and their mission. But I am sure they will not.

I do not say this in order to place obstacles in the path we are to follow, but merely to show that we are right in feeling certain apprehensions.

The Chancellor of the Reich says : "Look ! We have signed these instruments, and now mistrust among the nations is gone." That is true enough, and none is more pleased than myself. And none is more stoutly resolved than I to improve still more the moral aspect of the situation.

To do this, however, each must contribute his share. We must set aside, and we must try to persuade the Press to set aside, all that is likely to cause resentment or bring the nations into mutual antagonism.

We necessarily work under the watchful eye of the public and in consequence the work we do is sometimes liable to become, as it were, warped. Loud voices come to our ears from without, insisting that, after all, our freedom of decision and of action is limited ; and, if we let them, they would affirm that it is they who should say how far we are independent and what the limits of our work should be. I cannot agree. We must place ourselves beyond their influence and must at all costs prevent such opinions, which in no way represent the desires of the nations or of the Governments, from setting



up a spirit of irreconcilable enmity between our peoples, for that would hardly conduce to peace.

The Chancellor of the Reich has said : "Disarmament? Look at Germany!" This must be examined. We are asked why, now that Germany is completely disarmed, the other nations do not disarm, too, and especially the French Nation.

I say that, even though the problem may be stated precisely in these terms, such a position has not existed long. Barely two years ago the position was different, and if the work of disarmament, which is necessarily bound up with considerations of security, has been checked and retarded for several years, it has been because certain countries have not carried out certain obligations with all the good grace the situation demanded. There are men on the benches of the German delegation who have themselves felt bound to utter a public protest against the obstacles encountered in carrying out certain reductions in armaments.

Results have been obtained. I note this ; but it has taken time and has needed strenuous effort. The Governments worked with a will, but, alas ! Governments, whom the peoples fondly believe to be vested with invincible authority, who they imagine can implement their wishes to the full, are hedged round with stronger forces, age-long traditions, prejudices; and these will not always do what the Governments desire. These are forces to be reckoned with and, at one moment, I know, vigorous action was necessary to reach the desired result. But it has been reached, and Germany is disarmed — though not wholly disarmed, if we must speak frankly. No country, particularly a country such as Germany, can be wholly disarmed. She has an army of 100,000 men, but it is a very special kind of army. It is composed of officers and non-commissioned officers ; it is what is called an army of cadres. And since there are, besides, immense resources of splendid, courageous men who proved their heroism during the war and who will still be able to serve for the next eight or ten years, we cannot say that Germany's disarmament is complete. The Chancellor himself would certainly not say so if he viewed the matter otherwise than from the standpoint of propaganda.

But there is something more. Germany has ceased to resist. She took some time to do so, but that, after all, is quite natural — the resistance encountered would probably have arisen in my own country or in any other. The military material she possessed during the war has been much reduced. Who would care to maintain, however, that a great country, so powerfully equipped for peace — that is to say, for industrial development — would be at a loss to supply an army with war material? Germany has just shown the world a magnificent example of what she can do. Her mercantile marine was reduced to nil. Within a few years, making the utmost use of her productive powers, her constructive ability and the wonderful skill of her people, she re-created it, and now the German merchant service is among the first in the world.

We know that Germany is resolved upon peace ; we do not doubt the genuineness of her sentiments, or the sentiments of the men who govern her. Yet we cannot help wondering whether this special talent, these resources, this genius for construction, really would vanish into thin air if they had to be applied to the work of armaments. I cannot think they would. And, unhappily, the same machines that manufacture the instruments of peace can rapidly be turned to the production

of war material. That remark, of course, applies equally to Germany or to any other country. What really matters is that the nations should loyally resolve not to use industrial equipment for that purpose.

The dominating factor in this debate is, frankly, what I will call the spirit of peace, which has already enabled us to do so much and will yet enable us to do more. For, despite all, I remain an optimist.

We must consider this spirit of peace as a fair but fragile flower of the world, which must never be allowed to come to harm. It withers soon. It can easily be killed. As you know, the peoples — and we must forgive them for it — are too often betrayed into blind beliefs. They trust wholeheartedly, immeasurably, utterly. Those who lead them can plunge them into disappointment and despair and turn their faces away from a goal which but yesterday they passionately desired, simply by persuading them they will never reach it.

That we must not do. On the contrary, we must say to them : "This is what we have done, this is what we are trying to do ; and these are the difficulties which confront us."

We must, in our common work for peace, feel ourselves fortified by the trust of the peoples. We must say nothing that may dishearten them and turn them from us. Otherwise we shall have anarchy ; for our work here is work not merely for peace, but for social peace.

If the peoples lose their confidence in peace, if the "Internationale" of nations which is met together here — and which unfortunately cannot follow any counsel of perfection, but must rest content with the second best — if this international Assembly fails with the failure of the nations' hopes, then we shall have to give place to others ; and dire disasters may be awaited in Europe and throughout the world, disasters that will destroy all mankind's past achievements, all that makes up the glorious civilisation of to-day. It is our imperative duty to win over the people of all nations to our cause, and to bid them be confident.

You may say that this is not enough, that these are mere words. Very well ! Then here is an act which two countries, Great Britain and France, have actually done. We held different, irreconcilable views on the limitation of armaments. As you know, technical advisers, once they have entrenched themselves, are always very loath to abandon their position. If they happen to be military advisers, they are particularly hard to dislodge from behind their barbed wire. We, their Governments, were supporting them, urging them to go out and meet each other half-way, to humanise their views, to acquire the League spirit. Otherwise, the Disarmament Commission would have little prospect of success, and there would be no possible chance of convening a Disarmament Conference by any given date. In our desire to assist the League in its work, we got together and made mutual concessions. After all, that is what men must always do if they are really bent on reaching an agreement. We obtained, not a treaty, not an arrangement, I cannot even call it an agreement in the international sense, but a *rapprochement*, which we had no intention of insisting upon at all costs, but which enabled us to meet the Commission and to work to some purpose.

There was an act that helped forward the work of disarmament! But we had no luck! What an outcry about it there was next day! There must be something underhanded about it, people said, that Great Britain and France should meet each other on such delicate ground! The bare announcement at once evoked the question: "Against whom is it all directed?" They did not ask: "For whom?" That was not thought of until much later, when bright sunshine had dispersed all the clouds. The first instinct was towards suspicion. There was talk of secret clauses, of a secret agreement, of some scheme that looked far from innocuous. But it was really a much simpler matter than that. As will be seen, we were actually trying to assist the Preparatory Commission in its work.

Like yourselves, we desire, we are resolved upon, a limitation of armaments. Article 8 of the Covenant requires it of us. Our respect for treaties is such that we should feel for ever dishonoured were we false to our treaty obligations. We stand by what is in the Covenant, not by what people would like to read into it, and that in itself counts for much. The Covenant says that countries shall reduce their armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety.

Some important factors making for security exist. We must try to add to them, and we can go forward in the certainty of achieving definite results, provided we see clearly what can reasonably be done.

What gave particular cause for apprehension to the peoples of the world both from the financial standpoint and from the standpoint of war risks was the frenzied competition in arms between the great Powers. That disgraceful state of affairs no longer exists, thanks to the League and to the resistance which, through the League's influence, has arisen in the different countries. So strong is this resistance to-day that there is not a Parliament, not a Government in Europe which could — as in former times — propose, amid the acclamations of the people, enormous increases in the military or naval strength of the country.

Parliamentary records and Government publications show us that since the League has been in existence efforts have everywhere been made to reduce armaments.

Take France herself. The period of military service there has been reduced by two-thirds, the number of effectives has been cut down very considerably. I cannot recall the exact figures at the moment, but I have often quoted them; they are there and can be consulted. And no one would dare to propose any considerable increase in credits.

I had the honour to be at the head of the Government when a voice was heard from across the Atlantic inviting the nations to a Conference for the reduction of naval armaments. I was the first Minister to respond to that call, and I went to the Conference myself. You all know what was done. France made the sacrifices necessary. Nay, more; she did not even carry out the programme she had stipulated for herself. So that we must not look upon the worst side of things; we should rather welcome the progress already made. It is to your honour, gentlemen, that you have year after year disseminated new ideas. These ideas have spread, have become rooted in men's minds and have at length won their ardent support.

When I attempted to carry out at home the undertaking I have mentioned, I was met with strong opposition. Opposition still exists, but it is concerned with matters of home politics.

At that time the very thought of peace was said to be out of the question. I was told that all the ex-service men, all those who had been disabled in the war, would look upon me as a traitor. Soon afterwards, however, ex-service men from all over the country, and foremost among them those who had been mutilated on the battlefields, unexpectedly announced with one accord that their sufferings and their sacrifices must not be allowed to be in vain, but must enable others to escape all that they themselves had undergone. After the voice of these men had been heard — and they admittedly have every right to talk of peace — those who had railed against me had to change their tone and mute their instruments. The sentiments of the ex-service men and disabled soldiers spread to the whole population.

When recently I had the honour to preside at a Conference in my own country, I was happy to see beside me a brave man, a Minister for Foreign Affairs, whom I am very sorry not to see here to-day and who, faithfully and well, carried out a formidable task at a very difficult moment. I am sure you will all share my regret at his absence. The pact for the signature of which the Conference was convened was signed, it is true, before a small group of onlookers, but the streets were full of people. You should have seen the enthusiasm it evoked; and the radiant faces, not only of women — that was to be understood — but of strong men, men who, if called upon, would once again prove their valour on the battlefield.

The peace movement exists among the peoples. Competition in armaments therefore is no longer possible. To-day the race has certainly been stopped. To-morrow there will equally certainly be a limitation commensurate with the degree of security attained. If we must not disturb this atmosphere of peace, the more delicate problems should not be discussed at once.

There is one question which concerns all the members of this Assembly: I refer to the minorities question, which appeals to the elementary humanity that lies in us all. We have only to read the account of our work in the Council or the Assembly to see that this question has always been present in our minds and that we have had to settle many cases of this kind. We shall continue to do so, for we have no right to turn aside from our sacred duty in the matter.

This was a problem which did not exist before the war. Before the war there were minorities too, no doubt; there were a hundred million such people, and their lot was certainly not always an easy one. Their cries of anguish, their appeals for help, remained unheard and unheeded, for there was no League of Nations to listen to their pleas.

To-day there are in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe only twenty millions belonging to minorities; but it can hardly be said that they are no concern of the League. The League is always ready to do its best to improve their position.

But we must go warily, for this is a delicate problem. The minorities question must not be made a lever to undermine the position of the Governments or to disturb peace. It must not become an ever-present menace to our work, but

must be settled carefully and impartially, after a scrupulous examination of the facts submitted to us, so that, when once we see the true position, we may remedy any abuses. Nor must this question be allowed to become an instrument of war. No movement must be allowed to persist which, under cover of unexceptionable sentiments, would lead to widespread unrest in the world or breed fresh insecurity.

However worthy of respect certain doctrines and propaganda may be, one thing stands before them all — peace. No special circumstances, no individual aspirations, however justifiable, can be allowed to transcend the interests of peace. Peace must prevail, must come before all. If any act of justice were proposed which would disturb world peace and renew the terrible disasters of yesterday, I should be the first to call upon those promoting it to stop, to abandon it in the supreme interest of peace.

I must apologise for addressing you at such length. What I have put before you are the views of the French delegation. We are prepared to collaborate with you forthwith in the Committee dealing with the question of disarmament, and you will find us resolved to bring about a Conference to settle all that can be settled at present. A great step forward can be made in this direction; and if, as I have just said, we continue our work in the League spirit, we shall be able to show our peoples what immense progress has been made.

No longer need they fear competition in armaments. They can be assured that the military burden will be lightened, provided always that the atmosphere of peace now so happily created continues to exist in every country and that nothing rash is done to imperil the feeling of security.

*The Assembly rose at 1 p.m.*

## ELEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

Monday, September 10th, 1928, at 4 p.m.

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President : M. ZAHLE

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

**The President :**

*Translation :* Before proceeding with the agenda, there is one matter I should like to bring to the Assembly's attention. I have noticed during the last few meetings that the rules adopted by the Assembly for the maintenance of order in the hall have not been satisfactorily observed, possibly because they have not been quite understood.

I have noticed that during the speeches persons take up their position in between the seats reserved for the delegations and thus prevent delegates from properly seeing and hearing the speakers. It is quite contrary to the rules we have adopted that any persons should enter and stand during meetings, either in between the seats reserved for delegations

or in the gangways. Members of the delegations should have free access to their seats and should be able, when there, to see and hear the speakers. In view of the remarks on this subject which several delegations have made to me, I have asked the Secretary-General to give strict instructions to the huissiers entrusted with the maintenance of order in the hall that no person should be allowed to stand in the gangways or in between the seats reserved for the delegations.

I rely upon the goodwill of everyone present to assist in the enforcement of the rules, and I trust that those who have infringed them in the past will kindly conform in future to the requests addressed to them by the huissiers.

#### 49. — ELECTION OF THREE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The first item on the agenda is the election of three non-permanent Members of the Council.

In the first place, I would remind you of the provisions of the Assembly resolution of September 15th, 1926, defining the rules for 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, runs 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 Article 22 (a) of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, which apply in this case.

This article 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, I think the Assembly will agree that 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 terms of office and the conditions of re-eligibility."

This resolution lays down that 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.

It would appear that, 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 voting-papers valid.

If no one has any remarks to make, I shall consider that the Assembly shares my views on this subject. (*Assent.*)

These explanations should, I think, remove any misunderstanding. I would add that, to be valid, voting-papers must bear the names of States and not the names of representatives of States. Further, any voting-paper containing more than three names will be void.

I will ask M. Adatci, first delegate of Japan, and M. van Eysinga, delegate of the Netherlands, to be good enough to act as tellers.

(*M. Adatci and M. van Eysinga took their places on the platform.*)

The President :

*Translation :* We will now proceed to a ballot by roll-call.

(*The ballot was taken.*)

The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of votes cast . . . . .	50
Absolute majority . . . . .	26

The votes obtained by the States are as follows :

	Votes
Spain . . . . .	46
Persia . . . . .	40
Venezuela . . . . .	35
Norway . . . . .	11
Siam . . . . .	6

	Votes
Denmark . . . . .	3
Paraguay . . . . .	2
Uruguay . . . . .	2
Greece . . . . .	2
Austria . . . . .	1
Switzerland . . . . .	1
Portugal . . . . .	1

The following States have obtained the absolute majority required and are therefore elected non-permanent Members of the Council for a period of three years : Spain, Persia and Venezuela. I have pleasure in offering my congratulations to those States.

I propose that the meeting be adjourned for ten minutes. If there is no objection, I shall consider this proposal adopted by the Assembly.

(*The meeting was adjourned from 4.50 p.m. until 5 p.m.*)

50. — REQUEST BY SPAIN FOR RE-ELIGIBILITY FOR ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL.

The President :

*Translation :* Ladies and gentlemen, — As President of the Assembly, I have just received a request for re-eligibility from Spain, that country having been elected a non-permanent Member of the Council.

The request is submitted in virtue of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on the proposal of the General Committee at its meeting on the morning of Friday, September 7th, 1928. The resolution is as follows :

" The Assembly, having in mind the discussions which took place at the session of 1926 resulting in the unanimous adoption of the rules of procedure for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council, decides, in virtue of its powers under Article 4, paragraph 2 *bis*, of the Covenant, that the temporary provisions for the elections of 1926, contained in Article IV, paragraph 2, of the resolution of the Assembly of September 15th, 1926, shall also apply to the elections of 1928."

Article IV, paragraph 2, of the resolution of September 15th, 1926, to which this resolution of the Assembly expressly refers, reads as follows :

" 2. Of the nine Members thus elected in 1926, a maximum of three may be immediately declared re-eligible by a decision of the Assembly taken by a special vote by secret ballot, a separate ballot being held for each Member, and adopted by a majority of two-thirds of the number of votes cast.

" Immediately after the announcement of the results of the election, the Assembly shall decide upon the requests for re-eligibility which have been presented.

" Should the Assembly have before it more than three requests for re-eligibility, the three candidates having received the largest number of votes, in excess of two-thirds of the votes cast, shall alone be declared re-eligible."

These provisions, then, are applicable *mutatis mutandis* to the 1928 elections. I will therefore read the Spanish delegation's letter of to-day's date, submitting Spain's request for re-eligibility :

"The League of Nations has just done my country the very great honour of electing it a non-permanent Member of the Council. In virtue of the resolution adopted by the Assembly at its meeting on September 7th, 1928, I have the honour to request you to submit to the Assembly my Government's request that Spain may be declared to be a State re-eligible for election in accordance with the conditions contained in the above resolution.

(Signed) QUIÑONES DE LEÓN."

A special vote will be taken by secret ballot. In order that a State may be declared re-eligible, a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast is required.

The vote will be taken by roll-call. Each State will be called by name and a representative of the delegation will come up and place his voting paper in the ballot-box.

Members of the Assembly in favour of the request for re-eligibility submitted by the Member of the Council in question should write "Yes" on their voting-papers, and those against it should write "No".

I will ask His Excellency M. Urrutia, first delegate of Colombia, and Mr. Dandurand, a former President of the Assembly, delegate of Canada, to be good enough to act as tellers.

(M. Urrutia and Mr. Dandurand took their places on the platform as tellers.)

**The President :**

*Translation :* We will now proceed to a ballot by roll-call.

(The ballot was taken.)

**The President :**

*Translation :* The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of votes cast . . . . .	47
Number of votes valid . . . . .	47
Majority required for acceptance .	32
Votes in favour of granting the request	37

The request for re-eligibility having been approved by the requisite majority of two-thirds, Spain, which is already a member of the Council, will be re-eligible on the expiry of the present term of office.

I desire to thank M. Urrutia and Mr. Dandurand for their kind assistance in acting as tellers.

Dr. Tulio Franco Franco, first delegate of the Dominican Republic, will address the Assembly.

**Dr. Franco Franco (Dominican Republic) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, — On behalf of the delegations of the Republics of Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Salvador, Uruguay and Venezuela and of the Dominican Republic, which enjoys the distinction of having been the first colony established in the New World — and speaking too, I have no doubt, in the name of the sister nations which, for various reasons, are absent from the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly — may I express our profound gratification that Spain should have resumed the honourable place previously occupied by that great nation in our international organisation here at Geneva? Our satisfaction is still further enhanced by the fact that the return to our midst of the ancient Iberian people — whose youth and whose noble qualities are perennial — has been followed by a vote in this Assembly declaring Spain re-eligible for election to the Council.

Many reasons could be found, if that were necessary, to explain our pleasure and satisfaction. This pronouncement by the Assembly in favour of Spain's re-eligibility follows quite naturally, in virtue of the resolutions adopted in 1926 for the reorganisation of the Council. Accordingly, our present attitude is in no way inconsistent with the views we maintained at the seventh ordinary session of the Assembly; for Spain's case, as I have shown, is now governed by resolutions that were formally adopted and met with the full approval of all the Latin-American delegations.

There is a further and equally strong reason for our present satisfaction, and that is Spain's valuable contribution towards the establishment and development of international law and her sincere encouragement of every work tending to peace and conciliation.

With her generosity and her fertile genius, this great Latin nation has always seized on every opportunity of co-operating vigorously in the work of promoting international brotherhood; and Spain has at all times given proof of the loyalty which is essential if justice and concord are to prevail; for without it we can never hope to establish a real international society in which mankind shall find prosperity and happiness.

The work of famous Spanish jurists during the last four centuries has most undoubtedly been a powerful factor in creating an international spirit but for which the human race would be condemned to experience to the end of its days the bitter irony summed up by Pascal in the words :

"Thus we cannot give power to justice, because power has arraigned justice, saying that justice is unjust, and she herself truly just."

The writings of Suarez and Vitoria, of the famous Salamanca school — particularly their ideas on "just wars" — like the works of many internationalists of Spanish origin or nationality, or speaking the Spanish tongue, have proved most powerful and valuable factors in the formation and development of international law.

Other very important reasons might be cited to explain our gratification, such as the position which Spain has won in international politics, by virtue of her invincible will and age-long enterprise, which changed the face of the world; her untiring and incomparable constructive energy, to which eighteen nations, now autonomous, owe their most valuable qualities of courage and idealism; and, lastly, the tremendous moral force which emanates from her history and race, her religion and language, her art and scientific achievements.

Now that Spain is resuming her place as a Member of the League and of the Council, we desire to convey to her distinguished representatives our profound gratification and our genuine pleasure at this most happy event.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Quiñones de León, first delegate of Spain, desires to make a statement.

**M. Quiñones de León (Spain) :**

*Translation :* It was not my intention to speak to-day; but, after so moving a demonstration of sympathy with and confidence in my country,

I feel that I must express my deep gratitude for the great honour which the Assembly has just shown us.

The Assembly may rest assured that this demonstration will be very much appreciated in Spain, and will find an echo in a nation which is always ready to respond to generous impulses such as this.

On behalf of Spain and of the Spanish delegation, I thank Dr. Franco Franco for the friendly and eloquent terms in which he conveyed the feelings of his own country and of the other Spanish-American Republics. His words were eagerly welcomed by the Spanish delegation, testifying as they did to the bond that exists between those nations and the mother-country which feels as great a pride in them.

Again allow me to thank the Assembly and to convey Spain's cordial appreciation of this signal mark of esteem.

51. — TELEGRAM OF THANKS FROM MR. HUGHES ON HIS APPOINTMENT AS A MEMBER OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

The President :

*Translation* : Before resuming the general discussion on the report on the work of the Council, I have to inform the Assembly that the Secretary-General has just received the following telegram from Mr. Hughes :

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your telegram informing me of my election as Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice for the unexpired term of John Bassett Moore resigned. It gives me the greatest pleasure to accept.

(Signed) Charles Evans HUGHES."

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

The President :

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

M. Belloni, delegate of Italy, will address the Assembly.

M. Belloni (Italy) :

*Translation* : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Except for a few speeches, the most striking of which was that of Mr. McLachlan, the Australian delegate, the extremely interesting discussion on the report of the Council which has occupied the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly during the past week has dealt, as was to be expected, with the political activities of the League.

In an essentially political organisation such activities naturally come before any others, and, moreover, these questions of peace, arbitration and disarmament and territorial problems, besides forming the chief preoccupation of every Government, are uppermost in the minds of the peoples who look on the League, in a sense the outcome of the world war, as a guarantee of peace for future generations.

Let me say at once that I think it superfluous for me to touch upon certain political questions after M. Briand's masterly speech this morning on behalf of the French delegation. You will understand my diffidence in speaking after M. Briand ; it is hard for a modest speaker like myself to follow immediately after one of the greatest orators France has ever known.

But if, as is now admitted, the economic requirements of nations constitute the most powerful factor in any situation that might disturb the political balance of the world, and if, as M. Scialoja once said, war is a disease the hidden causes of which must be sought before a permanent cure can be found, then it would seem advisable, before the close of this discussion, to survey the League's economic and financial activities during the past year.

This seems to me particularly necessary because the work of the League's economic and financial organs in 1927-28 was unprecedented in scope and extent, a fact which is most striking when we remember that any decision taken in connection with such delicate and complex problems may have quite unforeseen effects upon interests apparently remote.

M. Scialoja stated at the meeting of the Council on June 9th last that, in the Italian Government's opinion, the work done by the League in connection with the study of these difficult economic problems, which are engaging the attention of all countries, was not only highly beneficial but even strictly necessary. After such a statement by the head of our delegation there is, of course, no further need for me to emphasise the point.

The economic work of the League in 1927-28 has been in the hands of three Committees — the Economic Committee, the Financial Committee and the Consultative Committee. The Assembly requires no reassurance from me as to the capacity and experience of those whom the Council invited to become members of the two permanent organs of the League. They are deserving of our very grateful thanks.

The Economic Committee, the composition and duties of which have been revised, included this year in its programme an examination of the recommendations passed by the International Economic Conference. The report of the Council shows how it has executed that difficult task.

The Financial Committee, which has a tradition of sound work and successful results, has dealt with a number of questions, foremost among them being the Greek stabilisation scheme and the settlement of Greek refugees, which is nearly completed.

The Consultative Committee was appointed as the result of a proposal by the Economic Conference held in May 1927, in pursuance of a resolution adopted by the Assembly at its eighth ordinary session, which was put into effect by a decision of the Council dated December 9th, 1927. This Committee, whose duty it is to follow the application of the resolutions of the International Economic Conference, without discussing again the principles laid down by that Conference, submitted a report to the Council on the various

points examined, together with a number of recommendations. These the Council adopted, requesting the Economic Committee to base its activities on the recommendations and on the suggestions put forward in the said report.

It was my privilege at the 1926 Assembly to act as Rapporteur for M. Loucheur's proposal regarding the necessity for an International Economic Conference, and as a member both of the Preparatory Committee for the Economic Conference and of the Consultative Committee it is of course difficult for me to dwell on the merit of the work done at those meetings of experts and industrialists, or the importance of their discussions and resolutions. I cannot refrain, however, from pointing out to the Assembly that what appeared impossible in 1926 — that is, a systematic, constructive effort to improve the world economic position — is now an accomplished fact. The jungle which faced us in 1926 has been cleared; the tangle of economic phenomena has been unravelled, and I regard it as of the highest importance that we should have been able to agree unanimously on the classification of the problems to be studied, which has already made it possible, and will in the future make it still more possible, to undertake a methodical and rational survey of the various world economic problems.

Much remains to be done, and there are still many delicate problems to be solved. There is one in particular to which the attention of the Council and of the Consultative Committee has again been drawn, namely: What are the limits within which the League's activities could and should be exercised in the economic field? This fundamental problem was raised by Lord Cecil in 1926, and it must be solved if we are to avoid dissipating our efforts in the difficult task which lies before us and if we are to obtain tangible results.

The Australian delegate, Mr. McLachlan, speaking in this Assembly, deprecated excessive interference by the League in economic questions, and drew attention to the great anxiety caused in his country by the League's intervention in the Customs tariffs question.

I do not desire now to discuss the arguments he advanced, but to my mind they are of great importance, because they raise once again the question of the limit which should be set to the economic activities of the League.

I in my turn should like to put forward the Italian point of view, though it contains nothing new, since it is a logical outcome of the attitude adopted by my Government and by the Italian members of the different Committees during the past few years.

We hold that the League should concentrate its attention in the economic field upon an investigation of general principles and problems of economic policy, but that it should refrain from intervening in any questions which have only a partial or contingent effect upon world economics.

This point of view is applicable more particularly to certain industrial problems in which the Governments themselves cannot intervene effectively or decisively. It appears to us dangerous to cling to the illusion that the high moral authority attaching to the recommendations made by the League's economic organisations will invariably be sufficient to ensure success in a field where, as stated on page 58 of the report

on the work of the Council, "the resolutions on industrial questions must, in the main, be given effect to by private bodies or individuals."

It has been said that the effect of this theory would be purely negative as far as the work of the League economic organisations is concerned. I maintain that, on the contrary, it is essential in order to arrive at a proper co-ordination of the numerous problems which must be investigated by our Economic Committee. I would add, further, that this theory is essential in order to achieve the practical progress desired by all who have placed their trust in and are helping forward the economic work of the League.

When the Council, in Dr. von Schubert's carefully framed report, stated its opinion that it was "advisable to leave it to the Economic Committee itself to decide in what order each branch of the work should be taken," it placed these problems in their order of importance as regards their general or special effect.

When the Consultative Committee, after examining a number of industrial questions, decided that the most important was that relating to the conditions governing the production of coal, it selected a problem which was of very real importance to the whole world, and which certainly stands first and foremost among the problems connected with the production of power and heat in all countries which need them.

Here again, whether it was done deliberately or not, the theory I have advanced has been followed in the work of the experts, and with conspicuous success. I am quite sure, too, that this will always be so in the future.

In connection with the subject of coal, I have to state, on behalf of the Italian delegation, that, although we represent a non-producing country, we shall be happy to co-operate in the enquiries recommended by the Consultative Committee with a view to submitting to the Council the necessary data to enable it to judge whether concerted international action could further the solution of this very difficult problem.

We shall gladly co-operate in these enquiries, although, of course, we are one of those coal-consuming countries which take advantage of a period of over-production to buy on favourable terms. We consider that a general market equilibrium would constitute one of the greatest benefits to the industry and commerce of the world. That, however, is only another reason for urging that a period of under-production, resulting in an increase in selling prices, should also be regarded as a coal crisis.

Any international agreement is feasible that does not mean an immediate rise in prices. When producing and consuming countries meet to investigate this problem, they must remember that, as in all general economic problems, the normal state of equilibrium can only be determined if the rights and obligations of all the countries concerned, producers and consumers alike, are duly considered.

I cannot conclude this brief retrospect of one of the League's most important tasks during the past year without reminding you that these remarkable results, like many others, would never have been achieved but for the untiring activity displayed by the staff of the Secretariat. Year by year the standard of efficiency of the staff has improved, its members have gained wider experience, they

have come into closer and more frequent contact with the administrations of the various countries, and in this way the Secretariat has been able to transform the somewhat unsubstantial ideals of early days into practical realities.

Lastly, I should like to pay a tribute to the discernment and perspicacity of Sir Eric Drummond, who directs the work of the staff, and to the devotion of those who collaborate with him.

I am sure that, in the years to come, the men appointed by the League to deal with economic problems will continue to work with the same loyalty and the same desire to solve those problems in the common interest of producers and consumers alike. I am convinced that by this work the League is materially promoting the peace of the world.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Caballero, delegate of Paraguay, will address the Assembly.

**M. Caballero (Paraguay) :**

*Translation :* In the course of the very interesting discussion to which we have listened, more than one speaker has referred to the progress of the peace movement, the desire to abolish war and the means of bringing about its abolition.

It is evident that the whole world to-day is set on peace. This session of the Assembly is animated by the spirit created by that will, and the highest hopes of humanity depend on its existence.

I touch on this subject, not from any desire to indulge in comments which might well be thought superfluous after all that has been said from this platform with reference to the Briand-Kellogg pact condemning war as an instrument of national policy; I merely desire to draw your attention to certain international acts which clearly illustrate the progress now being made by the peace movement in Latin America.

What outward signs are there in that part of the world indicating that a profound change is now taking place in the mind of the public?

First, in the interval between the eighth and ninth ordinary sessions of the Assembly, there was the ratification of the Gondra Pact by Mexico and Bolivia, bringing the total number of countries in the New World which have now acceded to it up to ten out of twenty-one. Brazil, Cuba, Chile, the United States of America, Guatemala, Haiti, Paraguay and Venezuela had already ratified it.

This pact — named after a former President of Paraguay — is designed to secure the pacific settlement of disputes between American countries by means of enquiry and conciliation. It was the crowning act of the Fifth Pan-American Conference, held at Santiago, Chile, in 1923, and it was left open at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in that city for ratification and accession by the States concerned.

Secondly, as the outcome of conferences held at Buenos Ayres under the auspices of the Argentine Government, Bolivia and Paraguay solemnly undertook, in July last, to settle their frontier dispute solely by pacific means and to refrain from resort to force. That is an instance of a synallagmatic or bilateral agreement outlawing war and having reference to a specific case.

The effect of this undertaking is that the solution of the dispute must now be sought within the framework of international organisation; that is to say,

through diplomatic channels, by investigation, conciliation and arbitration, or by the resources which the League of Nations, of which both these Latin-American States are Members, places at their disposal.

These are, I think, very gratifying facts, because the conventions in question represent the embodiment, in rules of law, of the spirit and the will to peace which animates all American countries.

I am convinced that my non-American colleagues in the League will share the satisfaction we feel at such a development. It is, indeed, most gratifying and highly encouraging to us all to see a great force, a purely moral force, thus imposing peace on mankind solely through the respect which nations feel for their plighted word.

Can we be on the eve of a great moral regeneration?

Let us at least realise, from the ideals of peace and justice that are being set up as the highest aspirations of the human soul — let us realise that the hour has struck for the abolition of war between nation and nation, and that henceforth there will be only one kind of legitimate warfare — war against war.

Before I conclude I must express the deep and heartfelt joy which my country feels as a Member of the League, and as a people sprung from the Latin stock, at witnessing the return of Spain, who comes back to us here in this Assembly to resume her part in the organisation of world peace.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Balodis, first delegate of Latvia, will address the Assembly.

**M. Balodis (Latvia) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The annual report and the numerous accompanying documents have brought home to us all the importance and the scope of the work done during the past year by the various organisations of the League. This work is deserving of the highest praise.

To mention but a few of the League's activities, I should like to say, in the first place, that my country attaches great importance to the League's economic and financial work and to that of the Organisation for Communications and Transit. I may add that Latvia is represented on the Permanent Committee attached to that Organisation.

Latvia is a transit country placed at a cross-road on the international trade routes between East and West. Conscious of her duties in this connection, she has made every effort to repair the railways, bridges, ports and harbour works damaged or destroyed during the war and the revolution. This work is now practically completed, and goods in transit can cross Latvian territory without hindrance and also pay specially reduced tariff rates. In view of the importance of the work carried out in connection with railway reorganisation, Latvia is anxious that the transit traffic in all directions should be free and unhampered.

My country was therefore glad to note that its proposal to the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit, recommending the competent organs of the League to do their utmost to remove obstacles to the freedom of commerce and transit, wherever such obstacles are still to be met, was approved by the Assembly last year.

Latvia's economic life and international trade generally are alike hampered by the suspension



of international communications on certain railways crossing Poland and Lithuania and terminating at Latvian ports. Unfortunately, traffic on these railways has been stopped ever since the war. I sincerely trust that the efforts of the Council and of the competent organs of the League may result in the opening to traffic of certain important transit routes between the countries I have mentioned without prejudice to their real interests and legitimate rights. Latvia's earnest hope is that she will not be disappointed in this matter.

My country notes with great satisfaction the important work carried out by the League in the international economic sphere, and has accordingly adhered unreservedly to two conventions on freedom of commerce; but, as a delegate of a country which is primarily an agricultural country, I am sorry to see that the recommendations of the International Economic Conference concerning agricultural co-operation have not yet produced any tangible results. At its May session, the Economic Consultative Committee could do no more than repeat a hope for better things to come. I am still convinced that the League's efforts to assist, organise and co-ordinate agricultural production must gradually be intensified in course of time.

I now come to the problem of disarmament, and should like to congratulate the Committee on Security and Arbitration on the noteworthy progress it has made in framing nine draft conventions and preparing the report on financial assistance.

Nevertheless, a certain amount of scepticism undoubtedly exists as to the practical efficacy of this work. It is not the lack of model conventions dealing with non-aggression, mutual assistance and arbitration that has hitherto prevented the conclusion of such treaties. The essential need is that the League, the Council and the competent organs of the League should, each and all of them, urge the adoption of conventions that are vital to the establishment of international peace, and that they should at the same time provide ways and means for their fulfilment. With no driving force behind them, these drafts will become a dead letter. Neither the Locarno treaties nor the recent Kellogg Pact would have come into being had they not had powerful political forces behind them.

Since the last ordinary session of the Assembly, considerable progress has been made in the examination of the Finnish proposal concerning financial assistance to States victims of aggression. A satisfactory solution of this problem would appreciably increase the security of many countries. The mere fact that a State threatened by aggression can obtain financial assistance against the aggressor will act as a deterrent. Would-be aggressors will hesitate to embark upon such a hazardous undertaking. Financial assistance can thus be of great value in preventing war and helping forward the cause of disarmament.

But if this measure is to produce its full effect and is not to lose all value in the eyes of an intending aggressor, the Council must have power to decide definitively that financial assistance shall be granted by the League without further formalities as soon as the designs or threats of aggression have been proved. It also seems to me that, even though the Council be invested with such authority independently of the individual Governments, its power of practical action will depend upon chance circumstance unless an exception to the rule of unanimity is allowed in this particular case. The Council's decision should be recognised as valid even if it is only secured by the vote of a qualified majority, the parties to the dispute being debarred from voting.

Instead of following out, in the matter of security and disarmament, the bold principles outlined in the Geneva Protocol of 1924, we are advancing towards the application of the great principles enunciated in that Protocol by slow and cautious — sometimes over-cautious — methods. It is the Protocol that provides the most effective solution of the problem. Its provisions are much more suitable for the establishment and maintenance of international peace than the general formulas contained in the Covenant, which are responsible for the slow progress made in regard to the reduction of armaments and the increase of security. For this reason I am convinced that, as we carry out this important task, we shall, step by step, be brought back to the principles of the Protocol of 1924. That is the logical, practical and inevitable sequel.

Before concluding these brief observations, in which, as a true friend of peace, I have expressed my views frankly, I feel it my duty to remind the Assembly once again what great hopes the peoples of the world place in the League as the guardian of international peace. If it is to prevent a dangerous feeling of disappointment from springing up in the public mind regarding the value of its work, the League and its organs must show greater firmness and greater effectiveness in carrying out the important and difficult tasks entrusted to them; otherwise I am afraid the public may lose all interest in the greatest endeavour ever made by man to establish international peace.

Despite this criticism, I share the hopes expressed by earlier speakers, whose noble words have given encouragement to this Assembly. It is difficult nowadays to conceive of a world without a League of Nations. The close community, the ever-growing interdependence of human interests, are bringing the nations together as members of one great family, in which the rivalries born of national egotism tend to lose their harshness.

Latvia's co-operation in the work of the League, of which it is a devoted Member, is inspired by this ideal of unity and by her consciousness of the rights and obligations laid down in the Covenant.

*The Assembly rose at 6.45 p.m.*

## TWELFTH PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, September 11th, 1928, at 10 a.m.

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President : M. ZAHLE.

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

The President :

*Translation :* I know you will not take it amiss if I ask that the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly should be strictly observed. It is not my intention to restrict the freedom of delegations, but in the interests of all I would remind you that, according to the Rules of Procedure, any speech delivered in French has to be translated into English, and *vice versa*. It makes the interpreter's task very difficult if, during the translation of speeches, persons are passing to and fro in the hall or are engaged in private conversations. Moreover, many of us, both delegates and others, can only follow the discussions by means of the translation. It is for their sake that I recall our regulations and appeal to the customary courtesy of the Assembly, to which the President has never yet appealed in vain.

#### 54.—REQUEST BY SPAIN FOR RE-ELIGIBILITY FOR ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL : COMMUNICATIONS BY THE DELEGATIONS OF GUATEMALA AND HAITI.

The President :

*Translation :* Before proceeding with the agenda I should like to read you the following communication which I have just received from His

Excellency M. Matos, delegate of the Republic of Guatemala :

"As I was unfortunately absent from the Assembly when the vote was taken on the request by Spain for re-eligibility as a non-permanent Member of the Council, I desire to express my great regret at my inability to respond then to the appeal addressed to me as representative of the Republic of Guatemala, and to state that I am in favour of the re-eligibility of Spain.

"I cannot ask for the result of the ballot to be changed, but I should be grateful if you would read this letter at the beginning of the plenary meeting to-morrow morning and would have it inserted *in extenso* in the records of that meeting. I am anxious that this should be done in order to show Spain what our intentions were and that we should have voted in favour of her request had I not been prevented by unforeseen circumstances from being present at the time when a vote was taken.

(Signed) José MATOS,

*Delegate of the Republic of Guatemala."*

I have also received the following letter from the delegation of the Republic of Haiti :

"As I was absent from the Assembly during the discussion on the re-eligibility of Spain as a Member of the Council, I should like to express my great regret at my inability to record my vote in favour of this application by Spain, for whose election as a non-permanent Member I had previously voted.

"I should therefore be glad if you would be good enough to read this letter at the beginning of the plenary meeting to-morrow morning and also to have it inserted in the records of that meeting.

"I particularly desire to say that, had I been present, I should have voted in favour of Spain's re-eligibility, not only on account of the special bond of sympathy that unites my country with the noble Spanish nation but because we can never forget that the first spot at which Christopher Columbus landed in the island of Haiti, long known as Hispaniola and originally a Spanish colony, was the Môle Saint Nicolas, now in the Republic that I have the honour to represent here.

(Signed) Alfred NEMOURS."

I would ask the Assembly to note these two statements. In accordance with the request of the signatories, and if there are no objections, the full text of the letters will be inserted in the records of the present meeting. (*Agreed.*)

55. — QUESTION OF THE AMENDMENT OF THE COVENANT IN VIEW OF THE ACCEPTANCE BY STATES MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF THE PACT FOR THE RENUNCIATION OF WAR, SIGNED ON AUGUST 27th, 1928 : DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE LITHUANIAN DELEGATION : REPORT OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE.

The President :

*Translation* : You will remember that, at its meeting on September 8th, the Assembly decided to refer to the Agenda Committee for preliminary examination a draft resolution submitted by Professor Voldemaras, first delegate of Lithuania.

This draft resolution reads as follows :

“ The Assembly :

“ Learning with deep emotion that the United States of America and several States Members of the League of Nations signed a Pact for the renunciation of war on August 27th, 1928, in Paris ;

“ Noting that several other States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations have already acceded to the said Pact ;

“ Recognising that the acceptance of the Pact for the renunciation of war by the Members of the League of Nations goes further than their obligations in this respect contained in the Covenant of the League of Nations and supplements them, thus necessitating changes in the fundamental provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations ;

“ Recalling the Assembly resolution of September 24th, 1927, condemning wars of aggression ;

“ Requests the Council to initiate an enquiry into the amendments which should be introduced into the Covenant of the League of Nations on the above-mentioned lines, and to submit these amendments to the Assembly at its next session.”

The Agenda Committee has just sent in its report, which I will now read to the Assembly :

“ The Agenda Committee met on September 10th, 1928, under the chairmanship of Dr. Ramon Caballero.

“ It examined the draft resolution submitted by M. Voldemaras at the plenary meeting on the morning of Saturday, September 8th, 1928, concerning an enquiry into the question of the amendment of the League Covenant in view of the acceptance by the Members of the League of the pact for the renunciation of war, signed on August 27th, 1928.

“ As the result of its preliminary enquiry, the Committee doubts whether it would be feasible to discuss this question during the present session of the Assembly. Apart from the fact that the pact signed on August 27th, 1928, has not come into force, the fundamental importance and the wide scope of the problems raised by M. Voldemaras' draft resolution would necessitate a thorough investigation of the subject, which could hardly be undertaken by the Government delegates who are members of the Assembly Committees unless they had time to apply for and receive instructions from their Governments.

“ For these reasons the Agenda Committee cannot recommend that the draft resolution of the Lithuanian delegation be included in the agenda of the present session of the Assembly.

That delegation should, if it so desires, take in due course the necessary steps to have its proposal placed on the agenda of the next ordinary session of the Assembly.”

The Agenda Committee, therefore, cannot recommend the inclusion of the Lithuanian delegation's draft resolution in the agenda of the present session of the Assembly. The Lithuanian Government can of course take steps to have this proposal placed on the agenda of the next session of the Assembly.

M. Sidzikauskas (Lithuania) :

*Translation* : The Lithuanian delegation does not oppose the Agenda Committee's suggestion.

The President :

*Translation* : If there are no objections I shall regard the Agenda Committee's suggestion as adopted by the Assembly. (*Adopted.*)

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

The President :

*Translation* : The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the general discussion on the report on the work of the Council, on the work of the Secretariat and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly.

M. Osuský, delegate of Czechoslovakia, will address the Assembly.

M. Osuský (Czechoslovakia) :

*Translation* : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — It is seven years almost to a day since I had the honour of explaining to the second ordinary session of the Assembly, at the request of Lord Cecil, then delegate of South Africa, both the constitutional and legislative measures taken by Czechoslovakia for the protection of minorities and the manner in which they were applied and the practical results achieved.

We have travelled far since then. As regards the question of the protection of minorities, those seven years have been rich in experience, and have brought a wealth of practical results.

It is not of that, however, that I wish to speak to-day. Last week several speakers dealt with the protection of minorities, both making statements and submitting suggestions, and I should now like to offer a few remarks concerning what was said.

We must discriminate in this matter, and the preliminary question that arises is this : By virtue of what international instrument and by what right does the League of Nations deal with the protection of minorities ? If we take the treaties concluded since the war, we see that some were concluded between certain Powers, which were then generally known as Powers of limited interest, and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. Article 14 of one of these treaties states that the provisions of that Treaty are placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

What is this guarantee ? According to Article 14, paragraph 2, it lies in the fact that a Member of the Council of the League has the right to draw the attention of the Council to an infraction or attempt at infraction of any of the obligations contained in the treaty.

We see from this provision of the Minorities Treaty that the League deals with minorities by

virtue not of the Covenant but of private treaties concluded between certain Powers, called "Powers of limited interest", and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. The nature of the Council's rights, is defined in the treaty: the Council can neither modify nor amend any of the provisions without the consent of the Parties concerned and it is its duty to see that the obligations contained in the treaty are properly carried out; it cannot do this if it becomes itself guilty of illegality.

The Czechoslovak delegation therefore listened with the deepest interest to the statements made by the various speakers from this platform last week. The Netherlands delegate suggested the appointment of a Permanent Minorities Committee similar to the Mandates Commission. In view of the many considerations to which it gives rise, this proposal merits special attention.

Whence did the League derive the right to appoint a Permanent Mandates Commission? If we consult the Covenant we find a whole article — Article 22 — by which the mandates system itself is set up. Paragraph 9 of this article reads as follows:

"A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates."

On reading Article 22 of the Covenant we find therefore:

(1) that the Permanent Mandates Commission was created by the Covenant itself;

(2) that the creation of the Permanent Mandates Commission was formally imposed upon the League by Article 22, paragraph 9.

When therefore the League created the Permanent Mandates Commission, it was simply carrying out a definite duty which it had agreed to perform. No such duty exists in the matter of minorities; yet the proposal to create a Permanent Minorities Committee has been put forward in this Assembly.

But, you will ask, do I object to our entertaining this idea at all? By no means. I merely wish to state the exact juridical and political position in the matter. At the same time there can be no doubt that the provisions of the treaties concluded between the Powers known as Powers of limited interest and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers involve neither the right nor the obligation to establish a Permanent Minorities Committee. If we wish to do so, to consider the question, we must look for the necessary authority elsewhere than in the Minorities Treaties. We must look to the Covenant itself.

I agree that Article 3, paragraph 3, and Article 4, paragraph 4, of the Covenant lay down that the Council and Assembly have the right to deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world; and there is also Article 11, which states that the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

If we want to consider this question and to create a Permanent Minorities Committee, we must first see whether the articles I have mentioned, or any other articles of the Covenant, give legal authorisation for the creation of such a committee.

The practical utility of establishing a Minorities Committee must also be considered, and, finally, we should have to see whether its creation would really be expedient.

Only yesterday we heard that great apostle of peace, M. Briand, whose greatness has been enhanced since he has shown how he can transform words into deeds.

He solemnly declared the rights of minorities to be free from all oppression, and extolled the benefits that follow from those rights, comparing the condition of minorities to-day with their position before the war. Yet he did not hesitate to say that such an instrument, forged for the work of peace, might easily become a means of creating unrest and a menace to peace in the hands of the foes of good order.

In view of these considerations the question of creating a Permanent Minorities Committee must be investigated very carefully before any decision is taken in the matter.

However that may be, there seems to me no doubt that the League cannot legislate solely for some of its Members. It has no right, and I am sure it has no intention, of dividing, on its own initiative and of its own will, the Members of the League into two categories, one consisting of free Members and the other of Members administered by a committee.

As the statements made last week from this platform were not quite clear, I think that before all else we must learn the full intention of those who are suggesting the creation of a Permanent Minorities Committee, and I say this with particular reference to the statement made by the delegate of the Netherlands. Speaking of the minorities question, he pointed out that the twelfth Assembly of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies suggested the creation of a Permanent Minorities Committee similar to that which deals with mandates.

I quite understand that there may be some doubt as to the scope of the Netherlands delegate's proposal, as his statement was very brief. But we may reasonably ask whether he was thinking that such a Committee would deal with minorities in general in all countries.

If I remember aright, the discussion which took place last July at the twelfth Assembly at The Hague dealt with this question as a whole, and before we can examine such a proposal we must know if the Netherlands delegate had in mind the complete proposal as advanced by the Hague Assembly.

In dealing with these questions we must not forget that the Covenant is based upon two great principles — the principle of equality and the principle of universality. I wish to say that the Czechoslovak delegation is always ready to examine any suggestion promoting liberty, justice, equity and humanity; but it cannot forget that the Covenant is based upon the principles of equality and universality, which have been preached and defended from this platform since the very beginning of the League.

**The President:**

*Translation:* Mr. Smit, first delegate of South Africa, will address the Assembly.

Mr. Smit (South Africa):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen—After the very remarkable speeches, which have been delivered from this platform, and to which I have listened with the greatest pleasure, it is with a certain feeling of diffidence that I, as representative of the Union of South Africa, ask for the privilege of addressing you.

I am not going to touch on the many weighty matters which have been brought to your notice so ably by the previous speakers for my country is not, on account of its distance, happy situation and friendly relations with its neighbours, drawn day after day actively and directly into the matters and problems which occupy your attention, though they are followed very closely by us, and receive our sympathetic consideration, with the sole object of rendering such assistance as we are able to offer.

We cannot but admire the road taken, and the milestones which have been passed in striving to achieve objects which it is hoped will lead to universal improvement.

Our attention has been focussed for some time now on the strenuous and magnificent efforts made for disarmament, and South Africa has not only noticed with satisfaction, but was proud to take part in, that important step forward just consummated at Paris, on the initiative of that great country across the Atlantic, willingly assisted and supported by France.

We have gladly participated in that act, not only because we believe in the genuineness of the feelings which have animated the people of the United States of America, but also because we recognise that, step by step, we shall ultimately reach the goal, which to many may in the past have appeared extremely problematical.

To us the Kellogg Treaty is not a goal, it is only another milestone on the road which started at Locarno. We feel that once the mentality of civilisation has definitely been set on disarmament, and on the enforcement of peace as a policy, as a line of action, many difficulties still in the way may disappear. We realise that there are many problems still to face, and I venture to mention one which is of particular interest to my country, namely, the prevention of arming those who have no use for and no knowledge of modern armaments and military requirements.

We are looking forward to a meeting of the Powers who have worked in the past, are working in the present and, let us hope, will continue to work in the future, for universal improvement; we hope that those Powers will at any rate agree that the races, whether subject to them or not, who have not yet been trained in modern warfare, who have as yet no knowledge of our weapons of offence, our methods of destruction, shall not receive such training from them and shall not be equipped with such weapons. South Africa will heartily welcome such a conference and will actively co-operate therein.

The native races of Africa under the tutelage of civilised Powers know nothing as yet of European or civilised methods of warfare and armaments other than what we have taught them. Is it not for us to say that they shall not know more, that they, at any rate, shall be spared the horrors and

evils of modern warfare and the burdens of peace armaments? It is still in our power to see that they at least shall have the full benefit of that disarmament which we so devoutly wish for ourselves.

We in South Africa hope that this can be achieved; we believe it to be an immediate reality. We have had wars in South Africa between civilised peoples but, thank God, the savage hordes of Africa have never been dragged into those wars nor trained and armed in accordance with modern military ideas, with the result that, in spite of the presence of millions of natives, war between two European races has been carried on not once, but several times, without any isolated and undefended European families having ever been molested by natives.

The savage races have settled down as peaceful citizens, with no wish for the knowledge which some think so necessary for the civilised man, and they are the happier for it. We believe we have given them protection from raids by others, that we have placed at their disposal the benefits of good administration. They are grateful for this, and they have shown their gratitude by refraining from taking any part in any war between Europeans, and from molesting the families of those who were called away for the purposes of warfare.

I have mentioned Africa and its races merely as an example; it is not the only case. Every continent, with the possible exception of Europe, has the same problem, though perhaps in a lesser degree.

Is it too much to hope that under the guidance of the League we shall, in the near future, meet in order to agree among ourselves that those races which are not yet able to stand by themselves, and whose well-being and development form a sacred trust of civilisation, shall not be used to strengthen military forces which are already deemed by many to be excessive for the purposes of peace and goodwill in the world? Public opinion (and we heartily endorse it) has practically agreed that there shall be no increase in armaments, and it would therefore seem that the necessity to train and equip races which to-day are happy in their ignorance of modern war requirements no longer exists. Our grave concern is the well-being of these uncivilised races, and it is in that spirit that I am expressing these views.

We agree that the matter should not be rushed, but should be studied carefully, and whatever may be necessary should be prepared in good time, for, rather than that our hopes should be wrecked by over-hastiness, we would wait patiently for further results like Locarno and Paris. There is a tendency to mar the excellent work of the League by over-hastiness, by impatience. We in South Africa have found that important matters have been discussed and recommendations framed by conferences and committees called together under the ægis of the League. The conferences and committees have sometimes fixed limits within which the various States Members of the League had to return their observations on these recommendations. We consider that, in fixing these limits, the exigencies of postal administrations and Governments have

not always been realised, nor has it always been kept in mind that countries like South Africa, being a member of the British commonwealth of nations, may desire to consult her co-members before framing her observations, and that therefore sufficient time for a reply should be allowed.

It has happened that in this respect we have refrained from doing our share in the task which lies before us all. The impression may therefore have been created, in some instances at any rate, that our failure to reply betrays indifference to the importance of the matters discussed under the auspices of the League, whereas, in fact, no reply worthy of the country which I am proud to represent or as carefully studied as it deserved to be, could have been sent within the allotted time.

I believe that I am voicing the wishes not only of South Africa but also those of other States Members when I ask League conferences and committees to bear in mind the interests of those not situated within easy postal reach of Geneva.

After all, participation in the League work by all States Members is of great importance and should in all circumstances be our aim. We share this ideal and shall be happy to assist in its achievement.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. de Vasconcellos, delegate of Portugal, will address the Assembly.

**M. de Vasconcellos (Portugal) :**

*Translation :* I should not think of adding my modest quota to the series of eloquent speeches we have heard here, did I not feel impelled to do so by a sense of duty. We all owe to the League and to the world in general, which sits in judgment on our actions, a report on our share in the work of peace, the main task of this institution, in which from the very beginning we have all placed our hopes and our trust.

Our country, as you are of course aware, possesses a great historical tradition, and as an important colonial Power is greatly concerned in the solution of almost all the big international problems. These often affect us more closely than is generally believed, and for that reason Portugal follows the League's work with special interest and is always prepared loyally to take her share in it.

The report we are discussing includes a remarkable collection of studies and proposals relative to arbitration, security and the pacific settlement of international disputes. We duly appreciate the importance of the work done by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, which has given us particular satisfaction, since we have for a long time been striving to extend the system of arbitration treaties.

It is perhaps not known that we are pioneers in the matter of arbitration. You will of course remember that in the distant past a certain Pope made an arbitration award dividing between Spain and Portugal the lands and oceans still to be discovered. More recently, at the Hague Conference of 1907, a Portuguese proposal led to the memorable discussions out of which arose the principles now governing compulsory arbitration. The Utopia of those days is the reality of to-day; and as often happens, the pioneer, the Utopian, has been allowed to sink into oblivion. Side by side with Léon

Bourgeois we championed the good cause, and we gratefully pay a tribute to the memory of that great apostle of peace.

We were among the first to sign the optional clause to Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and we have ratified our signature. We have concluded with various countries arbitration treaties of the limited type then in vogue. More recently, we concluded with Spain, France, the United States and Belgium treaties of the more comprehensive type recommended by the League.

"Treaties, nothing but treaties!" I hear the detractors and critics of the League exclaim. But how can peace be organised on a juridical basis but by treaties, which in their turn become rules of law? Did not the great Powers go to war for the sake of treaties, because treaties had been violated, in the days when the principles of arbitration and international solidarity were not yet strongly enough established to prevent wars?

Let us therefore continue our beneficent task of uniting the peoples of the world one with another by both legal and moral ties, and so fulfil the aim we set ourselves at the dawn of this new age. That is the spirit in which Portugal has co-operated in the work of codifying international law, which is now being carried out.

Portugal has acceded to the Paris pact without reservations of any kind. We believe, as the Greek representative, M. Politis, so eloquently expressed it in his luminous exposition the other day, that this treaty fills the biggest gap in the Covenant, and that it will prove a most powerful contribution to the cause of peace through the high authority and the number of its signatories. Here I must pay a heartfelt tribute of homage and respect to M. Briand, who first launched the idea, and to Mr. Kellogg, who expanded and developed it.

We have made and are still making strenuous efforts to reform our financial and economic situation. In 1914, when the war broke out, we were in the midst of reconstructing our political and financial position, after the disturbances that inevitably follow upon a change in the political system of a country. Faithful to our obligations and to the treaties to which we were parties, and impelled by the exigencies of our political and colonial situation, we were obliged to enter this War, as in the past we have had to enter all the great European wars; and we emerged among the victors, though without territorial or material gain. We have suffered very seriously from the consequences — particularly the economic consequences — of the war, yet in face of the greatest difficulties we succeeded more than two years ago in stabilising our currency, which was on the verge of collapse, and — by adopting drastic measures — in avoiding economic and financial disaster.

We therefore thought that, in order to speed up our economic recovery, the time had come to appeal to that international solidarity which had already proved so effectual, through the instrumentality of the League, in bringing about the reconstruction of other countries that had laboured under similar and even worse difficulties.

We shall always be extremely grateful to the League for the earnest endeavours it made, through the Financial Committee, to help us. Experts of marked ability examined our financial and economic situation, drew up a complete balance-

sheet of our assets and liabilities, and reached the gratifying conclusion that we had every chance of achieving financial and economic restoration without undue difficulty. The unencumbered assets for the service of the projected loan were more than double the amount required.

We should have effected the requisite credit operation had not the League's methods, involving relatively strict supervision of our finances, been inconsistent with our traditional principles, which preclude any outside interference, however slight, in the administration of our domestic affairs.

We therefore thanked the League for the admirable service it had rendered in submitting a scheme for the complete restoration of our finances — in point of fact, the League's scheme was not dissimilar to that previously prepared by our own experts — and we decided to rely, for the time being, upon our own resources.

The League experts, with their wide experience and their complete impartiality, advised us to arrange to balance our budget by stages covering a period of three years; the Minister for Finance introduced, as the first stage of the operation which he proposed to effect, a series of measures designed to accelerate matters and obtain the desired result. In less than six months — thanks to the courageous co-operation of all classes of the community — he was able to bring this first step to a successful conclusion.

Our budget for 1928-29 is already balanced. We may therefore justifiably hope that the remainder of the scheme will be carried through with the same energy and success; and we feel that, despite certain pessimistic forecasts, we shall soon contribute our own financial and economic reforms as a valuable factor in the economic restoration of Europe.

In order to improve the exploitation of our national wealth and increase production — the only effectual way of obtaining social peace — we have concluded with our great neighbour in the Peninsula very important agreements relating to the harnessing of the Douro waterfalls in the adjacent zone, the great potential capacity of which will compensate for our lack of coal. More recently a conference of experts of both countries examined a number of economic problems of mutual concern which have long remained unsolved. This work has been inspired by the spirit of goodwill and the mutual regard for our respective interests that have prevailed on all previous occasions.

We have lately ratified the two most important conventions prepared by the International Labour Organisation — the Convention limiting the hours of work to eight in the day and the Convention concerning the application of the weekly rest in industrial undertakings. Here, too, our desire has been to associate ourselves as closely as possible with the work of social legislation now being carried out at Geneva.

As you have no doubt learned from the newspapers, all these grave crises — changes of Government, our participation in the War, our economic collapse — have brought unrest upon our country. It would be surprising, indeed, if, at so disturbed a period in world history, a country of the South, left to its own resources, had not experienced the same shocks that rent the social structure of far more powerful countries. But we are proud to say that we have passed through these troublous times — the seriousness of which has been greatly exaggerated —

without failing in any of our obligations, without imposing on foreigners who had trusted us any of those sacrifices which integrity bade us place on the shoulders of our own people.

Our co-operation in the Conference for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions led us to modify our fiscal laws, thereby avoiding the numerous reservations which had been considered advisable when the question was first considered.

In the economic field, too, we cannot pass by in silence the proposal with regard to alcoholism submitted to the Assembly by Finland, Poland and Sweden and supported by Belgium, Denmark and Czechoslovakia. We are prepared to support a proposal to hold an enquiry into the extent of the evil effects of alcoholism due to the consumption of alcohol having a strength of over 25 degrees; and we were glad to find that M. Procopé, in his speech yesterday, rejected any idea of an attempt to introduce prohibition.

We have done our duty by the League in the political and economic fields. But our co-operation has not stopped there.

In the colonial sphere we were among the first to ratify the Slavery Convention, which we are applying with great strictness. Our native labour legislation embodies the principles so stoutly and brilliantly defended in this Assembly by Lord Cecil, that eminent statesman whose services to the League will never be forgotten by its supporters.

We have settled all outstanding frontier disputes with our energetic and loyal neighbour in Africa, Belgium, and with the Union of South Africa, and we have concluded economic agreements of importance to both parties for the development of the regions concerned. The conventions signed with Belgium were preceded by an arbitration treaty embodying Article 10 of the Covenant, relating to the mutual recognition of our territorial integrity.

The account I have given, though incomplete, shows that we have fulfilled our duties in connection with the task of furthering civilisation and bringing peace. We have great opportunities of extending and intensifying our co-operation because both we ourselves and our colonies have widespread interests throughout the world, and, as the glorious pages of our history show, we have never missed an opportunity of furthering those interests either by our own efforts or by agreements with our allies, friends and neighbours.

For centuries we have adhered to a stable and consistent foreign policy which has remained unaffected by changed political systems or by war. We have everywhere added friendships to our traditional alliance. Spain and Portugal are neighbours who mutually esteem and respect each other, and who might be quoted by the League as an example to the rest of the world. We welcome Spain's return to her place on the Council, which she had ennobled by such eminent services; we welcome her return with every expression of sincere and fraternal friendship. We trust, too, that another great nation, to which we are attached by the close bond of a parenthood that will ever be our pride, will ere long resume the place to which it is entitled by its co-operation with the League, by the

inexhaustible wealth of its territory and by its immense and growing influence and development. A colony of over a million Portuguese in Brazil, replenished by constant immigration, keeps alive and vigorous the alliance both of sentiment and of interest that binds us to that great South American nation. I would add, too, that we shall always cherish the good relations we have maintained in the past with the other South American and Central American republics.

The first representative of a European nation to hold the rank of ambassador in America was the representative of Portugal, and that example was soon followed by others. We have a deep and sincere friendship for these flourishing countries which contribute so much to the work of the League.

Lastly, as regards Asia, we desire to mention an agreement recently concluded with the Holy See concerning our traditional jurisdiction in religious matters in the East, and we would also speak of China, with whom we have maintained century-long relations. China is at present passing through a stage in her development which we are following with friendly interest. There, too, our attitude is dictated by our sympathetic goodwill towards our neighbours.

This, then, is the vast field of our activities, which, in our great and honoured past, we have applied to further the noble work of discovery and of civilisation. To-day we place those activities at the service of the great cause of peace, social progress and world economic development, which constitute the aims and ideals of the League.

#### The President :

*Translation :* Lord Cushendun, first delegate of the British Empire, will address the Assembly.

#### Lord Cushendun (British Empire) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — the debates in this Assembly have covered a wide field of interest and have surveyed a great number of matters of importance in international activity. I have observed that no topic touched upon has aroused more interest, or has been deemed of greater importance, than that of international disarmament. It is a subject the importance of which can hardly be over-stated, and although it has already been very fully discussed, I would ask permission to add some observations regarding it.

As a member of the Preparatory Commission I can understand and I can sympathise with the disappointment which was expressed by the German Chancellor on the slowness of the progress which has been made. I share his disappointment, and I believe that all members of the Preparatory Commission also share it, but I would like respectfully to suggest that His Excellency has not perhaps fully appreciated the kind of difficulties with which the Preparatory Commission has to contend. The German Chancellor used these words, that the most urgent task of the Assembly was to adopt resolutions which would transform its hopes of disarmament into realities.

Ladies and gentlemen — I respectfully suggest that that is a proposition which cannot be sustained. I would like to point out that no resolution of the Assembly, or of any other body, could possibly have that effect. After all, the only thing that a resolution of the Assembly could assert would be its desire for the completion of the work of disarmament, and possibly its disappointment that that work has not been completed sooner. That would add nothing to our knowledge. We all know that the Assembly desires the completion of the work,

and the Preparatory Commission desires it equally strongly. No, it is not a question of resolutions : it is a question of work on practical details ; and I think it is important to clear the ground, by remembering always exactly the nature of the obligations which we have all undertaken as Members of the League, and the restricted nature of those obligations.

The words of Article 8 of the Covenant are these :

“ The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.”

You will observe, therefore, that it is left as a matter for the judgment of each State, and each State has the duty of forming an opinion, as to the precise level at which its armaments are sufficient, and no more than sufficient, for national safety. Now, in forming that judgment it is impossible to apply any precise criterion of measurement, which makes it, of course, a matter of peculiar difficulty to exercise that judgment.

Then there is another very formidable difficulty with which we are confronted, namely, that it is impossible to find a common denominator for relating to one another the reduction effected by one State and the reduction effected by another, in order to arrive at that common action which is required by Article 8. In other words, we cannot express in terms of military value the power respectively of troops, of ships and of aircraft, and the same difficulty applies also as regards minor details. This, of course, would not be a suitable opportunity for elaborating such points, or showing in detail how these difficulties should be tackled and dealt with. I only mention them as an illustration of the type of practical detail with which the Preparatory Commission is bound to deal, and to submit to you that, if they are thoroughly understood, they supply a very cogent explanation of a great deal of the delay that has occurred.

But there are also difficulties of another kind. A great number of States, let us remember, have to come to an agreement, first of all, on questions of principle underlying the practical work of disarmament. Each of those States has, naturally enough, its own ideas which spring from its special interests, from particular conditions, from historical traditions, from constitutional developments and from geographical position, and therefore it would indeed be miraculous if, in discussing the principles to be applied, we did not find at the outset wide divergences of views between such different States.

When these divergences manifest themselves it is necessary to try to reconcile the different points of view. This means that one State differing from another must endeavour, by the exercise of a conciliatory spirit, to bring the divergent views into accord with one another. That involves, of course, correspondence, and consultations with experts ; and when this work has to be carried on by men representing different States divided one from the other geographically and by men of affairs who cannot give their time exclusively to this one matter, surely it becomes very easy to understand how delay occurs.

It may be that this process of reconciling views brings about an agreement, but it sometimes happens that the compromise so obtained proves to be unacceptable to other States which are also concerned, thereby making it necessary to adjust, modify, or amend the proposals made,



or possibly to make a fresh start in arriving at the common action which we all desire. Not only, therefore, do these difficulties make delay inevitable, but they prove that, in order to accomplish the work, much perseverance and patience are required.

I do not think that anyone who has taken part in the work of the Preparatory Commission will really doubt the sincerity of the desire of that Commission and of all its members to accomplish the work entrusted to them. I entirely agree with what the German Chancellor said as to the regrettable delay—the disappointing slowness of the progress made—but there is another aspect of the matter which must not be left out of account. Although it is quite true that the completion of the work has been held up by disagreement on one or two important points, nevertheless, let us remember that a very considerable measure of agreement has been reached, and it would be the greatest mistake in the world to assume that no progress has been made or that it is necessary to despair of a satisfactory result.

There is yet another aspect of this question of disarmament which, I think, also deserves some consideration. I can, of course, only speak for the country that I represent, but similar claims might perhaps be made by other countries. Although the actual convention dealing with disarmament which we hope to sign has not yet been finally drafted and signed, a large measure of actual disarmament has taken place, and that is really the most important factor in the whole situation, because it is clear that if it were possible to arrive at a complete measure of international disarmament, each State acting upon its own authority and without common action, the main result at any rate, would be achieved.

I would like to be allowed, in support of this proposition, to give the Assembly one or two figures to illustrate my contention. Take, for example, the question of personnel in the British navy; let us compare January of the present year, not with the date of the conclusion of the late War, but with July 1914, before the war broke out—which I think is a fairer comparison. We find that the reduction of personnel in the British navy in that period amounts to no less than 43,703 men. When I remind you that, at this latter date, the total personnel of the Navy amounted to only about 102,000 men, you will see that a reduction of between 43,000 and 44,000 is a very considerable one.

The same proof is shown if I turn from personnel to tonnage. Here again I compare January of the present year with July 1914. I find that the number of British warships which have been scrapped amounts to 239, and the reduction of warship tonnage to 847,118 tons. Of course, if I were to compare to-day with the period immediately following the conclusion of peace, the reduction would appear very much larger. I should then be able to show that we have put on the scrap heap 1,538 warships, and reduced the tonnage by no less than 2,139,516 tons.

I turn now to another point, and a very important one from the point of view of national armament. Since the war we have reduced the number of dockyard workers by more than 10,000 men. As regards the dockyard arsenals themselves, two have been closed altogether, and two others have been reduced from full commission to the mere status of care and maintenance.

I could show, if the occasion required it, by detailed figures, that there has been in Great

Britain a large reduction not merely in the navy but in the other two fighting services, the army and the air service. I do not assert or pretend, of course, that what has been done in the way of reduction in all three services, drastic as it has been, fully satisfies the obligations under Article 8 of the Covenant, but I do most confidently claim that it goes a long way in that direction. What has been done shows how incorrect it would be to form the opinion or to promulgate the opinion that since the signing of the Covenant there has not been on the part of Great Britain, whatever may be the case elsewhere, a large, far-reaching reduction of armaments in the spirit of the League of Nations and the Covenant.

There is another aspect of disarmament on which, in passing, I should like to say a word. New conditions have been introduced by the new arms with which war has in recent times been fought and with which it would be fought again if the world were so unfortunate as to see another war. We are told by experts that the most terrible destruction and suffering that the world would undergo in any future war would arise from warfare in the air and from what is called chemical warfare. That fact imposes a very great and a new difficulty in the way of disarmament.

When weapons of war consisted of heavy artillery, of battleships, or submarines, or rifles, or anything else of that kind, you always knew where you were with them. These were weapons which everyone knew were meant for war and could be used for nothing else. But these new weapons, aircraft and lethal gases, are articles not merely used for war but for purposes of peaceful commerce and trade. Therefore we have this problem; in the case of the old-fashioned weapons, it would not have been very difficult, if the world desired it, to restrict their production, and to insist upon full publicity with regard to them. We cannot, however, do that with the new weapons since, in view of their commercial use, far from being anxious to discourage their production, we are anxious to encourage it to the greatest possible extent. Everyone knows that the future commerce and transport of the world look for the largest possible development by means of aircraft; and it must be the object of all progressive nations to encourage the production of those machines, although unfortunately they could be easily transformed, in time of war, into lethal weapons for fighting.

I have thought it right to touch upon these difficulties partly in justification of the Preparatory Commission and partly to reassure, if I may, those who were perhaps becoming discouraged by the absence of complete results from our work. Although that work is not complete, I can give the fullest possible assurance that it is the sincere desire of the British Government to carry out, in the letter and in the spirit, the obligations imposed by Article 8 of the Covenant. It is our earnest endeavour to find the ground for that common action which the article in question enjoins and it is for no other reason that we have earnestly striven for many months to reconcile our views with those of the French Government in regard to the principle underlying naval disarmament. After much patient effort and by the exercise of mutual concessions we have arrived at that compromise to which M. Briand made humorous reference yesterday.

It must not be forgotten that when you are negotiating for agreement among a number of different States, as I have already pointed out, the only way to arrive at common action is by eliminating differences one by one. But, of course,

we realise, as I have already indicated, that agreement between two of a number of partners can only, by the nature of things, have a provisional character; if that agreement should be so unfortunate as not to be accepted by others equally entitled to make their views known, it will of course be necessary to see whether that difference in turn can be reconciled by some modification or amendment of the compromise previously reached. If that should prove impossible, it will be necessary to start in search of a fresh basis of common action.

I feel confident, however, that agreement can be reached if only we could all show a little less distrust of each other, and if critics were less ready than they sometimes are to attribute to us hidden designs and ulterior motives of which we are entirely innocent and which never had any existence outside the imagination of the critics themselves.

In the great and eloquent oration delivered here yesterday by M. Briand there was no passage which I admired so much as that in which he spoke of the spirit of peace as the flower of the world which must not be allowed to wither or fade. But, if that flower is to be kept fresh we must water it with our confidence — confidence, not merely in the ideals that we profess, but in the sincerity with which each of us is striving to attain them. What the world chiefly needs to-day, in my judgment, is to cast aside suspicion and distrust as between nation and nation, and not merely to feel greater confidence in each other, but to display it; and I believe that this will be one of the results to be achieved by the great venture of faith which was entered upon in Paris a fortnight ago. I have very little doubt that this Treaty renouncing war as an instrument of national policy will thus give a very wholesome stimulus to the process of international disarmament.

But do not let us be discouraged or disappointed if we find that the full effect turns out to be neither immediate nor spectacular. It will not necessarily be of less value on that account, for rapid demonstrative action, if due to emotional impulse, often brings about reaction. There is an element in the British character which makes us shrink from expressing in exuberant language the ideals which nevertheless supply the motive power of our action, either as individuals or as a nation. I do not hesitate to say that I look upon the Paris Pact as an instrument that proclaims a new era and creates a new outlook. We may not be able immediately to observe this; human beings have to adjust themselves to a new environment, but the up-growing generation, assimilating the new *Zeitgeist*, will be nurtured in the idea that war, except in *bona fide* self-defence, is not a gallant adventure, but a national dishonour.

Armaments beyond what are requisite for national safety as prescribed by the Covenant will be recognised as a costly and discreditable anachronism. If this hope should be even partially realised, then assuredly this year, 1928, will be remembered as a notable land-mark in human history, for it will be the fulfilment of the dream of the most ancient visionaries of our race, who imagined an almost incredible golden age, when weapons of war would be beaten into implements of peace and war itself should cease among men. Throughout the long intervening ages ever till to-day has man made any concerted and determined effort to translate into action the vision of the

ancient seer. We are making it now. The Paris Pact, in complete harmony with the work of the League of Nations, is at once our proclamation of purpose and our testament to posterity. It is the faith of to-day and the hope of to-morrow.

Hitherto, it has been on conquerors and the great masters of the art of war that history has bestowed her most glittering decorations. Hereafter, a fresh scale of values will be called for. When this new page is turned we may be sure that we shall find the names of those who initiated the Paris Pact inscribed among the greatest benefactors of mankind.

#### The President :

*Translation* : His Highness Mohammad Ali Khan Foroughi, first delegate of Persia, will address the Assembly.

#### His Highness Mohammad Ali Khan Foroughi (Persia) :

*Translation* : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I had not intended to take part this year in the discussion on the report on the work of the Council and the work of the Secretariat, as I had no special criticism to offer. Even if the year's work seems slight by comparison with the ideal we have in view, we have reason to be satisfied with the results obtained and to feel justified in our hopes for the future.

Previous speakers have very rightly pointed out that if we are over-critical, people will begin to lose heart. I was equally reluctant to indulge in extravagant praise of the work of the Council and the Secretariat, whose whole aim it is to carry out their important duties without ever expecting congratulations. My intention not to speak has been changed, however, by your striking demonstration of friendship towards my country, this being in itself the outcome of the League's own spirit of equity and justice.

I desire to express the Persian delegation's appreciation of this signal mark of esteem, and to assure you that the confidence thus displayed by the Assembly will undoubtedly serve to confirm Persia and the adjoining countries in their faith in the League, encouraging them at the same time to co-operate even more closely in the work of peace and concord in which it is engaged.

But, even before this highly complimentary and encouraging mark of appreciation, Persia had already, in pursuing her own reforms, given ample proof of her intention to adhere to the principles laid down by the League. I shall return to this point in a few minutes, but first let me assure you that Persia is well aware that participation in the League's work, especially as a Member of the Council, must be regarded not only as an honour and a privilege, but also as imposing certain duties and responsibilities. My country is determined to carry out those duties conscientiously and to the very best of its ability, in the interests of humanity and in the pursuit of the League's ideals.

I desire now to state briefly my Government's views on some of the more important aspects of the League's activities. I need not enter into details; these can be reserved for the discussions in the Committees or in the Assembly.

Public opinion in Persia attaches the greatest importance to the League's work in the field of

intellectual co-operation, and I feel sure that the Persian Government will continue to take growing interest in this question. For many years to come we shall probably derive from the Committee and the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation benefits far greater than any we are able to confer. I hope, however, in view of the keen interest now taken in archaeology in our country, that with the resumption of excavations greater efforts will be made to discover, preserve and exhibit to the public the numerous remains of our ancient civilisation, which are of immense importance alike from the historical and from the artistic point of view.

We are convinced that the speedy and systematic codification of public international law will do much towards the maintenance of peace, by facilitating the pacific settlement of disputes. We therefore attach great importance to this branch of the League's work.

In the matter of disarmament, Persia warmly supports the efforts of the various organs of the League, for, with her present resources, she has no prospect of maintaining armed forces even remotely comparable with those of her neighbours or of other countries.

Any reduction in armaments would thus greatly lighten our task and would be hailed with joy. Moreover, convinced as we are that no reduction will be possible until the nations' feeling of security is such as to make large armies unnecessary, we welcome any attempt to increase this feeling of security.

The signature of the Paris Pact by a large number of States has created an excellent impression in Persia. We have every reason to believe that our Government will accede to it, although it will have to explain its views on certain reservations which were formulated in the correspondence exchanged prior to signature, and which might tend to diminish the efficacy of the Pact.

The League attaches great importance to the question of communications and freedom of transit, and I am glad to be able to inform you that my Government is engaged in the improvement of roads and the building of railways, and is sparing no effort to connect Persia with the various countries of Europe. A great deal has already been done in this direction. In the matter of transit, we have been able to obtain certain facilities from countries which had hitherto raised difficulties, and we hope to secure additional transit facilities, more particularly in Iraq and Syria.

I need hardly add that Persia's economic policy will continue to be based on the principle of freedom of transit, to which she has always adhered.

I am happy to inform you, further, that, since the last session of the Assembly, the Persian Government has made great progress in the solution of one of the humanitarian questions dealt with by the League, namely, the opium problem.

Despite the serious obstacles to which we referred last year a law establishing State monopoly of the opium trade has been passed by Parliament. The Persian Government will thus be able to exercise a much more effective control over cultivation and

over the traffic in opium. My colleagues will no doubt have an opportunity of giving you fuller details in the Fifth Committee.

My Government is particularly glad to report success this year in its efforts to improve its relations with other countries, so that Persia can now take her place in international life without prejudice to her position as an independent State. We have also been able to remove the obstacles in the way of tariff autonomy and have drawn up a Customs tariff based on the principles recommended by the League with a view to avoiding the imposition of prohibitive duties or discrimination between the various countries. I am glad to have this opportunity of expressing my country's gratitude to the Powers which have shown their goodwill in facilitating this task.

Further, the Persian Government has abrogated the treaties conferring legal privileges on foreigners in Persia, which not only encroached upon the independence of the judicial system but placed Persians in a position of inferiority in their own country. My Government's action was fully justified in view of Persia's sovereign rights, and was at the same time in the interests of the foreigners themselves, since this inequality of treatment had made them unpopular in Persia. Our action was, moreover, based on Article 19 of the League Covenant, which advises the reconsideration of treaties which have become inapplicable.

In conclusion, I would add that Persia, when concluding new treaties, will bear in mind the League's recommendation that disputes between States should be settled by arbitration, and will insert a provision to that effect.

We have already concluded with our neighbours, in a spirit of peace and concord, treaties which will permit of our unrestricted economic development. These treaties, when ratified by the Persian Parliament, will be communicated to the League Secretariat for registration.

I must apologise for having taken up the Assembly's time, but I was anxious that you should realise my country's desire to apply the great principles of the League, and to co-operate wholeheartedly in all its activities.

#### The President :

*Translation :* His Excellency M. Villegas, first delegate of Chile, will address the Assembly.

#### M. Villegas (Chile) :

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I should not venture to address you at this late hour were it not that I desire to bring to your notice certain facts relating to the American continent which are, I think, deserving of your attention.

This year's discussion on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat has been marked by a sense of the realities of the situation and a spirit of frankness, and by the sobriety of the praise and the constructive nature of the criticism heard in connection with the League's activities. These have been pursued in the letter and the spirit of the Covenant, without undue precipitancy, but at the same time without undue delay.

If we compare the position of affairs as set forth in M. Procopé's inaugural speech and in the weighty report now under discussion with the situation as I described it in my opening

address to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly last year, it is clear that the League's work for peace, though slow, denotes steady progress, while many of the hopes I expressed on that occasion have now been realised.

I would mention first the return of Spain to the League. I rejoice to see this country once again a Member of the Council, with the right of re-eligibility, which the Assembly has just conferred upon her by a big majority. We also welcome the presence among us of a distinguished observer from the Argentine Republic, that great and friendly nation which has co-operated with us on so many occasions and whose co-operation may, we hope, become closer still.

The return of Costa Rica, which her Government's reply leads us to hope may not be long delayed, would also cause us the greatest satisfaction, and this for two reasons — she is one of our sister Republics of the American continent, and her return would be the outcome of the Council's declaration in regard to certain points that affect the co-operation of Latin-American States with the League.

I was happy to hear the other day the authoritative statement of M. Motta, who emphasised the importance of Latin-American collaboration in the Assembly and Council and expressed the hope that those States which have not yet joined the League might be brought to take an active part in our work. I have much pleasure in endorsing M. Motta's words, for my country, which is a faithful supporter of the League and is on cordial terms with all American States without exception, desires nothing better than to join forces with them in the interests of peace and international co-operation.

In this connection I have great satisfaction in announcing to the Assembly that the Governments of Chile and Peru have renewed diplomatic relations, after an interval of eighteen years. The two nations are linked together by so many common ties and sacrifices that mutual understanding and co-operation must follow from the resumption of normal relations between them, and a final settlement of their old dispute will doubtless be found. I desire, as is only right, to pay a tribute to the President of the United States and to Mr. Kellogg, his Secretary of State, for their good offices in bringing about this happy state of affairs. The ground had been prepared in advance by the Governments and by public opinion in both countries, which had already given evidence of a firm desire for peace and a conciliatory spirit such as we look to find in all Members of the League.

• As M. Motta said, the Latin-American States which are Members of the League belong, like all the American Republics, to the Pan-American Union, and I personally do not think that there can ever be any antagonism between the two institutions.

It must not be forgotten that the Pan-American Union has no political functions or powers, and I doubt whether it ever will have any. Its sphere of action, as defined at the last Conference, does not extend beyond the promotion of economic, social and cultural relations between the American States, whose moral union rests, as stated in the words of the preamble to the Convention adopted at Havana "on the juridical equality of the republics of the Continent and on the mutual respect of the rights inherent in their complete independence".

This in no wise diminishes the value of these periodical conferences between the American

States, which, among other important international instruments, have drawn up the Gondra Pact, so often quoted in this Assembly, conventions on intellectual property, on trade marks and, more recently, on the principles of private international law, commercial aviation, maritime neutrality and other matters. The point I wish to emphasise is that, in our view, there can be no question of antagonism or rivalry between the Pan-American Union and this great international association of which we are also members. On the contrary, the Conference's efforts in the interests of American solidarity are calculated very materially to assist the League in its work of peace and systematic international co-operation.

It is too late for me to review in detail the separate branches of the League's work, in which my country has taken a very close interest during the last few years, but I should like to mention the highly satisfactory results achieved in two of them : I refer to the work done in the political and in the economic spheres.

Chile has always co-operated closely in the study of the problem of the limitation of armaments, a problem intimately connected with that of security, and we are gratified to note the results obtained by the Committee on Arbitration and Security. As the Chilean representative on that Committee pointed out, the model draft treaties, by their very diversity, make allowance for the varying conceptions of this problem and for particular situations which have to be taken into account in different parts of the world. Emphasis was also laid on conciliation procedure, a point specially recommended by our delegate when the treaties were being framed. I sincerely trust that the examination of these proposals by the Assembly Committee will result in some practical means being found for their successful application.

I attach great importance to the League's achievements in the economic sphere, and would mention in particular the two Conferences for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions. The undertakings entered into at those Conferences mark the first stage in the removal of barriers to world trade and will ensure a more equitable distribution of raw materials and commodities.

The Chilean Government, in a declaration made at the moment of signing the Convention, stated its views as to the interpretation of certain articles of the Convention in the light of the general principles underlying this important international instrument.

The League, after the first spell of exaltation following on the post-war wave of despair, after its first uncertain wanderings on the path where dreams and realities meet, has now undoubtedly entered upon the broad road of progress and, spurred on by the faith of its Members, is advancing towards the practical realisation of its founders' hopes. Chile will follow faithfully where it leads.

#### The President :

*Translation* : As no one else has asked to speak, the general discussion on the report to the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations on the work of the Council, on the work of the Secretariat and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly, is now closed.

*The Assembly rose at 1.30 p.m.*

## THIRTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, September 18th, 1928, at 10 a.m.

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President : M. ZAHLE.

## 57. — PLAN FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES IN THE REPUBLIC OF ERIVAN : COMMUNICATION FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.

## The President :

*Translation :* Gentlemen — Before beginning to-day's agenda, I have a communication to make to the Assembly.

I have received from the Secretary-General of the League the following letter, dated September 17th, 1928 :

"The Council of the League of Nations has instructed me to inform you that it decided at its meeting to-day to refer to the Assembly the question of the settlement of Armenian Refugees in the Republic of Erivan.

"In accordance with the Council's instructions, the Minutes of the discussion on this question will be communicated to the Assembly as soon as possible.

(Signed) Eric DRUMMOND."

The Council proposes that the Assembly should include the question of the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan in the agenda of the present session.

In order to prevent loss of time, and since the Assembly would, I think, wish to expedite the procedure, I venture to make the following proposal. The Agenda Committee will be asked to meet at once in the President's room behind the platform. It will examine the Council's proposal and draw up its report, so that its recommendations can be submitted to the Assembly before the close of the present meeting.

If the Assembly approves my suggestions, I shall consider them adopted. (*Adopted.*)

In view of the decision of the Assembly I will ask the Chairman of the Agenda Committee to convene the Committee immediately.

## 58. — FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO STATES VICTIMS OF AGGRESSION : REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.

## The President :

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the report of the Third Committee on financial assistance to States victims of aggression (Annex 3, document A.60.1928.IX).

Now that we are about to deal with the reports of Committees I should like to remind the delegations of the practice followed at previous sessions of the Assembly.

The Rapporteurs of the Committees do not as a rule read their reports in full, as the text has been printed and distributed to the delegations previously. They confine themselves to a summary, adding such observations as they may think fit on any points specially deserving of attention. The draft resolutions, however, are read in full.

If there are no objections, I shall request the Rapporteurs to conform to this custom. (*Assent.*)

(On the invitation of the President, Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Third Committee, and M. Rolin-Jacquemyns, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

## The President :

*Translation :* M. Rolin-Jacquemyns, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Rolin-Jacquemyns (Belgium), Rapporteur :

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have the honour to lay before you the Third

Committee's report and recommendations on the question of financial assistance to States victims of aggression.

In accordance with the President's instructions, I do not propose to read the report, but I feel that I ought to call your attention to the special nature of the question under discussion.

You are not asked to approve a draft convention, but merely to give to the Financial Committee, which has been collaborating with the Committee on Arbitration and Security, the instructions necessary for the framing of that convention. Certain principles should be laid down for the guidance of the Financial Committee, which has asked for information on the following points :

(1) Should the scheme for financial assistance be embodied in a special convention, or should it be incorporated in the body of the agreements to be reached in connection with the reduction of armaments ?

(2) Should it be held that the scheme for financial assistance would apply not only in the case of war in the strict sense of the term but also in the case of threat of war referred to in Article 11 of the Covenant ?

(3) In order that the financial assistance should become operative, would a Council decision be sufficient or would the approval of each signatory be necessary in each case—as laid down in Article 4, paragraph 5, of the Covenant, which provides that a Member of the League shall be invited to send a representative when the Council is taking a decision in regard to matters specially affecting the interests of the State in question ?

The Third Committee was of opinion that the scheme for financial assistance should now be drafted in the form of a special convention, it being understood that the latter would come within the framework of the League's peace and disarmament programme, upon which we are at present engaged.

Further, the Third Committee agreed with the Committee on Arbitration and Security that financial assistance should be provided for, not only in the case of war in the strict sense of the term, but also in the case of threat of war, and several Members expressed the view that financial assistance might perhaps prove more effective in preventing bloodshed in the case of a mere threat of war than when war had already broken out.

As regards the third point, the Committee expressed the following opinion :

" We are not called upon at present to accept any specific convention but are simply asked to give instructions and directions for the drafting of such a Convention, and the Third Committee accordingly agrees with the Financial Committee that on general principles the Council's decision should be considered sufficient in principle. If all the guarantor States were asked to vote in every case, the convention would become inoperative in practice as it would take far too long to obtain all the votes. "

Again, from the legal standpoint, the Third Committee considered that there was nothing to prevent States renouncing their right, under Article 4, paragraph 5, of the Covenant, to be represented during the consideration of matters specially affecting their interests. The renunciation of the exercise of this right in any particular case would not be inconsistent with public international law.

These were the points concerning which the Financial Committee wished to be given instructions. I have submitted the Third Committee's opinion, which is in agreement with that of the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

In these circumstances the Third Committee has the honour to submit to the Assembly the following draft resolution :

*The Assembly :*

(1) Expresses its satisfaction with the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security and the Financial Committee in connection with the scheme for financial assistance ;

(2) Requests the Council to invite the Financial Committee to continue the preparation of this scheme in the form of a draft Convention, bearing in mind the directions given in the report submitted to the Assembly at its ninth ordinary session on behalf of its Third Committee ;

(3) Expresses the hope that a full draft Convention, complete in all its details, may be submitted to the Assembly at its tenth ordinary session ;

(4) Invites the Secretary-General to submit the draft Convention as soon as it is prepared to the Governments in order that they may give instructions to their delegates at the tenth ordinary session of the Assembly.

In conclusion, I desire to inform you that the Third Committee, like the other Committees which have examined the question, regards it as most important that this proposal should be adopted by the Assembly.

It is also of opinion, and several members have asked me to lay particular stress on this point, that to produce its full effect the draft Convention should provide not only for the case of war but also for that of threat of war.

The Assembly, however, will have an opportunity of deciding this when the draft Convention has been prepared according to its instructions and is laid before it at a future session.

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one wishes to speak I shall regard the resolution of the Third Committee as adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

#### 59. — WORK OF THE CHILD WELFARE COMMITTEE: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Fifth Committee on child welfare (Annex 4, document A.54.1928.IV).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Matos, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, and Senator Dandurand, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

**The President :**

*Translation :* Mr. Dandurand, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Mr. Dandurand (Canada), Rapporteur, read his report and the following resolution :

*The Assembly notes the report submitted by the Child Welfare Committee, thanks it for the work it is doing and requests it to go forward along the lines described in the report on its fourth session.*

*The Assembly, remembering that, at its first session in 1925, and at all its later sessions, the Child Welfare Committee has made a study of the various factors involved in the question of the cinematograph in relation to children, is glad to see that the Committee will be represented by at least one member on the Governing Body of the*

*International Educational Cinematographic Institute. It requests the Child Welfare Committee to keep in close touch with the Institute.*

*The Assembly attaches particular importance to the work undertaken by the Child Welfare Committee's Legal Sub-Committee in connection with the preparation of ;*

(1) *A preliminary draft convention for the repatriation of minors who have escaped from the authority of their parents or guardians ;*

(2) *A preliminary draft convention for the relief of minors of foreign nationality. This draft would be in the nature of a model scheme, with a view to facilitating subsequent work on the question and for application between interested countries.*

(3) *A preliminary draft convention on the execution of judgments relating to maintenance payable on behalf of children by persons responsible for their support who have deserted them and gone abroad.*

*The Assembly invites the Child Welfare Committee diligently to pursue its efforts in this direction.*

#### **The President :**

*Translation : Count Carton de Wiart, delegate of Belgium, will address the Assembly.*

#### **Count Carton de Wiart (Belgium) :**

*Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — My purpose in asking you to allow me to address you for a few moments on the subject of this report is not to discuss the conclusions just put before us by the distinguished delegate for Canada, still less to criticise them. On the contrary, I desire to support those conclusions and to say on behalf of the Child Welfare Committee, of which I have been a member from the beginning, how grateful the Committee will be to the Assembly for any encouragement it may offer and for any guidance in its future work.*

*Those who for the last five years have been associated with the Child Welfare Committee and its work realise the League's wisdom in setting up this permanent body for the moral, social and material welfare of children, and in inviting to its discussions not only Government representatives but representatives of the big associations founded in both hemispheres to deal with this great problem, upon which the whole future of the human race depends.*

*In the course of the Committee's discussions, something took place which often happens in everyday life ; strangers may meet in a railway carriage or tramcar and take no notice of one another, may even eye one another askance. But directly a child appears their expression softens, the ice is broken and, strangers though they be, they begin to talk. That is just what has happened among the nations and the bodies which meet at Geneva, and every year, I am glad to say, the fact becomes more noticeable. Moreover, the very experience thus acquired has enabled us gradually to clear the ground covered by the vast programme originally contemplated. The Committee has realised that there is no need for it to interfere too closely with national activities and that certain*

*questions affecting children are the primary concern either of the parents or of the individual States, while there are also other reforms relating to child welfare which call, sometimes imperatively, for international agreements.*

*In this connection, the report of the Fifth Committee, I am glad to see, refers specially to the work being done for the preparation of conventions for the repatriation of minors who have escaped from the authority of their parents or guardians. Such cases are very frequent — more frequent than people realise. Boys and girls escape from the authority of the Juvenile Courts or of their parents or guardians and go abroad, and at present the only way of getting them back, in their own interest, is by means of diplomatic negotiations, so that often the practical difficulties are insurmountable.*

*Another problem which we think calls for international regulation is the execution of judgments relating to maintenance allowances.*

*A further advantage of having this Committee is that it is able to direct the attention of Governments and public opinion to certain problems of child welfare which formerly passed unnoticed. For example, the Committee has urged that the age of marriage and the age of consent in the various countries should be made to coincide as nearly as possible, absolute uniformity being of course impracticable, in view of the diversity of customs and of climatic and ethnographical considerations : the question undoubtedly has an important bearing upon the general problem of the traffic in women.*

*The Committee, we believe, has also done much to increase the standing and assist the progress of institutions such as Juvenile Courts, and of schemes such as the system of family allowances, an admirable social reform introduced in France and elsewhere during the war, with excellent results from the point of view of child welfare and the birth rate. All problems connected with infant welfare and infant hygiene are studied by the Committee. The periodical meetings of the Child Welfare Committee, at which Government representatives and the representatives of all the big international associations are present, afford an excellent opportunity of discussing such problems methodically and really getting down to them, so that these schemes are assured of support and progress.*

*It only remains for me now to repeat that, if you adopt the conclusions of the present report, the Child Welfare Committee will be most grateful to you, in view of the authority attaching to your decision. On behalf of the Belgian delegation, I have to express our grateful thanks to the League for the great services it has already rendered to unhappy and destitute children by means of enquiries which it has itself instituted or encouraged. For are we not all, every one of us, answerable to posterity for the generation that is growing up around us ? These little ones, powerless of themselves, will be what we choose to make them, and their ruin or prosperity will one day be our punishment or our reward.*

#### **The President :**

*Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolution of the Fifth Committee adopted.*

*The resolution was adopted.*

60. — WORK OF THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN COMMITTEE: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Fifth Committee on the work of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee (Annex 5, document A.55.1928.IV).

*(On the invitation of the President, Madame Tilma Hainari, Rapporteur, took her place on the platform.)*

**The President :**

*Translation :* Madame Tilma Hainari, delegate of Finland, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Madame Tilma Hainari (Finland), Rapporteur, read the report of the Fifth Committee and the following draft resolutions :

" I. The Assembly takes note of the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee, thanks the Committee for the good work it has accomplished, and expresses the hope that this work will be continued along the same lines.

" II. The Assembly takes note of the second part of the report of the Special Body of Experts, published in November 1927, and expresses its appreciation of the work done by the Experts and their co-workers. It expresses the hope that it will be possible to extend the investigations to countries where no investigation has taken place before.

" III. The Assembly notes with satisfaction that the Committee has examined the resolution passed by the Assembly at its eighth ordinary session as to ' the desirability of recommending to all Governments the abolition of licensed houses ', and it supports the Committee's request that ' the Governments of all those countries which still retain the licensed-house system will investigate the question as soon as possible in the light of the report made by the Special Body of Experts '.

" IV. The Assembly desires to call attention to the great importance of the employment of women police as a preventive measure."

**The President :**

*Translation :* Mrs. McDonnell, delegate of Australia, will address the Assembly.

**Mrs. McDonnell (Australia) :**

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I desire to thank the Rapporteur, Mme Hainari, for her interesting report on the work of the Fifth Committee with regard to the traffic in women and children. I should like to refer to the fourth resolution before us — that is, that the Assembly desires to call attention to the great importance of the employment of women police as a preventive measure.

On the suggestion of some members of the Fifth Committee, and as a concrete instance of the great value of the employment of women police, I should like, with your permission, to give you a short sketch of the work of women police in South Australia — I speak only for South Australia — work with which I, as a Justice of the Peace, am constantly in touch and which I know to be of great value.

The corps of women police was formed during the war when the need for preventive work was

particularly great. The Police Commissioner and the Government have always recognised its value. The head of the department is a woman responsible directly to the Chief Commissioner of Police. The women police are duly sworn-in constables, having the full powers of men constables, and equal pay. They work the same hours as the men, and are called upon to perform many of the same duties ; but their work is confined to women and girls. One of their duties is to search women, girls and children. They do escort duty and interview and receive complaints from women and children.

The women police patrol all the city streets and public parks and beaches. Girls who have run away and missing women are sought after, found, and befriended. The women police visit music-halls, picture palaces and café concerts ; they work in close co-operation with the passport authorities, and enquiries in this connection are frequently made by them. They watch all advertisements which might be intended for immoral purposes and make enquiries if the agent is at all doubtful ; this work bears particularly on that of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee. The women police take care always of neglected children, and when necessary bring their cases to court. As a whole, their work is preventive and reformatory. Arrests are only made in extreme cases.

As regards the result of the preventive work it is only necessary to say that during the last ten years, in spite of the great increase in the population and the increase in the number of crimes committed by men, there has been no corresponding increase in crime by girls and women in South Australia. Every social worker of standing will testify that this is largely due to the work of the women police.

The women police do not wear uniform, but merely a badge which they wear in an inconspicuous place, and they are absolutely convinced that they can do better work in plain clothes for the following reasons :

(a) They feel that in this way they can approach a girl as a woman and a friend, not as an official of whom she would immediately be afraid and with whom she would therefore be on the defensive. They can more easily create the right atmosphere for good influence without resort to authority or force, although of course, if necessary, their badge enables them to use either.

(b) They are able to keep a better watch on undesirable persons. For instance, a man of loose character may be bestowing unwelcome attentions on a girl or persuading her to go for a motor joy-ride. He would not do so in the presence of a uniformed officer, but would do it elsewhere or wait until the officer had gone. Again, the knowledge that women police may be about, though they cannot be distinguished, makes undesirables of either sex chary of committing improprieties in public places.

Women police in South Australia are being employed in an industrial centre and amongst a shipping community, and have never been subjected to insult or molestation. They go about alone and would greatly deprecate being accompanied by a male officer — firstly, because the woman would not feel free to follow her own plan of action if she knew that she was taking the time of a male officer who would not place the same value upon



the preventive and educational aspect of the work that she felt to be necessary, for example, in talking to a young child or in warning a youth or a girl. Moreover, the administrative authorities would say, perhaps with some reason, that two salaries were being paid for one piece of work.

I might say, in conclusion, that the success of women police largely depends on obtaining the right type of women. They need to be educated, with a broad and tolerant outlook, and experienced and interested in social welfare work.

I know that opinion is divided on the question of uniform versus non-uniform for women police, and it may be that what is suitable in Australia may not be so in other countries, although I noticed with interest in the Minutes of the seventh session of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee that Mile Erkens, the Inspector of Women Police in Germany, was using plain clothes women police, and I have heard from other sources that they are doing excellent work.

As the South Australian system has worked with such outstanding success that it has actually served as a model for other places, it was thought it might be of value to describe it here.

**The President :**

*Translation :* Lord Cushendun, delegate of the British Empire, will address the Assembly.

**Lord Cushendun (British Empire) :**

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I desire to make one or two short observations on this discussion for two reasons. First of all, I desire to emphasise what I consider to be the immense importance of this report of the Fifth Committee and of the subject with which it deals. Secondly, seeing that the Rapporteur on this matter is a lady, and that the only other speaker who has hitherto addressed the Assembly has been a lady, I desire to emphasise as strongly as possible that in my view this is not a matter which concerns women any more than it concerns men. I think that the whole subject discussed in this report is one which the men, as well as the women, who are interested in the work of the League of Nations ought to take into serious consideration, and to which they ought to give the strongest possible support.

There are two points in this report which I think are of special significance. In the first place, we are told that after a careful study by experts of the question relating to the licensed-house system, a unanimous opinion has been given against that system. I feel sure that, in the face of such a recommendation, the Governments concerned will feel it a duty not to leave the matter any longer where it rests at present.

The second point of significance is this. In the report I read that :

“The Fifth Committee agrees with the Advisory Committee as to the necessity of adopting stricter measures against *souteneurs* in order to put a stop to their operations, which are among the main causes of the traffic in women.”

I want to give the strongest possible support to that recommendation on behalf of the British delegation and of the British Government. What-

ever excuses some people may find it necessary to make for human frailty which produces vices of a sexual character, no decent man and no decent woman can have any excuse to make, or any tolerance to extend to those who, for the sake of a money consideration for themselves, stimulate the vices of others and try to promote the temptations which lead to those vices. I think that if there is any objection to be raised to the recommendation which I have read, it is that it is couched in too moderate language — “the necessity of adopting stricter measures”. I think that the people who are referred to in that sentence deserve no mercy, and that every Government should carefully consider whether the laws it administers are sufficiently stringent to prevent these persons, who are the curse of mankind, from carrying on their nefarious operations. I think that in many countries it will probably be found that the penalties for conviction of offences of this sort are far less drastic, far less severe than public opinion would gladly support.

With regard to women police, about whom the honourable delegate for Australia has given us an interesting account, I recall with satisfaction and some pride that I was among the first to support, in the British House of Commons, the proposal to employ women police, at a time when that proposal was so novel in character that it was somewhat difficult to persuade people to take it seriously. I am quite sure that after the experience we have had in England of women police we are not likely to go back on it. On the contrary, experience has proved that the employment of women police is so valuable that public opinion in my country would, I am sure, gladly support an extension of that system and a strengthening of the too small force of women police which we employ at present.

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the draft resolutions of the Fifth Committee which read as follows :

I. *The Assembly takes note of the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee, thanks the Committee for the good work it has accomplished, and expresses the hope that this work will be continued along the same lines.*

II. *The Assembly takes note of the second part of the report of the Special Body of Experts published in November 1927, and expresses its appreciation of the splendid work done by the Experts and their co-workers. It expresses the hope that it will be possible to extend the investigations to countries where no investigation has taken place before.*

III. *The Assembly notes with satisfaction that the Committee has examined the resolution passed by the Assembly at its eighth ordinary session as to “the desirability of recommending to all Governments the abolition of licensed houses”, and it supports the Committee’s request that “the Governments of all those countries which still retain the licensed-house system will investigate the question as soon as possible in the light of the report made by the Special Body of Experts.”*

IV. *The Assembly desires to call attention to the great importance of the employment of women police as a preventive measure.*

*The resolutions were adopted.*

61.—WORK OF THE HEALTH ORGANISATION:  
REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE:  
RESOLUTION.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the report of the Second Committee on the work of the Health Organisation (Annex 6, document A.57(1).1928.III).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Motta, Chairman of the Second Committee and Mr. O'Sullivan, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

**The President :**

*Translation :* Mr. O'Sullivan, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Mr. O'Sullivan (Irish Free State), Rapporteur, read the report of the Second Committee and spoke as follows :

Before reading the draft resolution proposed by the Second Committee, I should like to make a few remarks.

The last paragraph of the report before you contains an appreciation of the work and the methods of the Health Organisation. The report also contains a summarised account of the whole of the work of the Organisation. From this the Assembly can form some idea of the extent of the work done by the Organisation, and can judge of its utility.

I should like to direct attention to two points, which I mention merely as illustrating the method adopted by the Organisation in its work and the gradual extension of that work. I refer, in the first place, to the friendly and extremely useful relations that exist between the various national bodies and the Health Organisation. It is on the efficacy and cordiality of these relations that the success of the Health Organisation depends.

The Health Organisation is to be warmly congratulated, I think, in that it constantly bears this in mind, and is careful never to overstep the limits it has set itself in this respect. It is also to be congratulated on the success that has attended its efforts gradually to marshal all the different national and international institutions in the common work of public health.

The second matter to which I wish to direct your attention is the valuable innovation that has been made this year by the Organisation in undertaking the very difficult investigation into the complicated question of rural hygiene, a matter which hitherto has been altogether too much neglected by the various national bodies. A cursory examination of the mortality figures of different countries will show the importance of this work, and I think we should bear in mind that, in the future, the Health Organisation intends to give a great deal of attention to this type of work.

I have the honour, therefore, to propose the adoption of the following draft resolution :

*The Assembly :*

*Having taken note of the reports (documents A.6.1928 and A.6(a).1928) dealing with the work of the Health Organisation of the League during the past year,*

*Is gratified at these evidences of its increasing utility as an agency for the promotion of international collaboration in matters affecting the public health ;*

*Expresses its appreciation to all the health administrations of the various Governments which have generously collaborated with the Health Organisation in the different branches of its work ;*

*Records its gratitude for the services rendered by the members and experts of all the commissions and conferences of the Health Organisation, as well as the specialists and experts who have carried out individual missions ;*

*Approves the work accomplished by the Health Organisation since the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, and congratulates it on the increasing success of its far-sighted policy of practical collaboration with extra-European countries.*

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolution of the Second Committee adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

62.—SETTLEMENT OF GREEK REFUGEES  
AND GREEK STABILISATION LOAN :  
REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE :  
RESOLUTION.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the report of the Second Committee on the settlement of Greek refugees and the Greek stabilisation loan. (Annex 7, document A.58.1928.II.).

(On the invitation of the President, M. François, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. François, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

**M. François (Netherlands), Rapporteur :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — As M. Heldring, who was Rapporteur to the Second Committee of the Assembly on the settlement of Greek refugees and the Greek stabilisation loan, has now left Geneva, I have the honour, on behalf of the Second Committee, to submit, to the Assembly the report on these two questions. The report has been printed and distributed, so that I do not propose to read it in full, but shall confine myself to making a few observations.

The Second Committee realises the financial and economic importance of Greek refugee settlement and the magnitude of the work which has already been accomplished. Nevertheless, much still remains to be done, both for the urban population, whose settlement is a problem not yet completely solved, and for the agricultural population, whose equipment could in some cases be supplemented so as to enable it to become self-supporting.

As regards financial stabilisation, the Second Committee notes with great satisfaction that the loan was successfully floated and that nothing has occurred to hinder the operation of stabilisation.

I have the honour to propose the following resolution on behalf of the Second Committee :

*The Assembly :*

*Congratulates the Refugee Settlement Commission on the excellent results so far obtained, and trusts that the work which remains to be done may be carried out in the same satisfactory manner ;*

*Expresses its satisfaction at the success of financial stabilisation in Greece and the work of the Financial Committee in this connection.*

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one wishes to speak, I shall regard the resolution of the Second Committee as adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

63. — **SLAVERY CONVENTION : REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.**

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Sixth Committee on the Slavery Convention. (Annex 8, document A.62.1928.VI).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Marin-kovitch, Chairman of the Sixth Committee, and the Rt. Hon. Godfrey Locker-Lampson, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform).

**The President :**

*Translation :* Mr. Locker-Lampson, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

**The Rt. Hon. Godfrey Locker-Lampson** (British Empire), Rapporteur :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Sixth Committee, has done me the honour of appointing me its Rapporteur to the Assembly on the question of Slavery and I venture to preface my report with a very few remarks.

After the war it was generally believed that slavery and the slave trade had died out. Unfortunately, this was a misapprehension and, in proposing to the third ordinary session of the Assembly that the League of Nations should deal with this problem, my friend, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, then acting as a delegate for New Zealand, expressed the horror and dismay felt in all civilised countries at the existence of this most odious of human institutions.

Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland's proposal and the subsequent energetic work of Lord Cecil resulted in the Convention of 1926 which has, I believe, given a great impetus to the complete eradication of this great evil. When the Covenant was drafted it was generally thought that slavery and the slave trade had well-nigh ceased and I assume that it was for this reason that no specific mention of it was made therein. As soon, however, as the representatives of States Members of the League perceived that this blot on our civilisation had not been eliminated they did not hesitate to take the necessary international action. I submit that this is an excellent example of the tasks which are undertaken by the League and pursued unobtrusively, and that it is one which will not be laid down until slavery and conditions analogous thereto are unknown from the mountains of Africa to the plains of Asia.

The report of the Sixth Committee is very short and therefore if I am allowed to do so I should like to read it as it is already in a summarised form.

Mr. Locker-Lampson then read his report and the following draft resolution :

*The Assembly notes the report of the Council regarding slavery (documents A.24.1928.VI and A.24(a).1928.VI) containing communications from the Governments of Great Britain, India, Italy and the Sudan and also notes a list submitted by the Abyssinian delegation.*

*The Assembly hopes that no effort will be spared to furnish similar information in the future, as it is of considerable interest and utility to the States Members of the League.*

*The Assembly notes with satisfaction that the number of ratifications and accessions to the Convention of September 25th, 1926, has appreciably increased since its last session, and expresses the hope that all countries affected by this question will ratify or accede to the Convention in the immediate future.*

**The President :**

*Translation :* As no one has asked to speak, I shall regard the resolution as adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

64. — **MANDATES : REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE : RESOLUTIONS.**

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report on mandates submitted to the Assembly by the Sixth Committee (Annex 9, document A.61.1928.VI).

(On the invitation of the President, Count de Penha Garcia, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform).

**The President :**

*Translation :* Count de Penha Garcia, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

**Count de Penha Garcia** (Portugal), Rapporteur :

*Translation :* Mr. Président, ladies and gentlemen — I have the honour to submit to you the Sixth Committee's report on mandates. The conclusions of this report are both favourable and reassuring. The delicate machinery set up under the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant is working in a manner greatly to the credit of the League.

Thanks to the spirit of co-operation exhibited by the various organs responsible for the application of the mandates system, the work of perfecting the system is now in process of achievement. The Sixth Committee's report makes this abundantly clear, and a tribute is due to the Permanent Mandates Commission, to the Council and to the mandatory Powers.

I should like to emphasise the function and importance of the Assembly as the intermediary of the States and of public opinion in all questions relating to mandates.

Count de Penha Garcia then read his report and the following draft resolution :

*The Assembly :*

*Having taken note of the work accomplished by the mandatory Powers, the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council in execution of Article 22 of the Covenant ;*

*Desires to convey to them its admiration for their continued efforts and for the spirit of co-operation which has characterised their work ; and*

*Trusts that this will always continue to be the case.*

*The Assembly :*

(a) *Expresses the hope that the Permanent Mandates Commission's work on the question of the application of the principle of economic equality will be actively pursued, and that the mandatory Powers will supply all the information requested ;*

(b) *Hopes that the study of the question of the liquor traffic will, with the help of the mandatory Powers, lead to effective results ;*

(c) *Expresses the opinion that it is desirable that the mandatory Powers should furnish and keep up to date all the particulars necessary to complete the statistical tables already compiled by the Secretariat.*

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolutions as adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

**65. — PLAN FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES IN THE REPUBLIC OF ERIVAN: REPORT OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE: REFERENCE TO THE SIXTH COMMITTEE.**

**The President :**

*Translation :* The Assembly will remember that this morning the question submitted by the Council concerning the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan was referred to the Agenda Committee.

I should like to thank the Committee for responding so promptly to our request. Thanks to its despatch, I am now in a position to communicate its report, which is as follows :

“The Agenda Committee met on September 18th, 1928, with Dr. Ramon Caballero in the chair. It examined the resolution of September 17th, 1928, by which the Council decided to submit to the Assembly for examination the

question of the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan.

“The Agenda Committee, having submitted this question to a preliminary examination, decided to propose that the Assembly should include it in the agenda of the present session and refer it to the Sixth Committee.”

The Committee proposes then that the question of the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan be placed on the agenda of the present session of the Assembly and be referred for preliminary examination to the Sixth Committee.

If there is no objection, I shall consider the Agenda Committee's proposals accepted by the Assembly. The question is accordingly placed on the agenda of the present session and will be referred to the Sixth Committee for preliminary examination.

*This proposal was adopted.*

*The Assembly rose at 12.35 p.m.*

**FOURTEENTH PLENARY MEETING**

**Thursday, September 20th, 1928, at 10 a.m.**

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**President : M. ZAHLE.**

**66. — CONSTRUCTION OF AN ASSEMBLY HALL, OF NEW BUILDINGS FOR THE USE OF THE SECRETARIAT AND OF A LIBRARY : PROPOSAL BY THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY.**

**The President :**

*Translation :* Before beginning the agenda, I have a communication to make to the Assembly on behalf of the General Committee.

At its meeting on September 3rd, 1928, the Assembly decided that certain items on the agenda of the present session should be referred to the General Committee for preliminary examination. Among these items was No. 9: “Construction of an Assembly Hall, of New Buildings for the use of the Secretariat, and of a Library: Report of the Committee of Five appointed to select a Plan.”

The Assembly, in accordance with my proposal, requested the General Committee to submit suggestions as to the procedure to be followed for the examination of this item:

Owing to circumstances, the Committee of Five has not yet been able to submit a final report to the Assembly, and the General Committee accordingly thought it inexpedient to take a decision on the procedure to be followed. In order to prevent any loss of time, however, the General Committee, having learnt that the Committee of Five would shortly be presenting its report to the Assembly, decided at its meeting on September 19th to propose that this report should be referred directly to the Fourth Committee.

The General Committee proposes, then, that the report of the Committee of Five be referred without further formality to the Fourth Committee for preliminary examination before being submitted to the Assembly.

I may add that there is no need to refer it to the Agenda Committee, as the item in question is included in the original agenda of the Assembly.

If there is no objection, I shall consider this procedure adopted. (*Adopted.*)

67. — QUESTION OF THE REVISION OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE : REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.

The President :

*Translation* : The first item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the First Committee on the question of the revision of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice (Annex 10, document A.59.1928.V).

(*On the invitation of the President, M. Erich, Vice-Chairman of the First Committee, and M. Cassin, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.*)

The President :

*Translation* : M. Cassin, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Cassin (France), Rapporteur :

*Translation* : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Twenty-four delegations, including the French delegation, submitted to the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations a draft resolution with a view to drawing the Council's attention to the advisability of submitting to the next ordinary session of the Assembly proposals for the revision of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, with a view to the introduction of such amendments as may be judged desirable before the general renewal of the terms of office of the members of the Permanent Court.

The First Committee, to which this draft resolution was referred, unanimously appreciated the prudence and foresight underlying the proposal. Neither France nor any of the other Powers signatories to the Statute of the Court would have dreamt for an instant of taking any step inconsistent with the profoundest respect for the authority of the Court. That institution is unique in that it is the first judicial body ever constituted for the settlement of inter-State disputes, with judges appointed in advance and the machinery and procedure of a regular tribunal.

France, moreover, could never have supported any measure implying disrespect in regard to the Statute of the Court at the very time when the election of Mr. Moore's successor has shown how easily and smoothly the Statute works, and when the President of the Assembly has just paid such a warm tribute to the memory of M. André Weiss, who had acted as Vice-President of the International Court since its creation. It was my privilege to be a pupil of M. Weiss, who was not only an enthusiastic student and teacher of law but also served the cause of law and administered justice with absolute impartiality.

In full agreement with the authors of the resolution, the First Committee now has the honour to submit to the Assembly a draft resolution.

The text of this has already been distributed to the delegations, so that it only remains for me to say a few words regarding the expediency of the resolution, its contents, and the procedure contemplated for the re-examination of the Statute of the Court.

First, as regards its expediency, the Council, as you are aware, was empowered under Article 14 of the Covenant to prepare the Statute of the Permanent Court and submit it to the Members of the Assembly, by whom it was adopted on December 13th, 1920.

A Protocol was subsequently drawn up and left open for signature and ratification, and in virtue of this Protocol, the Statute, which was annexed to it, became a regular international treaty.

Since then the Statute, which had been very carefully prepared, has not been amended in the slightest particular — unlike the Rules of Court, which were revised in 1926.

We have now reached the year 1928, and the Permanent Court of International Justice has been established for several years. It has delivered a number of judgments; it has given weighty advisory opinions on a great variety of questions concerning many different nations. Its scope of action, at first small, has gradually been extended, and the number of cases submitted to it is on the increase. In other words, the Statute of the Court, taken as a whole, has proved its usefulness, but it is now being subjected to searching and repeated tests.

Now, after eight years have elapsed, the First Committee was unanimously of the opinion that it would be useful to do as regards the Statute just what the Court itself has already done as regards its Rules, namely, to consider carefully, dispassionately and with infinite caution whether it may not be expedient to modify or amend some of the sixty-four Articles of which the Statute is composed.

An examination appears all the more expedient because, in 1930, it will be necessary to renew the term of office of the members of the Court. It would be undesirable for any examination of the Statute to coincide with that event and still more undesirable that it should take place immediately after the elections.

In the interests of the States entitled to appear before the Court, and in order to avoid any suggestion of personal issues, the Committee thought it desirable, and the Assembly will doubtless share its view, to propose that the Statute of the Court should be examined in 1929, so that any amendments deemed advisable may be adopted before the 1930 elections.

As regards the resolution itself, you will notice that neither in it nor in the original proposal is there the slightest suggestion of any amendment or modification in regard to the substance of the procedures of international law. This was intentional, and the omission is due first to natural consideration for the prestige of the Court and a desire to avoid the slightest suggestion of criticism in regard to an institution which the present generation, the peoples who have suffered from the war and its effects, regard as the highest expression of their faith in the establishment of the reign of justice on earth.

The stability of the judicial system is considered by any society which has acquired the status of a nation to be the soundest of guarantees for all whom the law may touch. The fact that the League is a recent creation, a rapidly growing

institution, does not call for any very different rules. The essential thing is that the States should have confidence in a judicial tribunal which has been evolved after long tentative efforts, that we should establish sound bases for international jurisprudence, which, like any other system of jurisprudence, should have continuity.

It is all the more important not to interfere with the framework of an established institution in that a large number of States have already concluded treaties agreeing beforehand to submit their international disputes to the jurisdiction of the Court, or even treaties which are actually based on the Statute of the Court.

Accordingly, there can be no question of anything that might indirectly affect the execution of such agreements. Moreover, one State which is a signatory to the 1920 Protocol has left the League — though only temporarily, let us hope.

Other important States are not Members either of the League or of the Permanent Court, and everything must be done to permit of their acceding at all events to the latter. In any case, we must take care not to do anything that might endanger the results of past efforts, anything that might mean a set-back after the progress we have made since the 1926 Conference.

There is a further purpose in the cautious wording of the resolution, and that is, to prevent an extempore debate on the suggestions which would undoubtedly have come pouring in and which it would have been a delicate matter to discuss.

Amendments designed to facilitate the work of the Court and to improve the conditions governing that work would first have to be recognised as necessary, but even so they would still require unanimous agreement, and would then have to be put into force without loss of time. This would never become feasible if we were to start discussing fundamental issues or rashly venture to tamper with the essential features of the Court.

Accordingly, the Committee agreed unanimously in the first place that it could not interfere in any way in the question of the Rules of Court. That is a matter for the Court itself, and as a large number — in fact, practically all — of the Rules relate to procedure, they obviously cannot be affected by any examination of the Statute.

Again, in view of the intentionally restricted, scope of the French proposal, as defined not only by M. Fromageot but by the delegates of other nations, we could not accept the proposal submitted by Professor Pella, the Roumanian delegate, with the object of conferring on the Permanent Court certain powers in penal matters. Professor Pella's suggestions covered a number of important new points, such as international penal responsibility in the case of offences by individuals against public order and international morality. They also dealt with the settlement by the Court of disputes between States relating to judicial competence and criminal law, and, lastly, the repression of crimes and offences under common law, which in some cases cannot be referred to any existing national court, either because the scene of the crime is unknown or because there is a conflict of views as to sovereignty over the territory in which it was committed.

The Committee fully realised the importance of these questions of competence. It was of opinion, however, that it could not itself examine them thoroughly or even suggest to the Assembly that their examination should be appended to the rest of the proposal concerning the Statute of the Court.

The present proposal is too restricted for this, and as the penal problem raised by our distinguished colleague, M. Pella, is now under consideration by various learned associations, the delegations which are interested in the question could submit concrete proposals to the Assembly at a later session, when they consider that the time is ripe and that they have a sufficient body of opinion behind them.

As you will see, then, there is no question of re-casting the Statute of the Court or of actually revising it. All we are proposing is that it should be examined with a view to remedying such defects as experience may have brought to light, and introducing amendments which could be effected by general agreement without undue delay.

I wish now to say a few words with regard to procedure. After the exhaustive discussions at the Conference of September 1926, when the Signatories of the Protocol of the Statute of the Permanent Court met to examine the American reservations, which implied an addition to that Statute, no delegation questions the League's competence to recommend and formulate amendments, just as it prepared the original plan for the establishment of the Court; but it is agreed that any such amendments would become valid only after they have been submitted for examination to each of the signatory States, since, when all is said and done, a treaty is involved, and the final decision must rest with the signatory States.

In view of the above considerations, it appeared to the Committee unnecessary to determine whether in law the League's authority was based upon Article 14 of the Covenant, under which the initial draft Statute of the Court was formulated, or whether it could be claimed in virtue of the powers of organs of the League in regard to questions of general interest.

Accordingly no time was spent in discussing what is after all a purely theoretical question. We agreed unanimously as regards the procedure to be followed, or at all events the main lines of the procedure, namely, that the attention of the Council should be drawn to the question of examining the Statute of the Court, in order that its suggestions might be submitted to the Assembly, and that after approval by the latter any amendments should be submitted to the signatory States, whether Members of the League or not.

If the Council agrees as to the expediency of our proposal, what steps will it take with a view to this examination? The draft resolution does not give any definite instructions on this point, or on the others I have mentioned.

The Committee is confident that the Council, which already gained experience when preparing the Statute in 1920, will have no difficulty in determining how best to carry out a careful and thorough examination with all possible despatch.

Without prejudice to its right to consult persons qualified to assist it, the Council will be able to apply to the Court for information; and, in particular, the body instructed to examine the articles relating to the working of the Court will doubtless, as a matter of courtesy and of general expediency, make a point of requesting the Court, through the President or his duly appointed representative, to give it the benefit of any information and suggestions arising out of the Court's experience.

States which do not at present send representatives to Geneva but are signatories to the Protocol should also be given the opportunity of offering suggestions and opinions.

In any case, I repeat, no suggestions and no definite instructions can be given to the Council.

If this examination is conducted prudently, as we trust it may be, it seems likely that any amendments that the Council may consider necessary will readily secure the assent of all the States Members of the League, and that the procedure of ratification by each State will be effected without difficulty within two years from the present session of the Assembly, that is to say, before the ordinary session of the Assembly to be held in 1930, which, concurrently with the Council, will have to re-elect the members of the Court.

When the members of the Court take their seats, they will, we hope, have an even more efficient instrument to assist them in the performance of their duties, which are steadily growing heavier.

The League Assembly has always considered that one of the surest ways of promoting peace is to encourage the nations to have confidence in the judicial settlement of their disputes. Their confidence must inevitably be strengthened if, thanks to the increasing stabilisation of international law, and thanks to some slight amendments to the Statute of the Court, unanimously accepted and judiciously introduced from time to time, as occasion offers, we can facilitate the difficult task of those who may be called upon to fulfil the momentous duty of administering justice to the nations.

The First Committee has the honour, therefore, to propose that the Assembly should adopt the following draft resolutions :

“ The Assembly :

“ Considering the ever-increasing number of matters referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice ;

“ Deeming it advisable that, before the renewal of the term of office of the members of the Court in 1930, the present provisions of the Statute of the Court should be examined with a view to the introduction of any amendments which experience may show to be necessary :

“ Draws the Council's attention to the advisability of proceeding, before the renewal of the term of office of the members of the Permanent Court of International Justice, to the examination of the Statute of the Court with a view to the introduction of such amendments as may be judged desirable and to submitting the necessary proposals to the next ordinary session of the Assembly.”

We trust that the Legal Committee's proposals will be ratified by the Assembly.

**The President :**

*Translation :* Count Carton de Wiart, delegate of Belgium, will address the Assembly.

**Count Carton de Wiart (Belgium) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Belgian delegation entirely agrees with M. René Cassin's sound and learned commentary on his own report.

M. Cassin referred in his explanation to a question which was raised during the discussion in the First Committee, namely, the attribution of a certain jurisdiction in penal matters to the Permanent Court of International Justice. I understand and I agree with the reasons that led the Committee to decide not to retain for consideration at present, even incidentally, so vast and grave a problem, and one which undoubtedly extends the scope of the proposal referred to it. It would, however, be quite wrong

to assume from this decision that the problem has been summarily ruled out and does not call for any special consideration from the representatives of the different countries.

The question is by no means a new one. The League Council considered a report on the subject from M. Caclamanos in 1920, and decided to adjourn the matter until various learned societies had gone fully into the problem. In response to an invitation, these societies undertook, and have since 1920 been engaged on, an exhaustive examination of the question. In the first place, a learned study was submitted to the Institute of International Law by M. de Lapradelle ; later, the International Law Association examined a scheme drawn up by M. Bellot. More recently the International Association of Penal Law discussed a scheme drawn up by M. V. Pella. Nor must we forget the Inter-Parliamentary Union for Peace and Arbitration, which, at its meetings held at Berne in 1924 and Washington in 1925, pronounced in favour of organising some kind of international criminal jurisdiction. Collective work has been facilitated, prepared or supplemented to a large extent by other valuable publications. I would refer in particular to works by M. Pella, Professor of the University of Jassy, by M. Donnedieu de Vabres, Professor at the Faculty of Law of Paris ; and I must also mention the studies of M. Megalos Calojanni, Counsellor to the Egyptian Mixed Tribunals.

From the technical point of view, the problem has thus been brought nearer maturity :

It is only necessary to consider the questions that might be submitted to international jurisdiction to realise what an advance a tribunal of this kind would represent. An international court could take cognisance of the revision of judgments pronounced by the courts of different countries which have acquired the force of *res judicata* and are incompatible with one another. It could also be made competent to judge individuals who have committed offences, crimes or misdemeanours which could not feasibly be brought before the courts of an individual country.

The problem might even be extended to include jurisdiction over the liability not only of individuals but of certain corporate bodies, if not of the States themselves, in certain cases where international law, public law, or international morality has been violated.

These weighty matters can, of course, only be cursorily touched upon here. Those who follow the scientific evolution of penal law hold that, despite the fidelity of every State to the sacrosanct principle of sovereignty, the present tendency — which is likely to persist — is towards the voluntary restriction of sovereignty in certain directions and the realisation of a duty which, it is becoming increasingly emphasised, is incumbent on all peoples — the duty of not thwarting or opposing each other but of striving to regulate their mutual relations.

I welcome the opportunity afforded by the report to acknowledge the value of the scientific researches being carried out in this domain and to emphasise the great interest which the Belgian delegation attaches to the study of the question.

We trust that the day is not far distant when the League of Nations will proceed to examine the important schemes drawn up by jurists and learned societies and will itself employ them as a basis for discussions of a more general and even more authoritative character.

At this point all I wish to say by way of conclusion is that the question is still quite open, and

that in view of the studies produced during the last few years it calls for increasing attention on the part of jurists and statesmen alike.

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolution of the First Committee which reads as follows :

*The Assembly :*

*Considering the ever-increasing number of matters referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice :*

*Deeming it advisable that, before the renewal of the term of office of the members of the Court in 1930, the present provisions of the Statute of the Court should be examined with a view to the introduction of any amendments which experience may show to be necessary ;*

*Draws the Council's attention to the advisability of proceeding, before the renewal of the term of office of the members of the Permanent Court of International Justice, to the examination of the Statute of the Court with a view to the introduction of such amendments as may be judged desirable, and to submitting the necessary proposals to the next ordinary session of the Assembly.*

*The resolution was adopted.*

**68. — WORK OF THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE :  
REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE :  
RESOLUTION.**

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Second Committee on the work of the Financial Committee (Annex 11, document A.65.1928.II).

*(On the invitation of the President, M. Motta, Chairman of the Second Committee, and M. Suvich, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)*

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Suvich, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Suvich (Italy), Rapporteur, read his report and the following draft resolution :

*The Assembly takes note of and expresses its satisfaction with the work of the Financial Committee.*

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one else wishes to speak, I shall regard the resolution proposed by the Second Committee as adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

**69. — SETTLEMENT OF BULGARIAN REFUGEES  
AND BULGARIAN STABILISATION LOAN :  
REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE :  
RESOLUTION.**

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Second Committee on the settlement of Bulgarian refugees and the Bulgarian stabilisation loan (Annex 12, document A.70.1928.II).

*(On the invitation of the President, the Honourable Philippe Roy, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)*

**The President :**

*Translation :* Mr. Roy, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly :

**Mr. Roy (Canada), Rapporteur :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have the honour to submit to the Assembly, on behalf of the Second Committee, the latter's report on the settlement of Bulgarian refugees and the Bulgarian stabilisation loan.

I have only a few remarks to add to the report which has been distributed.

The work of settling the refugees has continued during the past year with every success. There were certain difficulties at the outset, but these were soon settled. Of a total of 33,000 families, only 3,000 or 4,000 have not yet received land holdings. Thanks to the technical advice of the Health Section of the Secretariat and to the co-operation of the Rockefeller Foundation, to which we desire to express our gratitude, the Bulgarian health authorities have set to work to combat malaria. The work is being carried out under the able and devoted direction of our Commissioner, M. Charron, and of the Chief of the Bulgarian Services, M. Sarafov, and is not only of a highly humanitarian character; but deserves our special attention in connection with the economic stabilisation and general pacification of the country.

This work has been followed by a plan for financial restoration and the stabilisation of the currency, which has been drawn up with the co-operation of the Financial Committee. The principles on which this scheme is based have already been published and are known to you all; in the main they are the same as those which have already been successfully applied in previous cases.

The plan requires a loan of £5,000,000, which will be issued shortly. This sum is to be used for the liquidation of budget arrears, the partial reduction of the State debt to the National Bank, with a view to stabilising the lev, and the reorganisation of the National Bank; it will also be devoted to strengthening the position of the Agricultural Bank and of the Central Co-operative Bank, to the construction of roads and railways and also to meeting the expenditure entailed by the earthquake which laid waste part of Bulgaria during the spring of 1928. In this connection, I would like to assure the Bulgarian Government that this catastrophe has earned for Bulgaria the sympathy of the whole world.

As the report states, the preparation of the present scheme has been the main achievement of the Financial Committee during the past year. The Committee and the Bulgarian Government are to be congratulated on having made one more valuable contribution to the progressive financial and economic stabilisation of Europe, with all its important consequences in promoting a sense of political security and pacification.

On behalf of the Second Committee, I have the honour to propose that the Assembly should adopt the following resolution :

*The Assembly :*

(a) *Notes with satisfaction the progress of the refugee work under the able direction of the Commissioner of the League and the Bulgarian authorities, to whom it expresses its appreciation of their work. The progress thus made confirms the Assembly's appreciation of the social and political importance of this work ;*

(b) *Takes note of the stabilisation scheme involving the issue of a loan of £5,000,000 sterling to be devoted to the repayment of the State debt to the National Bank in connection with the stabilisation of the currency, to strengthening the position of the Agricultural Bank and the Central Co-operative Bank, the liquidation of*



budget arrears, the construction of certain roads and railways, and work in connection with the damage caused by the earthquakes which ravaged parts of Bulgaria during the spring of 1928;

(c) Congratulates the Financial Committee and the Bulgarian Government for having, in the preparation of this scheme, made one more valuable contribution to the progressive, financial and economic stabilisation of Europe, and expresses the hope that the issue of the loan necessary for the execution of the scheme may meet with complete success.

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one else wishes to speak, I shall regard the resolution proposed by the Second Committee as adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

**70. — RELATIONS BETWEEN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND INSTITUTES OR BODIES SET UP UNDER ITS AUTHORITY : REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.**

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the report of the Second Committee on the relations between the League of Nations and institutes or bodies set up under its authority (Annex 13, document A.71.1928.XII).

*(On the invitation of the President, Dr. Breitscheid, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)*

**The President :**

*Translation :* Dr. Breitscheid, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

**Dr. Breitscheid (Germany), Rapporteur :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have the honour to submit to the Assembly the report of the Second Committee on the relations between the League of Nations and institutes or bodies set up under its authority.

The Assembly will doubtless remember that in September 1927 it invited the Council to submit a report on this subject. That was the report which was laid before the Second Committee. It treats exhaustively of both aspects of the question. It deals first with the application of the main principles to be followed in placing international bureaux under the direction of the League, that is, with the application of Article 24 of the Covenant, and, secondly, with the general rules which might in the future govern the acceptance of international institutes by the League.

The Second Committee is in full agreement with the principle established by the Council for the application of Article 24, and is convinced that the guiding lines laid down by the Council constitute a solid foundation for fruitful co-operation between the League and the international bureaux as contemplated in the Covenant. These bodies would function more or less as extensions of the League itself. The League would supervise the execution of the work entrusted to these bodies.

The Second Committee similarly approved the rules, set out in the second part of the report, which might govern the acceptance of international institutes offered to the League. These rules are based upon the fundamental principle that "the object of the institute must come within the sphere of activity of the League of Nations, the institute serving as a working instrument."

The adoption of this principle appeared to be advantageous in that it affords a definite solution of the question and precludes all risk of misunderstanding.

The other rules contained in this part of the Council's report are supported by precedents, that is to say, the procedures and statutes adopted at the time of the creation of the Paris and Rome Institutes which were offered to the League by the French and Italian Governments respectively.

The Second Committee, however, thought it desirable to make two amendments to the second part of the Council's report. These refer to the necessity of the Governing Body of the Institute meeting at regular intervals, and provide that the nomination of members both to the Governing Body and the higher staff shall be made without distinction of sex and should take into account the international character of the Institute.

As it has approved the Council's report in its entirety with these two modifications, the Second Committee feels justified in proposing the following draft resolution :

*The Assembly,  
Having taken note of the report adopted by the Council on the question of the relations between the League of Nations and institutes or bodies set up under its authority :*

*Approves the rules embodied in that report for the application of Article 24 of the Covenant and for the acceptance of international institutes offered to the League by Governments. The modifications made in that report by the Second Committee of the Assembly are also approved.*

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one else desires to speak, I shall regard the resolution proposed by the Second Committee as adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

**71. — RESOLUTION OF THE COMMITTEE ON ARBITRATION AND SECURITY REGARDING M. RUTGERS' MEMORANDUM ON ARTICLES 10, 11 AND 16 OF THE COVENANT : REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.**

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Third Committee on the resolution of the Committee on Arbitration and Security regarding M. Rutgers' memorandum on Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant (Annex 14, document A.63.1928.IX).

*(On the invitation of the President, Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Third Committee and M. Politis, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)*

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Politis, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

**M. Politis (Greece), Rapporteur :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have the honour to lay before you the result of the Third Committee's examination of the work done by the Committee on Arbitration and Security in connection with Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant.

Under the resolution of September 26th, 1927, in pursuance of which it was decided to appoint the Committee on Arbitration and Security, that Committee was asked to consider the measures

necessary, for increasing the guarantees of arbitration and security which would enable States to reduce their effectives and armaments to the utmost possible extent.

In accordance with the resolution of September 26th, this enquiry was to be threefold, one of its objects being the systematic preparation of the machinery to be employed by the organs of the League with a view to enabling its Members to carry out their obligations under the Covenant.

It was this third task which included the study of the articles of the Covenant. The Committee decided to begin with the study of Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant as being the ones which had hitherto most engaged the attention of the organs and the Members of the League.

My distinguished colleague, M. Rutgers, delegate of the Netherlands, was requested to make a preliminary study of the texts of these articles, and he submitted a very important memorandum, which the Committee took as the basis of its work.

This memorandum gave rise to a general discussion, in the course of which two points of view became manifest regarding the degree of security provided by the Covenant. According to one of these, the Covenant gives a considerable amount of security, which must not be overlooked. According to the other, this security cannot be considered as adequate, on the ground that the guarantees it provides are indefinite in principle and uncertain in application.

The Committee on Arbitration and Security endeavoured to reconcile these two points of view in a general resolution to the effect: (1) that the Covenant undoubtedly provides a measure of security, and that the conscientious application of its provisions can in most cases prevent war; (2) that the efficacy of the provisions of the Covenant as a preventive measure is all the greater because that instrument does not provide any rigid code of procedure or measures to be adopted by the Council of the League, and that it is therefore better not to attempt to draw up an exhaustive list of measures to be taken by the Council for preserving international peace; (3) for those States which feel the need for more effective and additional guarantees of security, one of the most practical means which can be recommended, besides the development of pacific procedure, is the conclusion of security pacts with other States in the same geographical area.

After this general examination of the problem, the Committee on Arbitration and Security proceeded to a detailed discussion of M. Rutgers' memorandum, and adopted a resolution the terms of which express the various shades of opinion which had been revealed in the course of the debate.

The Third Committee adopted this resolution of the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and merely added a final paragraph, of which I shall speak later. The resolution is thus submitted to you in its completed form. A few observations only are necessary to emphasise its real scope, and I shall make my remarks as brief as possible, grouping them under four heads.

In the first place, it is necessary to emphasise the fact that the main and essential purpose of the League is to prevent war, and that, of all the provisions of the Covenant, Article 11 would appear to be by no means the least important in this respect. In comparison with Article 16, it has a special significance from three points of view: first, as regards chronological order, since the Council, in dealing with an international crisis, must apply Article 11 before Article 16; secondly, Article 11 is important because it is undeniably far better to prevent war than to stop

it: lastly, the full and conscientious application of the procedure laid down in Article 11 facilitates the application, where necessary, of the procedure of Article 16. It enables the Council to follow the various phases of an international dispute, to observe the respective attitudes of the parties in conflict, and to take into account the help they give the Council in the fulfilment of its duty of conciliation and pacification. By observing their respective attitudes, the Council, when it applies Article 11, can obtain the evidence necessary to enable it to decide, with a view to applying Article 16, which of the two parties is responsible for the outbreak of hostilities. In other words, it enables all the necessary information to be collected for determining, should the case arise, which party is the aggressor.

Secondly, as regards Articles 10 and 16 of the Covenant, the Committee had to define the terms "aggression" in Article 10 and "resort to war" in Article 16.

M. Rutgers and certain members of the Committee on Arbitration and Security were of the opinion that a hard-and-fast definition of these terms would be very difficult and, even if possible, would be very dangerous, for the very rigidity of such a definition might conceivably lead the Council into a premature application of the sanctions prescribed by Article 16.

This opinion, however, was not general. The Committee on Arbitration and Security, in the resolution which has been adopted by the Third Committee and is now submitted for your approval, merely noted these difficulties, and states, in paragraph 3, that it "considers that the information concerning the question of the criteria of aggression contained in the Committee's documents usefully summarises the studies made by the Assembly and Council and the provisions of certain treaties."

Thirdly, with special reference to Article 16 and the preparation of military sanctions, M. Rutgers and certain members of the Committee held that it was not advisable to encourage such preparation, as it might hinder the development of mutual confidence between States, and that in any case this preparation should only be undertaken conjointly, and parallel with the development of pacific procedure and a general agreement regarding the limitation and reduction of armaments.

Here again a difference of opinion was disclosed in the Committee. Several States expressed, through their delegates, the opinion that the preparation of military sanctions constitutes an additional guarantee of security, since States which feared that they might become victims of aggression were anxious that the help promised under Article 16 should be given with the requisite promptitude and efficacy.

Here again, the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and the Third Committee also, merely made a plain statement of the position, and did not take up a definite view. The last two paragraphs but one of the resolution read as follows:

"Takes note of the suggestions concerning Article 16 contained in the Committee's documents relative to the study of the articles of the Covenant:

"Recommends to the Council the studies in question as a useful piece of work which, without proposing a hard-and-fast procedure in time of emergency, and without adding to or detracting from the rights and duties of the Members of the League, provides valuable indications as to the possibilities offered by the different articles of the Covenant, and as to the way in which

they may be applied, without prejudice to the different modes of procedure which the infinite variety of possible eventualities may render necessary in practice."

My last observation is this: the Committee on Arbitration and Security, when instructed by the resolution of September 26th, 1927, to undertake the examination of the articles of the Covenant, was obliged to make a selection among the articles, and it began with Articles 10, 11 and 16, the purport of which I have just explained; but it certainly did not intend thereby to preclude a subsequent survey of other articles of the Covenant, more particularly Articles 13, 15 and 17.

In the course of its work, and especially during its discussion of Article 13, the Committee had occasion to appreciate the particular importance, for the development of compulsory arbitration, of the final provision of that article, which lays down that the Council shall propose what steps shall be taken to give effect to any award that may be rendered.

The Committee wished to emphasise the importance of pursuing this study of the Covenant, and accordingly invites you at the end of its resolution to recommend that a study should be undertaken of the other articles of the Covenant, the conscientious and full application of which offers special guarantees of security.

As a result of this recommendation, the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, of which the Committee on Arbitration and Security is a subsidiary organ, will call upon the Committee on Arbitration and Security to continue the study of the articles of the Covenant, in order to complete the systematic preparation, mentioned in the resolution adopted by the Assembly last year, of the machinery to be employed with a view to enabling the Members to perform their obligations under the various articles of the Covenant.

The continuation of this study of the articles of the Covenant is desirable for two reasons. In the first place, it will enable us to appreciate better and better the endless resources afforded by the provisions of the Covenant, if they are conscientiously applied and carefully observed, as the means of ensuring the peace of the world by the application, directly or indirectly, of a complete series of measures for the prevention of war. Secondly, it will bring out more and more clearly the necessity for completing by supplementary agreements, concluded within the framework of the Covenant and in harmony with its spirit, the guarantees which the Covenant provides, and which, for reasons exhaustively examined by the Committee, do not as yet appear to be sufficiently complete or effective.

In view of the above considerations, I have the honour, on behalf of the Third Committee, to propose the following draft resolution:

*The Assembly:*

*Having noted the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security in regard to Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant,*

*Appreciates the great importance of the work done to apply the provisions in question;*

*Considers that the information concerning the question of the criteria of aggression contained in the Committee's documents usefully summarises the studies made by the Assembly and the Council and the provisions of certain treaties;*

*Recalls, in particular, that the action to be taken by the Council under Article 11 and other articles of the Covenant in the case of a conflict will provide it with important elements of appreciation likely to facilitate the determination of the aggressor in the event of war breaking out in spite of every effort;*

*Considers that the study of Article 11 of the Covenant, which stipulates that the League "shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations", forms the natural counterpart of the study undertaken by the Committee of the Council and approved by the Council on December 6th, 1927, on the Assembly's recommendation, and, without detracting from the value of the other articles of the Covenant, brings into prominence the fact that the League's first task is to forestall war, and that, in all cases of armed conflict or of threats of armed conflict, of whatever nature, it must take action to prevent hostilities or to stop hostilities which have already begun;*

*Takes note of the suggestions concerning Article 16 contained in the Committee's documents relative to the study of the articles of the Covenant;*

*Recommends to the Council the studies in question as a useful piece of work which, without proposing a hard-and-fast procedure in time of emergency, and without adding to or detracting from the rights and duties of the Members of the League, provides valuable indications as to the possibilities offered by the different articles of the Covenant, and as to the way in which they may be applied, without prejudice to the different modes of procedure which the infinite variety of possible eventualities may render necessary in practice;*

*In conclusion, recommends that a study should be undertaken of the other articles of the Covenant the conscientious and full application of which offers special guarantees of security.*

**The President:**

*Translation:* If no one wishes to speak, I shall regard the resolution proposed by the Third Committee as adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

## 72. — PREPARATION OF A DRAFT CONVENTION ON THE PRIVATE MANUFACTURE AND PUBLICITY OF THE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND OF IMPLEMENTS OF WAR: REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

**The President:**

*Translation:* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the Third Committee's report on the framing of a draft convention on the private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war (Annex 15, document A.68.1928.IX).

*(On the invitation of the President, M. Guerrero, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)*

**The President:**

*Translation:* M. Guerrero, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

**M. Guerrero (Salvador), Rapporteur:**

*Translation:* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The report which the Third Committee is submitting to the Assembly reviews the work of the Special Commission appointed by the Assembly at its last ordinary session, to prepare in a single text a convention on the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war.

The Special Commission did not succeed in drawing up a single text. At its recent session fundamental differences of opinion were disclosed, and that is why the main purpose of the resolution now submitted to the Assembly by the Committee is to arrange for the preliminary work required to reconcile these differences.

The resolution is as follows :

*The Assembly :*

*Having taken note of the report and preliminary draft convention drawn up by the Special Commission appointed to prepare a draft convention on the supervision of the private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war ;*

*Observing that the Commission has not yet found it possible to submit a single final text as desired by the Assembly, although the Commission agreed that the principle of publicity should extend to Government manufactures ;*

*Affirming the urgent necessity for drawing up a convention which, while placing non-producing and producing countries on an equal footing, would facilitate the ratification of the Convention of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War, signed at Geneva on June 17th, 1925 ;*

*Referring to its successive resolutions passed at each of its previous ordinary sessions, beginning with the first session in 1920, in which resolutions it has constantly urged the importance of the problem of the manufacture of arms and the necessity for convening a conference as speedily as possible ;*

*Confirming the fact that a connection exists between the general question of the reduction and limitation of armaments and the question of the international trade in arms and also of that of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war ;*

*Requests the Council to make an appeal, at its present session, to the Governments represented on the Special Commission to examine carefully the differences of view revealed during the last session of the Commission, and to consider calling another meeting of the Commission before the next Council session, in order that the work of the Commission may be completed as soon as possible and submitted to a special conference, which would meet either at the same time as the General Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments or at an earlier date.*

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolution proposed by the Third Committee as adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

**73. — MODEL TREATY TO STRENGTHEN THE MEANS OF PREVENTING WAR : REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.**

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Third Committee on the model treaty to strengthen the means for preventing war (Annex 16, document A.67.1928.IX).

*(On the invitation of the President, M. Rolin-Jaequemyns, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)*

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Rolin-Jaequemyns, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

**M. Rolin-Jaequemyns (Belgium), Rapporteur :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I am laying before you, on behalf of the Third Committee, a report on a model treaty drawn up by the Committee on Arbitration and Security and a draft resolution approving that model treaty.

As you know from the documents which have been circulated, and as I point out in the Third Committee's report, this draft text is the outcome of certain suggestions submitted to the Committee on Arbitration and Security by the German delegation, and these suggestions form the actual basis of the model treaty now before you.

As indicated in the report and explained in greater detail in the introductory note which accompanies the model treaty and sets forth all the points discussed by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, the German suggestions have not been incorporated in their entirety in the present text, which is intended to form the draft Convention to strengthen the means for preventing war.

There were three points in particular — they are mentioned in the report — about which the Committee on Arbitration and Security felt doubtful.

One is whether it should be specially stipulated that the Council, when it decides to make certain recommendations designed to prevent war in the event of a dispute, has the right specifically to order the restoration of the normal military *status quo*. The reason why the Committee was very guarded in the matter is, I think, that the normal military *status quo* relates to a state of affairs which to a large extent is still undefined.

The second doubtful question concerns supervision. This question was not included in the German suggestions. It arose in the course of the discussion, and it was thought that it was unnecessary to include in the Convention any proposals on the subject, but that the Council should be left free to establish supervision to the extent which it thought fit — so that no pressure whatever would be brought to bear on the Council and there would be no semblance of an attempt to commit it definitely to such measures, which are always of a delicate nature.

The third and fundamental point, relating to the actual nature of the Treaty, is whether the latter should have the character of an open protocol, like the arbitration conventions, or whether it should be simply a model convention, offered as a suggestion to the Powers, but not involving any obligation on the part of the States represented at the Assembly to make use of that particular type of convention themselves.

It was generally agreed, however, that if these Conventions are to produce their full effect in enabling the Council to intervene with a view to preventing or stopping war, they must obtain the accession of a large number of countries all over the world, or at all events extending over very wide areas.

Having given you the main features of the introductory note and the report, it only remains for me now to read the draft resolution submitted to you by the Third Committee. The text is as follows :

*" The Assembly :*

*"Having noted the model treaty to strengthen the means for preventing war framed by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, together with the explanations contained in the introductory note drawn up by the Committee ;*

*" Highly appreciating the value of this model treaty ;*

*" Being convinced that its adoption by a large number of States would serve to increase the guarantees of security ;*

*" Recommends it for consideration by States Members or non-members of the League of Nations ;*

*" And hopes that it may serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude a treaty of this kind. "*

**The President :**

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

**M. Undén (Sweden) :**

*Translation :* The questions dealt with in the present model treaty relate to the action of the Council in times of emergency. At its last session, in 1927, the Assembly approved a report, drawn up by a Committee of the Council on the basis of a memorandum submitted by M. de Brouckère, on the preventive measures to be taken by the Council in times of emergency.

The proposal now before us sets forth the ideas embodied in that report more precisely and in juridical form, the object being to enable States to undertake in advance to accept the Council's recommendations.

Some of you may perhaps regard this text, and particularly Article 3 of the model treaty, which empowers the Council to intervene with the object of stopping hostilities, as purely Utopian in character.

We must remember, however, that in the past the Council has already applied, and successfully applied, the rule laid down in this article. I refer, of course, to the Greco-Bulgarian conflict in 1925. In a case such as this — when neither of the parties concerned wanted war but hostilities broke out owing to the existing state of tension and the military measures taken at the frontier — Members of the Council might find it difficult to agree upon the aggressor. But the Council need not be prevented from acting through lack of unanimity on that point.

The Members of the Council might agree without difficulty to propose that the parties should cease hostilities, under conditions laid down by the Council, offering at the same time to open an enquiry into the origin and causes of the conflict.

Should one of the parties to the dispute have aggressive intentions, however, that particular party would be far less likely to accept the Council's recommendation that hostilities shall cease. But once the Council has made a recommendation in virtue of an international agreement formally adopted by the States concerned, any Government that refuses to accept that recommendation will condemn itself in the eyes of its own people and can hardly expect to convince the nation that the other party is the aggressor.

Hence a treaty of this kind, if adopted by a large number of States, would in my view provide the Council with a valuable means of intervention in times of emergency ; and I consider that the German Government, by taking the initiative in this matter, has made a really constructive contribution towards solving the problem of security.

**The President :**

*Translation :* Dr. von Schubert, delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly.

**Dr. von Schubert (Germany) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I should like briefly to express my views on the resolution which has been submitted to us by the Third Committee.

Although the Security Committee, after discussing the German suggestions, did not see its way to adopting them in their entirety, a very substantial part of the suggestions has been embodied in the model treaty which forms the subject of the resolution.

I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to express our great satisfaction at what has been done.

I need not revert to the principles which underlie the German suggestions and, thus form the basis of the model treaty now before us. Our views were fully explained in the Security Committee and during the Third Committee's discussions. The speaker who preceded me also brought out certain aspects of the problem very clearly.

I simply wish to emphasise the fact that this model treaty will serve to strengthen the existing basis of security because it introduces a guarantee of peculiar efficacy in the maintenance of peace.

May I say also that we hope that those of our suggestions which have not yet been taken up will not be lost sight of altogether, but will be considered later, at the proper moment.

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolution proposed by the Third Committee, which reads as follows :

*The Assembly :*

*Having noted the model treaty to strengthen the means for preventing war framed by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, together with the explanations contained in the introductory note drawn up by the Committee ;*

*Highly appreciating the value of this model treaty ;*

*Being convinced that its adoption by a large number of States would serve to increase the guarantees of security ;*

*Recommends it for consideration by States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations ;*

*And hopes that it may serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude a treaty of this kind.*

*The resolution was adopted.*

#### 74. — WORK OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the Fifth Committee's report on traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs (Annex 17, document A.64.1928.XI).

*(On the invitation of the President, M. Matos, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, and M. Chodzko, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)*

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Chodzko, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Chodzko (Poland), Rapporteur, read his report and the following draft resolution :

*The Assembly notes with approval the reports of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs on the work of its tenth and eleventh sessions, together with the resolutions contained therein.*

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolution proposed by the Fifth Committee as adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

*The Assembly rose at 12.50 p.m.*

## FIFTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

Friday, September 21st, 1928, at 10 a.m.

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75. SIGNATURE BY THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT OF THE OPTIONAL CLAUSE RECOGNISING THE COMPULSORY JURISDICTION OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

76. WORK OF THE ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE.

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75. — SIGNATURE BY THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT OF THE OPTIONAL CLAUSE RECOGNISING THE COMPULSORY JURISDICTION OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

The President :

*Translation :* Before beginning the agenda, I have to inform the Assembly that the Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs has signed the optional clause recognising the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

I think I am voicing the opinion of all my colleagues in expressing our great satisfaction, at this decision of the Hungarian Government, to whom I venture, in the name of the Assembly, to address my warmest congratulations.

General Táneczos (Hungary) :

*Translation :* Mr. President — I desire to thank you most cordially for your kind words of appreciation, which I shall not fail to transmit to my Government.

76. — WORK OF THE ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE : REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE : RESOLUTIONS.

The President :

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Second Committee on the work of the Economic Organisation. (Annex 18, document A.66.1928.II).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Veverka, Vice-Chairman of the Second Committee, and M. Loucheur, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

*Translation :* The Rapporteur will address the Assembly.

M. Loucheur (France), Rapporteur :

*Translation :* I shall have occasion to make further observations to the Assembly on this report when we have heard all the speakers whose names are on the list. In the meantime I will merely read to the Assembly the following draft resolutions :

“ The Assembly :

“ (1) Having noted the work of the Economic Organisation of the League of Nations during

the past year, observes with satisfaction the progress achieved, particularly in regard to the undertakings resulting from the resolutions of the World Economic Conference which were recommended to the favourable attention of all Governments by the Assembly at its eighth ordinary session ;

“ Is confident that the Economic Organisation will successfully carry through the important tasks still assigned to it, and that it will, if necessary, deal with them in an order corresponding to their respective importance and urgency and the possibility of reaching practical results, regard being had to the manifold and occasionally divergent interests involved ;

“ (2) Notes with satisfaction that the Convention for the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards, which was opened for the signature of States by the Assembly on September 26th, 1927, has been signed by eleven States, and that there have been five new ratifications of the 1923 Protocol on Arbitration Clauses ;

“ Trusts that at least those States which signed the Protocol will accede to the Convention, and thus enable traders in these States to resort to arbitration with full security ;

“ (3) Welcomes the conclusions of the Convention of November 8th, 1927, and the Supplementary Agreement of July 11th, 1928, for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, and also the two International Agreements, dated July 11th, 1928 ;

“ Earnestly hopes that the Governments of the signatory States, and especially the Governments of the States enumerated in Article C of the Supplementary Agreement of July 11th, 1928, whose abstention might jeopardise the future of the Agreements concluded, will speedily ratify these Agreements and thus contribute towards achieving real progress in the economic situation of the world.

“ (4) Trusts that the Diplomatic Conference on Statistics convened for November 26th next and the conferences contemplated for 1929 in regard to the treatment of foreign nationals and the partial assimilation of legislation on bills of exchange, promisory notes and cheques will lead to valuable results ;

“ (5) Hopes that the preparatory work for the establishment of a simplified uniform Customs nomenclature, of which it recognises the high importance as facilitating tariff agreements and increasing the efficacy of the most-favoured-nation clause will soon be successfully concluded.

“ (6) Considering that the Economic Committee has already arrived at interesting conclusions as to the possibility of reconciling the two tariff systems (hard-and-fast tariff and negotiable tariff) ;

“ Requests the Economic Committee to pursue its work with a view to framing a doctrine in

regard to commercial policy and preparing collective agreements to facilitate, by bringing about a milder Customs regime, the movement of certain products which are of special importance or which lend themselves more particularly to treatment of this kind ;

“(7) Follows with interest the investigations undertaken in regard to veterinary measures, and approves their objective character and the desire to take into account the legitimate and occasionally conflicting preoccupations of countries which export and import cattle :

“ Considers that their completion is essential to enable regulations to be cleared from all suspicion of veiled protectionism, and promote the greater freedom of trade advocated by the Economic Conference ;

“ And is confident that they will be pursued as rapidly as is consistent with the complexity of their character ;

“(8) Expresses its confidence that the Economic Committee, to which the investigation of the problems relating to coal and sugar were submitted at the instance of the Consultative Committee, will carry through its work with all desirable energy, while not neglecting any of the interests involved, whether of producers or consumers — countries or persons — or the workers ;

“(9) Hopes that the Economic Organisation will be able to expedite, along the lines of the recommendations of the World Economic Conference and the Consultative Committee, the study of various aspects of the problem of international industrial understandings — in particular, the status of such understandings, their juridical forms, the legislation controlling them and the publicity concerning them :

“(10) Believes that the successful attainment of the objects contemplated by the World Economic Conference will largely depend upon the measure in which it will prove possible to harmonise the interests of agriculture and industry, account being taken, *inter alia*, of the particular position of countries which are mainly agricultural or in the early stages of industrial development ;

“ Approves the view expressed by the Economic Consultative Committee that the systematic study of the problems of agriculture will be an important factor in the encouragement of economic co-operation between peoples. ”

#### The President :

*Translation* : Dr. Breitscheid, delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly.

#### Dr. Breitscheid (Germany) :

*Translation* : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — In addressing you on this item of the agenda I do not propose to recapitulate all the details dealt with by the Second Committee as the outcome of M. Loucheur's admirable report and the explanations given by M. Colijn and M. Serruys.

Nor do I intend to dwell upon what has been done by various countries, and by my own, with a view to carrying out the recommendations of the World Economic Conference. We are surely not here merely to congratulate each other or to dilate upon what we ourselves have done. Rather should we try to learn from each other, and in

particular come to understand why we who are met together under the auspices of the League are dealing with the problem of international economic policy. That is my justification for a further brief retrospect of the League's economic work.

It might be thought that economic problems are no real concern of the League. It is true that the Preamble of the Covenant, which epitomises the League's work, contains no reference to economic affairs ; and if we go through the articles of the Covenant, I think I am right in saying that the only mention of economics is a slight reference in Article 23, which states that the Members of the League will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable terms for the commerce of all Members of the League. Yet I believe that economic considerations were not the least of those which led to the creation of the League.

We must not, of course, forget the other considerations, nor must we attempt to belittle their importance. We know that the ardent hope of the nations that suffered so deeply in the war was for some organisation that would stop any recurrence of the horrors and the agony they had endured. We know that it was during those years from 1914 to 1918 that the desire to see some legal system created to prevent war grew stronger than ever amongst thinking men.

At the same time the nations became more and more clearly conscious of their close economic interdependence, and realised that the violent destruction of this underlying foundation would bring immense loss upon victors and vanquished, belligerents and neutrals alike.

If it is true that economics constitute a basis — though of course not the sole basis — of politics, war must be prevented by other means than mere legal formulas, and — more important still — by the creation of a new spirit of conciliation ; but it is also true that, if we are to do our duty, we must face the facts of this economic interdependence and ascertain the essential consequences.

For that reason we must congratulate ourselves that the World Economic Conference was held in May of last year ; one hundred and ninety-four experts from fifty different countries met together and told the Governments by what means, in their opinion, international co-operation in economic affairs could be attained.

Since then considerable progress has been made in this direction. I need only cite the collective treaties for the abolition of prohibitions and restrictions on imports and exports. The main instrument is a Convention on this important subject signed by twenty-seven States after a Conference which only lasted for a few weeks. They undertook to remove the chief hindrances to export trade. It would have taken years to obtain the same results by means of bilateral commercial treaties. Here, then, is an initial success upon which we have every reason to pride ourselves.

The main task, however, still lies before us. According to the memorandum submitted by the Secretariat on the application of the recommendations of the World Economic Conference, it is

a fact that, despite certain sporadic reductions effected in accordance with the Conference's recommendations, the world level of Customs duties is higher to-day than when the Conference was held.

It must be confessed that the results achieved so far are, to say the least, extremely modest in the very field where the Conference particularly stressed the need for international co-operation.

We must keep these recommendations constantly before us, and we must trust that the nations will come more and more to see how sound they are and will not merely pay them lip service but will put them into effect.

The Economic Consultative Committee, which is composed of producers and consumers, of masters and men, has made some very important suggestions as to ways and means of implementing these recommendations. It has suggested enquiries into the coal and sugar industries, and the Economic Committee has already begun the preparatory work on these subjects. You will remember that a Sugar Convention, concluded at Brussels, was in existence before the war, and we must now try to arrive at a collective agreement on similar lines.

The coal question is of particular importance, and presents great difficulties in view of the conflicting interests of the various countries concerned. It seems to me that the League is the best organ to find a solution to this question, taking into account the various interests involved.

The Economic Committee has also indicated eight groups of merchandise for which it is desirable to consider the possibility of a collective reduction of Customs tariffs. We trust that the necessary credits for this work will be granted by the Assembly and that it will not be held up by considerations of principle or by false notions of economy.

I am glad to see that the Economic Organisation of the League deals not only with industrial but also with agricultural questions, since this practice accords with the principle laid down by the World Economic Conference, to the effect that agriculture is to be treated as a fundamental question on a par with industry and commerce.

The World Economic Conference brought home to us the reasons for the existing disorganisation in economic matters. It pointed out that "the attempts after the war to seek prosperity by a policy of economic isolation have, after an experience of nearly nine years, proved a failure." It showed, too, the harmfulness of a narrow nationalist policy.

The guiding principles laid down by the Conference are no less true to-day than they were eighteen months ago. Naturally, the same situation does not exist in every country, and the same remedy cannot be applied to all. Natural conditions and economic development differ, and this difference must of course have its effect upon the economic situation and therefore upon the economic policy of each country.

As this report of the Second Committee points out, the special situation of those countries which are passing through a phase of industrial development must be taken into account, but not in such a way as to result in their adopting an excessive degree of protection. To take only one example showing the disastrous circumstances such a policy may involve, I will cite the report of the "Tariff

Board of the Commonwealth, 1927," mentioned in the memorandum drawn up by the Secretariat.

"The results of this abuse", says the Australian report, "are an increase in cost prices, the cost of living, wages, etc., and a tendency on the part of industry to shelter itself slothfully behind Customs barriers." As regards agricultural products it is stated that the consequence would be "lower output and the survival of obsolete methods of exploitation".

I should like to draw your special attention to this report. What we need is not an increase in Customs tariffs, but a reasonable reduction.

The Economic Committee has shown us the way by suggesting the abolition of Customs tariffs for certain groups of goods. Opinion may differ as to how quickly this procedure should be introduced. My personal impression is that progress is too slow, but I think the principle of a progressive and gradual procedure is quite sound.

H. G. Wells, the celebrated English author, in his book "Meanwhile", calls the League a "laboratory". He says: "The League of Nations is the mere first sketch of a preliminary experiment". There is a certain truth in this irony. Neither our organisation nor our methods of work are final or ideal. I could easily think of other methods of work which would ensure a quicker and surer achievement of our aims, such as rational international co-operation in the economic field.

As in all human affairs, however, so also in economic matters, we should eschew formulas that are too rigid. Progress can only be achieved by organic evolution and by the constant improvement of working methods. The recommendations of the World Economic Conference do not provide a final or ideal solution. They are but a beginning; but — and this is all-important — they are a good beginning. They proclaim the need for greater freedom in economic affairs. If barriers to trade could be systematically removed, the natural result would be a certain division of international labour, rationalisation on an international scale.

The effect of rationalisation is to obtain a maximum result with a minimum of effort. Until now rationalisation has only been possible in individual undertakings or combinations such as cartels. It has remained national. Could not the principle of the rational division of labour, which accords so well with the perfected means of communications existing to-day, be applied on an international scale? Could not the principle of "self-sufficiency" be superseded by the localisation of production wherever natural environment and skilled labour provide the most favourable conditions?

We know from the past history of world trade that men began by bartering goods and from that went on to barter ideas.

If we can succeed in placing world economy on an international footing, we need not stop at material things. The exchange of goods will at once be followed by the exchange of ideas, and from this would emerge international understanding and co-operation in the true sense of the term.

The League of Nations, therefore, by encouraging economic co-operation, can help to lay solid foundations for international harmony and peace.



If we are convinced of this, if we are firmly resolved always to persevere, we may be certain that the laboratory of the League will one day contribute its element of real and permanent value to the well-being of mankind.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Veverka, delegate of Czechoslovakia, will address the Assembly.

**M. Veverka (Czechoslovakia) :**

*Translation :* If I venture once again to speak from this platform on the economic work of the League, it is because I represent a country whose imports and exports are exceptionally high by comparison with its area and population, because I represent a State which is consequently perhaps of greater importance than others as an economic factor, intimately concerned as it is with the economic policies of the world, and which for that reason is bound to be more interested than any other in this particular branch of the League's work.

It is quite natural that Czechoslovakia should consider, in her own interests, what form co-operation in this work should take, or, in other words, what must be done so that the ideas of international co-operation and economic policy enunciated by the League may develop within the States in conformity with the lines laid down at Geneva.

In my view, public opinion in every country must be taught and made to understand that the sacrifices necessary in the interests of the general community, sacrifices such as those to which Czechoslovakia agreed when signing the International Convention, will be fully recompensed later as the League's economic work develops.

To begin with, of course, this work had to be confined to a specific and more or less restricted field. But although the international arrangements were prepared with all possible care and were as nearly perfect as possible, difficulties, hitherto non-apparent, revealed themselves in connection with the relations between this particular field of action and economic activities as a whole. It is for this reason that the League Economic Organisation will have to smooth over such difficulties as far as possible, so that the questions covered by these international arrangements shall interfere as little as possible with the economic life of the individual States.

Let me give you a concrete example: Under the International Convention for the abolition of prohibitions and restrictions which I have just mentioned, and which represents the most practical application of the recommendations of the Economic Conference, States are obliged to abandon import and export restrictions. This will make the difficulties in regard to agricultural exports seem greater still, on account of the veterinary regulations, which will simply look like a continuation of restrictions in disguise. Accordingly, Czechoslovakia welcomes the enquiry into veterinary questions on the lines suggested by the League, and hopes that this work will be accomplished quickly and regarded by everyone as a logical corollary to the Convention on Prohibitions.

I see, too, that the League Economic Organisation has realised, in quite a different connection, that countries can only apply the results of its theoretical work if the League itself will help

them to solve the difficulties which, though perhaps only of a transitory nature, are bound to arise. I refer to the Economic Committee's work with a view to progressive tariff reductions for specific groups of commodities.

Czechoslovakia welcomes these methods, which have led to such satisfactory results, including the two international agreements relating to the exportation of hides, skins and bones.

We are still more pleased to see that the Economic Committee has not limited its conception of a group of goods to a particular tariff item or stage of production, but has made it very comprehensive.

Czechoslovakia trusts that the Economic Committee will apply this method not only to raw materials but also to half-finished and finished products, as the case may be, these being dealt with simultaneously by the Economic Organisation. To take a concrete example: a group should include not only wood in the rough but also sawn wood, cellulose, wood-pulp and paper; not only raw hides, but tanned hides and leather products, whether manufactured or not. In recommending this we are simply keeping to our theory of the interdependence of raw materials, half-finished products and finished products which we maintained at the Conference in November.

While on this subject, I should like to mention the question of coal and sugar, though this matter, I know, was submitted to the Economic Organisation on a wholly different and a more general basis.

The questions of coal and sugar have not yet been sufficiently defined for it to be possible to say with any certainty that they will form the subject of "collective action" with a view to the reduction of tariffs.

I am sure, however, that if the League's Economic Organisation studies the question of sugar with its usual thoroughness — and I trust that it will do so, for Czechoslovakia is one of the biggest sugar-producing countries — it will find this problem has many points in common with the problems of stabilisation, the safety and freedom of world trade and, most important of all, the interdependence of raw materials, half-finished products and finished products, to which I have just drawn your attention.

I venture to hope that the Economic Organisation will decide that any enquiry must take into account the close interdependence of raw and refined sugar, because with this, as with other groups of commodities, it is impossible to consider the separate stages of production independently of the problem as a whole. The Economic Conference, it is true, urged the necessity of tariff reduction, but at the same time this policy will never be effective if it is only applied within narrow limits.

Moreover, as the Consultative Committee, the official interpreter of the resolutions passed by the Economic Conference, has noted, the real purpose of tariff reduction is to bring about freedom of trade. It stated that:

"The agreement in respect of each group should cover as many stages of production as is practicable, having regard to the fact that, if reductions are limited to the rates of duty on raw materials or on semi-finished products, such

reductions increase the protection afforded to the products of the industry in question at later stages of manufacture."

It may be of interest to note that the author of this passage is, I believe, a distinguished economist who cannot be accused of failing to realise the necessity for freedom in world trade.

Some people may object that partial reduction should be aimed at if Customs tariffs cannot be lowered altogether. But those who take this view must not forget that the World Economic Conference, in addition to proclaiming the principle of freedom of trade, laid even greater stress on another principle, namely, that any discrimination between States is to be condemned. From the League's standpoint this is a most important principle, closely bound up as it is with the problem of political and economic peace.

For these reasons I fully approve the report under discussion, and in doing so I am simply remaining faithful to the tradition of my country, which has always regarded the League's economic work as one of its vital activities. With the completion of the first stage of this work, many misunderstandings have been removed and the scientific diagnosis of existing economic ills has tended to correct many illusions due to distorted vision. I am glad to note that the Economic Organisation is now embarking on practical achievements, and we sincerely hope that it may continue its work in this direction.

The world is entering upon an essentially economic era. A new attitude, a new mentality is emerging with the abolition of war as a means of settling inter-State disputes. New conceptions of the relations between peoples are beginning to arise and in every case find expression in economic forms. National resources hitherto locked up and devoted to the building up of armaments will shortly be released for productive purposes, and these economic factors will be employed to regulate international relations, replacing settlement by arms. In preparing for the logical consequences of this profound change in the present situation, the League's economic organs have an immense task before them.

Czechoslovakia is perhaps more anxious than any other country for the success of this great work of organisation and pacification, and earnestly hopes that, based as it is on these new ideas, it may prove worthy of its proud sub-title: the economic organisation of peace.

#### The President :

*Translation :* M. Jouhau, delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

#### M. Jouhau (France) :

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I must apologise for coming to this platform once again in the guise of a critic: let me assure you though, that I have no desire to play the part of a perpetual grumbler. I have to remember, however, that I am a member of the Economic Consultative Committee, on which I represent the Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and in this capacity I feel it my duty to make a number of observations which may appear to strike a somewhat discordant note in the usual chorus of praise, but which are none the less necessary.

I was present when the Assembly approved the suggestion of an Economic Conference, and I saw that suggestion carried into effect shortly afterwards. I witnessed the doubts and difficulties which attended the creation of the Economic Consultative Committee, and, despite all that we have just heard, I cannot help thinking that matters are not progressing as quickly as they might.

Of the Economic Consultative Committee many things, some good, some bad, have been said; and certain delegates are anxious to restrain the activities of this official interpreter of the World Economic Conference. At its last session the Committee again pointed out that the League's economic work has to be treated as a whole, that any attempt to deal separately with the individual branches of that work, which are sometimes conducted on quite different lines, simply meant beginning all over again — the ceaseless and fruitless toil of Penelope!

The League's economic work, as the Economic Conference rightly declared, has to be treated as a whole, and the Economic Committee, assisted by the Economic Consultative Committee, must act within the framework of a general scheme.

May I say at once that I have no intention of criticising the Economic Committee's work, still less of disparaging it? It is of very real importance and valuable results have been obtained, but because those results are only partial they are bound to be incomplete, and they cannot avert the dangers of economic evolution proceeding along lines which we are powerless to control.

I do not deny that the examination of Customs tariffs, the Conference on Prohibitions, the universal adoption of the most-favoured-nation clause and the conclusion of multilateral agreements are all necessary stages in the work, and we are glad to see that those stages, if not already completed, are on the way to completion; but, in addition to these particular aspects of economic problems — or rather, of the single economic problem — there are others which were pointed out by the Economic Conference, and in regard to which we succeeded after much discussion in reaching agreement, in achieving a compromise which placed heavy responsibilities upon the workers' representatives.

We knew what we were doing when, on this very platform, we agreed to support the suggestion of a new economic organisation, which should be no longer national but international, indeed I might say universal, in character. We knew, I repeat, what responsibilities we were incurring when we agreed to accept the principle described by the somewhat odd term "rationalisation". That was why we asked that rationalisation should be studied not from any particular standpoint, with limited objectives, but in a comprehensive sense, with one general objective, and in the general interest. We pointed out at the same time the necessity of compensating for this new system of organisation with its inevitable centralising tendency by providing for the institution of national and international supervision and guarantees which were essential in the interest not only of the working masses whom we represent, but of the nations as a whole.

The Assembly admitted our point of view, and these considerations are specifically mentioned in the report on the work of the World Economic Conference. They were mentioned still more specifically, despite the moderate terms employed, in the closing speech of the President when summing up the work of that Conference. More recently still, the Economic Consultative Committee

in the course of its proceedings, declared — though the point is not expressly mentioned in its resolutions — that these suggestions should be kept in view in any work undertaken by the Economic Committee.

The Economic Committee is now complaining of overwork, and this plea is advanced by the Committee itself or by others as a reason for urging that the League's economic activities should be made to proceed more slowly.

I merely wish to point out now that the Economic Conference had no idea of making the Economic Committee entirely responsible for the whole of this work. The Committee, which had previously been a somewhat specialised organ dealing more particularly with commercial matters, thought, however, that it ought to take over full responsibility for all economic problems submitted to the League.

This was a great honour, but one that brought with it a heavy burden. We all thought that a wiser and more effective course, and one which would not have interfered in any way with the Economic Committee's prerogatives, would have been to set up a Permanent Committee to examine those problems. The proposal was rejected. The Committee wished to assume responsibility for all the work done, and it must not complain now.

Moreover, neither the Economic Conference nor the Economic Consultative Committee asked the Economic Committee to find solutions for the various problems raised; they instructed it to set up the machinery for solving them, and this, I presume, is why reference is made in the report to the necessity for an international conference on coal and sugar.

Here again, the Economic Committee is not asked to find solutions for these two problems, but simply to institute the procedure by which remedies may be found.

If there were any question here of innovation, I should certainly advocate the utmost caution. But this is not the case; we are painfully pursuing a task already begun, and we cannot for a moment contemplate arresting the course of economic developments, however perfect our theories, however unanswerable our arguments.

We are living in an epoch of rapid change and development, and the problem is how to control this movement, not how to stop it (that we cannot do), how to guide it into profitable channels for the benefit of all.

Accordingly we felt it essential, both in the preparatory work for the Economic Conference and at the Conference itself, to urge that in every country national economic councils should be formed. The Consultative Committee would act as a link between them and the League, and they would be as it were the League's representatives, endeavouring to shape the economic policy of the particular country and to bring it into conformity with the policy broadly outlined by the League.

This suggestion was not accepted; yet I still think it should be borne in mind, because I take the view that if we are to do things thoroughly (and we cannot help ourselves) we must utilise every means which might throw light upon the situation, supply the necessary data for the examination of these problems and at the same time bring any work done into line with the international principles laid down by the League.

We cannot check this forward movement, and we must therefore try to keep pace with it. If we do not treat the problem as a whole, bearing in mind the interdependence of the various factors, there is the risk that the dangers may become more acute, may assume a definite form and overwhelm us while we are busy trying to find remedies.

Caution is of course essential, and I should be the last to deny it; but let us not, through over-caution, forget the twofold danger that faces us. We must remember the constant tendency in life to establish separate organisations founded on private interests, which are sometimes contrary to the general interests and are almost always contrary to those of the working masses; and there is thus a risk at the present time of intensifying the latent conflict between progressive ideas, which it is our duty to recognise and promote, and the great corporate interests which are bound to rise up in opposition to more general claims.

We must of course achieve definite results, and that is why, while accepting the principle of this new method of organisation which bears the strange title of "rationalisation", we emphasised the need for adequate supervision and guarantees.

We put forward these views in the Consultative Committee, but nothing has yet been done. Problems connected with the organisation of production, of industry, of distribution, of agriculture, may have been discussed in their theoretical aspects, but they have not yet been examined from a practical standpoint.

Does this mean that since the World Economic Conference nothing has happened? Does it mean that progress ceased at the very moment when we decided to examine more or less closely the problems put before us? A glance at the world economic situation is sufficient to show that these organisations we anticipated, which mark a definite stage of economic evolution, have come into existence already, without waiting for us to cease discussing theories.

They have been formed, and now they dominate the economic situation in every country, just as they dominate the economic situation of the world.

But where are the guarantees? Where are the safeguards that the Economic Conference considered so indispensable? Their existence is purely hypothetical, contingent upon possible future discussions, be held no one knows when! And while we are discussing, and, worse, while we are waiting to discuss, these new organisations are growing apace, and the individual interests which constitute them are becoming consolidated and are forming corporate interests. Once that has happened it will be difficult to start afresh, to change or mend the situation, to organise things as we would have wished. That is why I am speaking now. That is why I say: let there be no slackening of the League's economic activities; do not ask it. Otherwise we should be running a grave risk, the risk of being confronted by obstacles so strong that no reasoning, no arguments, however cogent, could really shake them.

And I repeat, such a state of affairs would be bound to accentuate the latent cleavage which exists between the nations in general, the working masses in particular, and the League's activities.

If technical experts consider partial solutions satisfactory, if they think they can divide life into water-tight compartments, and flatter themselves that their work is done because they have solved some particular problem, no one with a grasp of realities, no one in permanent contact with the facts of life, can be satisfied with such partial solutions; still less can any one who has to endure the hard conditions of life be satisfied. When, too, those who are suffering from such conditions find themselves overwhelmed by the dire consequences of certain forms of centralisation, consequences which they had themselves foreseen, they do not merely protest, they resort to violence. That, I tell you plainly, is the state of mind prevailing to-day among the working classes of the vast majority of nations.

The idea of rationalisation, which was un-animously accepted a few years ago, and which we hoped to see put into effect, is now experiencing a reaction. Why? Because, under cover of our solemn declaration, the private interests which appeared so sceptical, which rejected the new formulas and to which we were obliged to give an impetus, have now adopted this idea, have gone ahead with it and have applied it in a very restricted sense, the result being, in a large number of countries, unemployment among the working classes, lower wages, and — inconceivable as the paradox may seem — longer hours.

Such a situation, of course, does not make for social progress. We can indulge in fine words here, we can flatter ourselves that we are doing good work, we can belaud each other. But we run a risk; we may find that the great public does not understand what we say. And then the League, I tell you quite frankly, will be in a very unenviable predicament. How often has it been said that public opinion and the trust it puts in the League must determine the League's progress — nay, its very existence? But to shelve problems is not the way to win or to keep the confidence of the public.

One problem at the moment is especially acute — I refer to coal. It was brought up at the Economic Conference, and afterwards before the Consultative Committee.

In May of this year, you remember, the International Miners' Federation, representing several million miners, passed a unanimous resolution, calling upon the League to examine the coal question from the international standpoint with the object of finding a solution on international lines.

Why was this, gentlemen? It was because all the national solutions that have yet been tried have proved useless, because not one of them has ever done anything to remedy the mining situation and because the miners in every country are still suffering. As a result they now demand an international solution.

Will the League turn a deaf ear to their appeal? Will it not try to give them satisfaction? I know the many interests concerned, I know that the situation involves delicate issues; but you must remember that nothing but international action can solve this economic problem.

If we really wish to cope with this ever-growing aspiration of mankind, this movement towards unity, we shall have to consider all these problems as a whole. We must plan out a general scheme consisting of partial solutions which shall fit

together as parts of one complete design. We shall be able by this means to keep the confidence of the nations, and of the workers in particular, and to pursue our task to the end, serenely conscious of having done our duty, with this general scheme to guide us on our path.

Gentlemen, in this great tide of economic endeavour, sweeping on regardless of obstacles in the wake of human progress, forcing its way past obsolete barriers, past ignorant misapprehension, the League may be the guiding power. Let it boldly choose this course — or stand aside in helpless impotence!

#### The President :

*Translation :* M. Loucheur, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

#### M. Loucheur (France), Rapporteur :

*Translation :* We have just listened to three most interesting speeches — by the German delegate, Dr. Breitscheid, by our Vice-Chairman, M. Veverka, and by M. Jouhaux, and I feel it is now my duty to explain France's position in the matter.

The first speech, that of Dr. Breitscheid, showed, if my impression of it is correct, confidence in the future, slightly tinged with pessimism; regret that matters were not moving faster; and concern at the fact that Customs duties were not being reduced more quickly. In the main, however, the delegate of Germany expressed confidence in our work, and in that I think he is right.

I will deal later with the points in M. Veverka's speech which I thought to be of special interest, and I will reply in detail to M. Jouhaux, who showed more pessimism than the other speakers. You have the right to ask if this pessimism is really justified, and it is my duty, as Rapporteur, to lay before you a brief retrospect of the work of the Economic Organisation. I will be as brief as possible.

It must be admitted that little had been done in the economic field before 1925. But was it possible to do much so soon after the war, when the currencies of the world were in disorder and the general financial situation so unstable? It would have been quite useless to attempt the economic organisation of production and consumption when the means of payment themselves fluctuated in value from day to day. The League realised this; it held that it should first concentrate on financial questions; and we can say boldly and without fear of contradiction that it has achieved complete success there. The financial restoration of Austria, of Hungary and of the other countries which applied to the League, and the very important findings of the Brussels Financial Conference, have done much to bring the world back to a far better financial condition than was the case a few years ago. We can well understand how the League, absorbed in this work and bent upon success, was unable to embark upon its economic work before 1925. In that year the Assembly decided to summon a World Economic Conference. I pass over what took place in the interval; but in May 1927 this Conference, to the great surprise of pessimists and sceptics, enunciated certain conclusions which may be said to have received the unanimous approval of the whole world and which to-day constitute what might be termed the economic charter of production and consumption.

The next step was to put the solutions reached by the World Economic Conference into practice. The Conference considered that a new organisation

should be created to carry on its work. M. Jouhaux rightly referred in his speech to the great divergency of opinion on that point. A number of delegates were in favour of instituting an entirely new economic organisation for the League, and by way of compromise we agreed that the work of the Conference should be continued by a Committee called (with a view possibly to limiting its field of action) the "Consultative Committee", which should only meet once a year. In the report I am submitting on behalf of the Second Committee I point out that the Consultative Committee in a way acts as the engine of a motor. It comes here every year to remind the Economic Committee of all the work that awaits it.

Let me say first of all that you have every reason to congratulate yourselves upon the work done since May 1927, and above all since May 1928. I do not want to shower empty congratulations from this platform merely in order that we may later go our ways well content with each other. No, I say it quite frankly; and indeed a rapid review of the work you have done will convince you. I want you, when you leave this Assembly, to feel the same confidence as I do, so that when you return home you will be able to recount all that we have done and inspire your countries with the confidence they may justifiably feel in the economic work upon which we are engaged.

Have we been idle in the field of international trade? No, gentlemen. We tried first of all to find a common meeting-ground, and to ascertain if really insurmountable differences existed between the two tariff systems — the hard-and-fast tariffs of some countries and the negotiable, or we might even say bargaining, tariff which is used in others. The general opinion is that hard-and-fast tariffs should become more elastic, and that the negotiable tariffs should be adapted as closely as possible to the real needs of the country and should merely include a reasonable margin for negotiation.

But was nothing more produced than this relatively unimportant statement of principles? On the contrary, I maintain that, had the World Economic Conference never met, had the Consultative Committee not worked as it did, the many commercial treaties which have been concluded during the last two years would never have been signed.

I should like to refer, in particular, to the Franco-German Commercial Treaty, which in my opinion is the outcome not only of the closer relations brought about between the two countries but also of the work and conclusions of the World Economic Conference itself.

Thus the League has been the means of helping countries to conclude a number of commercial treaties which would most certainly never have come into being without its aid; and that is a noteworthy achievement.

Can it be said that we have been idle regarding the most-favoured nation clause, which has been responsible for so much spilling of ink and so many speeches? Not at all. The Economic Committee has defined the meaning and nature of that clause and also the exceptions to it which, as you know, always enabled the clause to be evaded.

In that direction too, therefore, much has been done. I should like, however, to draw your particular attention to one result, a small one, perhaps, but one which is so important on account of the principles involved that we ought to appreciate the significance of the fact that its realisation was possible in 1928.

Much has been said concerning the lowering of Customs barriers. Free trade even has been

mooted. Yet it is admitted on all sides that in the present state of the world it is quite impossible to achieve a rapid and complete abolition of Customs barriers, or even to reduce Customs duties.

The League, however, set courageously to work. Its first step, taken through its Economic Committee, was to abolish the numerous import and export prohibitions and restrictions which, more than any Customs barrier, constituted one of the greatest handicaps to international trade.

A Conference was convened, and at the beginning everyone was pessimistic and thought success impossible. Yet the Conference succeeded — succeeded so well, in fact, that it was considered necessary, immediately after the first conference, to summon a more limited one to deal with matters which were not generally thought of any importance, and which even lent themselves to the facile wit of journalists and the sarcasm of ill-wishers. I refer to the Conference on the Importation and Exportation of Hides, Skins and Bones.

However small the actual ground covered, we should realise that, for the first time in the history of the world, it has been found possible to make collective agreements in the matter of Customs tariffs and import and export prohibitions and restrictions.

Such is the first result obtained in 1927 and 1928. These Conferences in themselves have not been fruitless, since twenty-seven States have already signed the first Convention, while the second has been signed by eleven.

I think we ought to realise the importance of these agreements. To-day, as I have already said, the matters with which they deal are comparatively unimportant, but we are about to investigate other and far more important ones. The question of hides, skins and bones has been settled, and the Economic Committee, continuing its work along the same lines, is now engaged in studying the group of commodities which includes aluminium, iron and semi-manufactured products, timber, cellulose and paper. On this point I am entirely in agreement with the valuable suggestions put forward by M. Veverka. This enquiry should be extended as soon as possible to semi-finished and finished products. The Economic Committee is investigating all these questions in the hope of framing a convention regarding these commodities similar to that already drawn up for hides, skins and bones, that is to say, a collective agreement specifying the rates of Customs duties and the import and export prohibitions.

It cannot be said, therefore, that we are not making steady progress towards a world economic organisation. It is only reasonable, however, that the economists who are dealing with this vast problem should have felt it necessary to take it up stage by stage.

My friend M. Belloni, speaking the other day in the Second Committee, said that when the World Economic Conference was convened there were some who even doubted the possibility of drawing up a programme of discussion and of classifying the subjects to be dealt with — so vast was the field of enquiry.

Yet the programme was drawn up, and the subjects were classified, and as I have just shown you, results have already been obtained. I could give you many similar instances. For example, it is generally agreed that in order to arrive at international agreements and regulate world trade, the first step is to establish a standardised Customs nomenclature. Has nothing been done in that direction either?

Quite the contrary. Conferences of experts have been held, the Customs nomenclature has been prepared and the frame-work has just been communicated to all States Members of the League for

them to insert the various items. It is practically certain that in the near future all nations will be able to adopt the same Customs nomenclature, and this will greatly facilitate the preparation of commercial treaties and collective agreements.

I will not mention all that has been done by the Economic Organisation in connection with the two very important questions of the treatment of foreigners and international legislation on bills of exchange. I will not speak to you of the work done by the Economic Organisation in connection with many allied problems. I merely wish, by enumerating some of the Organisation's activities, to show you how very much has been done, especially in view of the short time that has elapsed since the World Economic Conference was held.

You ask us whether much remains to be done. The task before us, gentlemen, is a colossal one, and here I fully agree with my colleague M. Jouhaux. I am positively frightened at the magnitude of the burden placed on the shoulders of the poor Economic Committee. That Committee meets four times a year. It has first to carry out the work entrusted to it prior to the World Economic Conference. It acts, to some extent, as the League expert, and as such has to deal with a whole series of questions. We are now asking the Economic Committee to examine at its quarterly sessions big problems such as the preparation of collective agreements dealing with all the various subjects I have just enumerated. We are asking it to study the complex questions of sugar and coal, for which it is imperative that a solution should be found.

As I said in 1925 and again in 1927, it would have been much better if we had decided to do what was really necessary to achieve success.

I am grateful to the Council for appointing the Consultative Committee and for providing the Economic Committee with means to go forward with its work; but that is not enough. Either we must carry out the whole of the work before us, and for that the Economic Organisation will have to be reinforced, or we shall have to confess that we cannot finish our work. As M. Jouhaux reminded you a moment ago, life is moving on, the march of events is leaving us behind, and we may one day find ourselves face to face with disaster.

To illustrate my meaning I will take a particular point dealt with by M. Jouhaux. I may perhaps look at it from a different angle, but, as you will see, I arrive at the same conclusion.

Dr. Breitscheid said that the world must be organised on a rational basis, that, as Cobden held, iron-works ought to be built where iron and coal are found, and the economic life of the world in general ought to be systematically organised. This problem is of interest from both the theoretical and the practical standpoint. And yet, although I am very anxious to see the world organised on a more rational basis, I should be very much afraid of an entirely rational organisation.

Let me explain what I mean. Since these attractive theories were first propounded, the world has moved forward. The transforming industries have become more and more important, and it is no longer possible to consider the question of raw materials apart from the possibilities of their conversion into other products, since these possibilities are often the same in many countries. In this connection fears were expressed on this platform by certain speakers who took part in the general discussion, more particularly by our Irish colleague, Mr. Blythe. I should not like small nations or nations which are in process of industrial development to think that the big nations are

anxious to stabilise the situation merely for their own benefit.

We must bear in mind the interests both of small nations which are still in process of growth and of large nations which are endeavouring to reorganise their economic forces and to-day feel the need for creating certain industries. We must not say or do anything to prevent this normal development. I assert most emphatically that it is not our intention to stabilise the situation for the benefit of nations more highly developed than the rest.

But for some time — and whether we like it or not we have to acknowledge this, because here again, to use M. Jouhaux's expression, the march of events is leaving us behind — a movement in the direction of industrial combines and centralisation has been evident throughout the world.

For my part I consider that this centralisation has in many cases produced beneficial results. Nevertheless it does constitute a definite menace to certain consuming countries, and may perhaps prove a menace to the working classes as well.

At the World Economic Conference, therefore, while urging the need for such agreements and cartels and encouraging this form of rationalisation, I maintained, as the representative of my Government, that national and international safeguards were necessary, and that the rights of consumers, the rights of countries which in some cases were entirely without certain raw materials, and the rights of the workers, should be adequately protected.

Let us frankly admit that on this point our discussions at the World Economic Conference broke down, and we could do no more than frame a vague resolution to the effect that the question of rationalisation must be investigated. As a former industrialist I have been very surprised to find leaders of industry who have failed to grasp the social and political significance of those discussions, who, wrapped up in their own special interests perhaps, do not realise that we must allow these very necessary safeguards full play or else — if you will pardon the expression — the fat will be in the fire.

Some kind of check is necessary, and as it is always difficult to impose checks in one's own country, I have always considered that international supervision if exercised by a body like the League would be more readily acceptable; that conditions of publicity established under its auspices would be more logically and also more impartially conceived.

The same ideas were taken up again in the Consultative Committee in 1928, but nothing has yet been done. Nevertheless, as M. Jouhaux pointed out, the workers' representatives needed courage to accept this form of rationalisation, to which they were originally so greatly averse. I think it is our duty to heed carefully the warning we have been given.

It is essential that this important part of our work should be undertaken without delay. Otherwise, as M. Jouhaux rightly remarked, we shall one day find ourselves, either in our own countries or, it may even be, in the international field, faced with a coalition of interests which we shall never be able to overcome, and which it would not be possible to bring into line with the general interest without recourse to arbitrary acts which might in some cases lead to revolution.

It is our duty, gentlemen, as we have constantly urged, to see that this does not happen, and our warning should be constantly kept in mind.

I am not pessimistic, because I think there is still time to act. If more rapid progress can be achieved in certain preliminary studies, we shall make up for lost time.

I should like to emphasise, however, that if the League does not succeed in remedying the lack of co-ordination in the world production and consumption of coal and sugar, for instance, its work in the economic field will have failed.

There must accordingly be no further delay in getting to grips with the problem and examining all the difficulties it involves. I do not underrate these difficulties; I have had twenty-five years of practical business experience, and I know what they are. I have kept my ideals, but I have tried to rid myself of mere superficial illusions, and, speaking as a practical man, I am sure that all these difficulties can easily be overcome.

As far as the much-discussed coal problem is concerned, need I quote figures? Need I refer to the unemployment in England, to the senseless price-cutting whereby countries directly or indirectly grant export bounties, despite their loud assertions that they will never grant them again? It is true that consuming countries derive some temporary benefit from price-cutting, but when the time comes to raise prices again, producers immediately combine; and then it is the turn of the consuming countries to suffer.

Europe produces 700 million tons of coal; an increase of ten million tons causes prices to drop and imperils production, while a reduction of output by 10 or 15 million tons produces a scarcity in the market and is followed by a rise in prices which reacts upon all consuming countries.

Are we still to look on without attempting to remedy this chaotic state of affairs? You, I know, think not; you believe that an international conference is necessary to deal with this question. Our Italian friends, who as citizens of a consuming country are specially interested, have declared, and I thank them for it, that they will give their full support to our international action. I am convinced that if the League brings faith and courage to the work it will succeed, and will thereby give the world striking proof of the effectiveness of its methods.

The same might be said with reference to sugar and other commodities.

In conclusion, I should like to stress one point in particular, namely, that the Economic Committee, with the means at its disposal, has done magnificent work to which I desire to pay a heartfelt tribute from this platform.

Need I praise the Economic Organisation itself? Do we not all admire the splendid work Sir Arthur Salter has done in organising the International Economic Conference? Can we ask such men to work harder than they are doing? No, gentlemen, nor better.

It is material means that they lack, and I cannot help regretting the reluctance shown by the Fourth Committee to provide them with those means. I do not wish to say anything against the Fourth Committee, which has responded to our appeal. We approached it, and the echo of its discussions spread even beyond the walls of the Secretariat. We were, I say, sympathetically received. Our appeal was heard and our budget was passed.

I must warn you now, however, that the sum allocated will not be enough for next year, and unless it is increased our economic work must come to an end. Work cannot be done without tools, and if you find that the Economic Committee is overburdened with work, the Council must enable it to sit practically continuously, and must if necessary create the Permanent Council already mentioned; the Council must, in fact, face the

problem squarely. I am sure that if you do this you will have the people of every nation behind you, for the very importance attached to this morning's discussion shows the great value you all place upon our economic work. As you know, the peoples of the world, who nowadays are constantly trying to get down to realities, turn principally for enlightenment on economic questions to what is said here.

I do not deny that the modest work of the Second Committee and of the Economic Committee is sometimes overshadowed by the political discussions which — rightly, in my opinion — are the object and aim of our meetings at Geneva; but though our field of work is small, it is also extremely useful. We must not be blindly optimistic, but neither must we give way to pessimism. What I have tried to show you is the harmonious development of the work that has been taken in hand.

**The President :**

*Translation :* Mr. O'Sullivan will address the Assembly.

**Mr. O'Sullivan (Irish Free State) :**

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I do not intend at this late hour to delay you by examining the economic work of the League, but I must say a few words on the special topics we have already felt bound to bring before the Assembly and before the Second Committee.

It is because we have intervened on these two occasions that, whilst appreciating fully the work of the League, I find it necessary again to make certain reservations. Perhaps the term "reservation" is too strong; perhaps I should say, rather, to call attention — I hope that will be sufficient — to certain aspects of the economic policy of the League that we consider on the whole may prove dangerous to our State, and to States whose economic situation is the same as ours.

We made it quite clear I hope, on the two occasions to which I have referred that the necessity we felt of making these reservations in no way indicated a lack of appreciation for the highly useful — I might say, the healing work of the Economic Organisation of the League. We are anxious especially to pay a tribute to the work of the Rapporteur, M. Loucheur, and to his efforts in this field, and also to express our appreciation for the clarity of his report. We can only say that it is what we might expect from him, and no greater compliment could be paid to him in that respect.

Despite the assurances given by M. Loucheur, I think it will help to forestall difficulties in the future, and may lead to steps being taken which will enable the League to avoid the danger of ceasing to retain the confidence of a number of its Members, if we underline once more what precisely we feel about one or two aspects of this economic policy of the League.

There are many countries in Europe, we quite admit, that seem to have lost all idea — or almost all — of the international interdependence of States. We quite admit also — we are not blind, we can see as clearly as anybody else — that economic forces may easily lead to misunderstandings and

even to war itself. All the more reason, then, for saying that we are quite sincere in expressing our appreciation of the economic work of the League.

Furthermore, in the reservations that we are compelled to make I need hardly assure you — especially I need hardly assure the Rapporteur — that we are very far indeed from suggesting that there was any deliberate attempt to favour some nations or to favour certain types of nations at the expense of others, that there was any deliberate attempt to crystallise the present economic situation. We do not make that suggestion, and we do not believe it.

It is not necessary, however, to our argument to suggest that there was any such deliberate attempt. We are anxious to call attention, not to the aims of individual Members of the League or even of various bodies of the League — the Economic Committee, the Economic Conference, and so on — but to the policy they inaugurated. We are anxious to call attention to the onward march of a policy which, if care be not taken now, may prove stronger than all the expressions of goodwill on the part of individuals and Committees. We are anxious to call attention to the fact that that march is in a certain direction and that it has been, so to speak, intensified, its pace quickened, by the economic policy of the League, and that this has been done without sufficient attention having been paid to the peculiar position of certain States.

We are dealing with a force which acts quite unconsciously or semi-consciously and impersonally. But the fact is that, unless modifications along the line we advocate be adopted, this impersonal, semi-conscious force may tend to crush the weaker nations. Its impersonal and semi-conscious and irresponsible character and the fact that it ran counter to some of the expressed aims of its authors would be poor comfort for those nations.

We see here, if I may so put it, the gradual formation of an international public opinion. After all, we have to remember that, taking the League as a whole, its aim in most spheres is precisely the creation of international public opinion and that it finds its principal instrument for achieving its purposes in such international public opinion. We see here the creation of a certain public opinion with a certain end. In this connection I should like to ask, How far will it be possible in a few years for the weaker nations to stand up against that public opinion which is now in course of creation?

I do not suggest that now or in the future there will be any attempt to interfere with the sovereignty of the different nations, large or small. What I do suggest is that, when the time is ripe, there will be little necessity for any such interference with the sovereignty of the different States — the force of the public opinion created may be sufficiently powerful. We are dealing, after all, with a practical policy, not with a treatise on political economy and the relative merits of protectionism and free trade.

It has been suggested to us that, after all, the big interests will come together; they will concentrate in spite of all that we can do. We recognise this; but we ask whether it is proper that the League should aggravate, so to speak, that particular tendency, whilst neglecting to take the measures necessary to prevent it from pressing

unduly on the weaker nations — I prefer the term “weaker” economically to the term “smaller”. I do not suggest that there was any intention of injuring the weaker nations. It is unnecessary for the Rapporteur or for anybody else to reassure us on that point; but I feel bound to say that the impression created, not so much by the form of the resolutions as by a perusal of the Minutes of the Economic Conference, was that sufficient attention was not given to the problem of the States whose situation is similar to the one in which I am particularly interested. In the bigger, in the vaster interests that were involved it was, perhaps, natural that the particular problem of the economically less important States should, to a large extent, have been overlooked. It is because I feel that this was the case that I consider there can be no harm in calling attention again to the particular problem that must face States of the kind I have mentioned. This is the meaning of our intervention in this debate.

We are no doctrinaire protectionist country, we are not doctrinaire Free Trade. We admit, no one more readily, the dangers involved in a tariff policy, especially in a high tariff policy, but also in a low tariff policy. We are fully alive to the complicated issues involved. We admit the danger of such a policy even for small States. If we, or other States similarly situated, are asked, as is the case in respect of other countries, to lower our tariffs in the general interest, we must know what remedy the Economic Organisation of the League has to suggest to meet a case such as I will describe.

Take my own country, which, from the point of view of production, is predominantly an agricultural country. If we feel called upon, as we may, gradually to transform that agricultural country into a more industrialised country, into a country at all events in which there will be a more healthy balance, as we think, between agriculture and industry, what policy has the League to suggest for us except the lowering of tariffs? Suppose we lower our tariffs, what other suggestion has the League to make? I have searched and I can find none. That is the reason why I should like to say again, in regard to these small States, not that an effort was made to crush them — far from it — but that they were simply forgotten.

The difficulty that we may have to face is especially noteworthy in the present depressed condition of agriculture. Everybody who is interested in agriculture knows that, in comparison with 1914, there is a disequilibrium between the receipts of the farmer and his expenses. This makes it still more necessary for the less well-developed countries to recognise that, whether they like it or not, they may have, in Europe at all events, to face the problem of the increased industrialisation of their States. I repeat, it is because I can find no effort which has been made to deal with that particular problem that I have taken the opportunity to make these remarks.

The other matter to which I called attention in the Second Committee on behalf of my Government is the rather unsatisfactory way in which the problem of agriculture was examined. Taking industry as a whole, there is no sphere of activity at the present time in which we are further from real health than in agriculture. That fact was recognised by the Economic Conference. I suggest, however, that no effort was made even to examine the causes of the depressed condition of agriculture, much less to find a remedy. If the situation of



Europe is to be made sound economically, more attention will, in my view, have to be given in the future to the state of agriculture in the different countries of Europe.

I fully realise, as compared with industrial matters, the complicated nature of the agricultural question; but I still think that more definite attention could be given to that particular problem. As I have said, we are anxious that the economic work of the League should continue. We recognise that it is necessary. All we ask is that special attention should be given to the problem presented by the economically weaker countries, and also to the special position of agriculture.

Apart from those two matters, we have nothing but admiration for the excellent work that has been done by the League organisations under the very able leadership of the Rapporteur.

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one else desires to speak, I will put to the vote the resolutions proposed by the Second Committee, which read as follows :

*The Assembly :*

(1) *Having noted the work of the Economic Organisation of the League of Nations during the past year ;*

*Observes with satisfaction the progress achieved, particularly in regard to the undertakings resulting from the resolutions of the World Economic Conference which were recommended to the favourable attention of all Governments by the Assembly at its eighth ordinary session ;*

*Is confident that the Economic Organisation will successfully carry through the important tasks still assigned to it, and that it will, if necessary, deal with them in an order corresponding to their respective importance and urgency and the possibility of reaching practical results, regard being had to the manifold and occasionally divergent interests involved ;*

(2) *Notes with satisfaction that the Convention for the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards, which was opened for the signature of States by the Assembly on September 26th, 1927, has been signed by eleven States, and that there have been five new ratifications of the 1923 Protocol on Arbitration Clauses ;*

*Trusts that at least those States which signed the Protocol will accede to the Convention, and thus enable traders in these States to resort to arbitration with full security ;*

(3) *Welcomes the conclusion of the Convention of November 8th, 1927, and the Supplementary Agreement of July 11th, 1928, for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, and also the two International Agreements, dated July 11th, 1928 ;*

*Earnestly hopes that the Governments of the signatory States, and especially the Governments of the States enumerated in Article C of the Supplementary Agreement of July 11th, 1928, whose abstention might jeopardise the future of the Agreements concluded, will speedily ratify these Agreements and thus contribute towards achieving real progress in the economic situation of the world ;*

(4) *Trusts that the Diplomatic Conference on Statistics convened for November 26th next and the Conferences contemplated for 1929 in regard to the treatment of foreign nationals and the*

*partial assimilation of legislation on bills of exchange, promissory notes and cheques will lead to valuable results ;*

(5) *Hopes that the preparatory work for the establishment of a simplified uniform Customs nomenclature, of which it recognises the high importance as facilitating tariff agreements and increasing the efficacy of the most-favoured-nation clause, will soon be successfully concluded ;*

(6) *Considering that the Economic Committee has already arrived at interesting conclusions as to the possibility of reconciling the two tariff systems (hard-and-fast tariff and negotiable tariff) ;*

*Requests the Economic Committee to pursue its work with a view to framing a doctrine in regard to commercial policy and preparing collective agreements to facilitate, by bringing about a milder Customs regime, the movement of certain products which are of special importance or which lend themselves more particularly to treatment of this kind ;*

(7) *Follows with interest the investigations undertaken in regard to veterinary measures, and approves their objective character and the desire to take into account the legitimate and occasionally conflicting preoccupations of countries which export and import cattle ;*

*Considers that their completion is essential to enable regulations to be cleared from all suspicion of veiled protectionism, and promote the greater freedom of trade advocated by the Economic Conference ;*

*And is confident that they will be pursued as rapidly as is consistent with the complexity of their character ;*

(8) *Expresses its confidence that the Economic Committee, to which the investigation of the problems relating to coal and sugar were submitted at the instance of the Consultative Committee, will carry through its work with all desirable energy, while not neglecting any of the interests involved, whether of producers or consumers — countries or persons — or the workers ;*

(9) *Hopes that the Economic Organisation will be able to expedite, along the lines of the recommendations of the World Economic Conference and the Consultative Committee, the study of various aspects of the problem of international industrial understandings — in particular, the status of such understandings, their juridical forms, the legislation controlling them and the publicity concerning them ;*

(10) *Believes that the successful attainment of the objects contemplated by the World Economic Conference will largely depend upon the measure in which it will prove possible to harmonise the interests of agriculture and industry, account being taken, inter alia, of the particular position of countries which are mainly agricultural or in the early stages of industrial development ;*

*Approves the view expressed by the Economic Consultative Committee that the systematic study of the problems of agriculture will be an important factor in the encouragement of economic co-operation between peoples.*

*The resolutions were adopted.*

*The Assembly rose at 1.20 p.m.*

## SIXTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

Monday, September 24th, 1928, at 3 p.m.

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President : M. ZAHLE.

## 77. — ACCEPTANCE BY SPAIN OF THE COMPULSORY JURISDICTION OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

## The President :

*Translation* : It is my pleasant duty to inform the Assembly that the Royal Spanish Government has accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice for a period of ten years. Spain's acceptance takes effect from the date of the signature of the declaration by H.E. M. Quiñones de León, first delegate of Spain.

I believe I am voicing the feelings of all the members of the Assembly in expressing our deep satisfaction at this decision, which undoubtedly represents a big step forward in the judicial settlement of disputes between States.

I beg to offer to the Spanish delegation our heartiest congratulations.

M. de Palacios, delegate of Spain, will address the Assembly.

## M. de Palacios (Spain) :

*Translation* : Mr. President — I desire to thank you on behalf of the Spanish delegation for the appreciative terms in which you have just addressed us. I shall not fail to transmit your message to His Majesty's Government, which will, I am sure, be highly gratified at this mark of esteem.

## 78. — CO-OPERATION OF COSTA RICA IN THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE.

## The President :

*Translation* : I have received the following letter, dated September 22nd, 1928, from the Acting President of the Council :

"Acting on the suggestion of several delegations, and after consulting my colleagues on the Council, I have the honour to forward herewith for communication to the Assembly the text of a telegram dated September 6th, 1928, addressed to the Council by the Government of Costa Rica.

(Signed) PROCOPÉ."

The telegram from the Government of the Republic of Costa Rica is as follows :

"I have great pleasure in acknowledging receipt of the important telegraphic reply to my note of July 18th last, despatched through Your Excellency by the Council of the League on September 1st last. In this connection I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that at a meeting held to-day by the Council of Ministers it was agreed to thank the Council of the League most warmly for the careful consideration it has given to our initiative, and, as regards the kind invitation that Costa Rica should resume her membership of the League, to submit the matter to the Constitutional Congress, requesting it to vote the necessary funds for the payment of the contribution involved. — CASTRO, *Secretary for Foreign Affairs*."

The Assembly, I am sure, will welcome this message with the keenest satisfaction and feel gratified at the decision taken by the Government of Costa Rica.

M. Guerrero, delegate of Salvador, desires to make a statement to the Assembly on the subject of this communication.

## M. Guerrero (Salvador) :

*Translation* : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I find two causes for congratulation in the reply from Costa Rica which our distinguished President has just communicated to the Assembly. In the first place, we now have reason to hope for the co-operation of the Republic of Costa Rica in the very near future, and, secondly, this event has had the effect of elucidating a matter which, although so clear to most of us, was still a source of doubt to others. Our thanks are therefore due to the Council for its precise

interpretation of the scope of Article 21 of the Covenant to which the Government of Costa Rica had referred.

But there is an even deeper cause for satisfaction at the return of Costa Rica, in that this may be the forerunner of other similar and equally important events. I am thinking of the Argentine Republic. Only a few months ago, at the Pan-American Conference, it was my privilege to work side by side with the delegation of that great Southern people, and I had an opportunity of realising the inestimable value of their collaboration in the study of intricate continental problems. Their co-operation in the League's activities is no less essential in the interests of the great work of international law and international justice upon which we are engaged.

I venture therefore to express the hope — and my colleagues, I am sure, will share my feelings — that, at the next ordinary session of the Assembly, we may have the privilege of welcoming back not only the delegation of Costa Rica but also that of the Argentine Republic.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. de Palacios, delegate of Spain, will address the Assembly.

**M. de Palacios (Spain) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — It would ill become me to listen to the appreciative tributes just addressed to the Republic of Costa Rica and the Argentine Republic without declaring my warmest agreement with every word that has been said.

As the representative of Spain, may I reiterate, with the deepest affection and sympathy, the hopes expressed by others before me?

President Irigoyen, who is to take up the reins of government on October 12th, the anniversary of the discovery of America — a date which he has, like ourselves, proclaimed a national holiday, thus publicly affirming the ties to which we cling — will, I am persuaded, pursue the work of peace and progress which the Argentine Republic has made its national glory and which Spain regards with most sincere approval and legitimate pride.

I do not wish to appear desirous of interfering with the responsibilities of the head of a Government or to be considered lacking in the respect due to so eminent a statesman, but may I venture to express the hope that the League will one day enjoy to the full the co-operation of that country beyond the seas which, in its magnificent moral and material advancement, bears such glorious testimony to the qualities of our race?

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Villegas, delegate of Chile, will address the Assembly.

**M. Villegas (Chile) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I desire to express my most cordial agreement with the satisfaction which has just been voiced at the welcome decision of the Government of Costa Rica and, as the representative of a country which is bound to the Argentine Republic by so many intimate ties, it is only natural that I should also wish to echo the hopes expressed by the representatives of Salvador and Spain.

Situated as they are in immediate mutual proximity, with one of the longest common frontiers in the world, and united rather than divided by a mountain range which has been the scene of heroic acts on both sides, Chile and the Argentine are governed in their relations with one another by a strong spirit of friendly co-operation, strengthened by common interests and common sympathies.

It is only to be expected, therefore, that every year we should become more conscious of the gap left by our great neighbour in this Assembly, where the Argentine delegation had proclaimed and defended noble principles which have since received so wide an application.

We feel confident, however, that the Argentine and Chile will once again be given an opportunity of working together on behalf of the ideals of peace and justice, which both countries have served in the past at difficult moments in their history, first by submitting their own disputes, now long forgotten, to arbitration, and again by contributing, in conjunction with Brazil, to the success of the memorable Niagara Falls conferences and the consolidation of peace between two great North-American countries.

The universal aims pursued by the League would, I am sure, always have power to evoke in us this same spirit of co-operation, and on this note I would close my speech. Let me, however, first pay a tribute to the Government presided over by M. de Alvear and about to be presided over by M. Irigoyen, who, when he assumes office, can count upon the patriotic support of his fellow-countrymen and the warm sympathy of all Chilians.

**The President :**

*Translation :* Dr. von Schubert, delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly.

**Dr. von Schubert (Germany) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — It is my very agreeable duty to associate myself on behalf of Germany with the cordial appeal addressed by previous speakers to the Argentine Government.

I am anxious that this appeal should be interpreted in the Argentine as a spontaneous expression of general and sincere sympathy with that country and of our approval of any decision that the Argentine Government may take with the object of sharing more fully in the work of the League.

May I take this opportunity of saying how much we value the co-operation of the Latin-American countries? That co-operation, characterised as it is by a rare sense of responsibility and absolute impartiality, is an essential factor in the successful accomplishment of the difficult task we have before us. Of the States which have met in this Assembly, some to our deep regret — the Argentine Republic among them — are unhappily no longer with us, and we deplore their absence all the more keenly because the principle of universality on which our great community is founded is thereby impaired. But a special reason for our regret is to be found in the fact that the Argentine Republic, we are convinced, is eminently fitted to become the protagonist at Geneva of all that is represented by the League, in the loftiest sense of that term.

We know well the generous impulses of the Argentine nation, which has always been ready to throw the weight of its authority into the scale on the side of peace and universal conciliation. I cannot but hope, therefore, that we may again have an opportunity of welcoming the delegates of that great Republic here at Geneva.

**The President :**

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

**M. Motta (Switzerland) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Swiss delegation is very glad to have an opportunity of expressing its gratification at the declaration we have received from the Government of Costa Rica.

May I detain you for a moment to add a few words to what has already been said by other speakers?

During the general discussion on the work of the Council and Secretariat, I had occasion to say how gladly my country would welcome the return of the Argentine Republic to the Assembly and the renewal of its co-operation with us in developing and perfecting this great institution.

Although the Argentine delegation was only among us for a short while, we cannot forget how, from the first day of its arrival, it laid down certain maxims based on the principles of the equality of States and international justice, and those maxims have left a strong and lasting impression on our minds. The co-operation of the Argentine in 1926 in the work connected with the reorganisation of the Council was marked by nobility of view and firm devotion to the fundamental principles on which the League is based. For all these reasons we ardently desire the full collaboration of this great Republic, and we trust that it may resume among us the place which is its due as a nation like ourselves, whose sole desire in serving the League is to further the cause of truth and international peace.

**The President :**

*Translation:* M. Paul-Boncour, delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

**M. Paul-Boncour (France) :**

*Translation:* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The voice of France cannot remain silent amid this happy chorus of congratulations and good wishes attending the event which has just been announced to us.

I had the honour to represent my country on the Council when it was asked to perform the delicate task of replying to an enquiry concerning the interpretation of a certain article of the Covenant — the reply which has led up to the happy event at which we are rejoicing to-day.

I welcomed my share in that task. I felt we were giving some return to Latin America for the services which that great continent has so often rendered in the past by coming to us and helping us to solve the difficulties and conflicts of our unfortunate Europe. It was an act of courtesy long overdue.

I am glad to see that the result has been the return of another State to the League. I should not have ventured to refer to another country had I not been preceded by others, the representatives of countries which are neighbours of that State, and therefore better qualified to do so than I. But I cordially associate myself with their good wishes.

Yet, frankly, I have had to think twice how to express my good wishes; for so accustomed am I to see that country affording its valuable co-operation on the various Committees to which I belong, more particularly in connection with the preparatory work for disarmament, that I cannot help feeling that it is already one of us, and that it is merely the final formalities we are asking it to carry out.

This will be a further triumph for the cause of universality, to which the delegate of Germany so appositely referred a few moments ago. To unenlightened minds this idea of universality may appear a mere fantastic dream; but we who, for some years now, have shared in the League's work and faced its difficulties know, on the contrary, that universality is the condition essential for practical success — in the work of disarmament, in particular, we know it only too well.

For all these reasons, therefore, I desire to add my good wishes and my congratulations to those that have already been offered.

**The President :**

*Translation:* M. Guani, delegate of Uruguay, will address the Assembly.

**M. Guani (Uruguay) :**

*Translation:* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — On behalf of the delegation of Uruguay, I desire to associate myself with the cordial sentiments which have been expressed in regard to the Argentine and Costa Rica, and to add our fervent hope that the list of countries attending the Assembly at Geneva may be lengthened as the result of the co-operation of other Republics of the Western Hemisphere in our work.

I should like to point out that the nations of the New World can bring to our deliberations their individual outlook and their common devotion to the spirit of international justice, and also the principle underlying their work on behalf of peace, namely, that greater importance should be attached in international life to conciliation, arbitration and the compulsory judicial settlement of international disputes.

You will remember that, after the first meeting at Washington in 1888, it was in the capitals of Mexico, the Argentine and Brazil — all of them countries not at present represented at Geneva — that the Pan-American Conferences were held; and, as President Motta recently remarked, these Conferences and the League of Nations are the two greatest international organisations in the world.

When, in 1926, we were considering the question of the composition of the Council, I reminded you that it was the Argentine delegation which, at the first ordinary session of the Assembly, proposed that all the Members of the Council should be elected by the Assembly, on the understanding that five only of those Members, representing the Great Powers, would be re-eligible.

I added that during the discussions at the Hôtel Crillon the representative of Brazil pointed out that the creation of two classes of Members would make the Council a kind of hybrid organisation consisting of certain self-appointed Members and others nominated by the Assembly.

I merely quote these observations as showing the desire of the representatives of the American States that the organisation of this international association should be based on juridical equality.

In the hope that these ideas may one day become practical political realities, we offer here and now a welcome to all countries whose historical and democratic traditions will enable them to defend and support international co-operation on a purely juridical basis.

**The President :**

*Translation:* M. d'Oliveira, delegate of Portugal, will address the Assembly.

**M. d'Oliveira (Portugal) :**

*Translation:* The delegation of Portugal wholeheartedly associates itself with the wishes expressed here for the prompt return of the Argentine Republic as a Member of the League.

The ancient ties between Portugal and the Argentine Republic, the fact that it was a Portuguese navigator who first entered and named the Rio de la Plata and that Portugal was the very first country to recognise the independence of the Argentine Republic would in themselves be sufficient to justify my country's special interest in this matter. But these are not the only reasons; though she no longer possesses territory there, Portugal is vitally interested in America through the close and intimate ties of emigration, language and culture that link her with the countries of the New World.

Moreover, Portugal desires the universal character of the League to be maintained and increased still

further. For these reasons we attach particular value to the co-operation of the Latin-American nations, as sister nations to Portugal.

On behalf of the Portuguese delegation, I sincerely trust that we shall shortly see among us not only the representatives of the Republic of Costa Rica but those of the Argentine Republic as well.

**The President :**

*Translation :* There are three members of the Assembly who wish to make a similar statement.

M. Adatci, who had also asked to speak, has sent me the following note :

“ I shall be glad if, in your statement . . . ”

(M. Adatci is referring to a statement I shall make at the close of this discussion).

“ . . . you will mention my request to speak, which I now withdraw, and will express my sentiments — which are well known to you — in this matter.”

Count Bonin-Longare, delegate of Italy, will address the Assembly.

**Count Bonin-Longare (Italy) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Italian delegation has learnt with the greatest satisfaction of the decision taken by the Republic of Costa Rica, and wishes to express its pleasure and to offer its congratulations. It is our sincere and spontaneous desire to associate ourselves with the hope, expressed by several other delegations, that we may soon see the Argentine Republic resume her place among us. That great Latin nation, which has welcomed with open arms hundreds of thousands of my fellow-countrymen, is bound to Italy by the closest ties, the outcome of constant friendship and an unbroken tradition of co-operation in our common work for civilisation and peace.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Sokal, delegate of Poland, will address the Assembly.

**M. Sokal (Poland) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Polish delegation desires to associate itself with all that has been said by previous speakers. The close ties of co-operation and friendship which unite Poland with all the States of Latin America embolden me to hope that these States may soon give us the invaluable benefit of their co-operation in the League's work. We earnestly trust that we may shortly enjoy to the full the help of the Argentine Republic.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Caballero, delegate of Paraguay, will address the Assembly.

**M. Caballero (Paraguay) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The delegation of Paraguay associates itself wholeheartedly with the words of appreciation which we have just heard regarding the return of the Republics of the Argentine and Costa Rica, our sister nations of Latin America, whose absence we deeply deplore, and whose representatives we hope to see resume their places among us next year.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The statements we have just heard will be included in the records of the present meeting.

In my capacity as President, I think I shall be voicing the feelings, not only of M. Adatci, who has asked me to do so, but of the whole Assembly if I associate myself with all that has been said. These words are addressed to Costa Rica, whose

message has so greatly cheered us ; and, too, they are addressed as a spontaneous and cordial welcome to the Argentine Republic.

This evidence of the Assembly's sentiments towards the great South-American Republic is a fresh proof of our sympathy for that noble country and the high value we attach to its co-operation.

**79. — WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION AND OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION: REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.**

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the report of the Sixth Committee on the work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. (Annex 19, document A.74.1928.XII).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Valdès-Mendeville, Vice-Chairman of the Sixth Committee, and M. Gallavresi, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Gallavresi, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

**M. Gallavresi (Italy), Rapporteur :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Acting on the good advice of our President, which has been followed by all the previous speakers when submitting their reports, I shall not read my report, but shall merely summarise the essential points, especially as the document has been distributed in French and English, together with the report of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and that of the Director of the International Institute, which serves as the executive organ of the Committee.

In the resolutions, which I shall read presently, special mention is made of the fact that there has been a gratifying response to previous recommendations, and that more countries have come forward to assist the French Government with the expenses of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris.

The Institute is becoming more and more international in character, in accordance with the wishes of the Assembly, and as Rapporteur I desire to emphasise this point, and at the same time to stress the international character of the work of the various committees of experts who have met at the Institute in Paris.

The Rome Conference on authors' rights was one of the most important events of the past year. The resolutions which I have the honour to submit on behalf of the Sixth Committee contain a paragraph dealing with the possible developments in this work.

Mention should also be made of the work of the Committee and the Institute in the matter of university interchanges, and of the international arrangements at present being worked out by competent bodies for extending these advantages to secondary schools, chiefly on the initiative of the delegate of the Polish Government.

The International Museums Office, the creation of which I welcomed as a particularly sound venture on the part of the International Committee, is about to enter upon a more active phase. The Office has already given us a substantial token of the excellent results we are entitled to expect from it, as evidenced by the question of plaster

casts and the organisation of chalcographic exhibitions.

The Sixth Committee considered the great problem of scientific property, but thought it advisable to wait for the replies from the Governments concerning the preliminary draft Convention prepared by the Special Committee of Experts.

It would hardly be possible to give you a complete list of the Committee's activities, and I have merely mentioned one or two examples. I should like, however, to add a word on a particular branch of the work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation which was exhaustively discussed in the Sixth Committee, namely, instruction in the aims and work of the League.

The Sixth Committee suggested a special grant for this purpose, and a smaller amount has been allocated, as the Fourth Committee could not recommend a supplementary credit. Thanks, however, to the goodwill so consistently displayed by the Secretary-General, provision was made for the publication of the first number of the *Survey*, which will contain material suitable for teachers and educational authorities who propose to give instruction in this most interesting and important subject.

We must hope, and indeed there is every reason to hope, that the *Survey* will be continued next year, and that instead of one volume we shall be able to place at least two at the disposal of teaching authorities in all countries Members of the League.

Having given this brief summary of the work of the Sixth Committee in the matter of intellectual co-operation, I now propose to read the resolutions it submits for adoption by the Assembly. The Sixth Committee requests the Assembly to adopt the report on the work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and to approve the following resolutions :

*The Assembly has taken cognisance of the reports submitted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Governing Body of the Institute. It is pleased with the results obtained by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation as well as with the work of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation during the past year.*

*The Assembly notes that its recommendations in preceding years in regard to eventual contributions from other States to the budget of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation have been acted on, that additional countries have granted subsidies, while France itself has increased its contribution by 500,000 French francs, so that the budget of the Institute for the year 1929 now amounts to 2,896,000 French francs.*

*It takes note of the progress made in regard to certain important questions :*

*Scientific property, co-ordination of bibliography for several sciences, co-ordination of institutes of higher political and social studies :*

*The work of the International Museums Office and the contemplated extension of its work in favour of scientific museums and similar establishments ;*

*The part played by the representatives of the Committee and of the Institute at the recent Rome Conference for the revision of the Berne Copyright Conventions, and especially in the discussions which culminated in the recognition of the moral rights of authors, recommended by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ;*

*The action taken by several States in pursuance of the recommendations of the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Young People in the Aims of the League, the beginning of the work of the Educational Information Centre at Geneva and Paris, and the contemplated publication of a Survey devoted to these questions.*

*The Assembly recognises the importance of the problem of the international circulation of books and hopes that the obstacles in the way of the circulation of scientific and technical publications may, as far as possible, be removed.*

*The Assembly, in view of the general identity of principles between the Convention of Berne, as revised first in Berlin and then in Rome, and the Copyright Convention signed in 1910 at Buenos Aires by the American States, and revised in Havana in 1928, requests the Council to have its competent organs make all the necessary investigations and consultations regarding the desirability of a general agreement having for its object the unification, on an international basis, and in full conformity with the wish expressed at the Rome Conference for the revision of the Berne Copyright Conventions, of all laws and measures for the protection of intellectual property.*

*The Assembly notes with satisfaction the readiness with which teachers in secondary and elementary schools have answered the appeal for co-operation addressed to them and welcomes the organisation of courses of study with a view to their special requirements, not only on a national basis by various committees, but also on an international basis at Geneva and elsewhere. It is glad of the support received from Governments by which, following the recommendations by the Sub-Committee of Experts of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, facilities have been offered to teachers for following these courses of instruction, and, convinced of the paramount importance of the training of teachers for such teaching, it expresses the hope that similar facilities will be offered by the other States Members of the League.*

*The Assembly requests the States Members to take into consideration the need for the systematic organisation of the exchange of children in secondary schools during the summer holidays with a view to developing the spirit of peace and international co-operation, for which purpose the existing University offices should be utilised or special organisations created.*

*Convinced that this international exchange of school-children would greatly promote mutual understanding among peoples, the Assembly recommends that arrangements be made between different countries on this subject, and it begs the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to instruct the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the Secretariat of the League to facilitate the execution of such arrangements.*

*It draws the special notice of Governments and requests them to give the greatest possible effect to the resolutions of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation regarding :*

- (1) *The creation in the national or central library of every State of an information bureau ;*
- (2) *The preservation of prints and manuscripts ;*
- (3) *The suppression of Customs duties on prints sent to libraries and recognised institutes ;*
- (4) *The adoption of the necessary measures for the preservation and the study of primitive languages which are dying out.*

*Finally, it calls the attention of Governments to the danger of cinematographic performances and of broadcasting characterised by a spirit antagonistic to that of the League.*

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Lucien Hubert, delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

**M. Hubert (France) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have followed with great interest the work of the Sixth Committee summarised in the very able report submitted by our colleague M. Gallavresi, and I have much pleasure in associating myself with the expressions of approval so justly called forth by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, that most practical and capable instrument of the League.

With the Assembly's permission, I should like to consider just what that praise amounts to in the light of the difficulties actually involved. We have to do, ladies and gentlemen, with the most delicate, certainly the most daring undertaking on which the League has yet embarked. It is, I can fairly say, without precedent in the history of the world. Our task is not, like that of ancient Greece, to impose upon the world the ascendancy of a higher form of culture ; it is not, as in the stirring days of the Renaissance, to demand from a privileged land a renewal of human genius ; we have to deal, on the contrary, with mature civilisations, sanctified by time and by their own achievements ; we have to bring them together, to harmonise them, to form, as it were, a luminous constellation in which each orb shall conserve its own brilliance while adding to the general glory.

The intellect has never been ringed round by frontiers, and the realm of science extends beyond their limits. Dante sought inspiration on Mont Sainte-Geneviève, and Goethe probed Italy for the secrets of Latin culture. But this commerce of the mind was only a matter of moments, broken and intermittent.

You have dreamt of a meeting-place kept in readiness, a mart and medium for the ideas and intellect of the world. Was ever a more glorious or more difficult task ? It is comparatively easy, despite appearances, to conciliate national interests. Raw materials, economic needs, output — these things can be reckoned in terms of facts and figures. The realm of material things, though vast in extent, is of necessity limited and, as it were, tangible. The realm of the intellect, on the contrary, is indefinable and limitless. It cannot be measured by any common standard, its boundaries extend beyond our powers of vision. And it is in this realm that we have to establish points of contact, methods and working principles !

Paradoxical as it may seem, I would even venture to say that it is easier to effect alliances in the sphere of the emotions than in that of the intellect. Community of emotions is less rare than community of thought. Noble words and great events cause hearts instinctively to beat in unison.

Few intellectual ideas have power thus to command unanimous acceptance. It is possible to shape human consciousness, springing as it does from one common source, but to shape the human mind, with all its marvellous complexity, must be a task of infinite difficulty.

To bring national mentalities into closer touch with one another, that is the problem. Simple to enunciate, it is vastly difficult of achievement. For what is a national mentality ? It is the product of hundreds, nay, thousands of years of traditions and history. It is the result of long-established habits of common thought and community of expression. It is the product of the soil, of climate

and of language, of the life of the individual and of society, of joys and sorrows experienced in common. It is composed of subtle and delicate gradations, shades and reflexes, which alien eyes cannot always comprehend or appreciate. Did not Renan say that a nation was a soul, and what is more difficult to understand than a soul ?

We, however, are endeavouring not only to understand and to define, but even to conciliate. We are inviting all these separate mentalities, which stand in ignorance of one another, and may even be mutually opposed, to learn to know and sympathise with one other. Each of them is a source of life and light, each has its own particular qualities and characteristic aspects, each contributes its share to the grandeur and beauty of the creations of the human intellect. We respect them all, and we urge them to respect one other. We wish to bring them closer to one another, not to merge their individuality ; to harmonise their differences, not to destroy them.

We do not want all men to speak the same tongue, but we want them to understand one other. Everyone has his own particular way of thinking and defining and reasoning. We urge every individual to realise that others may have different methods, and not to find in this fact a source of irritation or of amazement, but to come and study those methods, discuss them and learn to understand them.

We want each nation to learn not only the outward characteristics of the other peoples, their geographical limits, their political interests and industrial resources, but also the very essence of their innermost selves, their thought. For in the realm of thought, agreement, though so difficult to achieve, is certainly most productive of results. In the lofty spheres of science, art and literature minds may commune without offence.

For peace to become a reality it is not necessary that men should love one another, it is sufficient if they respect each other, and respect is based on mutual understanding. To bring about such mutual understanding is our whole aim and object, and compared with the infinite difficulties of our task, what are a few criticisms of detail, what are a few isolated or momentary reproaches ? Our purpose transcends all, and secondary considerations such as these cannot hinder its advance. We must build on firm foundations ; we must sow the good seed in the hearts of the peoples.

To work for them is to work through them. We call upon them to decide their own destinies, and nothing is more important or more calculated to produce results than to attract to our side the youth of all countries, to teach them the purpose of the League of Nations, what it is doing, what it has set itself to do.

Only the support and encouragement of youth can bring an idea to full fruition. The future of any nation is bound to be shaped by the type of adolescent education which that nation provides. One of our greatest Ministers of Education has said that it is at the adolescent age that the mind becomes formed, — or deformed.

If the new generations remain imbued with the old ideas, our efforts are vain. If irony and scepticism are still to be their daily fare, our purpose is frustrated. But if, without causing them to stray among mystic illusions, we can teach them, not only to love peace, but to trust and hope in it, we shall be able with joyful hearts to build an enduring edifice.

Moral disarmament is the essential condition of peace — how often has this been said ! But intellectual co-operation alone can hope to make this possible. If the League is the great machine which is to destroy war, surely intellectual co-operation

supplies its motive power, for every noble thought that makes its way across the frontiers becomes a source of generous endeavour, and, linked with other kindred thoughts, passes on, a harbinger of peace and human progress.

**The President :**

*Translation :* Mlle Hélène Vacaresco, delegate of Roumania, will address the Assembly.

**Mlle Vacaresco (Roumania) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, my dear colleagues — We are met together here under the patronage of the Muses, nine in number as this is the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League. May the most pensive of their number, the Muse of history, stand by my side while I unroll before you the record of our past endeavours.

It is pleasant, when we are travelling far, to rest awhile on our way and read the tale of the milestones, to cast an appraising glance over the wide horizon. This is the fateful moment for statesmen who hold in their hands the destinies of nations.

Of more modest pretensions and lesser renown, I will do no more than survey the work of intellectual co-operation ; and if we cannot cover the whole of its vast extent we can at least admire its vigorous life.

In its earnest desire to ensure an era of peace that shall be lasting — if possible everlasting — the League has realised that it must create harmony in every sphere, amongst all the groups of the human race. This was the object of each of its Committees, whether dealing with social, political or financial questions. The realm of the mind has been assigned to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which deals with what we may call the technique of the sciences. Then there is the plastic or literary art, which, too, is technical up to a point, but which transcends the limits of analysis and reigns supreme in the measureless realms of heredity and the unconscious.

It was natural, therefore, that the International Institute at Paris should establish that wonderful and novel institution, the International Museums Office. It has gone yet further and is about to constitute a Translations Bureau, which is to be opened shortly. It has also given its attention to public education, which is a matter so dear to the heart of all nations and is the ultimate refuge of their traditions and the centre of their hopes.

The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, and in fact the whole Committee, has given its most careful attention to public education and has worked unceasingly upon the preparation of educational programmes.

Co-ordination of the work done and the results obtained in the field of science ; the education of the masses in all countries to a true appreciation of the masterpieces of art and literature ; above all, the creation of an international moral spirit, — these are the aims of intellectual co-operation. And they lead to an even greater goal, the moulding of modern psychology.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation occupies a position *sui generis* among the organs of the League. While the other Committees are ready to respond to appeals in times of emergency, while they are intended to solve every international crisis which may arise and menace peace, while the part they play in the life of the League is outstanding and sometimes sensational, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation works in secluded vales, goes down to the dark places and seeks to grasp each problem by the roots. Its contact with the peoples of the world is through their inmost selves. I repeat that its main purpose is to create and define the laws of a newer

psychology ; for, Mr. President and dear colleagues, a new psychology has come into being. You know all the circumstances that gave birth to it, you remember the blood-stained dawn of that day. And since then, how the world has changed !

Humanity is the honoured guest of the day, and a vast field of possibilities lies unrolled before it. The world, high and low, cultured and unlettered alike, is seething with agitation. Then, too, we live in an era of prodigious progress in mechanical invention. The motor-car redoubles its speed. the aeroplane has surpassed the wildest hopes. Wireless pierces the clouds and holds dominion over the mysterious powers of the ether. Nor let us forget the cinema, whose multiplicity of vision crystallises the psychology of the age.

What a revolution has taken place in the literary world too ! The most secluded of authors must come forth and probe the mind of this world which is in constant communication from end to end : for pampa, jungle and ocean are now near neighbours. Travellers in their thousands go their ways over the earth, and miracles are commonplace of everyday life. Appeals for enlightenment pour in from every corner of the globe, and literature finds itself overwhelmed.

You may judge of this by the number of famous authors who have come to watch us this year, seeking to know whether to praise or blame the League.

What they really seek is the key-word of the new age, of which they must be the apostles or the protagonists. It is a key-word difficult to define, but the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation must place it before you in living terms. It is already setting its hand to this work, for a Popular Arts Congress is to be held at Prague, where each individual nationalism, strange to say, will display itself to the world under the watchful eye of triumphant internationalism. The national spirit is the very salt of the nation ; nationalism will prevent internationalism from becoming lost in a dead level of monotony ; we shall see it in popular song and in the handicrafts of the peoples.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has therefore but to go forward in the vast field which lies before it and advance triumphantly with the success which has hitherto attended its efforts.

It is the duty of the Press — and may I say that it was partly to address a message to the Press that I ventured to mount this world platform ? — it is the duty of the Press to help the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Paris Institute in the mission assigned to them. It may be a paradox to say that the Press, which leads public opinion, or follows it, the Press which is so avid for news, the Press to which we all turn, has hitherto given all its attention to the other Committees, and has rather neglected the Intellectual Co-operation Committee.

As you see, I am betraying jealousy ; but I speak from a profound conviction which I should like to communicate to you all, and especially to the Press which is listening to me, and also to those distant organs which I hope may perchance hear me.

Thanks to this support, thanks to the help which the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Paris Institute have given us in the accomplishment of our desire for peace, we shall see the work of the League, that rainbow of the nations, reveal itself in triumph.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Valdès-Mendeville, delegate of Chile, will address the Assembly.



**M. Valdès-Mendeville (Chile) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I desire, as a member of the Chilean delegation, to give my warmest support to Professor Gallavresi's report and to pay a cordial tribute on behalf of my delegation to the work done by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the International Institute at Paris. I think we may rightly rejoice at the increasing realisation of the fact that an international centre for intellectual relations is essential to real and fruitful peace.

As I said in the Sixth Committee, I believe the time is not far distant when it will be proclaimed far and wide that the peace edifice of the future must be reared on a triple foundation, — politics, social economy and intellectual co-operation — each part of which will be equally essential to the whole.

Chile is following the development of the dynamic principle of intellectual co-operation with the deepest interest, and has taken it as the basis for the reform of her educational laws. The new Chilean Law on Public Education, passed on December 10th, 1927, and the numerous executive regulations which followed, are admitted by all educational authorities who have studied them to be one of the most complete and best-conceived pieces of legislation of recent times. They form ample proof of Chile's belief that equality of opportunity in education and general culture form the essential bases of world progress and peace, and that Chile desires to keep abreast of the onward march of enlightenment and education towards conciliation and co-operation between country and country. That is why Chile is naturally interested in the formation of a spirit of international co-operation from the school years onwards, and has consequently become interested in the question of the instruction of young people in the aims of the League.

I should like to remind you that the Chilean delegation took this matter up formally before the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly. We submitted a proposal which, in conjunction with other suggestions, led to a meeting of the Sub-Committee of Experts, the recommendations of which may be regarded to-day as the charter of our work in this essential branch of the activities of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

In pursuance of the work begun by our delegations in this direction, I had the honour this year of submitting to the Sixth Committee a draft resolution, which you will find in the tenth paragraph of our resolutions, noting with satisfaction the readiness with which teachers have answered the appeal for co-operation addressed to them by the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly and the facilities which have been offered to teachers for following special courses of instruction.

In view of the letter and spirit of the report submitted by the Sub-Committee of Experts, I thought it but just to mention in the draft resolution the work done by the Educational Information Centre at Geneva, which was the first to carry Recommendation No. 5. into the international field by organising a practical educational exhibition of the highest interest, and also by instituting special courses for teachers, in which a large number coming from twenty different countries participated.

The Committee was unanimous in paying tribute to the work of the International Bureau of Education, but in view of the objection raised by certain members on grounds of principle, no special mention of the Bureau was made in the resolution, and I accepted the Rapporteur's suggestion to amend my draft resolution, which now takes the form laid before you.

I should like, however, once again to express my great appreciation of the sterling work this Bureau is doing for the League and to urge it to continue its work.

For reasons of which you are all aware and which our delegation accepts, the League has decided not to take up general educational questions. Nevertheless, some of the problems we are dealing with are definitely of an educational character. I am therefore glad to see that there is a regular technical centre of information at Geneva; for here it has the great advantage of living in the same environment as the League and of having been created on Swiss soil. No one's susceptibilities therefore are likely to be awakened in this noble and hospitable country, which is famed not least for the efforts it has at all times made to further the cause of education.

I am sure the League Secretariat will continue to give every facility to the organisers of these special courses for teachers, and that those who have come to Geneva this year will take back with them not only the knowledge necessary to enable them to instruct their pupils in the aims of the League and to develop the spirit of international co-operation, but also the benefit of direct and first-hand acquaintance with the noble and varied activities of the League; for there is nothing to equal direct contact with the work as a means of enabling teachers to understand it themselves and to pass on their knowledge to their pupils.

The League of Nations, which has such vast possibilities before it, is especially in need of the intelligent and constant support of public opinion, and it is on the school benches that the public opinion of the future is moulded. It is therefore not too much to say that on the education of youth on the right lines and in accordance with the right principles the future peace of the world depends.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Zumeta, delegate of Venezuela, will address the Assembly.

**M. Zumeta (Venezuela) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I desire, on behalf of the Venezuelan delegation, to express our hearty congratulations to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and to the Paris Institute on the work they have accomplished during the past year, and to support most warmly the conclusions of the report and the draft resolutions submitted to the Assembly by M. Gallavresi on behalf of the Sixth Committee.

I should like to draw your attention to the fact that 1930 will mark the tenth anniversary of the League's foundation. This will certainly not be allowed to pass unnoticed, but will surely be hailed as a great historical event and a landmark in the world progress of intellectual co-operation.

It is only right that from time to time the League should look back on its past achievements in order to seek courage and inspiration for the task still before it.

For both these reasons, first, as an important anniversary and secondly as a year peculiarly suitable for taking stock of the situation, 1930 should be the occasion of public and official celebrations — on a date to be fixed — in honour of the tenth year of the League's existence.

The Venezuelan delegation is anxious to bring this matter to the attention of the Assembly and the Council. It has no definite suggestion to put forward as to the form which this proposal should take. It considers, however, that it should be possible for the numerous societies, unions,

federations, associations and other bodies engaged in international activities to take part in the anniversary celebrations and the work connected with them.

Accordingly, the delegation of Venezuela has the honour to submit to the Assembly the following draft resolution :

"The Assembly,

"Considering that the League of Nations enters on its tenth year in 1930,

"Recommends that the Council should consider what measures it may think appropriate fitly to celebrate that anniversary, and invites the international organisations of all kinds whose work comes within the framework of the League or which co-operate with the League to take part in the aforesaid celebration."

**The President :**

*Translation :* The Assembly has just heard the draft resolution read out by the first delegate of Venezuela. It will be printed and circulated to the delegations. I may have suggestions to make at a later meeting as to the disposal of the draft resolution. I shall consult the General Committee on the matter at to-morrow morning's meeting.

If no one else wishes to speak, I shall regard the resolutions submitted by the Sixth Committee as adopted.

*The resolutions were adopted.*

#### 80. — QUESTION OF ALCOHOLISM: REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report on the question of alcoholism, submitted to the Assembly by the Second Committee (Annex 20, document A.72.1928).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Motta, Chairman of the Second Committee, and M. Valdès-Mendeville, substitute Rapporteur, acting for M. de Porto-Seguro, took their places on the platform.)

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Valdès-Mendeville, substitute Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Valdès-Mendeville (Chile), substitute Rapporteur :

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Acting on behalf of M. de Porto-Seguro, the Rapporteur appointed by the Committee, I have the honour to submit the report on the question of alcoholism. As the report has been circulated in the two official languages, I shall simply read the draft resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Committee after negotiations between the delegations most interested in the question.

The draft resolution is as follows :

*The Assembly :*

Having had a draft resolution on the subject of alcoholism submitted to it by the Finnish, Swedish and Polish delegations ;

Decides to ask the Council to request the Health Organisation of the League of Nations to collect full statistical information regarding alcoholism, considered as a consequence of the abuse of alcohol, giving prominence, inter alia, according to the data available, to the deleterious effects of the bad quality of the alcohols consumed ;

And, considering that, while it is for the Governments to put a stop to the contraband trade carried on in violation of the conventions in force

between them, it may nevertheless be useful to examine the terms in which such conventions or agreements might be drawn up, for the prevention of smuggling in general and that of alcohol in particular :

Decides to ask the Council to request the Economic Committee to carry out this investigation and to submit to the Council any proposals arising out of its conclusions.

It is understood that this resolution does not refer to wine, beer or cider.

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolution submitted by the Second Committee as adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

#### 81. — WORK OF THE ORGANISATION FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT: REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report on the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit, submitted by the Second Committee (Annex 21, document A.73.1928).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Nagai, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Nagai, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Nagai (Japan) read his report and the following draft resolution :

*The Assembly, noting the report of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit on the work of the Organisation between the eighth and ninth ordinary sessions of the Assembly, expresses its satisfaction with the normal progress of the Organisation's work.*

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one wishes to speak, I shall consider the draft resolution of the Second Committee as adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

#### 82. — ADVISORY OPINIONS OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE: RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE FIRST COMMITTEE.

**The President :**

*Translation ;* Ladies and gentlemen — The next item on the agenda is the examination of the draft resolution proposed by the First Committee on the Swiss proposal concerning advisory opinions of the Permanent Court of International Justice (document A.52.1928.V).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Scialoja, Chairman of the First Committee, and M. Burckhardt, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

**The President :**

*Translation ;* M. Burckhardt, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Burckhardt (Switzerland), Rapporteur :

*Translation :* As the First Committee has not adopted a written report, I propose briefly to summarise the result of its discussions.

The question whether, in order to request an advisory opinion from the Permanent Court of International Justice under Article 14 of the Covenant, it is necessary for the Assembly or the

Council to be unanimous, or whether a majority vote is sufficient, was discussed at length, you will remember, at the Conference of States Members of the League which met in September 1926 to consider the American reservations. The question was not settled then, and the proposal put forward at the time by several delegations that it should be submitted to the Permanent Court appeared inopportune.

With a view to reopening the question, the Swiss delegation, through its first delegate, M. Motta, submitted to the Assembly, at the plenary meeting on September 8th, 1928, the following draft resolution :

"The Assembly recommends the Council to consider whether it would not be desirable to submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice, for an advisory opinion, the question whether the Council or the Assembly can, by a simple majority, request an advisory opinion under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations."

In the First Committee, to which it was referred, the Swiss proposal was supported by various delegations, but also encountered a number of objections. Certain delegations considered that it was inopportune at the moment, that the idea of asking the Court itself for an advisory opinion on the interpretation of an article of the Covenant was attended by drawbacks (the contingency might always arise of some States refusing to accept the interpretation given by the Court), that it might perhaps be preferable to leave the Assembly and Council themselves to reply to this question by building up a careful system of jurisprudence.

Moreover, it appeared that opinions as to the meaning of Article 5 of the Covenant (which provides that all matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council may be decided by a majority) were very divergent. Some held that an advisory opinion might be requested by a majority vote in all cases connected with conciliation procedure; others maintained that it should only be permitted when the question submitted to the Court was itself a question of procedure and not of substance; others, again, considered that the answer must depend on the procedure adopted by the Court when giving its opinion; lastly, it was asked what was the connection between this question and the question whether and in what cases the votes of the States concerned should be included.

This is not the time to attempt even a summary of the arguments adduced on either side. It is sufficient to note that the general impression was that the question was an important one which needed to be cleared up, that, if the present moment appeared to the Council to be inopportune, it would nevertheless be unwise to postpone the examination of the question indefinitely and that, if it were not thought advisable to submit the matter to the Court for its opinion, some other method might be chosen.

In deference to these various objections and suggestions, the Swiss delegation modified its proposal and redrafted it as follows :

*The Assembly,*

*Noting the divergencies of opinion which exist as regards the requirements for voting in the Council or Assembly a resolution requesting an advisory opinion from the Permanent Court of International Justice :*

*Expresses the desire that, when circumstances permit, the Council may have a study made of the question whether the Council or the Assembly may, by a simple majority, ask for an advisory opinion within the meaning of Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.*

In this form, the proposal was unanimously approved by the First Committee and I now have the honour to submit it for approval to the Assembly.

**The President :**

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

**Dr. Nansen (Norway) :**

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The resolution presented by the First Committee, on the proposal of the Swiss delegation, concerning advisory opinions is regarded by the Norwegian delegation as of great importance.

I cannot pretend that our delegation is wholly satisfied with the solution we are asked to accept. We believe that it is of urgent importance in the interests of the League that every Member of the League should know as soon as possible what is the meaning of the Covenant and whether or not it is within the power of the Council to ask by a majority vote for an advisory opinion. We wish, therefore, that the First Committee had decided to invite the Council to settle the point at once, and to do so by putting the question in general terms before the Court for its advisory opinion. We regret that the First Committee did not consider it possible to go so far as this, but we are in any case very glad that the proposed resolution was not withdrawn and that it was not wholly rejected by the First Committee.

With regard to the resolution which we are now asked to adopt, and which states a problem which it is in the interests of the League to settle at the earliest convenient date, we consider that the debates of this Assembly have carried the matter a substantial step forward. For this reason we propose to vote for the resolution, but in doing so it is my duty to make a statement as to our interpretation of it.

By the terms of the resolution, the Council is invited to study the question whether by a simple majority the Council or the Assembly may ask for an advisory opinion within the meaning of Article 14 of the Covenant. There are two points in this connection which we desire to make plain. The first is that to entrust the dispute to the Council does not in any way exclude a reference of the whole question to the Court. On the contrary, it is our understanding that, when the Council undertakes this study, the proper course for it to pursue would be to refer the matter to the Court itself.

The second point is that, if by any chance it should not seem possible to the Council to refer the matter to the Court, but if it should prefer to refer it to a Committee of Jurists, that Committee should be a general committee representing not only all the Members of the Council but all the Members of the League. In our view, if such a Committee be required, it should be of the same character as that which drew up the Statutes of the Court, and we believe that only the opinion of such a body could carry the necessary authority. I repeat once more, however, that in our view the right course is to refer this issue to the Court itself, and we confidently hope and expect that this course will be followed.

We vote for this resolution on the express understanding that it does not mean that the Council can postpone for an indefinite time taking the necessary steps in this matter. The world expects that something effective will be done by the Council in this important question in the very near future.

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one else wishes to speak, I shall regard the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee as adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

83. — RADIO TELEGRAPHIC STATION TO BE CREATED WITH A VIEW TO PROVIDING THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS WITH INDEPENDENT COMMUNICATIONS IN TIME OF EMERGENCY: REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE; RESOLUTION.

**The President :**

*Translation :* We shall now examine the report of the Third Committee on the radio telegraphic station to be created with a view to providing the League with independent communications in time of emergency (Annex 22, document A.75.1928.IX).

(On the invitation of the President, Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Third Committee, and M. Guerrero, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Guerrero, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

**M. Guerrero (Salvador), Rapporteur :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Assembly has before it a report and a draft resolution of the Third Committee concerning the radio telegraphic station to be created with a view to providing the League with independent communications in time of emergency. This question was entrusted to a Sub-Committee, which has examined it in all its aspects.

The Third Committee does not think it desirable at the moment to recommend a final decision to the Assembly. It therefore proposes that the question as a whole, including the suggestion of an independent station belonging to the League, and the Swiss Federal Government's offer, should be studied in the interval between this session and the next.

The Committee accordingly proposes to the Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution :

*The Assembly :*

*With a view to enabling Members of the League of Nations to proceed to a full examination of the proposals submitted with regard to the creation of the radio-telegraphic station for the purpose of providing the League with independent communications in time of emergency, and also with a view to allowing time for the additional technical, financial and legal studies considered desirable,*

*Decides to place this question on the agenda of its tenth ordinary session ;*

*And requests the Council to take all necessary measures for a further study of these questions.*

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one else desires to speak, I shall regard the resolution of the Third Committee as adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

84. — PROGRESSIVE CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW: RESOLUTIONS PROPOSED BY THE FIRST COMMITTEE.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the draft resolutions proposed by the First Committee on the progressive codification of international law (document A.56.1928.V).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Scialoja, Chairman of the First Committee, and M. Henri Rolin, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Rolin, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

**M. Rolin (Belgium), Rapporteur :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The report I have submitted to you deals with a problem that has engaged the League's attention for several years past.

It was in 1924 that the Swedish delegation made from this platform a proposal for the codification of international law, and, as you will remember, the Assembly decided after an exhaustive discussion to appoint a Committee of Experts to proceed very cautiously, after consulting the most authoritative legal organisations, to draw up a list of subjects the regulation of which appeared to be most desirable and realisable, to communicate this list to the Governments, to examine their replies and to report to the Council on the questions which were sufficiently ripe for solution.

The Committee of Experts, which was very carefully selected as representing the various legal systems and schools of thought, began its work, and three years ago submitted to us the first results. It informed us last year that in its opinion three questions were sufficiently ripe for examination. These were, first, the responsibility of States for damage done in their territory to the person or property of foreigners ; secondly, territorial waters and, lastly, nationality.

In continuation of this preparatory work for codification, the Assembly last year requested the Council to appoint a Preparatory Committee of Five to prepare a report on each of these questions, and also draft regulations. This Committee was duly appointed by the Council, and the results fully justify the wisdom of its choice. It is only right that we should recall the names of its members. They are : M. Basdevant, Sir Cecil Hurst, M. Pilotti, M. François, and M. Castro Ruiz.

In accordance with the indications furnished by the First Committee, the Preparatory Committee sent to the various Governments a detailed schedule of the different points included under the three questions to be examined by a Conference on Codification, requesting each Government to inform it as to any legal precedents in favour of any particular solution of these points and of its views in regard to existing positive law and its preference for any particular rules.

We now have before us the results of this work, together with further resolutions by the Preparatory Committee — the large Committee which we appointed four years ago — as well as certain additional resolutions which should, I think, give a much wider scope to our work.

As regards the Conference on Codification, which was decided upon in principle last year, your Committee proposes various resolutions.

In the first place, it very rightly desires to congratulate the jurists appointed by the Council on the extremely thorough work which they have done, and which affords a striking proof of the efficacy of the League's methods. It also congratulates itself upon the valuable assistance for the study of these questions afforded by the various international scientific societies.

The majority of these societies have naturally not been in a position to reply direct either to the League Secretariat or to the Preparatory Committee of Jurists ; the essential point is that, during the past two years, they one and all proceeded to investigate the three questions to be examined by the forthcoming Conference on Codification.

The Institute of International Law has, after lengthy preparation and discussion, drawn up draft resolutions, the most recent having been submitted last month. A similar task has been carried out by the International Law Association. The American Institute of International Law has likewise undertaken an enquiry into these questions, and a Japanese association has drawn up a draft Convention dealing with them. A recent and possibly the most important development has been the work carried out by an American Committee consisting of a number of eminent jurists. This Committee, which was organised by Harvard University, has already collected with regard to each of the questions selected by the Preparatory Committee a considerable quantity of legal data and official documentation based on the drafts prepared by scientific societies or Governments.

It is highly gratifying to see that the League's action in initiating the study of these questions has proved a clarion-call to the scientific world to mobilise its forces to deal with the subject.

Accordingly, your First Committee did not consider it over-ambitious to ask that the Conference on Codification should be convened in 1929, and the resolution which I have the honour of submitting to you provides that this Conference should in all circumstances be convened in 1929.

I now take the initiative, and to some extent the responsibility, of proposing that the words "in all circumstances" should be replaced by the words "as far as possible" and this for the following reason:

You will remember that, in the First Committee, I strongly urged that the Conference should be convened in all circumstances. I thought that in any case we should have sufficient material to ensure the success of the Conference. At the same time, we are all equally anxious that a Conference for the Reduction of Armaments should be convened in the course of 1929, and, after an exchange of views with the members of the Fourth Committee and with the Secretariat, we have reached the conclusion, not that the cost would be excessive — for we consider that in view of the importance of the question the necessary sum would readily be forthcoming — but that it would be a practical impossibility both for the Secretariat to prepare for and the majority of Governments to be represented at two Conferences held simultaneously, or almost simultaneously.

We considered that if, as we had hoped, the Disarmament Conference were to meet as early as 1929, it would be a great pity, notwithstanding the urgency of the work of codification, if we were to place any obstacle in the way of that Conference. Therefore, in accordance with the views expressed in the Fourth Committee, I propose that, for purely administrative and not, as I desire to emphasise, for fiscal or economic reasons, we should show our desire to further the work of the Third Committee, and more especially of the Disarmament Conference, by stating that, if necessary, we would agree to a postponement of our Conference for a few months to enable the Disarmament Conference to be held first.

On the question of urgency we considered that, if we were to hold the Conference at the beginning of 1930, it was essential for the Preparatory Committee of Jurists to receive replies to

the various points mentioned in its questionnaire as soon as possible, and that accordingly the Assembly should request the delegations to communicate these views to the Governments, if necessary by telegraph, and to remind them of the importance which the Preparatory Committee attaches to receiving before October 31st their replies to the questionnaire sent to them.

In this connection certain objections have been raised. It is maintained that, in view of the detailed nature of the questionnaire, Governments might find it impossible to reply by such an early date.

In answer to these objections we pointed out that, as we understood it, the Preparatory Committee was not asking the legal advisers to Foreign Ministries to make an exhaustive examination of all points of international law. They were asked to give their actual experiences and their own preferences, based on *de facto* circumstances. As regards their conceptions and rules of law, they need not express an opinion on any points not clear to them, and similarly, as regards their preferences, they could, if they chose, reserve their opinion and give their delegations to the Conference instructions allowing them to take any decisions which might appear in the light of the debates to be conducive to the progress of international law and which would at the same time conform to their own country's notions and ideas.

This possibility is provided for in paragraph 6:

"6. It asks that on this occasion it may be pointed out to the Governments that the detailed questionnaires drawn up by the Preparatory Committee, in obedience to the instructions given to it, have been prepared with the sole object of rendering it more easy for the various Governments to send the information for which they are asked, and do not prevent them, if they so wish, from reserving their opinion upon points which have not arisen in their own experience or upon which they would at present prefer not to pronounce."

Finally, we propose that the Assembly should earn the lasting gratitude of our women colleagues by expressing the hope that — at all events with regard to one question, that of nationality — States should consider the desirability of including women in their delegations. The Committee was struck by certain communications from women's organisations, in particular, by a communication from a Committee of Women Jurists, appointed by the Pan-American Conference on International Law. We considered that, as regards questions of nationality, which directly concern personal status and are thus of special interest to women, it was only natural that they should pay special attention to the position of their sex under international law, and that in these circumstances, in countries where women have already acquired the necessary legal knowledge, they should be called in when the question of nationality came up for discussion.

These, ladies and gentlemen, are the conclusions we propose for your adoption with regard to the preparation for our forthcoming Conference.

The Assembly has likewise before it the conclusions of the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law, according to which two new questions, namely, the legal position and functions of consuls and the

competence of the courts in regard to foreign States, also appear to be sufficiently ripe for codification.

If the Assembly follows the First Committee's suggestions it will take note of these conclusions, but will not decide as yet to place the questions on the agenda of the Conference which it is proposed to hold in 1929, or at latest in 1930. It would in fact be unwise and inexpedient to overload the agenda of the Conference or to introduce questions which have not been prepared as completely as the rest. Neither will the Assembly decide that these items should be placed on the agenda of a subsequent Conference, both because they would not provide sufficient material and because it is not certain that we shall continue to employ precisely the same method of preparation, which is somewhat slow. This is the proposal put before you in the first resolution of Chapter II.

The Assembly will also note "that a new questionnaire, dealing with the question of domicile, has been drawn up by the Committee of Experts and transmitted to the Governments by the Secretary-General".

In this connection the question arose whether it was necessary to convene once again the Committee of Experts, which comprises some fifteen jurists. We thought it rather unreasonable to expect a considerable number of jurists (some of whom come from overseas) to undertake a long journey and give up their time to attend a session for the sole purpose of examining the replies from the Governments on the question of domicile. As we have already a complete agenda, which is long enough for a first Conference, we did not consider that there was any urgent need to examine the question of domicile until the replies from the Governments were received.

I should like to add that during our discussions I suggested that the forthcoming Conference should also be invited to give its opinion on the methods we have adopted for the preparation of international codification. It was considered that an official expression of opinion would be undesirable, but it was agreed that, if the Conference reached definite and unanimous conclusions on the subject, it might embody in its Final Act any modifications in the League's methods which it might consider advisable.

I now come to the third paragraph: the establishment of a general plan of codification. The Assembly had submitted to it last year a proposal by the delegation of Paraguay suggesting that the Committee of Experts should be asked to prepare a plan for codification.

The word "plan" seemed somewhat ambiguous, and it was feared that it might be taken to imply that a programme of codification should be drawn up forthwith, thus definitely binding us to deal with questions of international law in a fixed order and by hard-and-fast methods.

We consulted the Committee of Experts on the matter and, after hearing its opinion, decided that it would be inexpedient to adopt our colleague's proposal in that form.

There was, however, one very valuable point in the proposal. It is highly undesirable that we, or people outside the League, should imagine that, because we have confined the programme of our proposed Conference to three questions and because the subjects dealt with by the Preparatory Committee for the Progressive Codification of International Law appear somewhat restricted in scope, the League does not intend to pursue the

work of codification any further. I say emphatically that, notwithstanding the caution with which we are advancing in this difficult domain in our anxiety to be certain of success, there is no reason why we should not deal successively with other problems of international law in regard to which codification, although more difficult and possibly less fully realisable, is still much to be desired.

It was therefore essential for us to indicate to the scientific world in some tangible and visible form the field of work we propose to cover, while avoiding any mention of the order in which the questions would be dealt with and codified.

The Committee accordingly proposes that you should recognise that "there would be advantages in indicating the full extent of the subjects which, without prejudging the order to be followed, the Assembly proposes to cover by the work of codification".

We proposed that this work should be entrusted to a Committee of three jurists, to be chosen preferably from among the members of the Committee of Experts. We considered that, as the work was of a theoretical and scientific nature, it would be inadvisable to convene a large committee of fifteen or twenty members.

We also thought, in this connection and in order to avoid overlapping or disputes as to competence, and to prevent our legal organ, whatever form it may take, from encroaching upon the domain of our technical organisations, that it would possibly be desirable for this Committee of three jurists to endeavour to distinguish the subjects which should be reserved for the technical organisations and those capable of being dealt with by the jurists, and to define their respective powers.

This proposal is set forth in another paragraph:

"It suggests that it would be desirable at the same time to distinguish, if possible, the subjects which should be reserved for the technical organisations of the League, or the international conferences which have already been initiated by particular Governments, and the subjects which appear capable of being dealt with by conferences of jurists."

Finally, in connection also with our general plan of codification, we concluded that, even though our first Conference has not yet been held, the League of Nations — using the word in the widest sense of the term, that is, in its legal sense, as meaning the community of nations — had already achieved in many fields — possibly without realising it — the codification of international law.

I would refer in the first place to the important treaty which has just been signed at Paris, and which will presumably come into force very shortly — namely, the Briand-Kellogg Pact. There are also the very numerous technical conventions on labour questions, questions concerning communications and transit, health questions and humanitarian questions. These conventions unquestionably constitute a codification of international law in the subjects specified.

Following the suggestions of one of our most distinguished colleagues, M. Fromageot, we thought it desirable that this already substantial achievement in the field of codification should be assembled in a code divided into a series of chapters with headings. If this were done, public opinion would be reassured and would realise that the work of codification we are endeavouring to carry out is not really so difficult, since, during the last few years, and without any preconceived ideas, but, as it

were, under the spur of the necessities of international life, considerable results in the matter of codification have already been achieved.

For this reason the Assembly is invited in the resolution to ask :

"The Council to submit to examination by the above-mentioned Committee of three jurists the question of publishing, as an accompaniment to the *Treaty Series* and in the form of a code, of which new editions would from time to time be produced, those general conventions which have the above-mentioned character, and to report to the Assembly on the matter at its next session."

I have intentionally omitted one paragraph, as I wish to refer to it at the end of my survey.

The Committee proposes that you should once more call attention to the fundamental importance, for the satisfactory operation of arbitral and judicial procedure, of the codification of international law, and emphasises the urgency of the work to be done in this field in presence of the remarkable extension which has been assured, by a very large number of international conventions, to pacific methods for settling international disputes.

This resolution really implies that the resolutions as a whole are based on the codification of the general work of the League. In the very interesting discussion which took place during the first week of our meetings there was one word which was on the lips of all — the word "confidence"; confidence, from which springs security, the essential pre-condition of disarmament.

But confidence is not a spontaneous growth, and is not created by speeches or even by acts, however noble. Unfortunately, it appears that in international matters suspicion and mistrust grow up more naturally in men's minds than confidence, and there is only one way in which we can create confidence and safeguard it from international storms, by which it is so quickly swept away, and that is by substituting for the arbitrary decisions of States and Governments the decisions of impartial persons whom we must ask to act as arbitrators, or else address ourselves to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

That is the object of the General Act for the Settlement of International Disputes, for which M. Politis, with the admirable qualifications he possesses, will act as Rapporteur to-morrow.

Finally, one other thing is necessary to create confidence. Confidence requires that for equity and the open and always debatable judgment of arbitrators, however well qualified, there should be substituted a definite, hard-and-fast rule applying equally to all. That is the essential condition for the achievement of legal security.

In accordance with these observations, I have the honour to propose to you the adoption of the following resolutions :

#### I. THE FIRST CODIFICATION CONFERENCE.

1. *The Assembly expresses its high appreciation of the work already accomplished by the Preparatory Committee of the Conference.*

2. *It congratulates itself also upon the valuable assistance, for the study of the questions to be dealt with by the Conference, which is already being afforded by the various international scientific societies and by the study groups which have been formed, more particularly in the United States of America and in Japan.*

3. *It once more calls attention to the fundamental importance, for the satisfactory operation of arbitral and judicial procedure, of codification*

*of international law, and emphasises the urgency which attaches to the work to be done in this field in presence of the remarkable extension which has been assured, by a very large number of international conventions, to pacific methods for settling international disputes.*

4. *The Assembly accordingly expresses to the Council its desire that the Conference should as far as possible be convened in the course of 1929, so that the first practical results may be secured from an undertaking which has for four years been the subject of methodical preparation.*

5. *The Assembly requests the delegations to communicate these views to the Governments, if necessary by telegraph, and to recall to their attention the importance which the Preparatory Committee attaches to receiving before October 31st, 1928, their replies to the questionnaires sent to them.*

6. *It asks that on this occasion it may be pointed out to the Governments that the detailed questionnaires drawn up by the Preparatory Committee, in obedience to the instructions given to it, have been prepared with the sole object of rendering it more easy for the various Governments to send the information for which they are asked, and do not prevent them, if they so wish, from reserving their opinion upon points which have not arisen in their own experience or upon which they would at present prefer not to pronounce.*

7. *The Assembly, considering that the question of nationality which is on the agenda of the Conference is of special interest to women, and that Article 7 of the Covenant embodies the principle that all positions under or in connection with the League shall be open equally to men and women, expresses the hope that the Members of the League, when invited to the forthcoming Conference, will consider the desirability of taking these considerations into account in composing their delegations.*

#### II. PREPARATORY WORK FOR FURTHER CONFERENCES.

1. *The Assembly, having considered the report addressed to the Council of the League of Nations in June 1928 by the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law, thanks the jurists who, under the enlightened guidance of their President, have made this new contribution to the work of codification.*

*Notes the conclusions of the Committee, according to which two new questions appear to be sufficiently ripe for international regulation, namely :*

- (1) *Legal position and functions of Consuls ;*
- (2) *Competence of the courts in regard to foreign States.*

*It decides to reserve these questions with a view to subsequent conferences.*

2. *The Assembly notes that a new questionnaire dealing with the question of Domicil has been drawn up by the Committee of Experts and transmitted to the Governments by the Secretary-General.*

*It adjourns to its session of 1929 the question whether it is necessary to convene the Committee of Experts again for the purpose of examining the replies from the Governments received in the interval by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, and, eventually, of studying other questions which may arise in connection with codification of international law.*

*The Assembly recommends that the Committee of Experts should, when it next meets, examine whether it would be possible and desirable to endeavour, by the procedure of codification, to formulate a declaration of the fundamental rights and duties of States.*

### III. ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENERAL PLAN OF CODIFICATION.

*The Assembly :*

*Having considered the opinion expressed by the Committee of Experts regarding the proposal of the delegation of Paraguay :*

*Confirms its decision to make no change at present in the method of codification adopted by it in 1924 ;*

*Recognises, however, that there would be advantages in indicating the full extent of the subjects which, without prejudging the order to be followed, the Assembly proposes to cover by the work of codification ;*

*And, in view of the character of the contemplated task, addresses to the Council the request that the establishment of a systematic survey may be entrusted to a Committee of three jurists, to be chosen preferably from the members of the Committee of Experts, and that the survey may be communicated to the Members of the League as soon as possible.*

*It suggests that it would be desirable at the same time to distinguish, if possible, the subjects which should be reserved for the technical organisations of the League, or the international conferences which have already been initiated by particular Governments, and the subjects which appear capable of being dealt with by conferences of jurists.*

*The Assembly emphasises the great immediate practical value in this connection of assembling together in the form of a code, according to a methodical classification, the various general international conventions, i.e., those which are open to acceptance by States in general.*

*It accordingly asks the Council to submit to examination by the above-mentioned Committee of three jurists the question of publishing, as an accompaniment to the Treaty Series and in the form of a code, of which new editions would from time to time be produced, those general conventions which have the above-mentioned character, and to report to the Assembly on the matter at its next session.*

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Caballero, delegate of Paraguay, will address the Assembly.

**M. Caballero (Paraguay) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I desire to thank the Assembly for the favourable reception which it will, I am sure, give to our proposal for the establishment of a general plan for the codification of international law.

After the very pertinent remarks of M. Rolin, the eminent jurist who is our Rapporteur, further comment on my part would be superfluous. But I should like to remind you of our reason for submitting this proposal to the Assembly last year: it was because we thought that, in any general plan for the codification of international law, it should be possible, by taking into account the efforts already made in different parts of the world, to prevent the danger of a break in the unity and universality of law.

I do not wish to anticipate the agenda of the Assembly, but the connection between codification and arbitration is so close that I cannot speak of one without the other. The Assembly will be called upon to-morrow to pronounce upon a general act for the pacific settlement of disputes, a world arbitration convention drafted by the First

Committee, and in this act conciliation figures as one of the procedures laid down for pacific settlement, together with arbitration and judicial settlement by that great common-law tribunal, the Permanent Court at The Hague.

This is undoubtedly one of the most important acts framed by the League since the Protocol of 1924. It is bound to stir public opinion and thus hasten the establishment of an organised system of law all over the world.

Only by the help of public opinion will the idea prevail that voluntary submission to the law is a sign not of weakness but of strength.

Arbitration — taking the word in its widest sense as embracing judicial settlement by the Permanent Court of International Justice — arbitration which has for so long been employed only in specific cases, as between one State and another, and indeed has only existed at all subject to numberless reservations, will henceforth be established on a definite basis, with the proper machinery and the requisite procedure. It will be given a fresh start.

In order to advance the cause of arbitration, however, it is not enough to establish the relevant procedure; for procedure is not the whole of law, and judges can base their decisions only on a body of laws.

Peace laws, laws of justice, must therefore be placed at the disposal of judges and arbitrators. Hence the importance of codification and of establishing a general plan of codification definitely connecting up the various subjects to be progressively codified, those which are already sufficiently ripe, and those which we hope may be ready for codification in the near future.

The League, which is the seat of the legal activities of the world, owed it to itself to undertake this fresh task. I am confident that the Assembly will realise this and that it will adopt the proposal submitted by the delegation of Paraguay.

**The President :**

*Translation :* I wish to point out that the Rapporteur introduced during his speech the following oral amendment in the first sentence of the fourth paragraph of the first group of resolutions, beginning: "The Assembly accordingly expresses. . . ." For the words "in all circumstances" he substituted the words "as far as possible".

As no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolutions submitted by the First Committee as adopted with the amendment proposed by the Rapporteur.

*The resolutions thus amended were adopted.*

### 85. — ENQUIRY INTO THE TRAFFIC IN OPIUM IN THE FAR EAST: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Fifth Committee on the Enquiry into the Traffic in Opium in the Far East (Annex 23, document A.82.1928.XI).

*(On the invitation of the President, M. Matos, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, and Dame Edith Lyttelton, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)*

**The President :**

*Translation :* The Rapporteur will address the Assembly.

**Dame Edith Lyttelton (British Empire), Rapporteur :**

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I propose, instead of reading the report which lies before



you, merely to say a very few words about it. There have been a great many misunderstandings about the British proposal and therefore it seems well that I should try and state it again in simple terms. The enquiry into the position in the Far East was desired by Great Britain, France, Portugal, the Netherlands, Japan and Siam. All these countries have approved of the enquiry, in principle, because smuggling of prepared opium in those countries has reached such dimensions that the authorities find themselves in a large measure unable to carry out the undertakings given in Chapter II of the Hague Convention.

Now, this enquiry is strictly limited. It is not an enquiry into the cultivation of the poppy or even into the production of prepared opium, but strictly into the conditions under which the control of opium-smoking is exercised. It has very often been asked why the enquiry should be limited in this way? It is that question which I will try now to answer.

This is a definite and separate problem, which is dealt with in a special chapter of the Hague Convention. In all scientific enquiries the usual procedure is to try and isolate the problem, to exclude from it all that is not relevant and to concentrate on the one issue. Another question, however, is constantly asked: Is not the position in China relevant to the problem? Of course, it is. Governments would have welcomed the opportunity of investigating in China not the cultivation of the poppy but the conditions under which smuggling out of China is carried on. But there is this to be said, namely, that such an enquiry is not absolutely essential, as the facts and the extent of the smuggling can be investigated in the countries which suffer from it. The conditions laid down by China were these — I will quote the exact words — "That the enquiry should extend to all countries without exception which produce manufactured opium and its derivatives or other narcotic drugs". I will ask you to consider with me for a moment what that condition entails. The poppy is cultivated, as everyone here knows, in a great many countries; the enquiry, therefore, would first entail an investigation in China, Persia, India, Turkey, Russia, Afghanistan, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Greece, etc.

There is then the question of the production of the coca leaf, which would entail an investigation in Peru, Bolivia, Java, etc. It also includes an investigation into the manufacture of morphine, heroin, cocaine, benzoylmorphine and other esters of morphine, eucodal, etc., in the following countries: Great Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Hungary, India, Japan, the United States of America, etc.

It would be extremely difficult to estimate the length of time that would have to be spent, first in negotiating with the countries concerned for such an enquiry, and then carrying out the investigations. I feel that a statement of what the Chinese condition would have entailed sufficiently explains why the Fifth Committee felt that it was impossible to accede to the proposal.

Emphasis was also laid upon the fact that the Geneva Convention, the provisions of which come into force this very week, deals with the whole question of the manufacture of drugs and it is hoped that it will result in far more effective control than the Hague Convention. As the delegate for Germany said in the debate in the Fifth Committee, let us see first what effect these new regulations will have before we enquire further into the matter.

Another question which is continually asked is: What is to be the effect of this enquiry? I

think that we hope for two results: the first is that this enquiry would establish facts which are continually being questioned or doubted; and, secondly, it would review the situation as a whole and present a comparative study. It would examine all the systems of control in force and the difficulties encountered, in the hope of providing a solution for them. It is because of the necessity of surveying the whole field that the Fifth Committee welcomed, and the Governments concerned welcomed, the suggestion of the distinguished and expert representative of the Netherlands Government that the United States Government should be asked to allow the Commission to visit the Philippines. The Philippines, as you are aware, is the only place where the system of prohibition is already in force, and it would be of immense value to know how it is working and what the results have been.

I would then refer to another question that is constantly being asked, namely: Why should the League of Nations undertake this enquiry? Here, again, there are two reasons: First, it is surely the business of the League. The subject of the supervision of the traffic in opium is one of the few definitely mentioned in the Covenant, Article 23 of which lays down that the League of Nations is to supervise this traffic. That is the first reason, and I venture to think it is a very strong one. The second reason is that what is desired is an impartial and independent enquiry — an enquiry the conclusions of which would command confidence. What body is there in the world which could give such an absolutely impartial and conclusive opinion at the end of an enquiry as the League of Nations?

By the decision of the Fifth Committee, the matter is at present left with the Council. If the principle is approved by the delegates to the Assembly, the Council will decide as to the arrangements, financial and otherwise, that are necessary.

I have made a plain business statement, and I hope I have been able to convince some of you of the necessity of this investigation. The details as to how it is to be carried out are left to the Council, and I think we can safely leave the matter in its hands.

#### The President:

*Translation:* M. Wang-King-Ky, first delegate of China, will address the Assembly.

#### M. Wang-King-Ky (China):

*Translation:* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I will not take up your valuable time, and have no intention of making a long speech, even upon so grave and difficult a question as the war against opium.

The word "war" sounds strange in this temple of peace; but this is a holy war, a war undertaken to save many thousands of human beings from decrepitude, madness and death. This new crusade has enlisted in the service of the high ideal it has set up many doughty champions whose merits I should be the last to decry.

I will venture to say no more than this: it is a pity that for many years past so many conflicting plans of campaign should have been made, so many mutually antagonistic methods employed, so that East and West have never formed a solid front against the terrible scourge of opium and all the other narcotics.

As you know, China is not a country in which opium-smoking is allowed. Public opinion in China unanimously condemns this deadly vice, and has always looked upon opium-smokers as unhappy people stricken with disease, more to be pitied than blamed, people whose minds and bodies can only be cured by suitable instruction and by radical

measures removing this accursed poison beyond their reach.

The repressive measures introduced in 1906 were particularly severe, and by 1917 the cultivation of the poppy in China had almost entirely disappeared.

We had almost hoped that this evil was extirpated, when civil war broke out. The stringent prohibitions were relaxed, and once again we may see on Chinese soil, and especially in the more remote provinces, a fairy picture, vast fields of bright, deadly poppies, like the masses of many-hued tulips that are one of the fairest ornaments of the Netherlands.

These prohibitive measures were always hampered, particularly as regards the contraband trade in opium derivatives and other narcotics, by the abnormal privileges which foreign organisations and individuals enjoy in our country, — abnormal privileges which China holds largely responsible for the defeat of our campaign against opium. These privileges have been so much abused that some Powers have withdrawn their protection from any of their own nationals who have been found to be engaged in this illicit traffic.

I will add that I am thoroughly convinced that these abnormal privileges must shortly disappear.

However that may be, I have said elsewhere, and I repeat here, that this recrudescence of the evil — I am speaking of the cultivation of the poppy — is a consequence of the exceptional circumstances which our country has just experienced.

To-day civil war is over, China is once more united, national education has begun and the Chinese National Government, from its very first day, resumed the relentless struggle against opium — indeed, against all narcotics without exception, for it was proved, particularly in the period between 1906 and 1917, that smuggling and the consumption of opium derivatives and other dangerous drugs increased in proportion as the cultivation and consumption of opium diminished.

An Anti-Opium Committee consisting of the highest civil and military authorities, both central and provincial, has already been appointed. It began work on September 1st, and is still continuing; legislation has already been drafted and will be communicated without delay to the competent authorities. I may mention that a period of grace expiring on March 1st, 1929, has been given to opium-smokers, and after that date indulgence in their dangerous vice will be remorselessly dealt with.

The Government has also decided to summon a National Anti-Opium Congress, which will meet on November 1st simultaneously with the National Political Congress, and we are thus in a position to show the League not only words but deeds.

How is it, then, that China and Great Britain, pursuing the same object, should have found themselves at cross purposes in the Fifth Committee?

Simply because the Government of the Republic is fully alive to the dangers to which the Chinese population and the whole world are exposed by the contraband trade in narcotics, whatever their nature, and, in order to put an end to this traffic it is absolutely necessary to eradicate the evil altogether. And this the proposed Commission of Enquiry could not do: the field of its investigations would be far too small.

This explains why we insisted that the enquiry should be extended to all countries in the world which manufacture dangerous drugs or which produce the raw material for such manufacture, and that China, as the country principally concerned, should be represented on the Commission.

It was objected that such an extension of the enquiry would impose too heavy a burden upon the League budget. Our reply is that the problem of narcotics constitutes a complete question in itself, and that it would certainly be less costly to solve it once and for all than to deal with it piecemeal this year and then find ourselves, in a few months time, forced to begin over again and to incur the same expenditure once more.

For that reason we regret that our view was not taken into due consideration by the Fifth Committee.

We are nevertheless still firmly resolved, as far as we ourselves are concerned, to do everything in our power, regardless of private or fiscal interests, to root out this terrible evil, and in this we rely upon the help of all the States Members of the League. I hope that China, opening wide her doors to visitors from all the world, will in the near future be able to invite them into the remotest corners of her territory and show them what the National Government of the Republic has done, by its own efforts, to promote the general interests of humanity.

#### The President :

*Translation* : Count van Limburg Stirum, delegate of the Netherlands, will address the Assembly.

#### Count van Limburg Stirum (Netherlands) :

*Translation* : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The discussions which have taken place in the Fifth Committee have shown once again that the consumption of prepared opium is still a cause of anxiety to the different Governments. It has long been admitted that the machinery for the suppression of this traffic can only be effective if organised on international lines. It is not surprising, therefore, that this question should have been included in the scope of the League's activities.

In organising this campaign against prepared opium we must of course take into consideration primarily the special conditions existing in countries where this product has always been an article of consumption, as well as the experience of the Governments which have ceaselessly striven to suppress it. Any proposal not based on a thorough understanding of local conditions would only make matters worse.

The international campaign against prepared opium is founded on the Hague Convention of January 23rd, 1912, of which Article 6 is as follows:

“ The Contracting Powers shall take measures for the gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture of, internal trade in, and use of, prepared opium, with due regard to the varying circumstances of each country concerned, unless regulations on the subject are already in existence.”

In 1925, a supplementary agreement was concluded in order to obviate the difficulties encountered in the execution of this article, and particularly for the suppression of the contraband trade.

Twenty years before the conclusion of the Hague Convention, the Government of the Dutch East Indies adopted a series of measures to suppress the consumption of prepared opium as far as was possible. The system of leases previously in force

was superseded by a Government opium monopoly. Under the new system the importation of raw opium and the manufacture of prepared opium became a Government monopoly, and its retail sale was only allowed through Government officials. These are paid a fixed salary and receive no commission on sales, so that they have no interest in increasing the turnover in the shops under the control of the administration. The monopoly, first instituted in 1894, was gradually extended, until by 1914 it comprised the whole of the Dutch East Indies.

The cultivation of the poppy was always prohibited in the Dutch East Indies, and the administration is therefore obliged to import its raw opium from abroad. Until recently, all the raw opium required was imported from British India, but, on account of the measures applied by the Government of India for the gradual abolition of the exportation of raw opium from India, the Dutch East Indies monopoly now obtains part of its requirements from Persia.

The consumption of prepared opium is forbidden in retail establishments, the number of which is very limited. Apart from consumption at home, opium can only be smoked in licensed divans, which are subject to rigorous Government supervision. The number of divans is also limited as far as possible. Women are not allowed to enter them, and consumers must bring their own prepared opium with them, the licensees being forbidden to sell it.

The price of prepared opium sold in the Dutch East Indies is extremely high, the average being 26 florins or 52 gold francs per tael of 38.6 grammes. On the other hand, consumption is limited by the following restrictive measures: no one is allowed to possess more than one tael of prepared opium, and in some regions not more than one-quarter of a tael; consumption by persons under 18 years of age and the sale of prepared opium to such minors is forbidden; the hours during which places for the sale and public consumption of opium are allowed to remain open are restricted; propaganda against the use of opium is carried on by means of instruction and text-books and popular pamphlets published by the Government; and subsidies are given to private societies working for the same object. The Government also helps in the establishment of homes for the treatment of opium addicts. Lastly, the consumption of "dross", a residue which is far more dangerous than prepared opium itself, is restricted by forbidding its sale to private persons. Consumers may only sell it to the Government monopoly department.

Besides these general restrictions, the consumption of prepared opium is forbidden altogether in certain regions of the Dutch East Indies, whilst the licence system has been established in other regions in order to ration the drug. I do not think I need enter now into further details of these systems.

I would draw attention, however, to the necessity of observing a certain discretion in the application of restrictive measures. In promulgating legislation on the subject, care must be taken that the result is not to encourage smuggling; for otherwise, despite the active watch kept the Customs and the police, the contraband trade would spread,

and by its insidious propaganda contribute to increased consumption.

The Government of the Dutch East Indies spends considerable sums on strengthening the police force and the Customs personnel, and on motor-launches for the suppression of smuggling. Smuggling is still common, however, and it is therefore quite impossible to put into effect the provision regarding the period of fifteen years referred to in the Protocol annexed to the Agreement of 1925, after the expiration of which the consumption of prepared opium is to be restricted to pathological cases.

In order to give an approximate idea of the present situation in the Dutch East Indies, I will quote a few figures from the annual publications of the Opium Monopoly. On account of the contraband trade the total consumption is higher than the official figures would imply, but the following facts clearly show that the consumption of prepared opium in the Dutch East Indies has not taken on alarming proportions.

The population of the Dutch East Indies is 51,700,000, of whom nearly 1,000,000 are Chinese. The total sales of prepared opium in 1927 only amounted to 59,100 kilogrammes, with a gross turnover of about 40,500,000 florins or about 81,000,000 gold francs. The average consumption did not exceed 1.16 grammes per inhabitant, whilst only one-third of one per cent of the population are addicts. The revenues from the monopoly amounted to about 5 per cent of the total budget.

Should a commission of enquiry visit the Dutch East Indies, the competent authorities will be only too happy to place at its disposal much fuller details than the few figures I have just quoted.

The summary I have submitted to the Assembly shows that the Government of the Dutch East Indies, in accordance with its international commitments, is prepared to submit to every sacrifice in its campaign to suppress the contraband trade in and the consumption of prepared opium; and I will add that it is firmly resolved to carry on the work it has begun.

**Dame Edith Lyttelton** (British Empire), Rapporteur :

In view of the observations I have made, I will now ask the Assembly to adopt the following resolution :

*The Assembly recommends the Council to appoint a Commission of three persons to enquire into and report upon the situation in the Far-Eastern territories of the Governments which agree to such an enquiry as regards the use of opium prepared for smoking; the measures taken by the Governments concerned to give effect to the obligations undertaken in Chapter II of the Hague Opium Convention of 1912 and in the Geneva Opium Agreement of February 1925; the nature and extent of the illicit traffic in opium in the Far East and the difficulties which it causes to the fulfilment of those obligations; and to suggest what action should in the circumstances be taken by the Governments concerned and by the League of Nations.*

*The Assembly also expresses the hope that the Government of the United States will permit the Commission to visit the Philippines and inform itself of the experience of the system of prohibition in operation there.*

**The President :**

*Translation :* As nobody else wishes to speak, I shall regard the resolution submitted by the Fifth Committee as adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

*The Assembly rose at 7.55 p.m.*

## SEVENTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, September 25th, 1928, at 10 a.m.

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86. — QUESTION OF THE METHOD OF CELEBRATING THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LEAGUE : WITHDRAWAL OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY M. ZUMETA, DELEGATE OF VENEZUELA.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The Assembly will remember that at yesterday's meeting M. Zumeta submitted a draft resolution on behalf of the Venezuelan delegation. The text has already been circulated to the delegations. I said that I intended to consult the General Committee at its meeting this morning, in order to be able to submit suggestions to the Assembly as to the procedure to be followed.

In the meantime, M. Zumeta has informed me that, in view of the doubts expressed as to the possibility of examining his proposal at the present stage of the Assembly's work, he thought it better to withdraw his draft resolution. The Venezuelan delegation considers it more expedient to reserve the right to submit the proposal directly to the Council.

The draft resolution submitted to the Assembly yesterday is therefore withdrawn.

87. — RUSSIAN, ARMENIAN, ASSYRIAN, ASSYRO-CHALDEAN AND TURKISH REFUGEES : REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE : RESOLUTIONS.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the report of the Fifth Committee on Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish Refugees (Annex 24, document A.76.1928.IV).

*(On the invitation of the President, M. Fotitch, Vice-Chairman of the Fifth Committee, and M. Bastid, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)*

**The President :**

*Translation :* The Rapporteur will address the Assembly.

M. Bastid (France), Rapporteur :

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — A Rapporteur's duty is always easy when he has nothing but satisfactory results to report. At all events the praise which it is now my duty to bestow justifies me in speaking, though only for a few moments.

The Fifth Committee has once more been called upon to consider the great humanitarian work for refugees with which Dr. Nansen's name will always be associated, and which the Council at one of its recent sessions decided should be extended to further national categories of refugees.

The Committee was able to appreciate the progress that has been made. The figures speak for themselves : the number of refugees in distress has fallen from 1,300,000, the original figure, to 200,000. Moreover, in some cases the refugees themselves are responsible for their own uncertain fate ; at Constantinople, for example, where the situation is critical, the refugees do not always appear to have been very eager to take advantage of the facilities for evacuation offered to them.

The resolution submitted to you calls upon the Governments — in my opinion quite rightly — to maintain and increase those facilities. Speaking now, not as Rapporteur but as delegate of France, I am authorised to say that my Government is prepared to maintain the most benevolent attitude towards the refugees at Constantinople, and is considering the possibility of agricultural settlement for a certain number of families, especially if the High Commission is able to carry out its plan and establish a re-adaptation centre in France.

In Syria, very marked progress was made again this year, as last year. Of the 100,000 Armenian

refugees in that country, only 40,000 still remain to be settled and, of these, over 7,000 — 7,760 to be precise — will soon be adequately and permanently installed.

The enthusiasm shown on the administrative side is both encouraging and unusual. It would indeed be difficult to believe, if things had not happened so quickly before our very eyes, if Dr. Nansen had not lent us the support of his high authority, and if we had not had access to certain documents which your Rapporteur was fortunate enough to find in the files, documents which demonstrate clearly the keenness and confidence of the writers.

I am thinking specially of a detailed report submitted last month to the Sub-Committee at Geneva on the settlement of Armenian refugees in Syria and the Lebanon by two persons of different nationalities, Dr. Duguet, head of the Medical Service, and M. Burnier. I can only say that men who have such magnificent faith in their work are bound to succeed.

A most important point to note is that the refugees have not been treated as inert material. In assisting this unfortunate Armenian people, we have sought the co-operation of the refugees themselves, and if we have succeeded in winning their confidence, it is probably because we have discovered how to awaken a response in this most impressionable nation. We have reached the very heart of the nation through its notables, its religious chiefs and its political representatives; we have worked side by side with the people and have put not only our brains but all our enthusiasm into our every effort.

I have given figures in my report. More than 1,500 families, after a careful examination of their qualifications and abilities, are about to be settled either in the country or in the towns. The results of the agricultural settlement are especially remarkable in a country where the ground available is scattered far and wide and the means of communication very uncertain. The policy of settlement is directed wholly towards full proprietorship. The aim is to make those who till the soil owners of the soil, directly interested in the yield of crops, and to help them, through their permanent settlement on the land, to recover the peace of mind that deserts peoples and individuals alike when their lot becomes precarious and uncertain.

I cannot enter into the details of the complex administrative machinery which it has been necessary to set up on this account; drainage works are a special case in point. I simply wish to point out now that the moral aspect so characteristic of this Armenian regeneration is completely in accord with the apostolic mission of the League and of Dr. Nansen himself.

The work begun under these conditions must be continued and brought to a successful conclusion; you may rely upon the mandatory Power to do everything possible.

Now, gentlemen, we have to be thinking what is to be the end of all this refugee work. That question, I may say, was the one uppermost in the mind of the Fifth Committee.

The League has never thought of the refugee work as anything but a provisional remedy for a temporary state of affairs, and our efforts must be designed not to perpetuate it but to do away with it entirely. It is quite clear that the demographic upheaval due to the war cannot be allowed to devolve into a new order of things sanctioned by permanent institutions — everybody agrees on that point.

Despite these considerations, however, it is only fair to say that any drastic attempt to settle once and for all the problem of assisting these distressed

peoples, a task which has brought such credit on the League, would probably mean not only inflicting injury upon those to whom help has been offered but also damaging the prestige of this Geneva institution.

It is pointed out that the position of the refugees is still attended by difficulties in many countries. On the other hand, present political conditions in Europe and all over the world make it impossible to consider mass repatriation, nor do the countries appear disposed to assimilate the refugees residing within their territories before they have evinced their suitability for naturalisation by a sufficiently lengthy sojourn. There is, however, no other alternative by way of solution.

These were the two principal points that came up for discussion. We noted the progress that had been made; we expressed the hope that the work would soon be concluded.

We had also to report the results of the Inter-Governmental Conference held in June last. The Conference drew up a number of texts defining, and hence calculated to improve, the legal position of refugees. The new regime thus created — which requires the approval of the Government concerned — confers additional powers on the High Commission, necessitating the reorganisation of that body. A further matter — the refugee work entrusted to the International Labour Office — will shortly be brought to a conclusion. It appeared desirable, in consequence, that the High Commission should be assisted in its task by a Joint Advisory Commission, consisting of representatives appointed in equal numbers by the Council of the League of Nations and the Governing Body of the International Labour Office respectively.

The refugee service would thus acquire the unity and authority that it needs.

These and other ideas are summed up and set forth in the following resolutions which the Fifth Committee has the honour to submit to you, and to which we trust you will give your approval:

*The Assembly :*

(1) *After examining the reports submitted by the High Commissioner for Refugees and by the Director of the International Labour Office on questions connected with Russian, Armenian, Turkish, Assyrian and Assyro-Chaldean refugees :*

(2) *Recognises the progress achieved in the course of the year ;*

(3) *Notes that a complete solution of the problem can only be provided by the return of the refugees to their country of origin or their assimilation by the countries at present giving them shelter ;*

(4) *Earnestly invites the Governments concerned to provide the refugees with all possible facilities for acquiring the nationality of the countries in which they at present reside ;*

(5) *Whereas, however, in present circumstances, international action is still necessary for some time to come :*

(6) *In conformity with the resolution of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, invites the Council to take urgently all necessary steps to appoint an Advisory Commission to be attached to the High Commissioner ;*

(7) *Recommends the Council of the League to invite this Advisory Commission to submit to it, before the next session of the Assembly, a general report on the possibility of reaching a final solution*

as soon as possible and on the means by which this object might be attained ;

(8) Earnestly invites States Members to adopt and apply, on as wide a scale as possible, the Inter-Governmental Arrangements concluded on July 5th, 1922, May 31st, 1924, May 12th, 1926, and June 30th, 1928, which offer the refugee work the means by which it may gradually become self-supporting ;

(9) Points out, however, that the respective Governments must be left free to decide whether and how far they are prepared to give force of law to the recommendations adopted by the Inter-Governmental Conference of June 30th, 1928 ;

(10) Notes that the taxes to be levied will be fixed in consultation with the respective Governments, that only the representatives of the High Commissioner will be entitled to levy them, and that the employment of the proceeds will be subject to the control of the High Commissioner ;

(11) Declares that the Council's resolution of June 27th, 1921, shall be applied in regard to all categories of refugees ;

(12) Recalls with gratitude the endeavours of the High Commission and of the International Labour Office by which about 800 Russian refugees in Constantinople have been successfully evacuated during recent months ;

Cognisant of the very difficult situation of some 2,000 of these refugees who still remain in Turkey and who, in accordance with a Decree of the Turkish Government, must be evacuated from Turkey before February 6th, 1929 :

Expresses the hope that the High Commission will seize every opportunity to press forward their evacuation and that the various Governments will, as an exceptional measure, and subject to the safeguarding of their own interests, authorise the issue of emergency visas to enable the refugees to leave Turkey ;

(13) Adopts the budget for the Refugees Services for 1929, as already approved by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and by the Supervisory Commission, and

Requests the Supervisory Commission to take into consideration the uncertainty of the position of the officials employed in that Service, to which attention has been drawn by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and to grant them the improvements asked for on their behalf.

**The President :**

*Translation :* As no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolutions submitted by the Fifth Committee as adopted.

*The resolutions were adopted.*

#### 88. — PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES IN THE REPUBLIC OF ERIVAN : REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report on the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan, submitted to the Assembly by the Sixth Committee (Annex 25, document A.80.1928.VII).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Valdès-Mendeville, Vice-Chairman of the Sixth Committee, and Dr. Riddell, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

**The President :**

*Translation :* Dr. Riddell, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

**Dr. Riddell (Canada), Rapporteur :**

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have the honour to present to you the report of the Sixth Committee on the establishment of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan. This proposal first came before the Assembly in 1924, in which year 50,000 francs were added to the refugee budget to provide for an enquiry into the possibility of settling a substantial number of Armenian refugees in the Caucasus and elsewhere.

In 1925, the Assembly considered the question of securing a loan in order to finance this settlement scheme, but that was found to be impossible. In 1926, the High Commissioner for Refugees was authorised by the Assembly to see what could be done to secure additional contributions towards this scheme. In September 1927, the High Commissioner asked the Council whether there was any hope of funds for this purpose being obtained from the Members of the League.

The Council thereupon decided to make a final appeal to the Members of the League. In reply, four Governments have now offered to contribute either by means of credits or in cash. Two other Governments have indicated that it may be possible for them to make some contribution. At the Council meeting held on the 17th of this month, Dr. Nansen announced that, in addition to these gifts, the Armenians in Europe had given £100,000 for this scheme and that he was willing to carry on this work under the auspices of the League under certain conditions, namely, that the Council should continue negotiations with the Governments which had indicated their desire to assist, and that the League should provide funds for the administrative cost incurred in carrying out the scheme.

As you know, the Council referred this matter to the Assembly. The results of the deliberations of the Sixth and Fourth Committees are embodied in the report which is now before you ; and as you have had an opportunity of reading that report — carefully, I trust — I shall only read the resolution which the Sixth Committee proposes to the Assembly :

“ The Assembly :

“ Decides that the work of the establishment of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan shall be carried on under the auspices of the League of Nations ;

“ Requests the Council to continue negotiations with those Governments which have offered assistance in this work, in order that the conditions under which other offers have been made may be fulfilled ;

“ Approves the inclusion in the budget of the sum of 50,000 Swiss francs to meet the administrative expenses of this work. ”

If you adopt this resolution, your action will afford additional proof of the profound sympathy which you have shown from the beginning in the rehabilitation of Armenian refugees. Dr. Nansen has stated that the funds which will probably be at his disposal will enable him to settle between 10,000 and 12,000 refugees in the Republic of Erivan.

I trust that the report of the Sixth Committee on this subject has had your careful consideration, and that it will now meet with your unanimous approval.

**The President :**

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

**Dr. Nansen (Norway) :**

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I desire to express my satisfaction that at last a result has been reached in this matter, and that the League of Nations will now actually do something for these destitute Armenian refugees. It can be said with truth that no people deserve more the help of the League. No people in the world have had a sadder fate than the Armenian people. Their history has been one long record of suffering and oppression in their worst forms. Their rich and fertile country was in an exposed situation between great Powers — Persia on the one side, Greece and the Roman Empire on the other. Then came the Turks and the Arabs. The fertile country was swept by the armies of these peoples going backwards and forwards, destroying the country, massacring the people, sacking the towns and destroying the villages; nevertheless, with wonderful energy, vitality and tenacity, these remarkably gifted people always and every time patiently built up their homes again. So it went on until the final catastrophe came during the last war, when the Turks decided to wipe out these people from their territory, and when they were deported over mountains into the Arabian desert, to be massacred or starved to death.

One million of these people were murdered or died from starvation, and the rest were scattered over the world, so that the Armenians were actually driven out of Turkish territory. As was then said: "*La question arménienne n'existe plus*". The Allied Powers then invited the Armenians to fight with the Allies and promised them that, if the war were successful, they should be given an independent home and protected against their enemies. The war ended successfully, but all the promises were forgotten, and the Powers did not fulfil their duties and their solemn promises. Two hundred thousand Armenian volunteers sacrificed their lives for the Allied cause. But the Armenians received nothing that they had been promised.

The League of Nations has time after time unanimously adopted resolutions to the effect that it was necessary and desirable to give the Armenians a national home. This was done at the first and second ordinary sessions of the Assembly, and at the third ordinary session, in 1922, it was decided that as a result of the peace negotiations it was of the greatest importance that the Armenians should have an independent national home. The Council of the League was asked to take the necessary steps to fulfil that desire. Then came the negotiations at Lausanne, when Lord Curzon, in the name of all the Powers, declared that it was necessary to give the Armenians a national home and described the Armenian question as one of the worst scandals of the world. The Turks put themselves in opposition and in the Peace Treaty of Lausanne there is not a word about the Armenians.

Mr. Baldwin, the present Prime Minister of Great Britain, declared that the five million Turkish pounds which was deposited in the banks in Berlin and which was divided between the Allies was, to a very great extent at least, Armenian money which had been taken by the Turks from Armenian banks in Asia Minor, and that from every point of view it was absolutely necessary for Great Britain to contribute an important sum to help the Armenian refugees on very much the same plan as was afterwards proposed.

The League of Nations has examined the question, going into it very thoroughly through the intermediary of its High Commissioner and a

special Commission of Experts, which recommended irrigation, etc., and hoped that there would be no great difficulty in obtaining the support of the Governments in order to establish a home for the Armenians and to alleviate at least those miseries which had been created by the war. But, unfortunately, the Powers did not seem able to give the necessary support, and nothing was done. Then it was proposed that small sums should be given in order to settle the most destitute of the refugees in Armenia, and that proposal also met with difficulty.

Now, at last, I hope that the necessary money will be raised to be administered under the auspices of the League. The greater part of the money which is now at our disposal has been provided by private contributions from the Armenians themselves in Europe and in America, and some part of it is a loan from various Governments. I hope that, as a result, something will be done for the Armenian refugees in order to alleviate the worst misery of some of those who are most destitute, especially, I think, in Greece and in Constantinople. The money at our disposal is certainly much less than was at one time hoped for, but none the less it constitutes a beginning.

Some members of delegations in the past had misgivings as to the carrying out of the plan. I feel confident that they will have no cause for regret when the work actually begins. The settlement, I feel convinced, will be as successful as any that the League of Nations has effected. I believe this, in the first place, because of the industry and ability of the Armenians themselves, and, secondly, because of their determination to conserve their national culture in a country of their own. I believe that this will be, as I said before, the beginning of a much larger work by means of which that national home promised to the Armenians will actually be built up, though on a much smaller scale, it is true, than was originally desired and intended. Nevertheless, it will be a national home which will serve as the spiritual centre of all the Armenians in the world — a centre to which they will look as the country of their culture and their civilisation.

The Republic of Erivan is an independent Republic in the Soviet Union, but is populated now almost entirely by Armenians, and Armenian is the only official language, and Armenian culture is the culture of that country.

But I may add that this development, as I hope, of the work towards building up that national home which was promised does not mean that the League will be involved in indefinite commitments, but that the success of the first settlements will persuade others, private organisations and perhaps Governments also, to take part in the work. The more that can be done for the Armenian people the better, because the obligation of Europe and of the world to those people is unlimited.

**The President :**

*Translation :* His Highness, Mohammad Ali Khan Foroughi, first delegate of Persia, will address the Assembly.

**His Highness Mohammad Ali Khan Foroughi (Persia) :**

*Translation :* When speaking of the history of Armenia and the misfortunes of its sorely-tried but valiant people, Dr. Nansen mentioned Persia as

one of the aggressors that had contributed to the ruin of that country and massacred its inhabitants.

He forgot to say, that in Persia above all, especially during the last few centuries, the Armenians have always found a refuge and been allowed to live in peace and prosperity. The Armenians themselves are the first to recognise this fact, and have never lost any opportunity of expressing their gratitude.

I wish now to take this opportunity of expressing our admiration for the disinterested efforts of that great philanthropist, Dr. Nansen, and to inform you of our whole-hearted approval of the resolution submitted to the Assembly by the Sixth Committee. We have great pleasure in supporting the resolution.

**The President :**

*Translation :* As no one else desires to speak, I will put to the vote the following draft resolution submitted by the Sixth Committee :

*The Assembly ;*

*Decides that the work of establishment of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan shall be carried on under the auspices of the League of Nations ;*

*Requests the Council to continue negotiations with those Governments which have offered assistance in this work, in order that the conditions under which other offers have been made may be fulfilled ;*

*Approves the inclusion in the budget of the sum of 50,000 Swiss francs to meet the administrative expenses of this work.*

*The resolution was adopted.*

#### 89. — WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE: REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Third Committee on the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference (Annex 26, document A.83.1928.IX).

*(On the invitation of the President, Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Third Committee, and M. Beneš, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)*

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Beneš, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Beneš (Czechoslovakia), Rapporteur, read his report, and continued as follows :

*Translation :* In various quarters there has been a tendency to regard the results of the Third Committee's discussions as symptomatic of the almost overwhelming difficulties with which we are faced, and to conclude a little too readily that all practical achievement must again be postponed for some long time.

I know the difficulties that exist, but I know, too, that all of us here — and, indeed, public opinion in every country as well — instinctively feel that the psychological moment is approaching when the Conference will become inevitable.

We are faced with differences of opinion between certain Governments, and these differences admittedly constitute a difficult problem; but they cannot last much longer. Anyone acquainted with

political life, anyone having practical experience of these questions, knows that difficulties of this kind between large countries cannot go beyond a certain point or continue indefinitely without great and unforeseen danger to the policy, both foreign and domestic, of those countries.

I am sure, therefore, that negotiations will shortly be resumed with a view to reconciling these divergent views, and the Preparatory Commission will then be able to continue its work. We all feel that, once the Conference is convened, it is essential that every possible means should be employed to ensure its success.

The preparatory work carried out at Geneva during the last nine years is already so far advanced, and the conclusions reached could be turned to account so rapidly, that it would be possible to get to work without losing a single day. I think I may say that the material collected by the League on this matter, the experience acquired during the past few years, and the careful investigations that have been made into the problem of disarmament would rapidly enable us to achieve valuable results.

I do not want to be too optimistic, but I must also warn you against unwarranted pessimism. Problems as difficult as these cannot be settled in a day or even in a year; but we must none of us forget that one of the League's most important tasks is to give effect to Article 8 of the Covenant.

In conclusion, may I say that if we find we are faced with obstacles which are hard to overcome, it is our duty to join forces and display not only greater energy than ever, but also a spirit of conciliation, goodwill, and confidence, so that we may triumph over these difficulties, for the sake of the League and of world peace.

I recommend to your attention the following resolution :

"Whereas a close connection exists between international security and the reduction and limitation of armaments ;

"And whereas the present conditions of security set up by the Covenant of the League of Nations, by the Treaties of Peace, and in particular by the reductions in the armaments of certain countries under these Treaties, and also by the Locarno Agreements, would allow of the conclusion at the present time of a first General Convention for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments ;

"And whereas those Governments which consider that their security is not sufficiently assured are now, thanks to the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security, in possession of fresh means for strengthening their security, of which it is to be hoped that they will make use at need, by having recourse to the good offices of the Council ;

"And whereas the Convention for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments will increase international security ;

"And whereas it is desirable that the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and of the Committee on Arbitration and Security shall be pursued so that, by further steps, armaments may be progressively reduced as the increase of security allows ;

"The Assembly :

"Urges the necessity of accomplishing the first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments with as little delay as possible ;

"Notes with satisfaction the efforts of certain Governments to prepare the ground for the future work of the Preparatory Commission ;



" Earnestly hopes that Governments among which differences of opinion still subsist as to the conditions for the reduction and limitation of armaments will seek, without delay, in the most liberal spirit of conciliation and international solidarity, agreed solutions which will enable the work of the Preparatory Commission to be brought to a successful issue ;

" Proposes to the Council that the President of the Preparatory Commission be instructed to keep in contact with the Governments concerned so that he may be apprised of the progress of their negotiations and may be able to convene the Commission at the end of the present year, or, in any case, at the beginning of 1929."

**The President :**

*Translation :* General Tanczos will address the Assembly.

**General Tanczos (Hungary) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I should like to explain in a few words why I shall abstain from voting on the draft resolution submitted to us.

This resolution contains no promise, nor even a reference, in regard to the convening of a first Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. It must in fairness be recognised that the report does mention the point, but unfortunately in very vague terms.

It appears from the debates of the last few years that this first Conference, even if convened, would give us very little satisfaction, because it would only mean a very limited advance in the direction of general disarmament. We should, of course, be the first to rejoice if our very slight anticipations in the matter were exceeded.

The draft resolution before us carefully avoids mention of anything that would give us even this slight hope. In consequence, our present humiliating condition of unilateral disarmament will continue, in spite of the contrary provisions of Article 8 of the Covenant and the preamble to Part V of the Treaty of Trianon, dealing with military clauses.

In order to record our fresh disappointment this year at the very slight results obtained in the matter of disarmament, which for us is of paramount importance, I now inform you that I shall abstain from voting on the draft resolution.

**The President :**

*Translation :* Count von Bernstorff, delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly.

**Count von Bernstorff (Germany) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Allow me to explain in a few words the German delegation's point of view in regard to the resolution now before you.

It was from this very platform that the head of the German delegation, Chancellor Müller, asked the Assembly to adopt a definite decision with regard to the convening of a first Disarmament Conference, and to take steps to bring to an end without further delay the technical work of the Preparatory Commission.

He added that the object of the first Disarmament Conference should be, as an initial stage, to bring about an appreciable reduction of existing armaments — military, naval and air — and to provide for full and complete publicity in regard to all categories of armaments.

It was in conformity with these views that, in the course of the Third Committee's discussions, the German delegation, as the Rapporteur has just reminded us, submitted a concrete proposal in the form of a draft resolution, requesting the Assembly

to ask the Council to convene the first Disarmament Conference in 1929, while leaving it to the President of the Preparatory Commission to convene the Commission at such time as would enable the programme of the Conference to be drawn up.

I need hardly say how deeply the German delegation regrets that it was not successful in securing the acceptance of these proposals. What are the arguments advanced against us ? They take two forms. First, our critics have attacked the arguments which Germany draws from her own disarmament. The manner in which Germany has fulfilled her disarmament obligations has been criticised and it has been sought to minimise the extent and scope of her actual disarmament. Further, we have been much astonished at the reserve and scepticism with which our critics have spoken of the present possibilities of achieving general disarmament.

They have brought out the political and technical difficulties which, it is said, would make it impossible to proceed rapidly with the first stage of general disarmament ; and our resolution, which was proposed with a view to the adoption of concrete and decisive measures, has been declared inopportune and even dangerous.

In spite of our keen desire to see the matter from the point of view of our colleagues of the other delegations, we are unable to admit the force of their objections, or to abandon the standpoint we have already described from this platform.

With very great reluctance, ladies and gentlemen, I return to the question of the execution of German disarmament, which has been raised here.

The attempt has actually been made, as you know, to account for the slow progress at Geneva by adducing Germany's alleged delay in carrying out her own obligations to disarm.

What are the facts ? On January 1st, 1921, the effectives of the German Reichswehr had been reduced to 100,000 men ; by the summer of 1920 the reduction prescribed for the German fleet had been completely carried out ; by the end of 1922 the destruction and surrender of arms and munitions provided for by the Treaty had been effected to the extent of 95 per cent of the total required.

You will see, therefore, that disarmament was carried out in all essentials, and that only a few minor points remained, on which differences had arisen as regards interpretation.

Nor can we admit the other argument that Germany's armaments to-day constitute a military factor to be reckoned with in judging the international situation. All the world knows that Germany has no heavy artillery, no tanks and no military air fleet. Neither has she any reserves of equipment or ammunition. The total trained reserves are diminishing year by year. Her war industries have been destroyed.

It would take several months to train new units, and still longer to convert peace-time industries, however highly developed, into war industries.

Having regard to the geographical situation of Germany — she is surrounded by powerfully armed countries — a war would be bound to terminate in favour of our adversaries long before Germany could draw upon her human and industrial resources.

I must say frankly that the German people are unable to repress a feeling of bitterness when they see that the scope and extent of the efforts made by Germany to carry out loyally the disarmament clauses are being overlooked or belittled. Our critics even go so far as to blame us for the military regime imposed upon us by the Treaty of Versailles : even the pacific work upon which we have been engaged with the object of reconstructing our economic life is used as an argument against us.

Nor can I agree with the argument by which some people seek to show that the existing political situation justifies the rejection of the German proposals. The first paragraph of the present resolution lays down as an indisputable fact that the present security of States is such as to allow of the framing of a first disarmament convention. What then are the reasons which prevent the Assembly from pushing this argument to its logical conclusion? Is security always to be opposed to disarmament? We can only repeat the elementary axiom that nothing tends to increase the sense of security more than the beginning of general disarmament.

Similarly, we do not hold that the work of the Preparatory Commission should consist solely in placing on record, some day, the direct agreements reached between the different States. Its duty is rather to create those agreements.

It need hardly be said that our proposals were in no way intended to prejudice any diplomatic negotiations already in progress.

Nevertheless, what is there to prevent the Preparatory Commission, in the present state of affairs, from undertaking useful work itself? It is a political organ, and its members are appointed and are given instructions by their Governments. During its earlier sessions its work was sometimes hindered, I know, by prolonged political disputes, but there is no reason why the Commission should not adopt a different method of procedure now. It might, for instance, appoint sub-committees to deal with different questions, such as naval disarmament, the German proposal concerning the publicity of armaments, and other concrete tasks.

The one essential is to be sure that we are attacking this great problem with a definite desire to attain practical results, and it is this desire that we should have liked to see expressed with greater force and greater confidence in the resolution of the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly.

If we were to make a table of all the resolutions that have been adopted by previous sessions of the Assembly, we should be astonished at what we should find. We should see that the present resolution, far from constituting progress of any kind, really marks a certain relaxation of effort. There is no longer any reference to the convening of a first Disarmament Conference. On the contrary, the resolution appears to attach primary importance to diplomatic negotiations.

Why should we not ourselves try to lay down exact principles to serve as a basis for the work of disarmament? Much is said of the possible danger to the League's prestige if a Disarmament Conference, too hastily summoned, failed to achieve positive results; but we think there is a far greater danger in allowing it to be thought in the world that the League is standing idle before its most urgent task—a task, too, which is so closely linked with its highest mission, the maintenance of world peace.

For these reasons, the German delegation cannot assume any responsibility for the further delays which might result from this resolution. We cannot endorse a resolution which is primarily concerned with emphasising the objections to rapid action of any kind instead of drawing inspiration from the hopes kindled in the minds of all peoples, who are looking to the League to achieve at all events some first result.

But we say, and we are anxious to prove, that we are ready, now as in the past, to co-operate loyally, and without making any unreasonable demands, in the work contemplated by the Assembly.

The German delegation will not vote against the resolution as now submitted to you. Whatever it contains of a positive character—and in our view it contains too little—must certainly not be weakened by being made a mere recommendation. The German delegation will accordingly abstain from voting. It still hopes that the meeting of the Preparatory Commission, which is to take place in any case at the beginning of 1929, will lead to the early convening of the Disarmament Conference, which continues to be our ultimate object in whatever we do.

**The President :**

*Translation :* Mr. Locker-Lampson, delegate of the British Empire, will address the Assembly.

**Mr. Locker-Lampson (British Empire) :**

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen—In view of the statements made by the previous speakers, it is clear that the proposed resolution will not achieve unanimity, and perhaps I may therefore be allowed to state the attitude of my Government in the matter.

It is quite true, and none the less regrettable, that the work on which the League has been engaged, for the realisation of a first step towards an international agreement for the reduction and limitation of armaments, has been slower than some, at least, had dared to hope. The disappointment felt in many quarters is due, in part, to the fact that the League may have attempted to move too quickly.

In order to make clear the attitude of the Government which I represent, it may be necessary to recall shortly the more recent development of the activities of the League in the sphere of disarmament. In 1925, the Assembly, while reasserting the doctrine that disarmament could not be dissociated from security, decided that the existing bases of security warranted the inception of the preparatory work for the eventual convening of a Disarmament Conference, and it created the Preparatory Commission for this purpose. It was felt to be essential that, should the psychological moment come upon us unawares, the League must not be found unprepared and unable to take advantage of the situation owing to the fact that it omitted to complete beforehand all the laborious work necessary to ensure agreement.

The Preparatory Commission thought it possible, in the existing circumstances, to go so far as to prepare a draft Convention for submission to the Conference. Great progress was made towards the drafting of a Convention, but the work was held up by a conflict of opinion on certain fundamental principles. It was agreed that this difference of opinion, which rendered further progress impossible for the moment, should be discussed between the Governments which had championed the opposing points of view. These Governments thereupon conferred together and, by mutual concession, were able to agree upon certain principles. The agreement was submitted, in the first place, to the other Governments principally interested, whose acceptance is desirable before it can be submitted to the rest of the Commission. We are not, however, in possession of the views of all the Governments consulted.

If that agreement should find general acceptance, there would be good reason to believe that the Preparatory Commission could forthwith resume its work with every prospect of success. If, on the other hand, it fails to find acceptance, it is clear that the Preparatory Commission, if it met, would find its progress obstructed by the same difficulties which have recently necessitated a suspension of its work.

A check to negotiations of this kind, however, need not be final, and efforts on the part of Governments to ascertain what concessions would be acceptable, though at first they might be fruitless, might nevertheless be resumed and ultimately achieve success which might be jeopardised by an immediate confession of failure in the full Commission. For that reason the British delegation was in favour of the idea of leaving the Preparatory Commission in suspense while negotiations continued, leaving it to the discretion of the President to convene it as soon as there might be a fair prospect of agreement.

It became clear, however, during the discussions in the Third Committee that this idea would not meet with unanimous acceptance, and certain delegates demanded an early meeting of the Commission at a date to be fixed, irrespective of the state of negotiations on the points of difference which had barred progress at its last meetings.

As I have already said, the British delegation did not consider that to demand a fixed date was the most practical method of procedure; such a demand seemed to it to imply a lack of confidence in the intention of the members of the Commission to make the best possible progress. Nevertheless, even against its convictions and solely in order to secure unanimity, the British delegation reluctantly agreed to the resolution which is now submitted to the Assembly. It hoped that by this means unanimity had been secured; but, to its profound regret, it finds that the procedure recommended in the resolution is unacceptable to certain delegations, who maintain the view that the Disarmament Conference itself should be summoned in any event during the course of next year, irrespective of the state of the preparatory work.

The British delegation cannot accept this view, and is convinced that, as has already been maintained on many occasions in this Assembly, to summon a Conference without preliminary agreement on principles would be nothing short of a disaster and might result in an irreparable setback to the cause of disarmament. It maintains the concessions which it has made and will vote for the resolution. It doubts whether the procedure recommended in the resolution will, in the circumstances, produce the best results; but at all events it does not represent a radical departure from the line of action which the Assembly itself has traced, and which reason would seem to dictate. Along this path the British Government is determined to make, in the future as in the past, every effort to progress in a spirit of loyal co-operation.

#### The President :

*Translation :* M. Paul-Boncour, delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

#### M. Paul-Boncour (France) :

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — When, a few days ago, in the Third Committee, Count von Bernstorff and General Tanczos stated on behalf of their respective countries that they could not support the resolution which it had seemed might be accepted unanimously, the Press, always so quick to note what we say, and even what we do not say, observed that the Committee received these statements in tense silence.

The time has come to break that silence. It was due to regret at a decision, of which the least that can be said is that it is hardly calculated to hasten the solution of the difficult problem in which we are interested; it was due also to a sense of the fitness of things — the League is composed of equal sovereign Powers whose decisions no one

is entitled to question, if no explanation is given of the motives which determined them.

Count von Bernstorff and General Tanczos; when announcing their decisions, made no further comment, reserving their right to make a statement in the Assembly. This they have done. We were not entitled to demand an explanation of their decision, but we do possess the right to take up the arguments they adduced in support of it, because these arguments strike at the work of the Preparatory Commission, to the confidence placed in that Commission and to the value of the resolution adopted by your Third Committee.

With all due courtesy, I will now examine their arguments one by one.

I have never made any difficulty, to-day less than ever, in recognising that the Preamble to Part V of the various peace treaties — Part IV of one of them — promises a general reduction of armaments in return for the reduction imposed in certain cases. Count von Bernstorff knows this better than anyone. Last March he used as his own my expression of opinion on the point, which I maintain in its entirety. In return I ask him to interpret this text in its entirety, as I do myself. These special reductions imposed on certain countries by the Peace Treaties are the forerunners of general reduction, but they are at the same time the condition of that reduction. They are to be distinguished from similar prescriptions enacted in the past, in that the latter were unilateral, while the whole value of those under consideration lies in the fact that they constitute a preliminary condition, and not merely the promise, of a general reduction of armaments. Hence respect for these treaties does not, to me, imply any humiliation for the Powers accepting them.

But the issue on this point is not merely between Germany and France, or between Hungary and her neighbours. The question is a bigger one. The real text which governs whatever we do is Article 8 of the Covenant. In this case also let us accept it as a whole, without curtailment. It is quite clear.

Article 8 of the Covenant, not with any idea of the compensatory reduction clauses to be found in treaties, but in the general interests of peace, provides for "the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations."

It adds that "the Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments."

Thus, in the very article in which the Covenant provides in imperative terms — from which no one is entitled to claim exemption — a promise of a general reduction of armaments, it explains the precise meaning of that promise, and even specifies briefly but clearly the general lines on which it is to be carried out. It cannot be translated into uniform scales fixed in advance. Such arrangements must be in harmony with the general situation and geographical conditions of each State; they depend primarily not on a feeling of security but on the actual security of the States.

It is not true, therefore, to say then that the League has been wasting its time spending years trying to build up an international organisation for security. Nor can it be argued that it has been obsessed by some capricious idea, or that it has made the problem of security a pretext for not disarming.

After much effort and lengthy deliberation, two attempts — in the form of the Treaty of Mutual

Assistance and the Protocol — were made to ensure total security which should allow of total disarmament; for this I believe, as you do, is what the nations really desire.

But let us make no mistake. Disarmament on this vast scale will only be possible when we have perfected the general scheme of international security. Complete national disarmament is unthinkable without an international army responsible for seeing that treaties are respected and for ensuring general security by the use of compulsion against those guilty of violating either. Real disarmament, genuine disarmament, can only follow on real and genuine security conceived on an international, a universal, scale.

No blame should therefore, be laid at the door of those who have made such great efforts towards general security, who were the first to affix their signatures, and who still proclaim their allegiance to the acts framed for this great purpose. I know my country and have no hesitation in saying that, whatever changes may take place in party politics, the signature it affixed to the Protocol will always be honoured. Others must revive this instrument, if they think fit. We are always ready.

If security had really been used as a pretext for postponing disarmament, we might easily have shelved disarmament altogether. You know how enthusiastically we helped in the planning of those great schemes for international security. They proved, however, to be premature, and they encountered opposition; their non-acceptance by certain great Powers rendered them abortive. We need only have pointed out therefore that, since the conditions for disarmament laid down in Article 8, and reiterated in the various resolutions of the Assembly, had not been fulfilled, we could not go on with disarmament, and must just wait.

This would have been all the more justified since, as you must remember, according to Article 21, the application of the Protocol was to be contingent upon the adoption of the plan for the reduction of armaments to be fixed by the proposed Conference. The connection was formally and definitely established. This great international Treaty could only be put into effect under the terms of Article 21, after the plan for the reduction of armaments, as fixed by the proposed Conference, had been carried out.

This was not our intention. At the Assembly of 1925, when it became clear, from the opposition encountered and the views put forward, that the Protocol would not be accepted by the majority of the Powers, or at all events by the majority of the great Powers, it was decided, on the initiative of the French delegation, that the preparatory work for disarmament should begin.

How was this? Because no human endeavour is ever wholly wasted. Therefore, though we should not indulge in illusions — as you will see, I am not suggesting any — this is not the moment to utter words of discouragement, which never spur men on to action. Again I say, no human endeavour is ever wasted.

The Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Protocol were prepared. Neither was adopted, but they were both the outcome of strong currents of public opinion, for the League moves with the tide of the people's demands. Neither was adopted, but they produced their effect; they set ideas in motion. But no human endeavour is ever wholly wasted; the archer may not always hit the mark, but the arrow in its flight traces the course to be followed, and shows where the objective lies.

The Protocol did not win acceptance, but the impulse which it gave to ideas resulted in its being applied after Locarno to a large area of Europe,

to those regions where the most recent conflicts had left their deepest blood-stained track.

Locarno was already in the making. It was not yet an accomplished fact, but the predominant features were becoming clearly enough defined to show that the principles of the Protocol itself would be applied to a specific region of Europe; that is to say, arbitration on a general scale accompanied by guarantees — both features are essential.

This was enough. The French delegation could now submit, and the League could now accept, a proposal that a preparatory study of disarmament should be begun at once. And the fact that the work was begun that very year — the year of the adjournment of the Protocol and the conclusion of the Locarno treaties — was a clear indication of its nature and of the purpose in view. It was the first stage, starting from two positive ideas: the reduction of armaments as provided in the peace treaties, and partial security as ensured by the Locarno treaties, which were a partial application of the Protocol.

The Assembly of 1925 passed its resolution at the end of September. On December 3rd, a Committee of the Council met under my chairmanship; in four days it drafted the programme for a Preparatory Commission, and this programme was accepted by the Council itself, on M. Beneš' report, on December 12th, 1925.

Let me impress upon my German and Hungarian colleagues the fact that this programme is binding upon us, and, as for our method of work, we cannot change it unless the Council itself so decides. This method and the continuity so essential in the pursuit of any great undertaking follow naturally from the whole body of questions, which were arranged in seven groups and transmitted to the Preparatory Commission. At the outset, the Council's decision and the terms of reference of the Preparatory Commission, as accepted by those who afterwards agreed to sit on the Commission, eliminated a whole series of conceptions which might possibly have been adopted but which it was not for us to consider.

We took as our starting-point the interdependence of armaments.

This method may be open to criticism. Some may prefer a different one. But it was the one chosen, and in that matter, indeed, we were already bound by the Assembly resolution of 1924. Both the report submitted to the Council and the actual Council resolution endorse that 1924 resolution, which was to the effect that limitation and a general reduction of armaments must be considered in terms of the interdependence of armaments; that is to say, the limitation of land armaments cannot be considered independently of a limitation of naval or air armaments and vice versa. That is quite evident, and it would be very unfair in any Convention for the general limitation of armaments to attempt to limit the one without the other. It would run counter to the supreme purpose of our work, which is not to satisfy any one Power but to ensure that no country shall have power, whether on land, on the sea, or in the air, to impose its will upon the community of nations.

The Preparatory Commission met, its first act being to entrust the task of defining certain questions to technical committees, to the Permanent Advisory Committee and to a Mixed Committee composed of members of the League's economic organs and representatives of the International Labour Office, as we considered it important that labour should be directly represented. As soon as it received their conclusions, the Preparatory Commission met, in March, 1927.

These technical committees, it is true, took a long time over their task — a year at least. I for one have never admitted, and never will admit, that this was a waste of time, or involved any unjustifiable delay in our disarmament work.

I consider that in acting thus we rendered a signal service to the cause of disarmament, and that we were able to register greater progress than ever before.

The very pressure to which we are now being subjected, and which I should not have regretted — for a certain amount is necessary — had it not taken the form of abstention, which detracts from the value of what we had intended to be a unanimous effort — such pressure could not have been exercised if the disarmament problem had not reached this advanced stage.

The Preparatory Commission and the technical organs have enabled the question of disarmament to emerge from the purely theoretical and rudimentary phase in which it had remained for centuries. We did not invent the cry for disarmament: it has echoed through the ages of history. It has remained unanswered, and it would appear that even the most civilised and cultured nations which have uttered this cry have in their turn succumbed, as a result of the renunciation of their own power, to the more brutal nations. Our first duty was to set up an international organ of security as a foundation for disarmament, for no such organ had hitherto existed, and in order that it may have the maximum possible precision, we feel it essential that the establishment of this organ should not be separated from the actual work of disarmament.

So disarmament emerged from the purely theoretical and rudimentary phase and has entered upon the technical phase. The Preparatory Commission, composed, as you rightly pointed out, of political personalities representing the Governments, with power to bind those Governments, then carried disarmament on from the technical to the political phase.

You may perhaps exclaim: "What a number of phases and what a journey!" Very true, what a journey, what a number of phases! The reason is that we had taken in hand a problem which had never before been taken in hand except in talk, and you know what a sorry experiment was made before the war. You know, too, that it needed the terrible lesson, the bloodshed of the war, to induce the world to give this subject sufficient consideration for it to be brought before us to-day in the shape of a definite proposal argued out in the Preparatory Commission.

Political divergencies exist at a time when — let us speak quite frankly and not try to cloak our difficulties with technicalities — the problems still retain their technical aspect; that is the difficulty, but behind these technical divergencies loom political interests and conflicts of States, or what the States consider, rightly or wrongly, to be their vital interests. This was ultimately revealed in the Preparatory Commission in March 1927.

My colleagues took part in that work. Those of you who, to our regret, are no longer in agreement with us — you shared the same experience. You all know the difficulties with which we had to cope. Do you think, nevertheless, that that stormy and at times tragic session of March 1927 was a mere waste of time?

I should like the people who laugh at our work, who criticise it so sharply, just to examine the results of our discussions, to study the parallel columns showing the points of agreement and those on which disagreement still persisted. I am even prepared to admit that the points on which

we disagreed are the essential ones; I admit that success is impossible until we have reduced those points of disagreement; but I maintain that a complete scheme has now been framed, that one part of the preliminary draft convention on the basis of which a Conference could meet and agree is already prepared.

We must not forget, gentlemen, that the difficulties of the Preparatory Commission were due in large measure to the very conscientiousness with which it set about its task.

The Council instructed the Commission to examine a questionnaire that constitutes a programme from which the Commission cannot depart until so authorised by the Council. The Commission, however, really exceeded the Council's instructions. It wished its study of the questions submitted to it to result in a preliminary draft Convention, the text of which should be sufficiently complete and clear for it to be possible to convene, with every chance of success, a general Conference for the limitation and reduction of armaments; for, believe me, such a Conference must not be summoned unless it is certain to succeed.

We took steps to, or perhaps I should say we tried to take such steps as would, ensure success. We did our best to draw up the draft convention, and there are already whole chapters sufficiently advanced for final drafting; while, as regards the points still at issue, it is in itself a great step forward to have been able to define the causes of disagreement. We now have to concentrate on these points and do away with them.

That was the position when the Assembly met in 1927. The atmosphere to begin with was tense and pregnant with difficulties, somewhat like the atmosphere in which, I very much fear, the present Assembly may end. It was because, all through the preparatory work, we had been coming to feel behind these technical divergencies the full weight of the task — perhaps prematurely undertaken — on which we had embarked. We desired to give proof of our goodwill. We did not want to wait for complete and general security to be organised by the League before beginning our disarmament work. We at once planned that work on a world-wide scale. We could not have done otherwise, for how can it be dealt with on any other scale, since the limitation and reduction of armaments in one country are conditioned by the limitations and reductions effected by that country's neighbours and potential enemies?

We therefore provided for a worldwide system of disarmament, although there is as yet no worldwide system of security. Actually we took as the starting-point for the first stage of disarmament a special agreement, a regional agreement, the Locarno treaty.

When we approved the Locarno agreements — remember that those who have already spoken from this platform agree with me on this point — we approved them simply as constituting a beginning. It never occurred to us that the League would abdicate in favour of the method of separate regional agreements, unless these were extended all over Europe, all over the world.

It would indeed have been an abdication of authority if the League had been satisfied with the mere existence of an agreement, however excellent, as a pretext for relinquishing all further interest in the treaties which still have to be concluded.

It did not do this; it proclaimed its confidence in the Locarno agreements, a confidence based on the hope that the number of such agreements might increase. It neglected, however, to interest itself directly in the matter. States, chancelleries and diplomatic methods are not always governed by the principles of international politics, as we

understand them here. They soon fall back into the rut worn in the course of centuries, and there have not been many repetitions of the Locarno agreements — that is, generalised and guaranteed arbitration treaties. We have seen alliances and treaties of every kind; we have seen the old diplomacy gradually re-emerging. If no other methods are available, then obviously Europe must fall back on it. But let us beware. When we said that the Locarno agreements must multiply and spread their network over the whole world, at all events over Europe to begin with, we reckoned without the weavers. They have never woven that network. Let us hope that the Fates are not busy weaving a mourning veil to enshroud humanity anew.

At the Assembly of 1927 we dissipated this brooding atmosphere by reinvesting the League with the powers it should never have relinquished. We said: "It is clear that, if you let the States and diplomacy have their way, if you allow the old agreements, the old alliances and the old methods to spring up again, war will be the outcome, just as it was before. You are here to establish an organ of international security. Establish it then!"

We began by trying to do this; we worked on a definite plan; we tried to rear a classic edifice mirrored in the lake. Circumstances prevented us. The necessities of life, the resistance we encountered, the absence of an international spirit, compelled us to give up for the time. Further attempts were made to build up the edifice by means of a series of agreements, as it were a succession of scattered stones. The least we can do is to safeguard the plans and keep watch over the materials.

That was why you then decided upon the constitution of the Committee on Arbitration and Security. It set to work, and this afternoon M. Politis, in his masterly report, will submit to you the results of the Committee's efforts. Most of you are already acquainted with them, either because you have sat on the Committees to which they were referred or because you have been given a general outline of them. This is a remarkable piece of work, which should suffice to restore in the Assembly the confidence it appears to have lost. The past year cannot be regarded as altogether sterile. Model treaties of arbitration, treaties of mutual assistance — for, as you know, in disarmament questions neither can be envisaged without the other — are at the disposal of the States. Of course, I quite understand that they will be worth precisely what the different State policies may make of them: perhaps, mere sheaves of paper, they will join other such treasures in the oblivion of some great library; or, again, if the States adopt them and employ them as instruments of their policies, they may become the starting-point of new security agreements pending the establishment of general security. They will, I am sure, enable the numerous technical divergencies attaching to disarmament to be reduced.

All this can come to pass if the peoples, if public opinion, so desire. Do not let us be afraid to launch our appeal from this platform. We are not men to carry on debates in secret; we are not simply diplomats who have met behind closed doors. We are the representatives of States, and are most of us in touch with public opinion and popular sentiment. To them we must make our appeal; not in order to offer them the empty phrases of demagogues and stir up the destructive forces of popular passion, but in order to arouse enthusiasm, to win their support for our thankless task of finding positive and definite solutions. •

If the texts prepared are to be used, they must not be left to grow dusty on our shelves, but must be infused with the breath of life, as they can be if international policy so desires. The result will be a general increase in security, which will facilitate not merely the first but the subsequent stages of disarmament.

For I venture to say that, those who are here as plaintiffs in the disarmament question are defendants in the question of security. Those who, rightly, are most anxious to hasten the work of disarmament are at the same time most reluctant, nay, are most unwilling, to provide the League and the Council with sufficient powers to conclude the necessary security agreements.

Even those not directly concerned with the possible conclusion of these agreements should remember that international solidarity knows no frontiers.

It is not for any State represented here to ask: "Am I my brother's keeper?" Every State can give its guarantee. As we all know, conflicts are no longer confined to limited areas. The rising tide of war gradually swallows up one nation after another. Not only do victors and vanquished alike suffer to an equal degree, but even those who had hoped to stand aside or to profit by a war are crushed under the weight of the burdens it brings.

So it is for each and all to do whatever may be necessary for security. We must all, without distinction, provide the agreements we have prepared with the guarantees without which they cannot become real or vital.

Meantime, we must continue the first stage towards disarmament. We are all agreed there. The idea of a first stage is not inconsistent with what I have just said; it supplements it. And if I thus pass from disarmament, in the strict sense, to security, it is because life itself and the realities of life command me to do so. Disarmament and security are so closely interwoven that it is impossible to treat them separately, even in the framework of a speech.

The idea of a first stage, then, during which this further progress towards security must be continued, is not at variance with but reinforces my previous contentions, because in the meantime there is a precautionary measure to be taken. We must stop any possibility of a fresh race in armaments. And we must act quickly. This first stage must be completed rapidly — not that, as far as I am aware, or at all events as far as my own country is concerned, there has yet been any renewal of the competition in armaments. I can give you figures to prove that.

May I say that I should not have touched on this subject at all if Germany and Hungary had not done so themselves? In speaking of a comparison of military strength they are somewhat anticipating the work of the Conference.

When the Conference actually meets, when we are called upon not to frame a preliminary draft Convention but to fill in the blanks in that draft, to insert, as in a marriage deed, the amount of the dowry, to state the number of our effectives, our tonnage and our material, it will then be essential, in view of the variety of types of armies in existence, to compare them with one another.

No one, I think, has ever dreamed of blaming the nations whose military forces were reduced under the Peace Treaties for the type of army that has been imposed upon them; but, since the matter has been raised, I venture to say that, when the time comes, we shall be entitled to weigh very carefully and exactly what this type of army

represents, and to remember that the number of effectives is not the only factor that counts. We must also know their value; we must know what proportion of each type of army consists merely of a body of recruits who have undergone a short period of training and been released at once, and what proportion could form *cadres* from which other armies could be trained. When that time comes we shall have to compare the various armies, not to indulge in mutual recrimination, but simply in order to see how far reductions are possible. In this way we shall complete the first stage.

It has been said here, thus to some extent frustrating the hopes we were striving to realise, that, in view of the manner in which this first stage was announced, it cannot prove satisfactory.

Yet, ever since the Preparatory Commission started work, we have always, realising the magnitude and importance of the task to which we have set our hands — we have always, I say, regarded disarmament, not as a single great and complete whole, but as a series of successive stages to be covered by all the States marching side by side. Last year, when we saw eye to eye — and I heartily wish we did so this year too — it was in a joint Franco-German resolution that the necessity for these stages was recognised. If we admit that necessity and realise that disarmament must be progressive and gradual, it follows that the first convention will necessarily and primarily be a convention for limitation. It would be only too easy to arouse hopes that would be doomed to disappointment, to make promises that would never be fulfilled. I say — and I say it in the teeth of fresh criticism — that we must learn to limit our action to what is possible, and say so frankly. We all know in our hearts that the first thing to be done is to cry halt, to check further increase. We must first stop any possible race in armaments. That in itself will be no small achievement.

It will be no small achievement, because we shall thereby consolidate the spontaneous reductions carried out by certain countries, which in doing so have begun to carry out the provisions of Article 8 of the Covenant.

When we meet round the Conference table I shall be able to say that, without any Conference and on its own initiative, my country has reduced its land effectives by 34 per cent; that, by the time the Conference which is to consider general limitation opens, my country has taken precautions, has passed constitutional laws enabling a further reduction to be made, bringing the difference between its present effectives and the 1913-14 figures up to 45 per cent. As regards the navy, France has reduced her general tonnage by 25 per cent, while the proportion of her military expenditure to the total budget figures is at present 19 per cent as compared with 35 per cent in 1913-14. Thus, under the League's influence, and under influences at work at home, great reductions have already been made.

I should like to see them recorded at the earliest possible moment in international conventions, and I agree that this stage should be completed quickly. Why? Because, if doubt persists — and it does persist through the very fact that no one knows what his neighbour is going to do — I am afraid we shall see the nations starting a new race in armaments. My fear is that, as the financial strain becomes less tense, as the memory of the war fades away, and the generation that took part in it, the generation that detests war and is resolved to end it, gradually dies out, all these circumstances together may, unless a first international convention, a convention to arrest

competition in armaments, is speedily concluded, result in a renewal of competition and, as the final outcome, war.

I do not agree with those of our colleagues who hold that disarmament in itself creates security. I believe that security has requirements of its own, and that disarmament is the effect and not the cause of security. But I know none the less surely that competitive armaments inevitably mean war, and that is what must be stopped.

The thing can be done. We can take the first step, though, I am careful to add, we cannot call success certain — far from it. If I were merely to indulge in misgivings I should say very much what Count von Bernstorff has said. But I want to be rid of these doubts and misgivings; I want to conquer the difficulties, though I well know that neither is possible without a unanimous, confident and wholehearted effort on the part of all the Members of the League.

There are technical difficulties, and behind them, as I have already said, lurk controversies which are political in character inasmuch as they concern what States conceive to be their vital interests. Those difficulties could not be solved even by the Commission itself, and the President of the Preparatory Commission, with the assent of all the members present, again invited the States concerned to endeavour to come to an agreement between themselves. A discussion took place. I was not there on that occasion; the constitutional demands of a democratic country required me to resume a very salutary contact with its electors, and I was able to realise how greatly the people trusted us. We must not betray that trust, gentlemen, unless we wish to see the world plunged into disaster and revolt.

But I have carefully read the records. I see that there were certain divergencies of views; that M. Rutgers, the delegate of the Netherlands, used the same words as those I employed in the resolution which was so sharply criticised a few moments ago by Count von Bernstorff — the words "convene the Commission in any case". I see that Count Bernstorff voted against the resolution, which, in point of fact, did not fix any date; but, on the other hand, I did not observe a single voice raised in protest against the President's invitation to the Powers holding divergent views to try to reconcile them.

That was in March 1928. Two Powers accepted the invitation. There may have been others, but I only mention what I know. The two Powers in question were divided over a matter — we grant it was not the only one — which had assumed special significance owing to the fact that, when we met in March 1927, our negotiations were influenced by the prospect of a purely Naval Conference to be held a few months later.

No wonder the matter in dispute could not be settled, although some of us had hoped that part of the ground at least might have been covered. Nevertheless, we cannot say that the months during which we tried a method other than that proposed to us — I mean the method which takes into account the interdependence of armaments and security — were wasted, for the results show that, in spite of our critics, we were right in choosing that method.

But when, after the failure of this purely Naval Conference, and as the result of this series of disappointments, the President of the Preparatory Commission, at its session in March 1928, invited the nations concerned to negotiate with one another, the invitation was accepted, and I am surprised that they should now be blamed for having done so. Personally I felt no enthusiasm for the course

suggested by the President of the Preparatory Commission, and I publicly stated my objections. I said that I preferred the open diplomacy of the League, that I was in favour of discussions at which everyone publicly entered into definite commitments. But I did not deny, nor did anyone else, that certain preparatory diplomatic work, as suggested by the President, would be useful. Who, now, has a right to criticise that work? Who, in this Assembly, does not employ such methods? The League of Nations is not built upon entirely new ground. It is bound to come into contact with fixed habits of mind, with engrained traditions, and it must make allowance for them, if only in order to achieve its ends. As everyone knows, many of the most successful settlements it has achieved have been the outcome of prolonged diplomatic preparatory work. Was not Locarno the result of such preparatory work, begun in February 1925 at the instance of Germany herself? Was there no diplomatic preparation before Germany entered the League, as we so ardently desired she might do, to occupy the permanent seat on the Council to which, as a great Power, she is entitled?

Does not every State represented here constantly have recourse to diplomatic negotiations? Then why cavil in the case of what is admittedly the most difficult problem of all, when the work has been decided upon by a Commission, when an invitation has been issued by the President of that Commission, when an attempt has been made to find a solution? I was not expecting laurels. But I do ask for recognition of the fact that we have tried to act on the suggestion put forward and that two at any rate of the nations concerned have achieved success.

But now, does the Preparatory Commission propose to abdicate its powers? Does it propose to wait indefinitely until all the nations with difficulties to solve have solved them? For of course there may be other nations negotiating to solve other difficulties; they must do so, both to serve the highest interests of the League and because they have been asked to try to solve them. And even if the nations fail to reach agreement on some point or other will not the Commission meet, if only to place on record its own failure?

I did not think it could possibly wait indefinitely; and in my resolution, or rather in the amendment to it, which I made in an attempt to meet the wishes of the German delegation, I asked that in any event the Preparatory Commission should meet. The President of the Preparatory Commission — and this is an important addition to the resolution — should be asked to get into touch with the Governments concerned, to follow their negotiations and so restore the necessary contact between them and the Preparatory Commission. Thus everything has been done to ensure success.

But ought not the Commission still to meet, even if — I do not overlook any contingency, not even the possibility of failure — even if these negotiations prove unsuccessful? Yes, that is explicitly stated in the resolution. There can be no doubt on the point. I am very grateful to those of my colleagues who, thinking, unlike myself, that the Preparatory Commission should not meet unless private negotiations had been successful, nevertheless were so conciliatory as to come round to my view. I appreciate their action, and I feel it somewhat that their attempt at conciliation should have proved useless, and that despite it the attitude of the German and Hungarian delegations remains unchanged.

I have no regrets. The Preparatory Commission exists; it has its work to do, and it must do it. I do not think the time it has devoted to its work

has been wasted. But I also think, as Dr. Beneš, our Rapporteur, said just now, that the psychological moment, the crucial moment, which is to determine our success or failure, is approaching. We must do what we have been asked to do. We must show the Council how far the methods we have adopted have succeeded or how far they have failed!

I will speak my whole mind. I will say frankly that, even if it is impossible to remove the difficulties that are holding up our work, I still hope that perhaps the meeting of the Preparatory Committee will serve as a last resort. If we believe in open discussion and in international democracy as we believe in national democracy, we must not neglect this last method of bringing about an agreement by public discussion.

It may ultimately fail. Who knows? I am prepared to face that contingency, for we all realise the difficulty of the problem, and we can speak plainly. We know that we are doing our best, but we cannot foresee what the final result will be.

At all events we shall have done our duty to the end.

But supposing the Preparatory Commission does eventually fail, though I fully agree with my German colleague as to the disastrous consequences that would ensue, I entirely disagree on the question whether, notwithstanding that possibility, a Conference should or should not be convened, and convened before the result of the Commission's work is known.

I should like to ask you how a Conference is going to approach the problem if the Preparatory Commission, after working systematically on definite lines for several years, should find success impossible? Should we not be blazoning our failure abroad still more openly by exhibiting the spectacle of such lamentable failure to the world at large? Should we not be raising a Tower of Babel, merely to see its ruins mounted, as they soon would be, with the machine-guns and the cannon that would inevitably follow in the wake of so egregious a failure?

The Preparatory Commission is an organ which is intended to work, a technical organ, but with a definite political task before it. If it cannot accomplish that task, it must say so. Believe me, that failure alone would be bad enough. There would be no need to magnify it. For some years at least, the main hope placed in the League by the peoples of the world would be shattered.

Such a fate would hardly, I think, be deserved. Even if the League failed in this task, it would still be of value through its other work, and indeed through itself alone. The League justifies itself by the mere fact of its existence, and by the fact that, after all, it is to the League Council that men turn when a dispute arises. But disarmament is a symbol. It should incarnate the supreme hopes and ideals of the men who fell on either side of the barbed wire that once stretched across Europe from the North Sea to the Dardanelles. Because of that past reddened with blood, and because of the belief that the League would realise the hope that that past would never return, it will, if we fail — if it fails in this its essential task — it will have lost the brightest jewel in its crown. It will still go on. We shall still look upon it as a goddess on whom all our hopes should be centred; but a goddess dethroned, an organ whose power has been crippled.

*The discussion was adjourned to the next meeting.*

*The Assembly rose at 1.15 p.m.*



## EIGHTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, September 25th, 1928, at 3 p.m.

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President : M. ZÄHLE.

## 90. — WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE : REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION : CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

## The President :

*Translation* : The first item on the agenda is the continuation of the examination of the Third Committee's report on the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference (Annex 26, document A.83.1928.IX).

(On the invitation of the President, Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Third Committee, and Dr. Beneš, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

## The President :

*Translation* : Count Carton de Wiart, delegate of Belgium, who is the last speaker on the list, will address the Assembly.

## Count Carton de Wiart (Belgium) :

*Translation* : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — On behalf of the Belgian delegation I should like to tell you, briefly and simply, just what our feelings are in associating ourselves with the observations of Dr. Beneš, the most able Rapporteur of the Third Committee.

I do not think that we should any of us carry away from this morning's discussion any real feeling of anxiety or even uneasiness. When we all return home to-morrow, we shall doubtless meet some people — we never find them at Geneva — who will ask us in the sarcastic tones we know so well : "Well, have you managed it ? Is disarmament an accomplished fact ?"

I think we can safely answer that nothing has happened to prevent its becoming an accomplished fact, and we can add with the fullest conviction that it will surely come to pass.

I, too, share the disappointment caused by the obstacles we meet at every turn. I quite understand that to others they may give the impression that we are slackening speed, instead of going straight

ahead without a break, as we would wish. But this is one of the laws of all human endeavour, and no one has ever defined it better than Blaise Pascal, in that famous passage in which, speaking of progress, he says that it goes forward intermittently, then backward, then forward again by leaps and bounds, until at length, for no apparent reason, its onward sweep becomes resistless.

I myself have only been associated from time to time, and as an onlooker rather than a participant, with the preparatory and constructive work, dating now from some years back and gathering impetus every day, which is to culminate in the monumental achievement of disarmament, so that I need feel less diffidence in expressing my profound admiration for those who have engineered this difficult undertaking.

Surveying it from afar, what strikes me more especially is the realistic, judicious and systematic manner in which the various obstacles in the way of disarmament, or the limitation of armaments, have been singled out, defined and accurately specified in turn. It was realised at the outset that disarmament and security must go forward hand in hand, not, as has so often been said, on parallel lines, for parallel lines never meet ; disarmament must rather be based on security. This fact appears to have been recognised even by the old diplomacy, judging from a letter, not very widely known, which was written by Metternich in 1831 to the Austrian Ambassador in Paris, with reference to a suggestion made by Louis-Philippe. In this letter Metternich says that a return to a state of peace from the military point of view could only follow after a return to a state of moral peace.

But this truth has never been so clearly recognised as in the League's work. The Preparatory Commission and the Committee on Arbitration and Security have advanced it beyond the empiric stage, the stage of fragmentary solutions. To that same sense of method and judicious appreciation is due the emphasis placed on the interdependence of armaments, and again it has made you realise the necessity of establishing a criterion, a common denominator, which is essential for determining the scale of armaments.

There remains another technical obstacle on which I wish to dwell. And if I speak of technical obstacles it is not, I would ask you to believe, because I am foolish enough to underestimate the obstacles of a political and geographical nature to which reference has very rightly been made. But these have for some time been gradually growing less acute. The technical obstacle to which I refer is the establishment of supervision. We have to realise that limitation and reduction are impossible without supervision, without a certain right of investigation — in regard both to the private manufacture of arms and more especially to State manufacture — which is naturally repugnant to States.

All these various obstacles have been encountered by the League. Some of them have already been overcome, a fact which alone would prove the value of the League's work in this most complex problem and justify the hopes that we have placed in it.

And now, in the matter of security, the General Act to be submitted to us shortly supplements or reinforces special instruments by adding a series of guarantees, which constitute a remarkable and memorable contribution to our work, while obviously the pact of non-aggression and the scheme for financial assistance to States victims of aggression or threatened by aggression represent a very important advance.

The interdependence of armaments is now an accepted fact, and if the criterion, the common denominator, has not yet been found, the laudable efforts now being made, and in which we hope other naval Powers will shortly join, should soon make it possible to settle the delicate question of tonnage assessment.

But I wish to emphasise the importance, in my view, of trying to settle without further delay the technical difficulty of supervision. In 1925, under the auspices of the League, a large number of States signed at Geneva a Convention on the international trade in arms and ammunition and implements of war. For the first time, as M. Paul-Boncour very rightly observed, an attempt was made by means of this Convention to remove the question of the manufacture of implements of war from the domain of private law to that of public law. Ratification, however, has been slow, and many countries have delayed in view of the principle laid down in 1925 that the Convention in question should be supplemented by a parallel convention concerning the manufacture of arms for purposes of war. These two questions form, as it were, the two leaves of a diptych.

It really seems to me that we ought to be able to find a way out of the difficulty in a very short time and to determine the main requirements of a convention on the manufacture of arms, to cover both private and State manufacture, at all events by means of guarantees in regard to publicity, which would certainly be reinforced in practice by supervision; this is now being exercised more and more within the individual countries as the result of pressure brought to bear by public opinion, Parliament and the Press.

But — this is my last point — there is another result, perhaps the most important of all, which must be placed to the League's credit in the disarmament campaign. I mean the moral atmosphere created and fostered by the League, in which we all have a share and which it is our duty to encourage.

This ninth ordinary session of the Assembly can rightly claim that the frantic race in armaments is ended; and M. Hymans, the head of the Belgian delegation, told you how, in our country, the call for a reduction of national armaments to the lowest possible minimum has been heard and obeyed. I think I can say that all groups and all parties are becoming increasingly familiar and ready to sympathise with the work that is going on here, and the important thing — perhaps even more important than weighty conventions and solemn declarations — surely is that the Geneva spirit should ultimately become the spirit of the world.

On whom does this depend? On every one of us. In the old city of Bruges there is a fifteenth-century building, the Gruuthouse, decorated in flamboyant Gothic. The walls of its rooms are ornamented with the somewhat cryptic mottoes which were so popular in those days. One of these mottoes, which is repeated again and again, reads:

“There is more to be found in yourselves”. What does it mean? It is an appeal to the individual conscience, to individual effort. It invites us to seek peace not only in agreements and international conventions, but above all in ourselves. Both for nations and for individuals, lasting peace can only be secured by means of loyal and constant efforts, on the part of one and all, to subordinate human passions and even individual interests to the higher claims of order, justice and equity.

That is the spirit in which, realising to the full the difficulties of this great undertaking, but confident of its future success, Belgium has so gladly taken her share in all your work. Indeed, she can claim to have taken a very active share. I am thinking now particularly of the contributions to the discussions on this subject made by my distinguished compatriots, Baron Rolin-Jaequemyns and M. de Brouckère. This is the spirit in which, despite temporary difficulties, we hope soon to advance a further stage with you — at the forthcoming meeting of the Preparatory Commission and the decisive Conference to be held in the not too distant future.

We are prepared to go forward again boldly, fearlessly, confidently, along the road — no doubt difficult at times — that leads triumphantly to the goal which we have set ourselves to reach in virtue of the Covenant, a goal towards which the hopes of every nation and the future of civilisation call us.

#### The President :

*Translation :* As no one else wishes to speak, the discussion is now closed. I will put to the vote the resolution proposed by the Third Committee, which reads as follows :

*Whereas a close connection exists between international security and the reduction and limitation of armaments ;*

*And whereas the present conditions of security set up by the Covenant of the League of Nations, by the Treaties of Peace, and in particular by the reductions in the armaments of certain countries under these Treaties, and also by the Locarno Agreements, would allow of the conclusion at the present time of a first General Convention for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments ;*

*And whereas those Governments which consider that their security is not sufficiently assured are now, thanks to the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security, in possession of fresh means for strengthening their security, of which it is to be hoped that they will make use at need, by having recourse to the good offices of the Council ;*

*And whereas the Convention for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments will increase international security ;*

*And whereas it is desirable that the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and of the Committee on Arbitration and Security shall be pursued so that, by further steps, armaments may be progressively reduced as the increase of security allows ;*

#### The Assembly :

*Urges the necessity of accomplishing the first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments with as little delay as possible ;*

*Notes with satisfaction the efforts of certain Governments to prepare the ground for the future work of the Preparatory Commission ;*

*Earnestly hopes that Governments among which differences of opinion still subsist as to the conditions for the reduction and limitation of armaments will seek, without delay, in the most*

*liberal spirit of conciliation and international solidarity, agreed solutions which will enable the work of the Preparatory Commission to be brought to a successful issue;*

*Proposes to the Council that the President of the Preparatory Commission be instructed to keep in contact with the Governments concerned so that he may be apprised of the progress of their negotiations and may be able to convene the Commission at the end of the present year, or, in any case, at the beginning of 1929.*

*The resolution was adopted, the delegates of Germany and Hungary abstaining from voting.*

91. — **CONSTRUCTION OF AN ASSEMBLY HALL, OF NEW BUILDINGS FOR THE USE OF THE SECRETARIAT AND OF A NEW LIBRARY: REPORTS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.**

**The President :**

*Translation :* As M. Politis has not yet arrived, I propose that we change the order of the agenda, and examine first the report of the Fourth Committee on the construction of an Assembly Hall, of new buildings for the Secretariat and of a new library.

M. Rappard, the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, will submit on its behalf the report laid before the Assembly by the Special Committee of Five (Annexes 27 and 27 a, documents A.79 and A.84.1928.X).

*(On the invitation of the President, M. Rappard, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)*

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Rappard, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

**M. Rappard (Switzerland), Rapporteur :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Assembly has before it two documents concerning the construction of an Assembly hall, a new building for the Secretariat and a new League library. One is the report submitted to the Assembly by the Special Committee known as the "Committee of Five"; the other document is a note by the Fourth Committee, to which the report was referred.

I do not propose to read these documents or even to give you a detailed summary of them. I will merely explain very briefly what has been done in the matter by the Committee of Five and the Council since the last session of the Assembly. I will then outline the solution that has been reached, and I should like in conclusion to say a few words as to the method by which, and through whom, this solution was made possible.

I will first tell you what has happened since the last session of the Assembly. At this time last year the Assembly had before it nine architects' plans which had been awarded equal prizes. It had at its disposal three properties on the lake-side on which to erect these buildings, and a sum of 10,000,000 francs very generously given by Mr. Rockefeller for the construction of a library worthy of the League.

The eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, being desirous of obtaining as soon as possible a satisfactory and final solution of the problem,

granted extensive powers to the Committee of Five. It authorised that Committee, which consists of M. Adatei, M. Osusky, M. Politis, M. Urrutia and Sir Edward Hilton Young, to choose one of the nine plans. It also authorised the Committee to cause any changes to be made that might be necessary, and to submit its decision to the Council for approval and ratification.

Since September 26th, 1927, the date on which it was constituted, the Committee of Five has held eight sessions. I should like, on behalf of the Fourth Committee, to pay a sincere tribute to the sound judgment, zeal and goodwill displayed by the members of this Committee in the service of the League.

Without dealing with each of these eight sessions in detail, we may say that the work of the Committee of Five falls into three stages. The first stage began immediately after the Assembly and lasted until March of this year.

As you know, the Committee selected the plan submitted by MM. Nénot and Flegenheimer. It proposed various modifications of their plan, however, and invited them to prepare a final design in collaboration with the authors of three other plans.

The Committee also instructed these architects to consider the question of the new library, which it was now possible to erect, thanks to the American gift. The architects carried out these instructions, and on March 6th of this year the Council was able to approve the plans proposed by the Committee of Five for the construction of three buildings on three sites which were at the League's disposal.

In March, therefore, a satisfactory solution appeared to be in sight. It was at this point that the second stage of the work of the Committee of Five opened. The Library Planning Committee, appointed by the Secretary-General with the authorisation of the Assembly and in agreement with the donor, examined the site and, after three days' study at Geneva, unanimously reached the conclusion that it was impossible to erect on the ground available a library worthy of the generosity of the donor and of its future international use by the League. The Committee's report states that its objections were based on the ground of the exposure of the site to noise and dust, its inadequate size and the impossibility of providing for future extensions.

The Committee of Five felt bound to agree with the unfavourable conclusions reached by the Library Planning Committee, and the whole question had thus to be reopened.

The Committee of Five felt bound to agree with the Library Planning Committee that the acquisition of additional ground was essential. The next step was to obtain further ground, but the difficulties which prevented the acquisition of the only available site proved insurmountable.

That, ladies and gentlemen, was the position on the eve of the present Assembly, and it remained unchanged even up to a fortnight ago.

The Committee of Five, which had always been on very cordial terms with the Swiss authorities, held a further consultation with M. Motta, the representative of the Federal Council, and M. Moriaud and M. Boissonnas, the representatives of the Geneva Council. The Cantonal authorities

proposed various alternatives to the Committee of Five; the Swiss authorities unanimously declared that it was for the League to state its preference and that they would do everything in their power to enable the solution preferred by the League to be carried into effect.

Of these various alternatives there was one which was welcomed with relief and indeed with enthusiasm by the majority of those acquainted with the proposals made. As you know, that solution is that the City of Geneva should confer on the League of Nations the *droit d'usage* of a considerable portion of the Ariana Park, forming a large area of 250,000 square metres, which is amply sufficient not only for the Assembly Hall, the Secretariat and the proposed Library, but also for any possible extensions in the near future.

In exchange, the League will confer on the City of Geneva similar rights of occupation of the three lake-side properties.

The League will thus have ample ground at its disposal, and in return will merely be required to give to the people of Geneva the right to use its present properties.

The Committee of Five and the Fourth Committee are unanimous in proposing that the Assembly should accept this exchange of *droits d'usage* and should grant the Committee of Five the necessary powers to enable it to bring to a successful conclusion the work on which it has been engaged for over a year.

The use made of these powers must, of course, be subject to the necessary ratification by the Council, but the Committee would thus be able to come to terms with the architects already appointed to adapt the plans to the new site.

The Committee will have to obtain all the expert advice necessary from the technical point of view. This clause, which was proposed by the Special Committee itself and accepted by the Fourth Committee, was inserted in order to take into account certain wishes which were manifested during the proceedings of the fourth Committee.

To whose good offices do we owe this solution? It is nothing short of a miracle that in the space of fifteen days a public park belonging to a democratic city that has ever been a jealous guardian of its independence and has always respected the wishes of its benefactors should have been placed at the League's disposal by the unanimous decision of its municipal authorities. It is almost as remarkable that the representatives of nearly fifty States should have been able to accept unanimously this offer of the exchange of their rights of occupation.

This miracle has become a reality, thanks to the valuable help we have received from several eminent persons and to certain particularly fortunate material and other circumstances.

Let me speak first of the valuable personal help we have received. I appear on this platform as the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee; yet I cannot forget that I am a Swiss citizen and a Genevese, and I find myself somewhat embarrassed in having to express the gratitude of the Fourth Committee to my compatriots. I shall therefore confine myself to reading the following extract from the Special Committee's report:

"The Special Committee could not close this report without taking the opportunity of expressing its warmest thanks to the Federal Authorities, and in particular to M. Motta, to the Cantonal and Municipal Authorities of Geneva, as well as to the heirs of M. Gustave Revilliod, for their invaluable assistance in solving the difficult problem with which the Committee was faced."

I must explain that the heirs of M. Gustave Revilliod are deprived of the property which the benefactor of this city left to the municipality about a generation ago, and I think it is only right that we should associate ourselves in this expression of thanks to the heirs who have sacrificed their claims on the altar of concord for the sake of the League.

I should like to do something that has not yet been done, and say how much the League owes to the memory of M. Gustave Revilliod, but for whose generosity the City of Geneva would not have been able to offer us a site so eminently suited to our purposes.

But I will not dwell further upon my compatriots' generosity. It would indeed be a misuse of the term if we attributed the attitude of the authorities and population of Geneva to that motive alone. They have, if I may say so, given proof of their judgment, of their concern for their own best interests, of their statesmanship and of other qualities more important than generosity itself; for in this matter the generosity was all on the side of the benefactors and of the League.

If I feel a natural hesitation in expressing our gratitude to my fellow-countrymen, yet as a citizen of the Swiss Confederation I am very happy to be able to thank the organs of the League to whom we owe this happy solution of the problem. I must first of all thank the Special Committee and each one of its members in the name of the Federal Government, the Cantonal and Municipal Authorities and the Fourth Committee: in the first place, the Chairman, M. Adatci, whose acute discernment, infinite patience and conciliatory attitude have enabled us to bring these often difficult negotiations to a successful termination; then, to take the names in alphabetical order, M. Osusky, who was no less enthusiastic and energetic in helping the League to increase its property than he is in his customary task of defending the budget in the Fourth Committee; M. Politis, whose renown no praise of mine from this platform can augment, and of whom I will merely say that he has created new ties of sympathy between his country and Geneva, where philhellenism has long been one of our most honoured and cherished civic traditions; M. Urrutia, who, though a citizen of a distant land, has followed all our negotiations with a paternal interest, and who, by reason of his long sojourn in Switzerland, has been able to give the Committee invaluable advice. I should also like to mention Sir Edward Hilton Young, whose absence we all deplore, though our regret is tempered by the presence of his substitute, Mr. Duff-Cooper.

The unanimous thanks of the Swiss authorities and of the Fourth Committee are due to all these persons and to the Secretary-General of the League, Sir Eric Drummond, and to the Marquis Paulucci di Calboli Barone, Under Secretary-General, who represented the Secretariat in these negotiations. I have also to express my gratitude to the Chairman and Vice-Chairman and to all the members of the Fourth Committee, who did everything in their power to facilitate and expedite the solution which I trust will meet with your unanimous approval.

If this matter of the League building has afforded Geneva and Switzerland an opportunity of furnishing fresh evidence of their attachment to the League; the League on its side has without doubt given a further token of its friendship for the country and the city to which I belong, and on whose behalf I should like to express my thanks to the League.

The circumstances which, apart from the personal help we received, have favoured this rapid settlement of the question are, in the first place, the mutual confidence which has always existed between the League representatives and the Swiss and Genevese authorities and, further, our constant eagerness to achieve our aim. These circumstances, which explain our success in the past, will, I trust, be a good omen for the future, and warrant the hope that when the next Assembly meets we shall all have the satisfaction of knowing that the foundations of our new buildings have been laid.

The question of the League's new buildings already has a long period of evolution behind it. Though its final stage has not yet been reached, we have at least arrived at a decisive stage in its evolution; and, strange to say, that evolution coincides with the evolution of the League itself. At Paris, in the spring of 1919, whilst the Covenant was still being drafted, we saw a vision of a League triumphant, a golden dream which America offered for Europe. We saw swiftly rising out of the ruins and ravages of the war the imposing edifice of a League soon to become the universal guarantor of peace based on justice. The Americans, sanguine with hope, held that this fair vision should have a worthy setting.

I can see once again Colonel House's study in the Hotel Crillon, its walls covered with magnificent photographs of the Creux de Genthod, in which the buildings of the League and the embassies of all the States Members represented on the Council were depicted, surrounded by a beautiful park. On the lake-side boats entered it under a triumphal arch, while the land façade looked out over a majestic esplanade.

The setting was worthy of the vision, but neither the one nor the other could become realities at once.

Then, early in 1920, I see a puny, sickly League in London, treading the international path with uncertain steps, lodged haphazard, almost in a war bivouac.

Then, later, at Geneva, in November: The League is still a doubtful experiment; its various services are housed in a converted hotel; and the first session of the Assembly met in this very hall.

And, last of all, the League, having built up its strength in its early years, has been seeking since last year to establish itself and to add to its property at Geneva as its activities spread and become more ambitious.

We have now reached the year 1928. The League has attained maturity and has gathered strength. If those of its Members who have undertaken to ensure progressive disarmament will allow us the hope, we may now say that the League is on the upward path. It is to leave the lake-side and take up a higher position on a terrace, with a magnificent view. I can at any rate praise the panorama which will rejoice the eyes of the Secretariat, since it is not my country alone that they will look upon.

It is fitting that from an institution whose mission, whose staff and whose spirit are alike international, the very view itself should be international; for from the terraces and the windows of the new palace you will all look out upon a beauty that belongs not to my country alone.

May I say one word more in conclusion? At the end as at the beginning of the evolution of which I have spoken, we see the influence of America. It was the enthusiasm of the United States which first gave birth to this noble ideal of ours, and once again it is owing to American generosity that the League is no longer to rest content with the site first contemplated by the lake side.

Since the faith and the hopes of all men of goodwill throughout the world are centred in the League, let us hope that soon, on the hillside of Pregny, it will have a great and splendid home worthy of its work of bringing together in co-operation all nations of every continent, of every tongue and every race, for the establishment of the reign of justice and the consolidation of peace.

Gentlemen, on behalf of the Fourth Committee, I have the honour to invite you to hasten the coming of that day by adopting the following resolution:

"The Assembly:

"Approves the report (document A.79.1928) of the Special Committee of Five Members in regard to the new buildings;

"Approves the choice of the Ariana Park as a site for the new buildings of the League of Nations;

"Authorises the Secretary-General to sign all the necessary legal documents concerning the exchange of rights on the properties in question between the League of Nations and the Genevese authorities, as well as to draw up and sign the necessary contract between the architects and the League of Nations on the basis of the Special Committee's report to the Council (document C.93 (1).1928), approved by the Council on March 6th, 1928;

"Authorises the Special Committee of Five Members (M. Adatei, M. Osusky, M. Politis, M. Urrutia and Sir Edward Hilton Young) as soon as the legal formalities for the transfer of the land have been completed, and after having obtained all the expert advice necessary from the technical point of view, to give final approval to revised plans adapted to the new site, such approval to be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for ratification. The final plans thus approved will then be carried into execution without delay by the Secretary-General and the Building Committee already appointed in accordance with the Assembly resolution of September 25th, 1924."

The President:

*Translation:* M. Adatei, first delegate of Japan, Chairman of the Committee of Five, will address the Assembly.

M. Adatei (Japan), Chairman of the Committee of Five:

*Translation:* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The hour is late, and I would not have asked to speak had I not noticed a serious omission in the account which the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee has given us. I feel it is incumbent upon me to repair this omission, though at the same time I quite understand and appreciate our Rapporteur's motives.

I must pay a public tribute to all the authorities of this country who, whenever almost insurmountable difficulties arose in the path of the Committee of Five, hastened at once to give us, to give us without measure, their invaluable aid.

I should like to recall what is already a distant memory. When the Assembly instructed the Committee of Five to examine this question, the Committee met in December at Geneva, and the Federal Government at once sent us a Commission composed of a large number of eminent experts representing the various technical branches involved in the question. From that moment the former President of the Swiss Confederation, our distinguished colleague M. Motta, remained in constant contact with us and gave us every

assistance. So when, at the beginning of this session of the Assembly, unforeseen difficulties suddenly arose, our minds turned at once to M. Motta, first delegate of Switzerland, who had from the outset given such signal proof of his goodwill.

I myself, by arrangement with my colleagues, applied to the authorities of Geneva in our search for a solution of our difficulties. M. Alexandre Moriaud, President of the Council of State of the Republic and Canton of Geneva, M. Jean Boissonnas, Councillor of State, Head of the Department of Public Works, M. Ballansat, President of the Administrative Council, M. Uhler, who is in charge of public domains in this canton, and M. Frédéric Martin, President of the Municipal Council, all immediately offered to give us all possible help, and showed the soundest judgment and a ready comprehension of the needs of the League, whose cause is common to us all.

How often has it not been my pleasure to receive visits from these authorities! How many meetings have we not held with them! What a vast correspondence we have exchanged!

And then, as our Rapporteur has told us, a solution appeared as if by miracle. I might even say that had we never known the difficulties, the miracle would never have taken place.

I should like, too, to devote a few words to the heirs of M. Revilliod, whose mausoleum is situated in the midst of the beautiful Ariana Park which is soon to become our domain.

I must confess, Mr. Rapporteur, that, whenever I have had a short half-hour at my disposal, I have stood in meditation before that mausoleum and allowed my thoughts to dwell upon the benefactor of Geneva, who is now to become the benefactor of the entire human race. I am sure that ineffable content will come to the spirit of M. Revilliod at the solution which to-day's plenary meeting is about to adopt.

If within a few years — within three years, perhaps — we are able to meet under the roof of our own new building in the Ariana Park, I say now that it will be thanks to the wise counsels and ungrudging help given us by all the authorities of this country and by the heirs who have so fully realised the League's position in the matter. I trust that the Assembly will be unanimously with me in paying a public tribute to the authorities of this country.

Gentlemen, if I have ventured to detain you for a moment, it was solely in order to say what M. Rappard had left unsaid.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Hambro, delegate of Norway, will address the Assembly.

**M. Hambro (Norway) :**

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — While associating myself heartily with the words of thanks uttered by the Chairman of the Committee of Five to the Swiss authorities and to all the persons concerned in Switzerland and in Geneva who have taken part in the work to facilitate the task of the Committee of Five, and while associating myself also with what the Rapporteur said in regard to that Committee and the task it has fulfilled, I wish to explain in a few words why the decision of the Fourth Committee was not unanimous.

I wish to remind you that the architects and art critics throughout the world were not entirely enthusiastic regarding the competition that was held among the architects and associations of architects, and I would point out that the procedure followed in a matter of such great and lasting importance to the League of Nations was abnormal.

Last year the Committee of Five was entrusted with a difficult task by the Assembly, and they have done more than they were asked to do; they have worked with a diligence and wisdom to which I wish to render homage, and I think the choice of site which they have made is a good one. But the delegates at this Assembly and the States Members of the League have been given no opportunity of studying this very important matter, and I would point out that associations of architects in Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia have formally protested against the procedure followed.

In the resolution which we are invited to vote upon to-day, the Committee of Five have amended one very important point; they have made it possible for the League of Nations, for the Committee of Five and for the Council to secure such architectural and artistic advice as may be necessary. It will be understood that the alteration in the programme for the buildings which has taken place must necessarily have some influence on the architectural and æsthetic side of the question, and those architects who took part in the competition, and who were dissatisfied because the jury did not respect the programme laid down, would certainly have reason to complain if a new plan for the buildings were chosen without regard to such considerations.

My delegation does not propose to vote against the resolution which is before you, since we do not in any way wish to obstruct the work of erecting the new buildings as soon as possible; but I would express the hope that the Committee of Five will communicate to the Council the opinions given by competent authorities of architects, whether in favour or against the final plan, and that the Council will give the States Members of the League an opportunity, if not of studying, at least of seeing the final plans adopted, for so far no single Member of the League has been given this opportunity.

I hope that, at the final stage, it will be possible to make such amendments in the plans as will, in the opinion of the competent authorities of the world, give to this building some of that dignity which we all want to be attached to the home of the League of Nations, more of that beauty which we have all been looking forward to finding in the building of the League.

A proposal has been made here to consider in what manner we should celebrate the tenth anniversary of the League of Nations. In abstaining from voting against any single paragraph in the resolution before us, we do so in the conviction that we could not celebrate the tenth anniversary in any better way than by trying to erect a building which shall be worthy to be the home of the League of Nations, and which shall be for the generations to come a symbol of the ideas that have inspired the League of Nations and always must inspire it.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The Rapporteur will address the Assembly.

**M. Rappard (Switzerland), Rapporteur :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I should like to express briefly my thanks to M. Hambro for the tribute he was kind enough to pay to the representatives of the League and of my own country.

I am most happy to learn that he approves of the site chosen by the Committee of Five, and I thank him for his decision not to oppose the resolution submitted to the Assembly.

He has felt impelled to repeat the criticisms he made in the Fourth Committee against the

procedure followed in the choice of the plans. It is not for me to defend the Committee of Five, whose work speaks for itself; but I should not like any uncertainty on this subject to exist in the minds of any of the delegates.

The Committee of Five did its best, having regard to the Assembly's desire, which was I believe unanimous, to terminate this affair as quickly as possible.

If all the Governments and all the architects had had to be consulted, a rapid settlement of the matter would obviously have been impossible. Great architects, like great doctors and even great jurists, never agree; and if we want a building that will harmonise with the beauty of the site, each one of us must be prepared to assume his own responsibility in the matter.

I do not doubt that, since it was the Committee of Five itself which proposed this amendment to the resolution, it will take care to obtain all the expert advice necessary and will refer each item of the procedure to the Council.

In this way M. Hambro's wishes will be met, and I trust that next year he will be able to thank the Committee of Five for having taken his advice into consideration.

#### The President :

*Translation :* The Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee proposed on behalf of that Committee that the Assembly should accept the draft resolution submitted by the Special Committee of Five, which reads as follows :

#### The Assembly :

*Approves the report (document A.79.1928) of the Special Committee of Five Members in regard to the new buildings ;*

*Approves the choice of the Ariana Park as a site for the new buildings of the League of Nations ;*

*Authorises the Secretary-General to sign all the necessary legal documents concerning the exchange of rights on the properties in question between the League of Nations and the Genevese authorities, as well as to draw up and sign the necessary contract between the architects and the League of Nations on the basis of the Special Committee's report to the Council (document C.93(1).1928), approved by the Council on March 6th, 1928 ;*

*Authorises the Special Committee of Five Members (M. Adatci, M. Osuský, M. Politis, M. Urrutia and Sir Edward Hilton Young) as soon as the legal formalities for the transfer of the land have been completed, and after having obtained all the expert advice necessary from the technical point of view, to give final approval to revised plans adapted to the new site, such approval to be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for ratification. The final plans thus approved will then be carried into execution without delay by the Secretary-General and the Building Committee already appointed in accordance with the Assembly resolution of September 25th, 1924.*

If there is no objection, I shall consider that this resolution is adopted, in conformity with the Fourth Committee's recommendation.

*The resolution was adopted.*

#### The President :

*Translation :* As the Assembly is already aware, the report of the Special Committee of Five concludes with a suggestion to the effect that the Assembly should nominate two substitute members of that Committee.

The Fourth Committee, when approving the report of the Committee of Five, suggested that, in accordance with precedent, names should be submitted by the General Committee for approval to the Assembly, in order to facilitate the latter's decision.

To avoid any delay — for this, I felt, would be the Assembly's wish — I consulted the General Committee this morning and asked for suggestions, to be submitted to the Assembly if the latter decides, in conformity with the Fourth Committee's proposal endorsing the suggestion of the Committee of Five, to appoint two substitute members of this Committee.

As the Assembly has adopted the report of the Committee of Five and has accordingly agreed in principle to the addition of two substitute members on this Committee, I beg to inform you, on behalf of the General Committee, that the latter decided to recommend to the Assembly the names of His Excellency M. Loudon, delegate of the Netherlands, and His Excellency M. Parra-Perez, delegate of Venezuela, as substitute members of the Committee of Five.

If no one wishes to submit any observations or to have a vote, I shall consider that the Assembly, adopting the General Committee's proposal, has decided to appoint the gentlemen whose names I have just mentioned as substitute members of the Committee of Five. (*Assent.*)

No delegation can remain indifferent to this question of the League's new building, which has already figured under various aspects in the agenda of several of our sessions.

I feel that I should be sadly failing in my duty as President if I omitted to express the Assembly's very grateful thanks to the Swiss delegation and to M. Motta, the eminent head of that delegation, to the authorities of the Republic and of the Canton of Geneva, and to the municipal authorities of the city itself.

While conveying our warmest thanks to the Swiss authorities, as is only fitting, I feel that an equally sincere expression of gratitude is due to the members of the Special Committee of Five, over which His Excellency M. Adatci presides with such tact and authority.

#### 92. — PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES, AND MODEL TREATIES OF NON-AGGRESSION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE : REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE : RESOLUTIONS.

#### The President :

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the report of the Third Committee on the pacific settlement of international disputes, and the model treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance (Annex 28, document A.86.1928.IX).

(*On the invitation of the President, Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Third Committee, and M. Politis, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.*)

#### M. Politis (Greece), Rapporteur :

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have to submit a report on the Third Committee's discussions bearing on that part of the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security which deals more particularly with arbitration and security.

As you know, the main duty of this Committee was to study measures calculated to give the States the necessary guarantees to enable them to reduce their national armaments to the lowest possible point, and according to the terms of the resolution of September 26th, 1927, which provided

for the creation of the Committee, these measures were to be sought above all in action by the Council with a view to promoting, generalising and co-ordinating special and collective agreements on arbitration and security.

After a general survey of this difficult problem, the Committee on Arbitration and Security prepared a series of model treaties, covering the pacific settlement of international disputes and guarantees of security, to be open for signature by the States, and considered further what action might be taken by the Council with a view to promoting the conclusion of such treaties.

The work done by the Committee on Arbitration and Security passed through various phases, which I shall now mention briefly in order to show that our present suggestions do not include anything in the nature of hasty improvisation.

After exhaustive preliminary studies, the Committee adopted at its second session the first drafts of these model treaties, and in framing them it took into consideration the different points of view expressed during the debates, together with the general observations submitted by various Governments.

The texts approved on a first reading were communicated to the Governments, and the Committee on Arbitration and Security, at its third session in July, revised, corrected and completed them up to a point, and then adopted them at the second reading.

The First and Third Committees of the Assembly, in their turn, submitted these texts to a detailed examination. The two Committees then set up a Mixed Committee, to which each of them appointed representatives, and this Mixed Committee examined the scheme of the model treaties in detail.

It was only after these various discussions that the acts in question were drawn up in the form in which they are now submitted to you for approval. I can safely say, then, that nothing has been improvised. There has been ample time for the expression of any differences of opinion; there has been ample time to allow of systematic work and mature consideration.

The haste displayed during the last few days applies only to the actual material drafting of the texts, and a motor accident last night prevented these documents from being distributed until this afternoon. I wish to apologise to the Assembly on behalf of those who have been concerned with the material side of this work, and this I do all the more readily because, before proceeding any further, I have to point out two or three accidental but rather important errors and omissions in the text.

In the resolution on page 6 of the report, the first clause of the preamble, although included in the English text, has been omitted from the French. The text to be inserted in the final version is as follows:

“Having noted the model treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and amended as a result of the work of the First and Third Committees, together with the explanations supplied in the introductory note drawn up by the first-named Committee . . .”

Again, in Article 34 of the General Act, the second sentence, which required modification, has not been completely amended. The final text of the second clause of (c) of this article, which lies before you, should read as follows:

“ . . . in the case of the disputes mentioned in Article 21, the above Article 22 and following

articles shall apply, but each Party having separate interests shall appoint one arbitrator, and the number of arbitrators separately appointed by the parties to the dispute shall always be one less than that of the other arbitrators.”

Ladies and gentlemen, the texts submitted to you have been commented upon in detail, and their scope is clearly defined in the introductory notes prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security. I therefore need only indicate the general scheme of these texts, and endeavour to show you what additional guarantees of security the States might derive from their practical application.

First, as regards the pacific settlement of international disputes, the Committee on Arbitration and Security had prepared six model treaties: three general conventions and three bilateral conventions. Each of the bilateral conventions represented an adaptation of one of the general conventions. All the conventions were lettered, the general conventions being called A, B, C, and the corresponding bilateral conventions (a), (b), (c).

Convention C was the simplest of these general conventions. It was a general conciliation convention which did no more than codify and reproduce the provisions dealing with conciliation which are to be found in a large number of bilateral treaties now in force. Its sole merit consisted in the fact that it allowed the States to enter into undertakings at once with a large number of other States by the mere act of accession, without being obliged to conclude a separate convention with each one.

Convention B went further than mere conciliation; it added compulsory arbitration for all disputes of a legal nature and constituted the Permanent Court of International Justice the judge in matters of common law, unless the parties agreed to have recourse to an arbitral tribunal.

As regards non-legal disputes, it provided for compulsory conciliation. If this failed and agreement was not reached, the disputes would have to be submitted to the Council of the League, in accordance with Article 15 of the Covenant.

Finally, Convention A — the most comprehensive of all — extended judicial settlement and arbitration to all disputes without distinction. Disputes of a legal nature might be brought before the Permanent Court, while for non-legal disputes the parties had to set up a special arbitration tribunal.

In order to give these model treaties the necessary elasticity, that they might lend themselves to practical needs and the infinite variety of situations and requirements, and in order to facilitate the accession of as many States as possible, the Committee on Arbitration and Security thought it advisable to provide for a system of reservations.

The Committee accepted the system of reservations, but without enthusiasm. It resigned itself to this as a necessary evil, but did its best to restrict and qualify the system. It employed two means: first, it divided the reservations into clearly defined categories; secondly, it substituted for the subjective reservations hitherto found objective reservations which might be made subject to the authority of a court. Henceforth, the application of a reservation is no longer left to the discretion of the individual States, but is dependent on the sovereign decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The elasticity thus introduced into the three conventions was further extended in the



interpretation which the Committee on Arbitration and Security sought to give the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court. This interpretation showed that the terms of Article 36 are sufficiently wide to permit of States adhering to the article with every conceivable reservation. The Committee on Arbitration and Security desired to bring out this point in a draft resolution which was adopted by the Committees, and is now submitted to you for approval. These explanations are included in the above resolution, in the hope of facilitating acceptance of the optional clause by States.

This hope is further justified by the fact that, during the last few years, particularly during the last few months, there has been an increase in the number of accessions. Germany notified her accession last year, while we have just had the pleasure of recording that of Hungary, and Spain too has announced her intention of acceding. I am in the happy position of being able to add to this list the name of my own country, which has recently promulgated a law authorising the Government to accede to the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court.

The system of arbitration conventions, however, exhibited one defect when examined by the First Committee from the legal standpoint. The necessary connection was lacking between the three model treaties, so that undertakings entered into by acceding to the individual treaties were liable to remain inoperative. The First Committee thought it essential to provide for a proper connection. Two methods were considered. The first was to establish a common Protocol linking the three conventions, so as to connect up the effect of an undertaking under one of them with the undertakings assumed under the others.

The second method provided for the fusion of the conventions in a single text, so that all States acceding to this instrument, on whatever terms, should be regarded as co-contracting parties, and their undertakings would thus become effective.

The second of the two methods appeared by far the more feasible.

The First Committee, followed by the Third Committee, accepted the General Act now submitted to you for approval, which consists of four chapters reproducing the provisions of the three general conventions drawn up by the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

The first chapter, relating to conciliation, corresponds to Convention C.

Chapter II relates to judicial settlement and corresponds to Convention B.

Chapter III, concerning arbitration, corresponds to Convention A.

Finally, the last chapter, which consists of general provisions, sums up the provisions of this nature found in different forms, although practically identical, in all three conventions.

The General Act maintains in its entirety the general scheme of the three conventions drawn up by the Committee on Arbitration and Security. Nothing is added. The feature of elasticity, which the Committee had observed, is kept and even increased.

The Act allows of partial accessions; Article 38 provides that States may accede, either to all four chapters at once or to the separate chapters, with the choice of three methods of combining them, as indicated. Not only is the system of reservations maintained, along with a number of improvements included in the text of Article 39 as now drafted, but further elasticity has been obtained by allowing the States at any moment to extend the scope of their undertakings, any party being free to abandon

its original reservations or, if occasion should arise, to denounce part of those reservations by means of a simple declaration.

All these provisions supplement the system established by the Committee on Arbitration and Security most satisfactorily. The General Act has the added merit of being simpler and at the same time more practical than the conventions, and will serve to stimulate accessions; but neither in its principles nor in its structure does it contain anything new. It preserves the essential character which the Committee had given to the conventions. Like them, it is only a simple instrument, but it can be converted into a convention as soon as it has been accepted by two States.

It does not require to be negotiated upon or to receive signatures; as soon as two States have notified their accession, the Act will come into force and will remain open indefinitely for the accession of all the other States.

The General Act thus retains this essential characteristic, which may appear new to some, but is in conformity with several precedents established by the League for the acceptance of undertakings between Members of the League and between Member and non-Member States.

The General Act is not to be confounded with the instruments previously drawn up here. It may be well to point out that, while it has a certain affinity with the Geneva Protocol as regards its legal structure, it is in itself of quite a different character. I say this to calm certain apprehensions which might arise.

In the first place, the Act will not necessitate any amendment to the League Covenant. It is open to all States and needs no more than two adhesions to become effective. This difference is sufficiently characteristic to distinguish it from the Geneva Protocol.

I said that there was, nevertheless, a great affinity between the two instruments, since, despite the elasticity, perhaps indeed because of the elasticity, which is the chief merit of the General Act, we have every right to hope that it will become a medium, and I trust a rapid medium, for the promotion of compulsory arbitration between States.

On yet another point the General Act follows the main lines laid down by the Committee on Arbitration and Security. At the beginning of my explanatory statement I reminded you that, side by side with the three model general conventions, the Committee had prepared three model bilateral conventions, and it was quite understood at the discussions in Committee that the two classes of model treaties were on an equal footing and that the Committee did not intend to indicate any preference between them.

That, ladies and gentlemen, was by way of a compromise, such as is often reached when differences of opinion arise in the course of discussion; and here two schools of thought were revealed, one favouring general agreements, the other preferring special agreements.

In order to conciliate the two tendencies, which appeared mutually exclusive, it was agreed that both the general and the bilateral type should be submitted to the States for acceptance, as they might prefer.

At the time when the three general conventions were fused into the General Act now before you, various apprehensions were expressed. It may have been feared that preference was being given to the general system, that the bilateral type of convention was being relegated to the background. The Committee made a point of removing these

misgivings, and allayed the fears that had been expressed. You will notice in the draft resolution relating to the General Act that the latter, which sums up the three previous conventions, is placed on an equal footing with the bilateral conventions. These, like the General Act, are annexed to the resolution, and, like it again, must be communicated to all the States Members and to such States not Members as may be indicated by the Council.

Moreover, it is specifically stated — this is the most formal assurance given to those who favour special agreements — that States which prefer bilateral conventions may conclude them either on the lines of the model bilateral conventions or in any other terms; that is, on the basis of any other principle they care to choose.

There is thus complete freedom of choice without restraint or reservation.

The draft resolution in question combines the substance of the preambles to the General Conventions A, B and C.

It reproduces certain clauses to be found in the actual text of these conventions relating to the action of the League. The clauses were included in the draft resolution after being extracted from the text of the General Act in order that the latter, even in form, might be accessible without demur to all non-Member States as well as to States Members of the League.

I have mentioned the resolutions which accompany the treaties relating to the pacific settlement of international disputes. There are three of them: the general resolution recommending the General Act and model bilateral conventions to the Council and inviting the latter to communicate them to the States; the resolution on the Optional Clause of Article 36, supplemented by the British delegation's amendment, and lastly the resolution showing how the Council can employ its good offices in order to facilitate negotiations for the adoption of a special convention relating to the pacific settlement of international disputes.

I now come to the second part of this important work — the treaties which are intended to give additional guarantees of security to such States as require them. Following the system it had adopted, the Committee on Arbitration and Security prepared model treaties, as in the case of the pacific settlement of international disputes.

There were three. The first, a model collective treaty, is the most complete of all, and includes the three fundamental rules taken from the Locarno Rhineland pact, rules which it is proposed to include in all similar treaties, namely, the clause concerning non-aggression, the clause for pacific settlement — which entails compulsory arbitration for disputes of a legal nature, other disputes being submitted to conciliation procedure and, where agreement cannot be reached, to procedure before the Council under Article 4 — and the mutual assistance clause, which is applicable when one of the contracting parties is the victim of aggression on the part of another, after the Council has established the act of aggression and designated the aggressor.

The second model treaty, also collective, resembled the first, of which it included the first two clauses but not the third.

There was, lastly, a third model treaty, the same as the second but bilateral in form; it also included the clauses relating to non-aggression and pacific settlement.

The Third Committee kept the texts prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security

practically unchanged. It merely added a few words to the resolution concerning the good offices of the Council in facilitating the conclusion of similar treaties.

The most comprehensive of all the treaties prepared by the Committee in the matter is undoubtedly the first, which includes the three fundamental clauses just mentioned. It is based, as I reminded you, on the Locarno Rhineland pact, but differs from that treaty in several respects. It does not include special territorial guarantees, it does not provide for guarantees by third States, it makes no provision for cases of flagrant aggression and it contains no stipulations regarding demilitarised zones.

These are the four essential differences that distinguish our model treaty of mutual assistance from the Locarno Rhineland pact.

As regards these various questions, it did not seem possible to lay down now that the clauses in question should be accepted as general rules to be included in all treaties of this nature. For all of them, particularly the last two — flagrant aggression and demilitarised zones — it was held that each individual case should be examined and settled according to the particular circumstances and the wishes and requirements of the contracting parties.

The introductory note prepared by the Committee, which is published among the documents before you, gives, in greater detail, the explanations which I have just summed up. The note will have to be studied by the Governments which may wish to conclude treaties of this nature following on your adoption of the present report.

The first draft resolution invites you to approve the model treaties and to recommend the States to adopt them. The second resolution concerns the exercise of the good offices of the Council with a view to the conclusion of similar treaties. It was understood, and is clearly set out in the text, that the Council can only intervene if so requested by one of the contracting parties, and can take no steps without the agreement of all the parties concerned. It was to be quite clear that the procedure must be voluntarily accepted by all the parties. No pressure may be exercised. The Council is meant to act as a kind of umpire, facilitating the action of the parties when both agree to have recourse to its mediation.

The last resolution submitted to you is the work of the French delegation. It is designed to give the Secretariat of the League facilities for adding to the documentation it has begun to collect and establishing the proposed maps and graphs relating to treaties, arbitration and arbitral awards. In this text also there is a slight omission which I should like to point out. The end of the second paragraph mentions judgments of the Permanent Court of International Justice; judgments of the Hague Permanent Court of Arbitration should also be included.

This, gentlemen, is merely a rapid summary, with very inadequate comments, on the texts now submitted to you. I think they constitute a useful contribution towards the regulation of peace. The treaty signed a month ago at Paris — I mentioned this recently — marks an important date in the history of mankind. It lays down the principle of non-aggression, and we firmly trust that this principle will before long become a universal law. When this comes to pass, it may appear at first sight that the texts we have just

prepared will lose some of their usefulness. This is true, but it will only be in appearance — it will seem useless in future to reiterate in an agreement between three, four or five States an undertaking which has been universally assumed by the fact of adhering to the Paris pact.

It will only be so in appearance. The efficacy of the pact of mutual assistance and non-aggression will only be diminished by the Paris pact in a very slight degree. We must not forget that the prohibition to resort to force laid down in the Paris pact is attended by a number of exceptions. These are understood in the pact. They should be clearly defined and explained in some text, and this is the purpose of the models submitted to you, since, after establishing the principle of non-aggression, they indicate the exceptions to the principle, namely, in the case of legitimate defence, the application of Article 15, paragraph 7, or Article 16 of the Covenant, or action authorised by the League.

The Paris pact, however, is far from complete from the standpoint of the organisation of peace.

It speaks of submitting disputes to pacific procedure, but it does not provide for the organisation of such procedure, nor does it stipulate any obligation to have recourse to it, and the guarantee of assistance which is considered by a great many States as essential for the definite establishment of peace is entirely absent from the Paris pact.

This double omission can be made good by means of the model treaties, which are open for the acceptance of all States actuated by goodwill.

If the pacts, treaties of non-aggression and treaties of pacific settlement and mutual assistance are accepted by the States, this will undoubtedly be an added factor of security. It will mean additional guarantees of the greatest practical importance in facilitating the solution of that vast and most serious problem — the reduction and limitation of armaments.

I hope that the moral authority which the Assembly's approval is bound to give to these texts, and the pressure brought to bear on Governments by public opinion after hearing our discussions, will result, despite difficulties which everyone can foresee, in the conclusion of such treaties, in the near future, in various parts and regions of the world, particularly in Europe.

But the likelihood of useful and practical results is, in my view, considerably greater as regards the pacific settlement of international disputes. The General Act and the model bilateral conventions submitted to you will do much to facilitate the development of compulsory arbitration.

These texts are especially opportune because compulsory arbitration has made great strides of recent years, particularly within the last five. The instruments we have prepared follow the same lines, the path already marked out; and, thanks to the fact that the attendant circumstances are favourable, we can be sure that they will yield useful and practical results, increasing in scope and importance. Should this come to pass — as I confidently believe it will — you, gentlemen, by accepting these texts, will have made a great and worthy contribution towards the progress of peace.

I propose the adoption of the following resolutions:

(i) *Resolution on the Submission and Recommendation of a General Act and of Three Model Bilateral Conventions in regard to Conciliation, Arbitration and Judicial Settlement.*

“ The Assembly :

“ Having considered the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security ;

“ (1) Firmly convinced that effective machinery for ensuring the peaceful settlement of international disputes is an essential element in the cause of security and disarmament ;

“ (2) Considering that the faithful observance, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of methods of pacific settlement renders possible the settlement of all disputes ;

“ (3) Noting that respect for rights established by treaty or resulting from international law is obligatory upon international tribunals ;

“ (4) Recognising that the rights of the several States cannot be modified except with their consent ;

“ (5) Taking note of the fact that a great number of particular international conventions provide for obligatory conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement ;

“ (6) Being desirous of facilitating to the greatest possible degree the development of undertakings in regard to the said methods of procedure ;

“ (7) Declaring that such undertakings are not to be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League of Nations to take at any time whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world ; nor as impeding its intervention in virtue of Articles 15 and 17 of the Covenant, where a dispute cannot be submitted to arbitral or judicial procedure or cannot be settled by such procedure or where the conciliation proceedings have failed ;

“ (8) Invites all States, whether Members of the League or not, and in so far as their existing agreements do not already achieve this end, to accept obligations in pursuance of the above purpose either by becoming parties to the annexed General Act or by concluding particular conventions with individual States in accordance with the model bilateral conventions annexed hereto or in such terms as may be deemed appropriate ;

“ (9) Resolves to communicate the annexed General Act and the annexed model bilateral conventions to all Members of the League of Nations and to such States not Members of the League as may be indicated by the Council.

“ (10) Requests the Council to give the Secretariat of the League of Nations instructions to keep a list of the engagements contracted in accordance with the terms of the present resolution either by acceptance of the provisions of the General Act or by the conclusion of particular conventions with the same object, so as to enable Members of the League and States non-Members of the League to obtain information as soon as possible.”

(ii) *Resolution concerning the Good Offices of the Council.*

“ The Assembly :

“ In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 25th, 1926, requesting the Council to offer its good offices to States

Members of the League for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security:

"Recognising that the development of procedures for the pacific settlement of any disputes which may arise between States is an essential factor in the prevention of wars:

"Expresses its appreciation of the progress achieved in concluding treaties of this kind, and its desire to see the application of the principle of the pacific settlement of all disputes extended as far as possible, and

"Invites the Council to inform all States Members of the League that, should States feel the need of reinforcing the general security conferred by the Covenant and of contracting for this purpose undertakings concerning the pacific settlement of any disputes which may arise between them, and should negotiations in connection therewith meet with difficulties, the Council would, if requested to do so by one of the parties — after it has examined the political situation and taken account of the general interests of peace — be prepared to place at the disposal of the States concerned its good offices, which, being voluntarily accepted by them, would be calculated to bring the negotiations to a happy issue."

(iii) *Resolution on the Submission and Recommendation of Model Treaties of non-Aggression and Mutual Assistance.*

"The Assembly:

"Having noted the model treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and amended as a result of the work of the First and Third Committees, together with the explanations supplied in the introductory note drawn up by the first-named Committee;

"Highly appreciating the value of these model treaties;

"And convinced that their adoption by the States concerned would contribute towards strengthening the guarantees of security:

"Recommends them for consideration by States Members or non-members of the League of Nations; and

"Hopes that they may serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude treaties of this sort."

(iv) *Resolution concerning the Good Offices of the Council.*

"In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 25th, 1926, requesting the Council to offer its good offices to States Members of the League for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security;

"The Assembly:

"Convinced that the conclusion between States in the same geographical area of treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance providing for conciliation, arbitration and mutual guarantees against aggression by any one of them constitutes one of the most practical means that can now be recommended to States anxious to secure more effective guarantees of security;

"Being of opinion that the good offices of the Council if freely accepted by all the parties concerned might facilitate the conclusion of such treaties;

"Invites the Council to inform all the States Members of the League of Nations that, should

States feel the need of reinforcing the general security conferred by the Covenant and of concluding a treaty of non-aggression and mutual assistance or a treaty of non-aggression for this purpose, and should the negotiations relating thereto meet with difficulties, the Council would, if requested by one of the parties — after it has examined the political situation and taken account of the general interests of peace — be prepared to place at the disposal of the States concerned its good offices which, being voluntarily accepted, would be calculated to bring the negotiations to a happy issue."

(v) *Resolution regarding the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.*

"The Assembly:

"Referring to the resolution of October 2nd, 1924, in which the Assembly, considering that the terms of Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice are sufficiently wide to permit States to adhere to the special Protocol opened for signature in virtue of that article, with the reservations which they regard as indispensable, and convinced that it is in the interest of the progress of international justice that the greatest possible number of States should, to the widest possible extent, accept as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Court, recommends States to accede to the said Protocol at the earliest possible date;

"Noting that this recommendation has not so far produced all the effect that is to be desired;

"Being of opinion that, in order to facilitate effectively the acceptance of the clause in question, it is expedient to diminish the obstacles which prevent States from committing themselves;

"Being convinced that the efforts now being made through progressive codification to diminish the uncertainties and supply the deficiencies of international law will greatly facilitate the acceptance of the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court, and that meanwhile attention should once more be drawn to the possibility offered by the terms of that clause to States which do not see their way to accede to it without qualification to do so subject to appropriate reservations limiting the extent of their commitments, both as regards duration and as regards scope;

"Noting in this latter connection that the reservations conceivable may relate, either generally to certain aspects of any kind of dispute, or specifically to certain classes or lists of disputes, and that these different kinds of reservation can be legitimately combined;

"Recommends that States which have not yet acceded to the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should, failing accession pure and simple, consider, with due regard to their interests, whether they can accede on the conditions above indicated;

"Requests the Council to communicate the text of this resolution to those States as soon as possible, desiring them to notify it of their intentions in the matter, indicating at the same time the questions of international law the elucidation of which would in their opinion facilitate their accession to the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court; and

"Asks the Council to inform them at the next session of the Assembly of the replies it has by then received."

(vi) *Resolution with regard to the Revision of the Systematic Survey of Arbitration Conventions and Treaties of Mutual Security deposited with the League of Nations, prepared by the Legal Section of the Secretariat.*

"The Assembly :

"Recognising the importance of the documentation which the Secretariat of the League of Nations has begun to collect concerning treaties of judicial settlement, arbitration and conciliation, and of the maps and graphs which it contemplates establishing :

"Requests the Secretary-General to be so good as to invite the Governments of States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations to communicate to the Secretariat the text :

"(1) Of those treaties for the pacific settlement of disputes which are now in force and which were concluded prior to the establishment of the League of Nations and which have not been registered ;

"(2) Of such arbitral awards affecting them as may be rendered in the future, with the exception of judgments of the Permanent Court of International Justice and of the Permanent Arbitration Court and of special tribunals such as the Mixed Arbitral Tribunals."

**The President :**

*Translation :* Count Apponyi, first delegate of Hungary, will address the Assembly.

**Count Apponyi (Hungary) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — In order to be as brief as possible, may I waive any introduction to or rhetorical ornamentation of my speech, and proceed at once to a concise statement of the reasons which have determined the vote of the Hungarian delegation on the questions before us.

The Rapporteur, with his customary lucidity, has just summarised the resolutions which the Third Committee recommends for our approval.

Let us first examine the draft resolution regarding the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. There is no need for me to explain why we are in favour of that resolution. Hungary has just signed the clause in question without any reservation.

If I have any criticism to offer with regard to this resolution, it is that, in my opinion, too much is made of reservations, which are an undesirable feature of the accessions to all agreements dealing with arbitration or any form of judicial settlement. I will say no more on that point at the moment, as I shall return to it later when speaking of the General Act.

We next have a draft resolution concerning the good offices of the League Council, with a view to facilitating, though its moral influence, the conclusion of the agreements which we advocate. To that resolution also we fully adhere.

Lastly, there are two other draft resolutions, one of which recommends, first to the approval of the Assembly and, after the approval of that august body has been obtained, to the acceptance of all States, whether Members of the League or not, the conclusion of agreements, either through accession to the General Act or by means of bilateral agreements regarding security and arbitration. The

other draft resolution recommends for consideration by States, whether Members of the League or not, treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance.

I must explain our attitude towards these two draft resolutions.

We support the former resolution, recommending accession to the General Act and bilateral conventions which, in substance, are similar to the General Act, because there is nothing either in the Act itself or in the reasons given in support of the recommendation which conflicts with the principles we defend.

On the contrary, this admirable and scientific piece of work, on which we congratulate the authors and their collaborators, is based on ideas corresponding entirely with what we consider to be essential, namely, a clear distinction between the political and judicial aspects of international questions and, secondly, the intangibility of the international magistrature as regards its procedure and decisions. We are entirely in sympathy with these principles and recommendations, and we consider that they should be generally accepted.

Nevertheless, I feel bound, on behalf of my Government, to make certain reservations, or rather to explain to you the significance of our affirmative vote.

An affirmative vote, given after serious reflection — as is the case with all the votes given here — means that the Government concerned is under a moral obligation to implement the recommendations of the resolution. None of us can urge others to do what we are not prepared to do ourselves. Hence we consider that this accession connotes a moral obligation on the part of the Hungarian Government to conclude as soon as possible conventions similar to the General Act and to adhere to a general convention. That, to be sure, is our ultimate aim ; yet I am bound in all sincerity to say that the Hungarian Government cannot undertake immediately to convert into conventions and into accessions to concrete agreements the general approval it has given to our recommendations, and this for the following reasons.

I do not wish to enter into any detailed criticism of the Act submitted to us. I have already acknowledged that, in principle, it is admirably conceived, clear, lucid and in harmony with our views.

There is, however, one article in regard to which we have certain misgivings and feel called upon to take certain precautions, namely, the article dealing with reservations.

I have already referred to this article in connection with the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. I should like to say something more on this subject, because no satisfactory solution of this very serious question appears yet to have been reached.

States are granted what amounts to almost complete freedom in regard to reservations. I am aware that the Preamble to the General Act states — and the statement is repeated in one of the articles — that the power to make reservations is limited, and I quite admit that much progress has been made in that direction.

Progress has been made, since any dispute concerning the applicability of a reservation must be submitted to the Court. Accordingly, the State making the reservation has no absolute right to judge for itself whether the reservation is applicable in every case. If there is a dispute on the matter, it must be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice. That is certainly a step in the right direction.

The reservations permissible do not include those which relate to objections based on constitutional grounds ; that is to say, where

there is the possibility of violation of the State's constitution should certain questions be compulsorily submitted to judicial procedure. The exclusion of these reservations marks a step forward, because they leave the door open to endless casuistry and abuse.

Nevertheless, the reservations defined in subparagraph (c) of the list really cover anything and everything, and permit of any subject being withdrawn, under the guise of a reservation, from the jurisdiction of the magistrature, from the application of compulsory judicial procedure, whether arbitral or other.

This detracts very much from the value of the whole work. The power, however limited, to make reservations makes it only too easy in international relations to cover vice with a cloak of virtue.

A State wishing to evade the Act can easily enough tell the world that it has acceded to the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and can also point out that it has concluded, in conformity with the General Act, treaties providing for the submission of all juridical questions to arbitration or compulsory judicial procedure; yet it can make reservations which will completely nullify this obligation.

Hence when, in accordance with one of the resolutions proposed, the Secretariat submits to the Council or Assembly a list of States which have accepted and concluded such engagements and have signed the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Court, a list of the reservations made should be submitted at the same time, because it is only by those reservations that we can gauge the real value of the States' accessions.

Herein lies a very real danger, a circumstance that gives pause to those who, like ourselves, are anxious to conclude these agreements and have signed the Optional Clause without any reservations. We might find that some countries had made reservations of such a nature, and having such a scope, as to render the agreement entirely valueless in our eyes.

Suppose, for example — and this is one of the cases covered by the General Act — suppose a State reserves all questions which arose prior to the signature of this Act, thus including any disputes as to the interpretation of the Peace Treaties. To Hungary, the value of an agreement limited in this way would be practically nil, because for a long time to come the question of primary importance to us will be the judicial — that is to say, the impartial and equitable — settlement of disputes arising out of the interpretation of the Peace Treaties. It is one of our vital interests.

What compensation is offered to us in such a case? We are told that, generally speaking — and this seems quite fair — a State which has made no reservations may, in its relations with a State which has made them, claim the benefit of the same reservations as the latter State.

In the case in question, therefore, we should also have the right to refuse judicial settlement if we were accused of violating the Peace Treaties, or if we put forward a claim deemed to be a misinterpretation of those Treaties.

But we do not ask for this concession; it is no favour, no compensation to us. If we ask that any claim or complaint we may make against any party in virtue of the Peace Treaties should be submitted to judicial settlement, we also consider that the

same judicial procedure should be applied to ourselves when a similar complaint or charge is brought against us.

That question is still unsolved. I do not wish to take up an extreme attitude in the matter by suggesting that reservations should be entirely eliminated. I realise that life calls for reservations; I also realise that the authors of the General Act have attempted to set reasonable limits to the freedom allowed, which might otherwise defeat all the aims of the Act. But the happy mean, the exact limit, has not yet been found, and I venture to say that this is a matter requiring further study to enable us to define what reservations are permissible without utterly destroying the principle of compulsory judicial settlement through the reprehensible practice of giving ambitious agreements a purely fictitious value.

That is one of the reasons why the Hungarian Government may possibly hesitate to conclude treaties of this kind. It will want to know what reservations are likely to become usual and how public opinion will regard them. It will want to make sure that it is not being enticed into agreements where unfair advantage may be taken of its good faith by parties whose good faith is less complete.

There is a second reason which bids us pause. I will not conceal the impression I have received, not from the instrument under discussion, but from recent developments in matters of theoretical principle and the influence they have begun to exercise on the procedure of the organs of the League. This influence has had the effect of placing the prestige of the international magistrature and arbitration somewhat under a cloud. The tendency is openly displayed in certain theoretical works to place political power in the League above judicial power, and to grant to the Council, as the principal political organ, a sort of right of revision and of judgment and to allow it to act to some extent as a court of appeal against the decisions of the international magistrature.

That is a tendency which I shall always combat by every means in my power, because I regard it as destructive of the whole work of the League. It is especially destructive of the security and the dignity of small nations, for their juridical equality, as stated in the Covenant and proclaimed from this platform, depends upon the intangibility of the international magistrature, since that magistrature is the only domain in which such equality really exists. If equality exists at all, it must be in questions of law; otherwise if, even in this sphere, the nation whose political influence is strongest is to have the upper hand, we may well ask why the League was ever created.

I have seen, and no one with their eyes open can fail to see, that this tendency has already to some extent influenced certain proceedings of the Council. I do not say the Council has yielded to it; on the contrary, I feel sure that, in the last resort, the Council will always uphold respect for law and will always carry out the obligations devolving upon it under Article 13 of the Covenant, namely, to carry out so far as its means permit the decisions of the international magistrature.

But notwithstanding the hope — nay, the certainty — I feel as to the position the Council will take up, other and contrary hopes have undeniably been entertained, and a certain

hesitation, which only encourages those hopes, has been displayed.

It is not surprising, therefore, that, in view of this hesitation, we ourselves should also hesitate and should desire to await the issue, because when an agreement is concluded with one or a number of parties, if it is to be honest and sincere, it must mean the same thing to all concerned. When we speak of submitting unconditionally all juridical questions affecting us to the international magistrature, we mean that for us this magistrature represents an impregnable fortress, a power whose authority is beyond dispute. But if the tendency to which I have just referred gradually affects the policy of one or more States, they will cease to regard the magistrature as an unimpeachable juridical power, that absolute guarantee of dignity and freedom which we expect from it; it will merely be a stage of procedure liable to be influenced by changes of policy.

If this should be the case, international jurisdiction will become a very different thing. We may call it by the same name, and the bodies to which we appeal may employ the same methods, but they will not then mean the same thing to both parties.

We wish to know where we stand in this matter. I do not say that the General Act now before us gives the slightest encouragement to these subversive legal theories; it does not. What makes the Act so valuable in our eyes is that in its whole purport, its simplified form and its construction, it upholds the theory of the intangibility of the international magistrature, and enunciates the lofty conception of international jurisdiction which we hold so dear and by which we set such great store. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen whether, in face of subversive tendencies, this truth, this conception, can prevail.

I say frankly that the tendencies to which I have referred have brought to light a certain reluctance to carry out a duty towards us prescribed by the existing law. In the end, this reluctance will certainly be overcome, and right will prevail; but until that comes to pass it is only natural that we too should hesitate.

To sum up: I considered it my duty to say frankly and loyally that, while we accede fully and sincerely to the Act in regard to security and arbitration, we may not be able to fulfil our moral duty to carry it into effect immediately until we have guarantees concerning the conventions which I have just mentioned.

Our position in regard to the resolution recommending treaties of mutual assistance and non-aggression is altogether different. These treaties are excellent in themselves, and nothing is further from our thought than to try to prevent their acceptance. We feel bound to abstain from voting for them, however, primarily on account of the nature of the engagements involved by the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. In Article 3 of the Collective Treaty of Mutual Assistance (Treaty D), it is stated that:

“As soon as the Council of the League of Nations has ascertained that such a violation has taken place, it shall at once advise the Powers which have signed the present Treaty, and each of these Powers undertakes in such a case to give assistance forthwith to the Power against which the act complained of has been directed.”

How can we, in our present state, disarmed so that we are defenceless, seriously undertake to assist any Power whatever? How can we, disarmed and defenceless, conclude a treaty of mutual assistance with nations armed to the teeth? The thing would be as incongruous as a treaty of mutual financial assistance between a small tradesman and Pierpont Morgan.

Our very sincerity therefore compels us to abstain from voting.

But there is another point also, and this point represents our main objection. I hardly need mention it, because it is to be found in the introductory note to the Model Treaty of Mutual Assistance. We read in the last paragraph but one of the introductory note to Annex 3 that:

“The conclusion of a collective Treaty of Mutual Assistance, as conceived by the Committee, naturally presupposes political preparation, and endeavours to bring about a better understanding between the nations destined to conclude reciprocal agreements.”

If it is to be genuine and sincere, therefore, a treaty of mutual assistance presupposes good understanding and confidence between the nations which conclude that treaty. Now I regret to say that in that part of Central Europe to which we belong — and in our case it would obviously be a matter of regional agreements — these political conditions and the necessary mutual confidence do not yet exist, nor has the position improved to any large extent of late. I will say as little as possible and will use the mildest terms I can; but there are some things I must say.

M. Briand, speaking from this platform, asked whether sincerity was possible in the League. He answered his own question in the affirmative. I will go further and ask whether sincerity is necessary to the League, and I also reply in the affirmative; for if the League is to achieve its objects and to carry out any task completely, truth is essential and must be faced. If we conceal the disequilibrium which exists in certain regions and which contains the seeds of conflict, we are doing a disservice to the cause of peace and international understanding. We must look facts in the face, because that is the only way to find real remedies, to advance towards our common goal, to promote concord, to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence, moral pacification and voluntary acquiescence, such as is essential to real peace. If the basis of European organisation is to be that one powerfully armed group is to impose its will on another disarmed and weak group, discontent and irritation will ensue, and, I repeat, in that case a League of Nations will not be worth while. It would be tantamount to a Holy Alliance, to the system of the 1815 Treaties. There was little enough concern then as to whether some nations were satisfied or not; but the treaties were enforced, for a time, by reason of the superior power behind them.

No, gentlemen, that is surely not the system we want. That system would not represent an advance towards a new and better order of things. If we were to apply it, a disinterested spectator with a philosophic turn of mind might repeat the charming epigram of a French political writer who, surveying

the results of a series of revolutions, said: "*Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*". No, gentlemen, it must not be the same thing. If we are to bring about a new order of things based on truth, and to advance towards peace based on a belief in justice, on an understanding of the fundamental interests of nations and of the natural course of human evolution, we must first of all be frank and sincere with one another, we must allow fresh air, however cold, however piercing, to enter these often incense-laden precincts.

You are quite entitled to ask me what are the obstacles to this genuine understanding. I will not go into details to-day, because, I assure you, it is not my intention, at this final stage of the Assembly, to moot serious problems which can only be settled or profitably dealt with after lengthy discussion.

What I have said to-day I shall explain more fully to the next Assembly, when we shall certainly have to revert to this matter, if only because, notwithstanding the care and skill with which these agreements have been drafted, certain technical details will need to be revised, and certain problems still outstanding will have to be solved. Next year, therefore, it will be my duty — if I have the strength left to perform it — to lay before the Assembly a true picture of the evils afflicting the part of Central Europe to which Hungary belongs. I shall then show you that it is no question of legal formulas — nothing is easier than to find formulas — but that there are grave political problems which call for a real and not a fictitious solution. I feel that, in bringing these facts to your notice, I shall be rendering a real service to the League by enabling it, after discussion, to realise the position and take the necessary action.

I should now like to touch upon another point — the aspect of this discussion which makes an emotional appeal to us all — namely, the connection between the item on to-day's agenda and the great problem of disarmament.

You may perhaps say to me: You who are more eager than others for the speedy completion of disarmament, or at any rate for an appreciable advance in that direction, you are not acting logically in raising difficulties with regard to what is an essential condition for disarmament, namely, the establishment of security.

But that is the argument of those to whom the present situation already gives full security and who think that if they reduce their armaments they will be making a sacrifice in the cause of disarmament.

May I point out that there are other nations who have no security at all to-day, and to whom, therefore, similar disarmament would bring security. There are nearly a hundred million civilised people living under those conditions.

What measure of security has Hungary to-day? May I give you a small instance? I have often, both at plenary meetings and in committee, told you of the intolerable position in which certain countries, my own included, have been placed through unilateral disarmament. But I am now speaking of security. Everyone is concerned about the disastrous effects of air warfare, not only on the armies themselves but on the population as a whole. To this direct danger is added the danger of

chemical warfare, for which poisonous substances and gases are employed. Nations possessing sufficient military aircraft could attack whole populations by this means. Do you realise what our position is in this matter? We have actually been forbidden protective masks.

Some years ago now we made representations, I think to the Conference of Ambassadors, or if not, to the competent disarmament authorities, asking to be allowed to use these masks, which can hardly be called an instrument of aggression — and for years permission was refused.

We were eventually granted a concession, in the shape of an authorisation to manufacture some 52,000 gas masks for the 35,000 men we are allowed to have under arms. But for the civil population there are none at all. What do you think of that? All countries are anxious to protect their own people against air attack, but we — we have no means of protecting them; we are not allowed to protect them. Is that security?

I could give you many similar examples, but I think that instance sufficiently proves the impossibility of arranging the questions of security and disarmament — security first and then disarmament — in chronological order, as the theorists seem to want. Many factors are involved. In the first place, how will you know when security has been reached? Will it be when the Assembly has recommended the General Act and the other conventions before us to-day? No. An Act, a paper Act, whatever the respect it commands, however excellent the principles it contains, however sacred these principles should be, is not in itself a guarantee of security. It becomes a guarantee when, and only when, it has been brought into effect.

In the Preamble to the General Act itself it is admitted that much has still to be done before real and universal security is achieved through the acceptance of the Act and of the bilateral conventions based on it. Can we afford to wait until then?

As the example I give shows, the existence of this disparity in armaments itself makes for insecurity. International acts which legally bind nations may do something, may do much, to increase security; but the real basis, whether of security or of an assured peace, as well as of legal stability, is a pacific spirit, a spirit born of a general belief in the justice and the organic nature of the existing arrangements.

Anything, therefore, which is unilateral in character forms an insuperable barrier to the establishment of that moral basis of security. The great, the fundamental falsity of the situation created by the Peace Treaties was that they stereotyped the situation of the belligerents, that they introduced into what is termed a state of peace a distinction between the allies of one Power and the allies of another, according to the particular side on which they happened to be during the war. That, gentlemen, is an insuperable barrier to moral reconciliation and to the stabilisation of the civilised world as a moral unit.

No nation worthy of the name can accept a position of juridical inferiority; it cannot accept the application to itself of a system of international law different from that applied to others; still less can it accept as a reason for these differences its alleged moral inferiority.



Only if we solve such problems — of which I have touched on but a few — only if we attack them courageously, if we refuse to harbour illusions based on fictitious circumstances, if we take bold action to achieve true reconciliation and re-establish moral unity ; only if we do this shall we really be serving the cause of world security.

In this way alone can the foundations of true peace be successfully laid. You see, therefore, that our attitude is quite consistent when we refuse to take a step which would be wanting in complete sincerity and would give the impression that we are seeking security solely, or even mainly, in juridical formulas. That is not so. Security depends on psychological and political factors. Most big political mistakes are due to errors of psychology. Each State has its own mentality and acts in accordance with it, without troubling to try to understand the mentality of others. Only when these differences of mentality are disclosed and fully appreciated will it be possible to arrive at an understanding.

Once this result has been attained I do not despair of overcoming all other difficulties. Then, and then only, shall I be optimist enough to share the confidence expressed by many speakers in the League's future. If the League is content to shirk real problems and to take refuge in formulas, instead of settling the questions at issue, it will no doubt continue to exist, it will make a great show of work, and celebrations will be organised in its honour ; but its greatest aim — an aim which will always have my firm and devoted support — will never be attained.

If I have been outspoken, I have also been perfectly candid and sincere ; and I only spoke as I have because I earnestly desire to further the cause of real and lasting peace.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. d'Oliveira, delegate of Portugal, will address the Assembly.

**M. d'Oliveira (Portugal) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Portuguese delegation is glad to give its cordial support to the Third Committee's proposal

relative to the General Act of Arbitration, and thanks the members of that Committee, and particularly the distinguished Rapporteur, M. Politis, for their important contribution to the work of the League.

Portugal has long-standing traditions in the matter of arbitration, to which it is her duty to remain faithful. It was on the initiative of Portugal, as we have already reminded you, that the Hague Conference of 1907 discussed a draft world convention for compulsory arbitration, which was supported by a large majority and which only the opposition of a very small number of States prevented from being accepted.

The General Act submitted for your approval is, in our opinion, the logical sequel to and the necessary development of the general obligation to submit to arbitration contained in Articles 12 and 13 of the Covenant.

It is the duty of the League loyally to do its utmost not only to make this undertaking effective and real but to extend it and render it available for all States. The whole world must be brought to realise that each provision of the Covenant, which is our common constitution, far from becoming a dead letter, or practically so, is a living factor in our minds and is becoming an ever-growing inspiration and guiding force for all our acts.

For this reason the delegation of Portugal earnestly and sincerely trusts that a large number of States will in the near future affix their signatures to this charter of arbitration, as it has been so aptly called, after it has received the approval of the Assembly.

It will remain one of the most important acts, and one of the most fertile in results, of all the work we have done this year. Undoubtedly arbitration, if not the sole way to disarmament and peace, is, jointly with judicial settlement, the most direct, the most comprehensive and the most just way, the way best calculated to ensure the equality of States, the way which more than any other has earned the growing confidence of the nations.

*The discussion was adjourned to the next meeting.*

*The Assembly rose at 7.15 p.m.*

## NINETEENTH PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, September 26th, 1928, at 10 a.m.

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Speech by the President.

the results of a series of revolutions, said : "*Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*". No, gentlemen, it must not be the same thing. If we are to bring about a new order of things based on truth, and to advance towards peace based on a belief in justice, on an understanding of the fundamental interests of nations and of the natural course of human evolution, we must first of all be frank and sincere with one another, we must allow fresh air, however cold, however piercing, to enter these often incense-laden precincts.

You are quite entitled to ask me what are the obstacles to this genuine understanding. I will not go into details to-day, because, I assure you, it is not my intention, at this final stage of the Assembly, to moot serious problems which can only be settled or profitably dealt with after lengthy discussion.

What I have said to-day I shall explain more fully to the next Assembly, when we shall certainly have to revert to this matter, if only because, notwithstanding the care and skill with which these agreements have been drafted, certain technical details will need to be revised, and certain problems still outstanding will have to be solved. Next year, therefore, it will be my duty — if I have the strength left to perform it — to lay before the Assembly a true picture of the evils afflicting the part of Central Europe to which Hungary belongs. I shall then show you that it is no question of legal formulas — nothing is easier than to find formulas — but that there are grave political problems which call for a real and not a fictitious solution. I feel that, in bringing these facts to your notice, I shall be rendering a real service to the League by enabling it, after discussion, to realise the position and take the necessary action.

I should now like to touch upon another point — the aspect of this discussion which makes an emotional appeal to us all — namely, the connection between the item on to-day's agenda and the great problem of disarmament.

You may perhaps say to me : You who are more eager than others for the speedy completion of disarmament, or at any rate for an appreciable advance in that direction, you are not acting logically in raising difficulties with regard to what is an essential condition for disarmament, namely, the establishment of security.

But that is the argument of those to whom the present situation already gives full security and who think that if they reduce their armaments they will be making a sacrifice in the cause of disarmament.

May I point out that there are other nations who have no security at all to-day, and to whom, therefore, similar disarmament would bring security. There are nearly a hundred million civilised people living under those conditions.

What measure of security has Hungary to-day ? May I give you a small instance ? I have often, both at plenary meetings and in committee, told you of the intolerable position in which certain countries, my own included, have been placed through unilateral disarmament. But I am now speaking of security. Everyone is concerned about the disastrous effects of air warfare, not only on the armies themselves but on the population as a whole. To this direct danger is added the danger of

chemical warfare, for which poisonous substances and gases are employed. Nations possessing sufficient military aircraft could attack whole populations by this means. Do you realise what our position is in this matter ? We have actually been forbidden protective masks.

Some years ago now we made representations, I think to the Conference of Ambassadors, or if not, to the competent disarmament authorities, asking to be allowed to use these masks, which can hardly be called an instrument of aggression — and for years permission was refused.

We were eventually granted a concession, in the shape of an authorisation to manufacture some 52,000 gas masks for the 35,000 men we are allowed to have under arms. But for the civil population there are none at all. What do you think of that ? All countries are anxious to protect their own people against air attack, but we — we have no means of protecting them ; we are not allowed to protect them. Is that security ?

I could give you many similar examples, but I think that instance sufficiently proves the impossibility of arranging the questions of security and disarmament — security first and then disarmament — in chronological order, as the theorists seem to want. Many factors are involved. In the first place, how will you know when security has been reached ? Will it be when the Assembly has recommended the General Act and the other conventions before us to-day ? No. An Act, a paper Act, whatever the respect it commands, however excellent the principles it contains, however sacred these principles should be, is not in itself a guarantee of security. It becomes a guarantee when, and only when, it has been brought into effect.

In the Preamble to the General Act itself it is admitted that much has still to be done before real and universal security is achieved through the acceptance of the Act and of the bilateral conventions based on it. Can we afford to wait until then ?

As the example I give shows, the existence of this disparity in armaments itself makes for insecurity. International acts which legally bind nations may do something, may do much, to increase security ; but the real basis, whether of security or of an assured peace, as well as of legal stability, is a pacific spirit, a spirit born of a general belief in the justice and the organic nature of the existing arrangements.

Anything, therefore, which is unilateral in character forms an insuperable barrier to the establishment of that moral basis of security. The great, the fundamental falsity of the situation created by the Peace Treaties was that they stereotyped the situation of the belligerents, that they introduced into what is termed a state of peace a distinction between the allies of one Power and the allies of another, according to the particular side on which they happened to be during the war. That, gentlemen, is an insuperable barrier to moral reconciliation and to the stabilisation of the civilised world as a moral unit.

No nation worthy of the name can accept a position of juridical inferiority ; it cannot accept the application to itself of a system of international law different from that applied to others ; still less can it accept as a reason for these differences its alleged moral inferiority.

Only if we solve such problems — of which I have touched on but a few — only if we attack them courageously, if we refuse to harbour illusions based on fictitious circumstances, if we take bold action to achieve true reconciliation and re-establish moral unity ; only if we do this shall we really be serving the cause of world security.

In this way alone can the foundations of true peace be successfully laid. You see, therefore, that our attitude is quite consistent when we refuse to take a step which would be wanting in complete sincerity and would give the impression that we are seeking security solely, or even mainly, in juridical formulas. That is not so. Security depends on psychological and political factors. Most big political mistakes are due to errors of psychology; Each State has its own mentality and acts in accordance with it, without troubling to try to understand the mentality of others. Only when these differences of mentality are disclosed and fully appreciated will it be possible to arrive at an understanding.

Once this result has been attained I do not despair of overcoming all other difficulties. Then, and then only, shall I be optimist enough to share the confidence expressed by many speakers in the League's future. If the League is content to shirk real problems and to take refuge in formulas, instead of settling the questions at issue, it will no doubt continue to exist, it will make a great show of work, and celebrations will be organised in its honour ; but its greatest aim — an aim which will always have my firm and devoted support — will never be attained.

If I have been outspoken, I have also been perfectly candid and sincere ; and I only spoke as I have because I earnestly desire to further the cause of real and lasting peace.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. d'Oliveira, delegate of Portugal, will address the Assembly.

**M. d'Oliveira (Portugal) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Portuguese delegation is glad to give its cordial support to the Third Committee's proposal

relative to the General Act of Arbitration, and thanks the members of that Committee, and particularly the distinguished Rapporteur, M. Politis, for their important contribution to the work of the League.

Portugal has long-standing traditions in the matter of arbitration, to which it is her duty to remain faithful. It was on the initiative of Portugal, as we have already reminded you, that the Hague Conference of 1907 discussed a draft world convention for compulsory arbitration, which was supported by a large majority and which only the opposition of a very small number of States prevented from being accepted.

The General Act submitted for your approval is, in our opinion, the logical sequel to and the necessary development of the general obligation to submit to arbitration contained in Articles 12 and 13 of the Covenant.

It is the duty of the League loyally to do its utmost not only to make this undertaking effective and real but to extend it and render it available for all States. The whole world must be brought to realise that each provision of the Covenant, which is our common constitution, far from becoming a dead letter, or practically so, is a living factor in our minds and is becoming an ever-growing inspiration and guiding force for all our acts.

For this reason the delegation of Portugal earnestly and sincerely trusts that a large number of States will in the near future affix their signatures to this charter of arbitration, as it has been so aptly called, after it has received the approval of the Assembly.

It will remain one of the most important acts, and one of the most fertile in results, of all the work we have done this year. Undoubtedly arbitration, if not the sole way to disarmament and peace, is, jointly with judicial settlement, the most direct, the most comprehensive and the most just way, the way best calculated to ensure the equality of States, the way which more than any other has earned the growing confidence of the nations.

*The discussion was adjourned to the next meeting.*

*The Assembly rose at 7.15 p.m.*

## NINETEENTH PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, September 26th, 1928, at 10 a.m.

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President : M. ZAHLE.

93. — PROTECTION OF MINORITIES :  
DÉCLARATION BY THE NETHERLANDS  
DELEGATION.

The President :

*Translation :* Before dealing with the first item on the agenda, I will ask His Excellency Jonkheer Loudon, first delegate of the Netherlands, to address you. He wishes to make a statement to the Assembly on a matter connected with the minorities question.

Jonkheer Loudon will address the Assembly.

Jonkheer Loudon (Netherlands) :

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The statement I have to make is a very brief one. During the discussion of the report on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat, M. Beelaerts van Blokland, the first delegate of the Netherlands, made certain observations regarding the protection of minorities, without, however, submitting any definite proposal. He expressed the hope that other delegations would state their views on the matter, and I should like to thank all my colleagues who have been good enough to respond to that invitation.

The Netherlands delegation was glad to find that those who spoke unanimously recognised the great importance of the problem, although opinions differed as to the solutions which it would be desirable to apply.

Leaving aside the question of the advisability of revising the present system, it seems to me that it would be a very good thing if we could make it more effective. We might, for instance, amend the procedure of the existing system by holding more frequent meetings of the Committees of Three in the intervals between sessions of the Council. I fully realise, however, that the end of our session is not the time for discussing this matter at length and I will merely say, in conclusion, that the Netherlands delegation is confident that the question of the proper protection of minorities will continue to receive from the League the full consideration it deserves.

The President :

*Translation :* The communication made by the Netherlands delegation is merely in the nature of a statement; it will be duly included in the records of the present meeting.

94. — PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTER-  
NATIONAL DISPUTES AND MODEL  
TREATIES OF NON-AGGRESSION AND  
MUTUAL ASSISTANCE: REPORT OF THE  
THIRD COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS :  
CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President :

*Translation :* The first item on the agenda is the continuation of the discussion of the Third Committee's report on the pacific settlement of international disputes, and the model treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance (Annex 28, document A.86.1928.IX).

I will ask Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Third Committee, to be good enough to take his place on the platform.

As M. Politis, the Rapporteur for this question, has been obliged to leave Geneva, I will ask the Chairman of the Third Committee to be good enough to act in his stead if necessary.

His Excellency M. Comnène, delegate of Roumania, who is the first speaker on the list, will address the Assembly.

M. Comnène (Roumania) :

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have listened with great interest to the speakers who have preceded me on this platform, and I have noticed that, while some of them displayed possibly undue optimism with regard to the League's work in the field of arbitration, security and disarmament, others went to the opposite extreme and practically proposed that the League should file a declaration of bankruptcy.

As in all human affairs, truth is, I think, to be found in the golden mean. When we remember that for ages past men have waged war on each other, and that the history of civilisation is one long record of bloodshed, it seems absurd to expect to raise a complex structure, a very complex structure, and to build up in a few short months a complete international system of security and arbitration designed to prevent war.

History shows that the evolution of human institutions rarely proceeds by leaps and bounds. It is only by dealing with difficulties methodically, in stages, or, as Pascal said, "en sériant", and by carefully taking all the aspects of the problem into account, that we can hope to attain our object.

I know that public opinion is daily becoming more eager for an advance in the direction of disarmament, security and arbitration.

I can pass over the clamorous demands of the impractical idealists whose voices are sometimes to be heard in this Assembly, crying aloud for immediate and total disarmament.

It may be well, I think, for us to remind ourselves occasionally that this is not a mere political academy or one of those international debating societies at which, to use Saint-Simon's expression, "pistols of straw and words of snow are the rule".

Nearly all the members of this Assembly are statesmen representing their Governments. They are men with heavy responsibilities on their shoulders.

However lofty our personal aspirations may be, whatever our individual ideals, it is the imperative duty of one and all of us not to lose sight of realities.

Count Apponyi yesterday emphasised the importance of sincerity for the League, and encourages us to follow his example — to speak forthright and look the facts squarely in the face. He told us of his anxiety at seeing his country disarmed amidst neighbours whom he regards as armed to the teeth. Allow me to remind you that my own country is passionately attached to peace, that no country would be more happy to disarm, that it has always said so, and, that in the course of our history we have more than once — unfortunately without success — appealed before international assemblies for the privilege of neutralisation on the same lines as Switzerland.

But when I remember the offers we have solemnly made to all our neighbours more than once from this platform to participate in a pact of non-aggression, when I remember that those offers have met with no response, when I perceive the constant, stubborn and irrepressible desire of some of our neighbours to disturb peace and overturn the existing order, I feel I should like to look them in

the face and ask them, as M. Paul-Boncour asked us yesterday, where the danger actually lies and what are the exact threats which their neighbours are offering to their countries. For years past we have heard vague accusations formulated by Hungary against her neighbours both from this platform and in other international assemblies. We are glad that at last the time has come when we can ask for definite explanations; and we now await them.

You will therefore understand the anxiety sometimes felt by our statesmen, who are desirous of serving the cause of peace, as all of us here have solemnly undertaken to do, and you will see why, in view of certain facts and certain actions, we must demand guarantees.

Last night Count Apponyi thought to place his country's neighbours in a quandary by asking them how they would know when the minimum of security had been reached. Were we not imbued with the spirit of Geneva, we might reply: "When a minimum of moral disarmament has been achieved by all our neighbours; when the great wind of democracy has finally swept away the last vestige of abolished privileges".

But this reply, simple and incisive as the question itself, might, if given without further elaboration, accord ill with the international spirit which all those who undertake the pilgrimage to Geneva should possess.

We had thought that these minimum guarantees would be given us through the Treaty of Mutual Assistance or the Geneva Protocol; but for reasons of a constitutional, historical or psychological nature, which affect certain Members of the League, we have not yet secured those guarantees.

We are now trying to obtain them through new formulas and by new methods, and we believe that these methods are the right ones. The Kellogg pact, the Franco-British agreement and the settlement of certain highly controversial points connected with disarmament, all encourage us to hope that we are on the right road.

I am glad to find that the Roumanian delegation was not mistaken when it declared last year that the problems of disarmament, arbitration and security were leaving the empirical to enter upon the scientific stage.

You have before you the work of the Third Committee and of the Preparatory Commission. That work justifies the belief of those who come here, not with ill-disguised ambitions, but with an ardent faith in the future of the League — the belief that success is assured.

As regards arbitration, let me state that, though arbitration is a matter of primary importance for large countries, it will readily be understood how enthusiastically all small or medium-sized countries must welcome the progress made in the direction of compulsory arbitration.

When I reflect upon the distressing history of my own country, I cannot help thinking of the terrible sufferings and disaster it might have been spared by compulsory arbitration. It is only necessary to look at the geographical position of countries such as mine to realise how sincerely I speak and what great importance these countries attach to the principle of arbitration.

That is why, although we realise that our efforts are still tentative and that the work done may not be altogether satisfactory, we are nevertheless prepared to give it our full support.

I shall not follow the example set from this platform by bringing up before the Assembly

a question still pending before the League Council, as I feel it is hardly right, when a controversial matter is before the Council, to raise it in the Assembly in an attempt perhaps to bring pressure to bear in the Council.

It was said here yesterday that most political mistakes are errors of psychology.

I do not intend, therefore, to commit such an error myself.

I have just stated our views on international justice; but I feel bound to add that we cannot subscribe to everything that has been said here with regard to the predominance of the judicial over the political in the working of the League. That is a matter of such importance that we cannot pass over it lightly.

What is the League's purpose? Peace, peace above all things. That is stated clearly and emphatically both in the Preamble and in the main articles of the Covenant. Peace is, in fact, at the basis of the whole structure.

Whether in the international or in the national sphere, vital necessities come first.

The judicial records of every country are full of cases where justice has had to yield before the imperative necessities of everyday life. We must not be carried away by catchwords and first principles. We all owe respect to justice; yet when a judgment is likely to kindle the torch of war, to give over perhaps a whole Continent to fire and sword — for, as we know too well, it is impossible nowadays to localise the danger of an outbreak — I do not think you will find a single statesman or a single jurist worthy of the name who will not echo the principle of the Covenant: "Peace before all!"

I am glad to be able heartily to support in particular the paragraph of the fifth resolution concerning the efforts which are being made with a view to the progressive codification of international law. We cannot forget the very sound observations made at the last ordinary session of the Assembly by certain delegations who pointed out the great drawbacks to establishing international jurisdictions while the common law which they are to apply is still a mere mass of conflicting individual opinions and of controversies between the various schools of law.

In conclusion, I should like to see this debate close on a note of peace and not of strife, on words of confidence and not of doubt; and I therefore venture to say, on behalf of the Roumanian delegation, that the nation of peasants whom we represent here believes in the League and its work, believes in its future and in the coming of justice and of universal peace, and that, whenever they are called upon to furnish their modest measure of help to bring the world a further stage along the road to peace, they will not fail, as throughout their history they have never failed, to answer the call.

**The President :**

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

**Dr. Nansen (Norway) :**

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — As it was the Norwegian delegation which, after Sweden had made a similar proposal three years ago, submitted at the last ordinary session of the Assembly the proposal from which the Arbitration Treaty now under consideration has resulted, I feel it is my duty to express the gratitude and appreciation of my delegation to those who, during the last year, have done such strenuous and successful work upon this subject. We are delighted that the matter was

taken up so warmly by the expert jurists of the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and we are also very happy that the First Committee has seen its way to amalgamate the drafts of general conventions prepared by the Arbitration Committee into a single text which is now submitted for the acceptance and adhesion of the various Governments of the world.

I should like particularly to say how glad we are that the First Committee has adopted the procedure of preparing a General Act for immediate adhesion. We have always believed it to be of the greatest importance that the Assembly should be able to draw up treaties on matters concerning which a large number of Members of the League were in agreement, and that a treaty of this kind should be open for adhesion to those States which were ready to accept it. We welcome the treaty before us which confirms a practice that we regard as valuable in the extreme. We made our proposal a year ago because we were profoundly convinced that the time had come when, as regards international conciliation and arbitration of all disputes, the Governments of many countries were prepared to go beyond the system of bilateral treaties.

The system of bilateral treaties has been most valuable in the past. It may still serve a useful purpose in the future, but it is clear to us that bilateral treaties cannot meet the needs of the organised community of States at the present time.

Since the last war, arbitration has passed into a new phase. The reservations of different kinds which used to be made in arbitration treaties have now been dropped, and a system of compulsory arbitration by bilateral treaty has been more and more adopted. But it is precisely those Governments which have concluded the largest number of bilateral treaties which now believe it to be necessary to pass to a new stage. The pioneers of compulsory arbitration themselves want to do more. They desire to reach the stage of a general international convention which will codify procedure in respect of arbitration — a convention which will have behind it the increased authority of a general agreement.

For these reasons we welcome the draft which has been prepared, and we believe that this treaty, when it has been accepted, as we believe it will be, by a large and increasing number of Governments, will have a double importance. In the first place, we believe that it will mean a great practical increase in recourse to arbitration in disputes which are not submitted to final decision. We expect from it the same progress in respect of non-legal disputes which has been made in respect of legal disputes by means of the optional clause. In the second place, we believe that this treaty will increasingly prepare the way for international security, and thereby for the general reduction of armaments, and will do much to develop thought even among those Governments which are not yet prepared to accept it.

I am fully aware that there may be people who are afraid that the proposed treaty or similar treaties may contain holes or mistakes which might be dangerous for the future, but I am sure we have to be careful not to let the best become the enemy of the good.

Those who are always so afraid of making mistakes remind me of people in the street who are so afraid of taking a wrong step that they do not move at all, and thus expose themselves to a double risk of being run over. I think that, if the League is to develop and strengthen its prestige, it has to go forward with courage. It can be said about the League, as it is said about

man, "Show me a man who has made no mistakes and I will show you a man who has never accomplished anything".

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Osuský, delegate of Czechoslovakia, will address the Assembly.

**M. Osuský (Czechoslovakia) :**

*Translation :* I do not desire, now that the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly is nearing its close, to inflict upon you a lengthy statement of the Czechoslovak delegation's views on the pacific settlement of international disputes and the treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance.

The part taken by M. Beneš in the preparation of the instruments submitted to us by the Committee on Arbitration and Security is the best witness to the spirit that animates Czechoslovakia in her international relations.

Nevertheless, I cannot ignore certain things that were said from this platform towards the end of yesterday evening's meeting. I need not have replied had not those words gone beyond these walls. For my part, indeed, I should have preferred to wait for next year's Assembly, thus allowing time for our minds to become calmer. Unhappily, the words that were uttered have spread far and wide, and have thus gone not only beyond the control of the speaker himself but also beyond the control — calm, reasoned and wise — of this Assembly. Already they have reached the valley of the Danube.

The delegate of Hungary declared yesterday from this platform that the Government he represents must abstain from voting in favour of the clauses of the treaty of mutual assistance and non-aggression.

What are the essential ideas and principles of this treaty? The report states that it is composed of three essential elements: non-aggression, pacific settlement of disputes, and mutual assistance. The report adds that, "by their close combination, they signify that the contracting parties, renouncing the use of force to back up their claims, will be guided by a respect for legality in their relations with each other, and that whichever of them breaks its engagements will expose itself, apart from the possible application of the collective sanctions provided for in Article 16 of the Covenant, to the particular sanctions organised by the system of mutual assistance provided for in the treaty".

The delegate of Hungary explained the reason for his attitude. He declared that a pact of mutual assistance and non-aggression implies better moral understanding and mutual confidence. He stated that, as regards Hungary, the political conditions which would allow her to conclude such a pact did not yet exist.

He added that he did not intend to raise grave issues at the last moment of the Assembly, and that he would reserve further explanation of the observations he had made until the next session of the Assembly. Nevertheless, he uttered words which will weigh heavily upon the public and political life of the Danubian countries.

The gravest and most significant feature of his statement is the fact that he only spoke at the very last moment, thus allowing an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust to hang over Central Europe. He told us, remember, that Hungary could not conclude a pact of mutual assistance and non-aggression owing to the absence of a satisfactory moral understanding and mutual confidence. In that case, what purpose can his remarks yesterday evening have been meant

to serve? Did he intend to help us to a better moral understanding and to create that confidence the lack of which he deploras? The statement is all the more serious because it was made almost at the last moment of the Assembly, thus allowing no time for public discussion, the only means of dissipating the misunderstanding and misgivings to which his remarks will not fail to give rise on the banks of the Danube.

Is it to create the confidence to which he said he would devote his last energies that the delegate of Hungary proposes to allow a feeling of anxiety to hover over the countries of Central Europe for a whole year until the next session of the Assembly?

In face of this attitude, the Czechoslovak delegation declares that its Government, believing in the force of enlightened reason, and inspired by the ideals and principles for which this temple and instrument of peace, the League of Nations, was founded, will pursue its undeviating course in favour of pacification, conciliation, good understanding and co-operation between the nations, and will come here to defend and to practise those principles with the same determination as in previous years.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Rolin, delegate of Belgium, will address the Assembly.

**M. Rolin (Belgium) :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I asked to speak on a simple proposal regarding a matter of form, which I will shortly explain. I think, however, that it is my most elementary duty, more especially after the speeches and the replies to which we have listened since yesterday evening, to say that the work on arbitration achieved in the First and the Third Committees appears to many of us essential, nay vital, for the proper development of international relations.

It is indeed only by strengthening procedures for pacific settlement, and increasing the confidence which those procedures can inspire, that we shall maintain and increase the spirit of unanimity which is essential to the League.

If I am right, I will ask — and I address a particularly urgent appeal to those of our colleagues of the First and Third Committees who are still here, and who have personally co-operated in framing the General Act — so far as that Act commended itself to their choice, I ask them, when they have left these precincts and returned home, and have resumed contact with their Governments — unless indeed they happen to represent them directly — not to lose time, not to forget the promises we have made to each other here, but to see without delay whether they can accede to the General Act, so that we shall be able to show positive results next year to those who have expressed scepticism concerning our work.

I appeal chiefly to the very large number of States with which Belgium has concluded treaties of unrestricted arbitration, and also to the very large number of States that have signed the optional clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, since by that fact alone they have already officially demonstrated the possibility of acceding to the major part of our General Act.

I also appeal to those of our colleagues who have advanced far along the path of arbitral agreements, who have already concluded agreements with the States with which they might possibly come into conflict, and who do not therefore feel any special need of this General Act; I ask them to

consider that, apart from the interests of their own countries, they must not forget the moral value of the impression which may be caused by their decision; and I would beg them not to lose sight of this factor in any decision they may take.

I apologise, ladies and gentlemen, for this introduction to so modest a proposal.

I am one of those who attach great importance to this instrument, and I should like to propose an amendment which will improve the form and logic of the text, though the point in question is quite a secondary one.

To those who may be astonished or uneasy at seeing a proposal put forward at this late stage, let me say at once that, if the least hesitation or objection is shown, I shall hasten to withdraw my suggestions, which are in no way vital and do not affect the substance of the convention. I should add that they do not apply to the texts drafted during this session, but to those adopted by the Committee on Arbitration and Security in March, and we cannot therefore be said to have improvised something and then found that it requires the finishing touch at the last moment.

Before taking this decision I thought I ought to consult some of my colleagues on the Committee, and they all agreed that my suggestion would make an improvement. I will now explain it.

In the chapter on conciliation we have provided that the procedure of conciliation is to be exercised, in principle, by a permanent Conciliation Commission. Article 3 stipulates that this Commission shall be constituted within a period of six months at the request of one of the parties. Article 5 states that if, when a dispute arises, no permanent Conciliation Commission is in existence, a special commission appointed in the manner laid down in the preceding article shall be constituted for the examination of the dispute.

The words "appointed in the manner laid down in the preceding article" are in any case not very happily chosen from the point of view of language. But the chief point is that we do not mention any special period in Article 5; this we only stipulate in Article 6, where we say that when a dispute arises the period for constituting the special commission will be three months. By putting this reference to a special period in so illogical a position, there is a danger that, should a dispute arise, and if the special commission has not been appointed, a Government may refer to Article 5 and imagine that the period allowed is six months, as in the case of the permanent commission, and will therefore be surprised to discover afterwards that it is only three months.

In order to obviate this unsymmetrical and awkward arrangement of the text and to give a final polish to our Act — since it will immediately be opened for signature — I propose, after consultation with several of my colleagues, and in agreement with M. Politis, to whom I submitted the modified text yesterday, and with the Chairman of the Committee, now sitting in his place, to whom I submitted the new text to-day — I propose to change the position of the stipulation relating to the period of three months. As a result, Article 5 would read as follows:

"If, when a dispute arises, no permanent Conciliation Commission appointed by the parties is in existence, a special commission shall be constituted for the examination of the dispute within a period of three months from the date at which a request to that effect is made by one of the parties to the other party. The necessary appointments shall be made in the manner laid down in the preceding article, unless the parties decide otherwise."

Article 6, in which more than two lines can be suppressed, would read :

"If the appointment of the commissioners to be designated jointly is not made within the periods provided for in Articles 3 and 5, the making of the necessary appointments shall be entrusted . . ."

The rest of the article remains unchanged. It is thus merely a matter of changing the form of the article in order to render the text clearer and more logical.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The Chairman of the Third Committee, Count Carton de Wiart, will address the Assembly.

**Count Carton de Wiart (Belgium), Chairman of the Third Committee :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — On behalf of the Rapporteur, who is unable to be present, and also as Chairman of the Third Committee, I have to say that I see no objection to adopting the amendment which M. Henri Rolin proposes. It in no way changes the sense of the provisions which have been adopted, and it improves the text.

**The President :**

*Translation :* This discussion is now closed. The amendments submitted by M. Henri Rolin refer to the following points :

Article 5 should read as follows :

"If, when a dispute arises, no permanent Conciliation Commission appointed by the parties is in existence, a special commission shall be constituted for the examination of the dispute within a period of three months from the date at which a request to that effect is made by one of the parties to the other party. The necessary appointments shall be made in the manner laid down in the preceding article, unless the parties decide otherwise."

The first paragraph of Article 6 should read as follows :

"If the appointment of the commissioners to be designated jointly is not made within the periods provided for in Articles 3 and 5, the making of the necessary appointments shall be entrusted . . ."

As no one else wishes to speak, the six resolutions submitted by the Third Committee, and the annexes which complete those resolutions, are adopted with the modifications suggested by the Rapporteur, M. Politis, which are due to printers' errors, and the two changes proposed by M. Rolin, which simply rearrange the text and do not affect the substance.

The Hungarian delegation has declared that it will abstain from voting on Resolution No. 3 proposed by the Third Committee, which relates to the model treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance, and on the introductory note to those treaties, and also on the part of the report relative thereto.

This abstention will be duly noted in the records of the present meeting.

*Subject to the above observations, the resolutions and annexes submitted by the Third Committee were adopted.*

The following is the text of the resolutions:

(i) RESOLUTION ON THE SUBMISSION AND RECOMMENDATION OF A GENERAL ACT AND OF THREE MODEL BILATERAL CONVENTIONS IN REGARD TO CONCILIATION, ARBITRATION AND JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT.

*The Assembly :*

*Having considered the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security ;*

(1) *Firmly convinced that effective machinery for ensuring the peaceful settlement of international disputes is an essential element in the cause of security and disarmament ;*

(2) *Considering that the faithful observance, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of methods of pacific settlement renders possible the settlement of all disputes ;*

(3) *Noting that respect for rights established by treaty or resulting from international law is obligatory upon international tribunals ;*

(4) *Recognising that the rights of the several States cannot be modified except with their consent ;*

(5) *Taking note of the fact that a great number of particular international conventions provide for obligatory conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement ;*

(6) *Being desirous of facilitating to the greatest possible degree the development of undertakings in regard to the said methods of procedure ;*

(7) *Declaring that such undertakings are not to be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League of Nations to take at any time whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world ; nor as impeding its intervention in virtue of Articles 15 and 17 of the Covenant, where a dispute cannot be submitted to arbitral or judicial procedure or cannot be settled by such procedure, or where the conciliation proceedings have failed ;*

(8) *Invites all States whether Members of the League or not, and in so far as their existing agreements do not already achieve this end, to accept obligations in pursuance of the above purpose either by becoming parties to the annexed General Act or by concluding particular conventions with individual States in accordance with the model bilateral conventions annexed hereto or in such terms as may be deemed appropriate ;*

(9) *Resolves to communicate the annexed General Act and the annexed model bilateral conventions to all Members of the League of Nations and to such States not Members of the League as may be indicated by the Council ;*

(10) *Requests the Council to give the Secretariat of the League of Nations instructions to keep a list of the engagements contracted in accordance with the terms of the present resolution either by acceptance of the provisions of the General Act or by the conclusion of particular conventions with the same object, so as to enable Members of the League and States non-Members of the League to obtain information as soon as possible.*

(ii) RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE COUNCIL.

*The Assembly :*

*In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 25th, 1926, requesting the Council to offer its good offices to States Members of the League for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security ;*



Recognising that the development of procedures for the pacific settlement of any disputes which may arise between States is an essential factor in the prevention of wars ;

Expresses its appreciation of the progress achieved in concluding treaties of this kind, and its desire to see the application of the principle of the pacific settlement of all disputes extended as far as possible, and

Invites the Council to inform all States Members of the League that, should States feel the need of reinforcing the general security conferred by the Covenant and of contracting for this purpose undertakings concerning the pacific settlement of any disputes which may arise between them, and should negotiations in connection therewith meet with difficulties, the Council would, if requested to do so by one of the parties — after it has examined the political situation and taken account of the general interests of peace — be prepared to place at the disposal of the States concerned its good offices, which, being voluntarily accepted by them, would be calculated to bring the negotiations to a happy issue.

(iii) RESOLUTION ON THE SUBMISSION AND RECOMMENDATION OF MODEL TREATIES OF NON-AGGRESSION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE.

The Assembly :

Having noted the model treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and amended as a result of the work of the First and Third Committees, together with the explanations supplied in the introductory note drawn up by the first-named Committee ;

Highly appreciating the value of these model treaties ;

And convinced that their adoption by the States concerned would contribute towards strengthening the guarantees of security ;

Recommends them for consideration by States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations ; and

Hopes that they may serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude treaties of this sort.

(iv) RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE COUNCIL.

In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 25th, 1926, requesting the Council to offer its good offices to States Members of the League for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security,

The Assembly,

Convinced that the conclusion between States in the same geographical area of treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance providing for conciliation, arbitration and mutual guarantees against aggression by any one of them constitutes one of the most practical means that can now be recommended to States anxious to secure more effective guarantees of security ;

Being of opinion that the good offices of the Council if freely accepted by all the parties concerned might facilitate the conclusion of such treaties ;

Invites the Council to inform all the States Members of the League of Nations that should States feel the need of reinforcing the general security conferred by the Covenant and of concluding a treaty of non-aggression and mutual assistance or a treaty of non-aggression for this purpose, and should the negotiations relating thereto meet with difficulties, the Council would, if requested by one of the parties — after it has examined the political situation and taken account of the general interests

of peace — be prepared to place at the disposal of the States concerned its good offices which, being voluntarily accepted, would be calculated to bring the negotiations to a happy issue.

(v) RESOLUTION REGARDING THE OPTIONAL CLAUSE OF ARTICLE 36 OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

The Assembly :

Referring to the resolution of October 2nd, 1924, in which the Assembly, considering that the terms of Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice are sufficiently wide to permit States to adhere to the special Protocol opened for signature in virtue of that article, with the reservations which they regard as indispensable, and convinced that it is in the interest of the progress of international justice that the greatest possible number of States should, to the widest possible extent, accept as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Court, recommends States to accede to the said Protocol at the earliest possible date ;

Noting that this recommendation has not so far produced all the effect that is to be desired ;

Being of opinion that, in order to facilitate effectively the acceptance of the clause in question, it is expedient to diminish the obstacles which prevent States from committing themselves ;

Being convinced that the efforts now being made through progressive codification to diminish the uncertainties and supply the deficiencies of international law will greatly facilitate the acceptance of the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court, and that meanwhile attention should once more be drawn to the possibility offered by the terms of that clause to States which do not see their way to accede to it without qualification, to do so subject to appropriate reservations limiting the extent of their commitments, both as regards duration and as regards scope ;

Noting, in this latter connection, that the reservations conceivable may relate, either generally to certain aspects of any kind of dispute, or specifically to certain classes or lists of disputes, and that these different kinds of reservation can be legitimately combined ;

Recommends that States which have not yet acceded to the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should, failing accession pure and simple, consider, with due regard to their interests, whether they can accede on the conditions above indicated ;

Requests the Council to communicate the text of this resolution to those States as soon as possible, desiring them to notify it of their intentions in the matter and to indicate at the same time the questions of international law the elucidation of which would in their opinion facilitate their accession to the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court ; and

Asks the Council to inform them at the next session of the Assembly of the replies it has by then received.

(vi) RESOLUTION WITH REGARD TO THE REVISION OF THE SYSTEMATIC SURVEY OF ARBITRATION CONVENTIONS AND TREATIES OF MUTUAL SECURITY DEPOSITED WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, PREPARED BY THE LEGAL SECTION OF THE SECRETARIAT.

The Assembly,

Recognising the importance of the documentation which the Secretariat of the League of Nations has begun to collect concerning treaties of judicial

settlement, arbitration and conciliation, and of the maps and graphs which it contemplates establishing; Requests the Secretary-General to be so good as to invite the Governments of States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations to communicate to the Secretariat the text:

(1) Of those treaties for the pacific settlement of disputes which are now in force and which were concluded prior to the establishment of the League of Nations and which have not been registered;

(2) Of such arbitral awards affecting them as may be rendered in the future, with the exception of judgments of the Permanent Court of International Justice and of special tribunals such as the Mixed Arbitral Tribunals.

#### 95. — FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE QUESTIONS: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.

##### The President:

*Translation:* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report on financial questions submitted to the Assembly by the Fourth Committee (Annex 29, document A.85. 1928.X.)

(On the invitation of the President, M. de Vasconcellos, Chairman of the Fourth Committee, and M. Molloff, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

##### The President:

*Translation:* M. Molloff, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

##### M. Molloff (Bulgaria), Rapporteur:

*Translation:* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — In submitting, on behalf of the Fourth Committee, the report on the budget of the League and of the organisations attached to it, I need give you only a few words of explanation, since the report itself, which was distributed in both languages two days ago, contains full details of the important discussions — sometimes involving questions of principle — which took place in the Fourth Committee.

Before the actual discussion of the 1929 budget, the Secretary-General made a statement to the Fourth Committee explaining the reasons for the increase over last year's budget. The reasons are given on page 1 of the report.

The Committee expressed concern at the increased expenditure and discussed the possibility of refusing certain credits, and, as some speakers urged, of "ruthlessly" cutting down the estimates for the coming year.

It was also proposed that the League budget should be stabilised at about 25 million Swiss francs; but the Committee, after examining from every point of view this very serious question of economy, decided that it was impossible to stabilise at present owing to the necessity of expanding the League's work, which is still only in its early stages.

At the close of the discussion a resolution which is to be found on page 3 of the report was approved and sent to the Committees of the League concerned with technical questions. The Committees were asked to revise the various programmes suggested in so far as they involved expenditure, and to restrict that expenditure wherever possible.

The request has been complied with, all the Committees having revised their programmes, with the result that, as the Fourth Committee duly noted, the proposed expenditure was reduced.

After the general discussion, which dealt mainly with the question of economy, the Fourth Committee proceeded to examine the actual budget. In the course of this examination a suggestion was made to the Secretary-General that he should submit next year — that is, to the next ordinary session of the Assembly — an estimate of the sum which would be necessary to cover the travelling expenses of three delegates from the capital of their country to Geneva and back. No resolution was adopted on the motion.

In examining the credits for the Assembly and the Council, the Fourth Committee reaffirmed the principle that, as regards unforeseen expenditure subject to a special vote of the Council, this credit was intended solely to cover expenditure of a political nature that might be incurred during the year.

With reference to the general services of the Secretariat — salaries, wages and allowances of the Secretariat — several delegates raised the question of the international character of those services.

After a lengthy discussion, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"The Assembly endorses and would recall the principles concerning the staff of the Secretariat contained in the report which Lord Balfour submitted to the Council, in agreement with a memorandum drawn up by the Secretary-General, and which was adopted by the Council on May 19th, 1920. In the words of this report, the Secretary-General, in making appointments to posts on the Secretariat, 'had primarily to secure the best available men and women for the particular duties which had to be performed. But in doing so, it was necessary to have regard to the great importance of selecting officials from various nations. Evidently no one nation or group of nations ought to have a monopoly in providing the material for this international institution'. Lord Balfour emphasised the word 'international' because the members of the Secretariat, once appointed, are no longer the servants of the country of which they are citizens, but become for the time being servants only of the League of Nations. Their duties are not national, but international.

"The Assembly believes that the observance of these principles constitutes an essential factor in the confidence which the Members of the League of Nations repose in the Secretariat.

"The Assembly relies on the Secretary-General and on the Council, which, in virtue of Article 6 of the Covenant, is responsible for approving the nominations made by the Secretary-General, to uphold in their entirety the principles stated above.

"The Assembly requests the Council to submit to the Members of the League of Nations in good time before the tenth ordinary session of the Assembly a list of the appointments, promotions and resignations of officials of the rank of Members of Section and above that have taken place since this Assembly and of the salaries allotted in each case."

Following on the discussion to which this question gave rise, the Fourth Committee adopted a further resolution concerning the Staff Regulations. It reads as follows:

"The Assembly:

"Whereas the Staff Regulations were drawn up shortly after the organisation of the Secretariat and whereas it would be advisable for the League to avail itself of the experience acquired since 1922;

"Considering that, although the regulations have, on the whole, proved satisfactory, certain modifications would appear desirable to remedy certain disadvantages to which attention has been drawn ;

"Instructs the competent officials of the autonomous organisations, after examining the present situation and the improvements which might be made, to consider what steps—in particular amendments to the Staff Regulations—could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results, and to submit the results of this enquiry to the Supervisory Commission, in order that a report on the question may be communicated to the Assembly at its next ordinary session."

As regards the other items of the budget, I should inform you that after a prolonged discussion the Committee reduced by 100 francs the credit opened for the publications of the Mandates Section in order to mark its desire that the mandatory Powers should in future increase the number of copies of their annual reports sent free of charge to the League of Nations.

Although, for political reasons, the proposal of the representative of India to charge the cost of printing connected with the slavery question to the budget of the Mandates Section was not accepted, the Secretary-General agreed to a reduction of 500 francs in connection with Item 20, the International Slavery Convention.

The Supervisory Commission's report on the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League also gave rise to a lengthy discussion. The Committee approved the reductions, amounting to 30,000 francs, proposed by the Supervisory Commission in the budget of the Communications and Transit Organisation. It further agreed to suppress the sum of 100 francs provided for in the original budget *ad memoriam* for a possible conference on the revision of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Circulation of Obscene Publications.

Following upon the resolution adopted by the Assembly, the Committee approved a new item of 50,000 francs: "Administrative Expenses for the Settlement of Refugees in Erivan".

The Fourth Committee dealt with the convening of two conferences: the Disarmament Conference and the Conference for the Progressive Codification of International Law.

Following the discussions in the Committee and in the Sub-Committee instructed to examine the scheme, the Fourth Committee was glad to note that the estimated expenditure for the Codification Conference could be materially reduced in consequence of a decision of the Netherlands Government to make itself responsible for the difference between the total expenditure entailed by holding the Conference at The Hague and the sum representing the budget of the Conference if it had been decided to hold it at Geneva.

I feel sure that I am voicing the opinion of the Fourth Committee and of the entire Assembly in expressing our heartiest thanks to the Netherlands Government for its generous decision.

The Fourth Committee made good progress in the question of the commission of enquiry into opium in the Far East. It had before it a report in which the Supervisory Commission proposed the rejection of the Fifth Committee's proposal that an item of 250,000 francs should be included in the budget to cover the expenses of the

commission of enquiry. After discussing the matter the Committee appointed a Sub-Committee to make a further examination of the question.

The Sub-Committee noted with extreme satisfaction that the British Government was prepared to offer the sum of 50,000 francs towards the expenses of the enquiry.

The Fourth Committee, therefore, decided to limit the financial liability of the League in connection with this enquiry and to vote a credit of 100,000 francs for 1929. It is understood, however, that the British Government will ascertain whether the Governments concerned would be willing to offer additional contributions in order to finance the whole scheme.

I desire to express the warmest thanks of the Fourth Committee to the British Government.

Lastly, the Committee accepted the Supervisory Commission's proposal to enter in the fourth part of the budget: "Buildings at Geneva", the sum of 70,000 francs to pay back into the Building Fund the sum used for the enlargement of the Council hall.

There remained the examination of the budget of the international organisations attached to the League, and first that of the International Labour Organisation. This year the general discussion was much fuller than usual. The Committee spent some considerable time on what is called the "constitutional question", that is, the rights and powers of the Fourth Committee and the Assembly to examine, discuss, amend and approve the budget of the International Labour Organisation.

Following on these discussions, the so-called constitutional question was settled as indicated on page 8 of the report.

In closing his statement, M. Albert Thomas, the distinguished Director of the International Labour Office, observed that, though the principles involved seemed to be somewhat vague, the present arrangement had so far worked satisfactorily in practice and it would be advisable to keep to it.

The Committee was of opinion that under the Financial Regulations only the Assembly—which the Fourth Committee is a subsidiary body—had the right to approve or amend the budget of the International Labour Organisation. It was necessary, however, that the Assembly, in the exercise of its indisputable and undisputed right, should take account of the system in force in the International Labour Organisation, which provides that the budget submitted to the Assembly is that approved by the Governing Body of the Office.

The second point was the consideration of the items of expenditure, or rather increased expenditure. The first increase was explained by the two conferences which it is proposed to hold in 1929. Several speakers urged that these should be held conjointly. After discussing the question the Fourth Committee passed the credit and agreed to the two conferences meeting on separate dates. At the same time, however, it passed a resolution requesting that, if in future it is decided that two conferences shall be held in the same year, the dates shall be so chosen that these conferences shall take place consecutively, for reasons of economy. The resolution will be found on page 8 of the report.

A long discussion also took place concerning the creation of seventeen new posts in the services of the International Labour Office. The expenditure was passed by the Fourth Committee.

The delegation of India, however, asked for a separate vote on the creation of a new post of Chief of Division and reserved the right to bring the question of the new posts before the Assembly.

The Fourth Committee, after examining it, then adopted the budget of the International Labour Organisation.

The budget of the Permanent Court of International Justice was approved without discussion.

The Fourth Committee also examined and approved the reports of the Supervisory Commission and subsequently adopted the following draft resolution :

“ The Assembly decides that, excepting in the case of the Mandates Commission and Committees of the Assembly where special considerations apply, the Minutes of Committees and Sub-Committees will in no case be published unless a formal request, containing a statement of the reasons for such a course, is submitted to the Council through the Secretary-General. ”

This will mean a reduction in the expenditure resulting from the publication of certain documents.

The question of the allocation of the expenses of the League was examined in the form of a report submitted by the Allocation Committee, which proposed that the provisional scale should be maintained for the four years 1929-1932 and that a revised scale should be prepared in 1932, when it is reasonable to hope that the national currency will be stabilised in every country.

In conclusion, I desire to submit the following draft resolutions which the Fourth Committee has the honour to present to the Assembly for adoption :

“ (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 ninth financial period, ending on December 31st, 1927.

“ (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 1929, the general budget of the League of Nations, of the Secretariat and special organisations of the League, of the International Labour Organisation, and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, amounting, including supplementary credits, to the total sum of 27,026,280 Swiss francs.

“ And decides that the aforesaid budgets shall be published in the *Official Journal*.

“ (3) The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the various reports submitted for its consideration by the Supervisory Commission, except in regard to the Commission of Enquiry to the Far East.

“ (4) The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the report of the Fourth Committee.

“ (5) The Assembly :

“ I. Requests the Council to ask the Allocation Committee to submit a revised scale to the 1932 Assembly ;

“ II. Approves for the years 1929, 1930, 1931 and 1932, the scale for the allocation of the expenses of the League in force during the year 1928. ”

After exhaustive and sometimes very involved debates the Fourth Committee thus succeeded in settling the serious and important questions which concern the finances and general organisation of the League.

On behalf of the Fourth Committee, I invite you, therefore, to approve the resolutions which I have just read.

**The President :**

*Translation :* Lord Lytton, delegate of India, will address the Assembly.

**The Earl of Lytton (India) :**

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I apologise for coming to this platform to make a speech at so late a stage in our proceedings, but if I am to carry out the instructions of my Government I cannot do otherwise. The inadequacy of the concessions made to our views at an earlier stage in the Fourth Committee compels me to take this last opportunity of expressing with the utmost possible emphasis the grave anxiety of the Indian delegation at the upward tendency of the budget of the League.

In the few observations I desire to make to-day there are three points which I wish to bring to the notice of this Assembly. The first is the unsatisfactory nature of our procedure for determining the expenditure of the League ; the second is the responsibility of this Assembly for the budget of the International Labour Organisation equally with that of the Secretariat itself and that of the Permanent Court of International Justice ; and, lastly, the special circumstances of India's membership of the League.

My first point refers to the inadequacy of our procedure, and in proof of my contention, I would direct your notice, ladies and gentlemen, to the figures of this year's budget. Two years ago there appeared to be a general agreement in this Assembly that the contributions of States Members of the League had reached their limit. Last year the increase in the budget of the League was only moderate. But this year we are asked to approve an increase of 1,700,000 Swiss francs, or nearly 7 per cent of the total which was approved last year. I must tell the Assembly quite frankly that India cannot agree to a normal increase at this rate in the expenditure of the League.

This is in no sense an abnormal year. There is nothing in the circumstances before us to justify any exceptional expenditure. If, then, this increase of 1,700,000 francs is to be regarded as the normal expansion of the activities of the League, it will be seen that the total expenditure of 1926 will at this rate be doubled in ten or twelve years.

If this increase in the expenditure were merely the result of an increase in appreciation of the value of the League, of increasing interest in its activities and of increasing use of its machinery, I should have nothing to say, except that, for reasons which I will explain in a moment, India has participated less than other countries in those growing activities.

I submit, however, that that is not the only cause, it is not indeed the main cause, of our increasing expenditure. The cause is to be found in the inadequacy and the defective nature of our procedure for controlling and limiting expenditure. If the machinery of the League of Nations in this matter of budget control is compared with that

of any efficient, well-organised national Government, its defects will become apparent at once. In any such Government there is always to be found a Ministry of Finance, whose influence is continuously exercised in favour of economy, which scrutinises with the utmost vigilance the estimates of all the spending departments of the Government, and whose ability to find the money necessarily governs any decision to spend it. Lastly, in the background there is, of course, the more remote control of the general taxpayers, of the country, to which such Governments are, in the last resort, responsible.

In the League the procedure is quite different; in the League we have no executive government with whom rests the sole responsibility for initiating expenditure. We have, as it were, nothing but spending departments. The Secretariat of the League is a spending department; the International Labour Organisation is a spending department, and the various Committees of the League itself are all spending departments. All these bodies are naturally more interested in spending than in saving money, more interested in expanding than in limiting the activities of the League, and the only check which we have upon this tendency to spend is to be found in the Supervisory Commission and the Finance Committee of the League.

The Supervisory Commission, it is true, carries out some of the functions of a Finance Ministry, but not all, and the financial control exercised by the Finance Committee of the League is not really that of a body which is responsible for finding the money for any expenditure which it may sanction. In the League the money is found by other means; it is found automatically, it is found by a proportional increase in the contributions of the States Members.

I have not referred to these defects in our procedure for the purpose of suggesting any remedy. Indeed, I recognise that they may be inherent in the constitution of the League itself. I have referred to them solely for the purpose of indicating and emphasising what is the only check at our disposal. In the absence of all those safeguards which I have represented as being present in the government of States, we here in the League are dependent, for the purposes of economy, solely upon the exercise by our Members of self-restraint and a spirit of reasonableness. The exercise of those qualities by the various delegations which assemble here each year constitutes the only check which we have upon an expenditure which would otherwise be unlimited.

Unfortunately, in the budget of this year and in the proceedings from which it has emerged, I see very little evidence either of goodwill or of self-restraint. There has been too little moderation, too little of the spirit of compromise shown by those whose duty it has been to bring forward and defend new claims for expenditure and, in consequence, there has been, I think, too little determination to scrutinise carefully the merits of each particular item in the budget by the members of the Fourth Committee, whose duty it is to supervise such claims as are submitted to them.

The necessary balance between considerations of policy and of finance cannot be achieved unless the members of the Fourth Committee not only possess the necessary qualities of judgment and experience, but are given a reasonable discrimination in the exercise of those qualities. The experience of this year has been that those who have spoken in favour of economy in general have often been the very first to object to particular proposals for reductions and the first to defend new items of expenditure — items which have been challenged by other members of the Committee.

This year new services have been created which, however desirable they may be, are not and cannot

be claimed as either urgent or essential, new posts have been created the necessity for which, as regards the actual purposes of the work in hand, has never been established.

This brings me to my second point. Although the work of the International Labour Organisation is separate, it cannot be independent of the League of Nations which is responsible for financing it. So long as the expenses of that Organisation are included in the annual budget of the League, so long, I submit, must the programme of that Organisation be subject to the supervision of this Assembly and its Fourth Committee.

It is more particularly in respect of the programme of the International Labour Organisation that there has been this year so conspicuous an absence of any disposition to meet, with the ordinary spirit of compromise, the demands which have been made for economy.

The claim has actually been put forward in the Fourth Committee — and I submit that it is entirely inadmissible — that the International Labour Organisation is autonomous to a degree which, if it were ever conceded, would deprive the financial authority of this Assembly of any practical reality, and would require the various delegations who assemble here once a year to vote silently for money for programmes which have already been settled definitely in advance. I repeat, ladies and gentlemen, that such a claim is wholly unjustifiable, and if it is made again next year I hope that it will be resisted with more vigour and determination than it has been this year by the members of the Fourth Committee.

My third and last point concerns the special circumstances of India's membership of the League. Of all the States Members of the League of Nations India is the one whose Government probably finds it most difficult to justify the contribution which it makes. That contribution, as has often been pointed out in the past, is higher than that of any of the States Members of the League which do not sit permanently on the Council, while the proportion of the work of the League which can be truly described as of special value or interest to India is far from corresponding to India's contribution to the expenses of the League.

It may be argued that the amount of India's contribution is relatively small, and compared with the total expenditure of the country I agree it is relatively small, but nevertheless it is a considerable sum, and it is a sum which could be profitably devoted to important national services for which funds are urgently needed.

But that, ladies and gentlemen, is not the whole difficulty. There undoubtedly exists in India, as His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur pointed out in the speech which he made from this platform in our first debate, as in other Eastern countries, a widespread view not only that the League does not carry out work of much value to Eastern countries, but that its tendency is definitely in the direction of strengthening European interests at the expense of the interests of other continents and other races.

Now, if it can be truly said, as I think it can, that the League of Nations is firmly and finally established in Europe, that can certainly not yet be said of Asia: and for that reason it is important that the work of those who are trying to support the principles of the League of Nations in the East, who are trying to promote its ideals, should be made as easy as possible.

The more the East can be brought into contact with the work of the League, the more the League itself can demonstrate that it is working as much and as impartially for Asia as it is for Europe,

the less necessary will it be for the League to hear of financial difficulties such as are now being expressed.

I have no desire, I need hardly say, to attempt to stereotype for all time the activities of the League and I think that the best solution for the difficulty I am discussing is to be found along the lines of increasing its activities outside Europe — of increasing, that is to say, the collaboration and co-operation between Europe and Asia, between the East and the West.

In the meantime, in the present circumstances and until this development takes place, India's claim for some limitation of the heavy financial burden involved in her membership is an urgent one. It is a claim, I submit, which deserves a little more sympathy and a little more attention than it has hitherto received.

I must remind the members of this Assembly that the question is often asked in India whether membership of the League is really worth the price. Every increase in this financial burden without a corresponding extension of activities must add to the insistency with which that question is asked year after year, until I fear the time may come when the Government of India may find it no longer possible to answer in the affirmative.

I have felt bound to make this protest on behalf of the Indian delegation, which is profoundly dissatisfied with this year's budget and with the proceedings in the Fourth Committee. Weak as our normal procedure of control may be, there does exist in the last resort one method by which a dissentient Member may insist upon getting its views respected. Like all the resolutions of this Assembly, that which approves the budget requires a unanimous vote. Therefore I appeal very earnestly to all the delegations here present, to the Secretary-General of the League, and more especially to the Director of the International Labour Organisation, not to force the Indian delegation into the very unwelcome necessity of refusing its assent to the budget.

In that spirit of conciliation for which we have looked, and I fear looked in vain, in others, we refrain this year from taking the drastic step to which I have referred. I must nevertheless add that, if the protest which I have felt it my duty to make on this occasion is disregarded in the framing of future budgets, the Government of India may find itself obliged to give instructions to its delegation another year to make its assent to the budget of that year conditional upon obtaining some limitation of expenditure of which so large a proportion falls upon the Indian people.

#### The President :

*Translation* : M. Hambro, delegate of Norway, will address the Assembly.

#### M. Hambro (Norway) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I am very glad that the first delegate of India made the speech which he has just delivered, because it will give the discussion of the budget some of the weight which it ought always to have, and because he has called attention to certain methods of procedure that all the members of the Assembly of the League of Nations ought to have clearly in their minds.

It cannot be denied that the faculty given to the delegations and especially to the members of the Fourth Committee to examine the budget of the League of Nations is not to be compared with the methods used in any country by the body that is responsible for the budget.

I associate myself with the critical remarks made by the first delegate of India. I am glad that he stressed his point, but I should like also to call his attention to the fact that, if the budget has been treated by this Assembly in rather a superficial way, if the various delegations have not been given time to make any profound study of the various items of the budget, the fault is not with the Secretariat, the fault is not with the Supervisory Commission, but with the Assembly and with the delegations to the Assembly, and this because the delegations have not fully grasped their power. They have not yet fully grasped their duties as delegations and the responsibility they have for every resolution that is passed by this Assembly; and only when the delegations themselves take up these problems will they be solved in a more satisfactory way.

I think that each member of the Fourth Committee has a very strong impression — and I think it is to be found also in the report this year, for those who can read between the lines — that his task is not a very satisfactory one because, from the very nature of things, he cannot make here the observations which he can offer as a member of any Parliament on earth or as a member of a budget committee in any country.

I think it is right to call attention to the fact that the Financial Regulations under which we work can only be amended by the Assembly after having been discussed in the Fourth Committee. A good many of those financial regulations — like a good many other regulations — were laid down at a time when the League of Nations was very young and its experience very short, and it is time that some of the regulations were amended.

The Supervisory Commission — and I think I have a right to express in the name of every member of the Fourth Committee his very high opinion of the excellent work done by the Supervisory Commission — has not had clearly laid before it its duties, its power and its sphere of authority. All that can be obtained from the Financial Regulations is somewhat obscure, and it will be the duty of the Fourth Committee next year to take up and examine very carefully those fifty-one paragraphs which ought to be clearly in the mind of every delegate, but which, I suspect, every delegate does not know by heart. If we wish to have more satisfactory methods of work, methods satisfactory to the delegations and to the League of Nations, it is necessary that a profound study be made of those regulations.

I am glad also that the delegate for India stressed so strongly the importance of strict economy in the League. Many Governments to-day are working under very difficult financial conditions. More than one delegate in the Fourth Committee stated that the budget of his country showed a deficit which made it very difficult for his Government to accept with a feeling of satisfaction any increase in its contribution to the League.

My own Government has instructed us to help in the work of furthering economy in the League without in any way obstructing its activities, and on the Fourth Committee we have tried to effect such economies as were possible taking into account the conditions of our work. I will not say that we were very successful, but I am not going to renew here any of the debates which took place in the Fourth Committee. I would just call your attention to what is mentioned on page 8 of the report, namely, that as regards one special item (Item 3) under Chapter II of the budget of the Labour Organisation there was a minority of ten members who voted against one of the new posts created because they had not been convinced that it was necessary to create that post in order

to help and further the work of the Organisation. We should like to have a vote here on the question whether that item might be reduced by the sum of 38,500 francs, as a strong body on the Fourth Committee desired.

I should like also to call attention to another point in the report which has been so very ably laid before you by the Rapporteur. I refer to those discussions which are rather fully reported in the document before you and still more fully reported in the Minutes of the Fourth Committee and in the *Journal* of the Assembly—I refer to the discussions on the Secretariat and on the International Labour Office, on their international character and on what might be expected and hoped from them.

The feelings of the Fourth Committee on this matter are condensed in the resolutions before you. I want to emphasise the words relating to the international character of the Secretariat, and I hope that the discussions in the Fourth Committee this year, both on financial and constitutional questions and on practical questions, will show results in the future. I trust that, when the Fourth Committee meets another year, it will not be necessary to renew those discussions, but that the feeling of uneasiness which was manifested this year will be appeased and that every member of the Fourth Committee will feel in the future the truth of the words spoken by the Secretary-General in these discussions, to the effect that the time had now arrived when the various high posts in the Secretariat should be open to any member of any nationality.

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. de Vasconcellos, Chairman of the Fourth Committee, will address the Assembly.

M. de Vasconcellos (Portugal), Chairman of the Fourth Committee :

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen—I have to reply to the criticisms which have been expressed by certain speakers in regard to the League budget. I must confess that I was very astonished at a wholly unexpected charge which one speaker brought.

Lord Lytton has entered a protest against the procedure followed by the Fourth Committee. I am curious to know how such a protest came to be made, since the Fourth Committee included a representative of India, who followed all our work without criticising any part of the procedure, and on one occasion only voted against an article which had been proposed.

What complaint can be made, then, against the procedure of a Committee which was quite in order and which conforms in every way to the rules governing the other Committees and the Assembly itself?

Then, too, I cannot understand the statement of the delegate of India because he could have employed a very simple method of amending the procedure if he thought it defective. The Committee had under consideration certain amendments to the Financial Regulations. Then or never was the time for the Indian delegation to submit any modifications it considered appropriate.

The report before you indicates the amendments proposed by the Supervisory Commission, which we adopted. The Financial Regulations were drawn up at a time when the League had not

developed to its present proportions. I agree with Lord Lytton that the present tendency to pass last-minute credits must be checked as far as possible, and stricter measures for that purpose must be introduced in the Regulations. But we did discuss such measures, and we are now submitting them for adoption by the Assembly.

I now come to the question of the increase in expenditure. We are criticised for having increased the budget this year as compared with last; but you must not forget that the increase is due to decisions adopted by the Assembly last year. The Secretariat had to put into effect the Assembly's resolutions, which involved very considerable expenditure.

These resolutions have been passed, and it is illogical now to censure anyone for merely taking the necessary steps to put them into force. When these increases were accepted last year their inclusion in the budget must have been foreseen. They were expenses passed at the last moment, and it is to check this same tendency that we are proposing certain modifications in the Financial Regulations, so as to avoid a repetition of mistakes which, as a matter of fact, have not been made again this year.

Lord Lytton said that these increases in expenditure would be explicable if they corresponded to improvements in the League's work, but that they did not, seeing that the League has undertaken no new activities nor has its work been appreciably changed in any way. That is not the case, however. Surely the Economic Conference and the work of the Economic Committee represent a great new activity undertaken by the League. They necessarily involve expenditure, and the increases complained of are chiefly attributable to them.

Then again, there is the enquiry into the complex problem of native labour, which is of special concern not only to the British Government but to the Governments of all countries possessing colonies. Is not this a new and most important activity? Can the work be done without the necessary staff?

It must be admitted, then, that the League has undertaken new branches of work which necessarily entail expenditure; and this work is just as important for the cause of peace as anything else the League has taken in hand. The work of the Economic Organisation helps just as much to consolidate world peace as treaties of arbitration or disarmament, or the other matters dealt with by the Political Section of the League.

Lord Lytton is right in saying that the Indian contribution is very heavy, and that the material benefits India obtains are far from corresponding to her contribution. He asks the League to undertake new activities which would benefit the peoples of the East; but surely he would refuse the necessary credits, for such work would undoubtedly involve fresh expenditure.

Nevertheless, I am convinced that such work will have to be undertaken as far as may be possible. It is true that the League ought not to be merely European. It must show a real concern for the other peoples represented at this Assembly, whose interests must be given due consideration.

As regards the constitutional question I have nothing to say. My presence here and this debate itself are a sufficient justification, and prove that we are carrying out our duty by discussing the various budgets—of the League, of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice—and also by amending them, since a proposal to that effect lies before you.

Apart, therefore, from the justifiable reservations made by the meeting at San Sebastian to the effect that the autonomous situation of the International Labour Office and of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be taken into consideration as far as possible, we can discuss the budgets of these organisations as we please before ratifying them.

Lord Lytton and M. Hambro insist upon economy. For that matter, all of us are in favour of economy, but we must take care we do not so economise as to impair the value of League work. Naturally we all want to stabilise the budget, but we must agree as to how this is to be done. What would be the result of stabilising the budget? We should merely be tying the League's hands and should unduly hamper it in its vital tasks.

Moreover, those who call for economies usually find them excellent provided they are suffered by others and do not affect the particular branches in which the critics themselves are interested; and herein lies a very real difficulty for those who have to direct the League's work and allocate its expenses.

Let us turn to the chief object of these attacks, — the much-talked-of post of Chief of Division in the International Labour Office.

The Fourth Committee does not as a rule ask the Assembly to maintain any item of expenditure. On the contrary, its Chairman and Rapporteur usually ask you to cut down expenses. On this occasion, however, I would urge you to maintain this post and follow the example of your Fourth Committee, which carefully examined all the chapters of the budget even after the Supervisory Commission had already thoroughly sifted every item of expenditure. The International Labour Office has been instructed to undertake a certain number of very important tasks, which necessarily involve the engagement of additional staff. Thus new posts have been created for social insurance, health, emigration and ratifications. Are these questions unimportant? Surely almost everybody must have been in agreement as to their urgent character since only two voices were raised in protest.

The whole attack was concentrated on the post of Chief of Division. Can you really mean, gentlemen, that the International Labour Office should be given executive officers to carry out this new work, but that we should refuse the increase necessary to provide for its actual direction?

M. Albert Thomas and Mr. Butler possess a most remarkable capacity for work; but there are limits to all things, and they must be provided with those who can help them to direct their organisation — a task that is daily growing more difficult and more formidable.

In conclusion, therefore, I urge you to maintain the post of Chief of Division which you are asked to create, and to adopt the budget which your Fourth Committee proposes as the outcome of the very thorough consideration which I assure you it has given to the subject.

#### The President :

*Translation :* M. Hambro proposes that Chapter II, Item 3, of the budget of the International Labour Organisation should be reduced by 38,500 francs. The Norwegian delegation has thus put forward an amendment to the budget providing for the reduction of a specific item.

In conformity with the procedure for the adoption of the budget at plenary meetings of the Assembly, I have taken note of this amendment and regard the credit in question as temporarily detached from the budget as a whole.

In accordance with the relevant rule of procedure, I shall first ask you to pass the credits to which no amendment has been proposed. I shall then open the discussion on the amendment submitted by the Norwegian delegation.

If no one has any objection, I will put to the vote the draft resolutions proposed by the Fourth Committee, which read as follows :

I. *The Assembly endorses and would recall the principles concerning the staff of the Secretariat contained in the report which Lord Balfour submitted to the Council, in agreement with a memorandum drawn up by the Secretary-General and which was adopted by the Council on May 19th, 1920. In the words of this report, the Secretary-General, in making appointments to posts on the Secretariat, "had primarily to secure the best available men and women for the particular duties which had to be performed. But in doing so, it was necessary to have regard to the great importance of selecting officials from various nations. Evidently no one nation or group of nations ought to have a monopoly in providing the material for this international institution". Lord Balfour emphasised the word "international" because the members of the Secretariat, once appointed, are no longer the servants of the country of which they are citizens, but become for the time being servants only of the League of Nations. Their duties are not national, but international.*

*The Assembly believes that the observance of these principles constitutes an essential factor in the confidence which the Members of the League of Nations repose in the Secretariat.*

*The Assembly relies on the Secretary-General and on the Council, which, in virtue of Article 6 of the Covenant, is responsible for approving the nominations made by the Secretary-General, to uphold in their entirety the principles stated above.*

*The Assembly requests the Council to submit to the Members of the League of Nations in good time before the tenth ordinary session of the Assembly a list of the appointments, promotions and resignations of officials of the rank of Members of Section and above that have taken place since the present Session of the Assembly and of the salaries allotted in each case.*

#### II. *The Assembly :*

*Whereas the Staff Regulations were drawn up shortly after the organisation of the Secretariat and whereas it would be advisable for the League to avail itself of the experience acquired since 1922 ;*

*Considering that, although the regulations have, on the whole, proved satisfactory, certain modifications would appear desirable to remedy certain disadvantages to which attention had been drawn ;*

*Instructs the competent officials of the autonomous organisations, after examining the present situation and the improvements which might be made, to consider what steps — in particular, amendments to the Staff Regulations — could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results, and to submit the results of this enquiry to the Supervisory Commission, in order that a report on the question may be communicated to the Assembly at its next ordinary session.*

III. *The Assembly decides that, excepting in the case of the Mandates Commission and Committees of the Assembly where special considerations apply, the Minutes of Committees and Sub-Committees will in no case be published unless a formal request, containing a statement of the reasons for such a course, is submitted to the Council through the Secretary-General.*



IV. (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 ninth financial period, ending on December 31st, 1927.*

(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 1929, the general budget of the League of Nations, of the Secretariat and special organisations of the League, of the International Labour Organisation, and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, amounting, including supplementary credits, to the total sum of 27,026,280 Swiss francs.*

*And decides that the aforesaid budgets shall be published in the Official Journal.*

(3) *The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the various reports submitted for its consideration by the Supervisory Commission, except in regard to the Commission of Enquiry to the Far East.*

(4) *The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the report of the Fourth Committee.*

(5) *The Assembly :*

(i) *Requests the Council to ask the Allocation Committee to submit a revised scale to the 1932 Assembly ;*

(ii) *Approves for the years 1929, 1930, 1931 and 1932, the scale for the allocation of the expenses of the League in force during the year 1928.*

It is understood that Chapter II, Item 3, of the budget of the International Labour Organisation is reserved.

*The resolutions submitted by the Fourth Committee were adopted, Chapter II, Item 3, of the budget of the International Labour Organisation being reserved.*

**The President :**

*Translation :* I shall now open the discussion on M. Hambro's proposed amendment to Chapter II, Item 3.

M. Hambro will address the Assembly.

**M. Hambro (Norway) :**

I only want to say, and I think I can say this in the names of all those who voted against this item, that it is not our idea in any way to obstruct it. If it is proved here that there is a majority in favour of the creation of this post we will all loyally vote for it.

M. de Vasconcellos (Portugal), Chairman of the Fourth Committee.

*Translation :* I merely wish to observe that the saving resulting from the reduction of this item would represent only 38 francs per unit.

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one else wishes to speak, the vote will be taken.

The Assembly is asked to vote upon the initial proposal of the Fourth Committee. In conformity with Article 20, paragraph (a), of the Rules of Procedure, the vote will be taken by roll call. The delegations accepting the initial proposal of the Fourth Committee will reply: "Yes". Those accepting the amendment proposed by M. Hambro will reply: "No", and those who desire to abstain will reply: "Not voting".

(The votes of the delegations were taken in turn by roll-call.)

**The President :**

*Translation :* The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of States voting . . .	35
Abstentions . . . . .	11
Voting papers valid . . . . .	24
In favour . . . . .	18
Against . . . . .	6

**The President :**

*Translation :* I should like to ask M. Hambro whether he was speaking, before the vote was taken, on behalf of his own delegation only or on behalf of other delegations as well.

**M. Hambro (Norway) :**

All the members of the Fourth Committee who constituted the minority were of the same opinion. Our intention was not to obstruct the item, and in view of the vote which has just been taken we will withdraw our opposition and loyally vote for the whole item.

**The President :**

*Translation :* In these circumstances I shall be obliged to take another vote by roll-call on the same question.

**M. Motta (Switzerland) :**

*Translation :* I think that, since the required majority has been obtained, since those who were against the proposal state that they will withdraw their opposition, and since there are a number of abstentions, the procedure could easily be simplified. You need merely say that the item has been passed.

**The President :**

*Translation :* I fully appreciate M. Motta's proposal, but I think I shall have to ask the six delegations who voted "against" to state whether they agree to the method of procedure proposed by the Swiss delegation.

**The Earl of Lytton (India) :**

I associate myself with what has just been said by M. Hambro and also with the suggestion of M. Motta. As one of the objectors, I am now perfectly content that the motion should be accepted unanimously.

**The President :**

*Translation :* In these circumstances, as there is no further objection to this item, which had been detached from the budget, I declare it adopted unanimously.

#### 96. — AMENDMENT TO THE REGULATIONS. FOR THE FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE.

**The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Fourth Committee on the amendment to the Regulations for the financial administration of the League of Nations (Annex 30, document A.78.1928.X).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Molloff, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

**The President :**

*Translation :* M. Molloff, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

**M. Molloff (Bulgaria), Rapporteur :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Fourth Committee, being rightly anxious to assist as far as possible the complex and difficult work of the Supervisory Commission, desires to submit to the Assembly the following proposal :

That Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Financial Regulations should be amended as follows :

*The Commission shall be composed of five members, of whom one at least shall be a financial expert. The members shall be appointed by the Assembly, which, in selecting members, shall include among them persons belonging to countries Members of the League which are not represented on the Council. The Assembly shall also appoint two substitutes to replace, if need be, members unable to attend a meeting.*

The difference between this text and the existing regulations is that while the members of the Commission have hitherto been appointed by the Council it is now proposed that they shall be appointed by the Assembly.

The Fourth Committee realised that this resolution, if adopted, could not be applied immediately. Accordingly it proposes that this amendment should come into force as from January 1st, 1929, in order to give the Council an opportunity of submitting proposals to the Assembly at its next ordinary session as to the best procedure for the election of members, and considering the possibility of a small nominating Committee being set up by the Assembly.

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one wishes to speak, I shall regard the proposal submitted by the Fourth Committee as adopted.

*The proposed amendment was adopted.*

**97. — CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARREARS :  
REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE :  
RESOLUTION.****The President :**

*Translation :* The next item on the agenda, the examination of the report on contributions in arrears, submitted to the Assembly by the Fourth Committee (Annex 31, document A.81.1928.X).

*(On the invitation of the President, Mr. MacWhite, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)*

**The President :**

*Translation :* Mr. MacWhite, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

**Mr. MacWhite (Irish Free State), Rapporteur :**

*Translation :* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Fourth Committee instructed a Sub-Committee to consider the question of unpaid contributions for the financial years of the League previous to December 31st, 1927.

The Sub-Committee examined the different cases submitted by the Secretary-General with the very greatest care, and any documents which may enable him to take a decision have been returned to him.

The Sub-Committee is of opinion that the Secretary-General has taken all the necessary measures to put into effect the resolution adopted by the Assembly last year, and considers that the situation has improved.

There are at present very few countries whose contributions are in arrears ; to be exact, there are only five. The situation this year is therefore better than in the past. The representatives of certain States whose contributions are in arrears were heard by the Sub-Committee, and it should be observed that none of these States has shown itself indifferent to the representations which have been made.

The Sub-Committee presented a confidential report to the Fourth Committee. After this report had been discussed at a private meeting, the Fourth Committee unanimously agreed to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution :

*The Assembly requests the Secretary-General :*

(1) *To continue to give his support when necessary to any steps which he may consider useful with a view to the recovery of arrears ;*

(2) *To submit to the Council before the next session of the Assembly a detailed report of the position with regard to contributions in arrears.*

**The President :**

*Translation :* If no one wishes to speak, I shall regard the resolution submitted by the Fourth Committee as adopted.

*The resolution was adopted.*

**98. — CLOSE OF THE SESSION : SPEECH BY  
THE PRESIDENT.****The President :**

*Translation :* Ladies and gentlemen — The ninth ordinary session of the Assembly, which ends to-day, has been better attended than any previous session ; representatives of fifty countries have come from every quarter of the world to take part in the debates, to fulfil their obligations as Members of the League, and to contribute to the creation of that international life in which at long last the natural brotherhood of peoples may come to flower.

We had heard it said that the attention of this Assembly would be, as it were, dispersed over a variety of subjects, and that we should not be called upon to consider great problems which awaken passionate interest and the solution of which raises high the hopes of mankind. I myself have had occasion, during my tenure of this Chair, to say that it were well it should be so, that each session of the Assembly should mark a regular stage in the League's life, and that the slow progress of peace was unlikely to be troubled by any unforeseen obstacle, since it depended solely on steadfast labour and on our considered wishes and desires.

None the less the Assembly during its ninth ordinary session has accomplished a task so comprehensive in scope that it directly concerns all our countries. In some three short weeks you have set an admirable example of systematic labour, well prepared and well conducted ; you have examined all the work the League has done in the course of the past year ; in many respects you have improved upon the achievements of the Advisory Committees of the League ; you have laid the foundation for all the work of the coming months. I am happy to have this opportunity of thanking the Secretary-General and his assistants on your behalf for their unfailing help.

In this work that we have done all the Members of the League have taken their share. Some

have less opportunity than others to keep in direct contact with Geneva during the year. But when they go from here they know that nothing will be done of which they have not been informed, and on which they have not freely expressed their opinions; and they know that next year they can give their views as to the results obtained, and indeed in many cases definitely sanction them.

Was I not right in saying that it is during this period when the Assembly is meeting that the pulsation of the League's daily life is regulated?

You all followed with interested attention, as I myself did, the general discussion with which we opened our proceedings; you heard speeches from this platform on various problems which in the past nobody would have dared to raise, which only became the subject of international negotiations at times of crisis and anxiety, but which to-day are constantly and vigilantly watched over by the League.

I feel that there is already a strong guarantee of peace in these new methods of international frankness, of freedom of judgment, of direct discussion between the countries concerned, in an Assembly whose unanimous desire is to mitigate antagonism and to remove causes of conflict.

From the general discussion I have also gathered a distinct impression that those differences of opinion concerning the organisation of peace and the rôle of the League and the Council which were so often manifest in the past — always clothed in courtesy and brilliantly set forth, but none the less apparent — have now been greatly attenuated. Identity of aims, and a common desire to attain those aims, have meant that discussions as to methods have lost their acuity. Differences of opinion may still subsist, owing to the infinite diversity of the interests involved; but all Members of the League have now reached a measure of agreement with regard to the great problems of mutual assistance and the pacific settlement of international disputes, the study of which has already so greatly benefited the League.

I think I may express, on behalf of all the delegations present, the Assembly's legitimate satisfaction at the work accomplished by its First Committee. This Committee has taken up the drafts prepared by the Committee on Security, has welded them into a new, practical and flexible form, and has allowed the Assembly to hope that within the year the cause of arbitration and conciliation will have made further triumphant progress.

You will pardon me if, as the representative of one of the countries which have always championed such ideals, I have laid special and particular emphasis on these aspects of our work. I know they are a matter of equal concern to all nations here represented, and I am aware that the common effort to organise peace has already produced treaties of guarantee which are of valuable assistance to all the advocates of international harmony. In this domain also you have continued to work unremittingly, with a common sense of your responsibilities; for there is only one real way of securing peace, and all States Members of the League, though naturally the means at their

disposal vary, are devoting themselves to the same task with single intent and purpose.

In this general programme we may include the whole work of the Assembly. When the reports of the Second Committee were adopted, economic questions formed the subject of one of the most noteworthy discussions that have ever taken place within these walls. That discussion is evidence of the great progress made towards ensuring the welfare and concord of nations. The work of the other Committees too, whether political, technical, social or humanitarian, is of equal interest to all nations throughout the world.

Thus this Assembly has rendered sterling service to the cause of the League. We cannot but feel that international friendship and the confidence of mankind in that security of which it dreams and has been at such pains to conquer are growing stronger day by day. There has, it is true, been a certain measure of disappointment at the very time when new hopes were born; but the organs of the League will endeavour, with their great zeal and their sound judgment, to fulfil this year the promises they have held out. We all hope that, in conformity with the instructions you have given them, they may be able to submit to you next year valuable achievements in the sphere of the reduction and limitation of armaments, as foreshadowed in the Covenant, that charter of universal peace, that new body of law which all our countries have voluntarily undertaken to obey.

Moreover, as you are aware, outside the Assembly, but in the same atmosphere that governs its deliberations, important discussions and negotiations have been taking place in the same spirit of mutual concession and conciliation which has presided over all our meetings.

May I venture to pay a tribute to the results already obtained by the League? But for these achievements, the statesmen who hold the destinies of all nations in their hands could never meet here year by year, speak from this platform and feel immediately that they were not alone, but could count upon the confident sympathy of other nations.

Ladies and gentlemen, having paid this tribute and expressed this hope, it now only remains for me to say that I trust that the efforts you are all about to make on behalf of peace and the League in your own countries will be crowned with success. Once again we shall all leave Geneva with unshakable faith in the future, and in the conviction that already some change in the world has been made.

Too often, as a symbol of the past, the story has been told of how those men who desired to forget their quarrels and build together a tower that would reach to heaven had to abandon their task owing to the confusion of tongues. In these gatherings we have now learned to employ the language of tolerance and of international brotherhood. Thus the workers of our League may fearlessly build up the walls of the edifice, whose roof, piercing the clouds that have hung over the world since its beginning, will at last reach the light.

I declare the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations closed.

*The Assembly rose at 1.45 p.m.*

# ANNEXES

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- A.9.1928.IV. (a) Report of the Committee on Traffic in Women and Children.
- A.8.1928.IV. (b) Report of the Child Welfare Committee.
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- A.4.4(a), 4(b)1928 X. 20. Budget for 1929, including the Budgets of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice.
- A.3, A.18, A.19. 1928.X. Audit of Accounts for the Ninth Financial Period (1927).
- A.5, A.13 1928.X. Reports of the Supervisory Commission, including a Report on the Cost of Living and Adjustment of Salaries.<sup>1</sup>

OTHER ITEMS.

21. Resignation from the Permanent Court of International Justice of Judge John Bassett Moore  
Question of the Appointment of a Successor. (Article 14 of the Statute of the Court) <sup>2</sup>

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF ITEMS CIRCULATED IN ACCORDANCE WITH RULE 4, <sup>3</sup> PARAGRAPH 3,  
OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

*Items proposed by the Council.*

- A.20.1928.IX. 22. Report on the Work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security. <sup>4</sup>
23. Establishment of a League of Nations Radio-telegraphic Station: Report by the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit. <sup>4</sup>

*Item proposed by the British, French and German Governments.*

24. Maintenance in force, as an exceptional measure, for the 1928 Elections to the Council, of the Temporary Provisions (Article 4, paragraph 2) attached to the Rules adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926, for the Election of a Non-permanent Member of the Council. <sup>5</sup>

Appendix I.

1. *Election of Three Non-Permanent Members of the Council.*

(a) Resolution adopted on September 15th, 1926.

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.

(b) Extract of a Proposal of the Committee of the Assembly, adopted  
on September 8th, 1927.

As the General Committee had to fix a date for the voting and the elections, it has thought fit to make a general proposal to the Assembly on this subject. This proposal, if adopted, would, to a certain extent, and until the Assembly decides otherwise, be regarded as a rule which the Assembly would follow at future sessions. The election of the non-permanent Members of the Council would take place on the Monday following the opening date of the Assembly — that is to say, at the beginning of the second week of the session.

2. *Slavery Convention: Annual Report by the Council.*

Resolution adopted on September 25th, 1926.

The Assembly desires that the League of Nations should continue to interest itself in securing the progressive abolition of slavery and conditions analogous thereto and therefore requests the Council to prepare and communicate to the Assembly every year a document mentioning the laws and regulations which parties to the Convention on Slavery, in accordance with Article 7, will have communicated to the Secretary-General, and that the Council will include therein any supplementary information which the Members of the League may be disposed spontaneously to furnish with regard to the measures taken by them to this end.

<sup>1</sup> The Assembly Resolution is quoted in Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup> Article 14 of the Statute is quoted in Appendix V.

<sup>3</sup> The text of the Rule is quoted in Appendix IV.

<sup>4</sup> The Council Resolution is quoted in Appendix II.

<sup>5</sup> Article IV, paragraph 2, of the Temporary Provisions is quoted in Appendix III.

3. *Construction of an Assembly Hall and of New Buildings for the Use of the Secretariat.*

Resolution adopted on September 26th, 1927.

The Assembly:

Approves the report (document A.93.1927) of the Special Committee of five members in regard to the new buildings;

Approves, in principle, that the amount to be spent on the new buildings may be increased to approximately 19,500,000 francs. The exact amount of the supplementary credit necessary will be submitted to the Assembly at the next session;

Empowers a Committee composed as follows:

M. ADATCI, M. OSUSKÝ, M. POLITIS, M. URRUTIA and Sir Edward HILTON YOUNG to study the nine plans awarded the equal prizes of 12,000 francs in the architects' competition, and to choose, with any changes that may be necessary, a plan which in its opinion complies most nearly with the practical and æsthetic requirements. The decision of this Committee will be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for approval and ratification, and will be communicated to the Assembly at the next session.

4. *Progressive Codification of International Law.*

- (a) Extract from the First Committee's Report of September 23rd, 1927, dealing with the Progressive Codification of International Law.

"In his report to the Assembly in 1928, the Secretary-General should give full information concerning the progress made by the Committee (*i.e.*, the Preparatory Committee for the Codification Conference)."

- (b) Resolution concerning the Proposal of the Delegation of Paraguay, adopted by the Assembly on September 27th, 1927.

"The Assembly:

"Having taken note of the First Committee's report on the proposal of the delegation of Paraguay for the preparation of a general and comprehensive plan of codification of international law;

"Desires to place on record the importance which it attaches to the spirit underlying the proposal of the delegation of Paraguay;

"Requests the Council to invite the Committee of Experts to consider at its next session under what conditions the work referred to in the said proposal could be undertaken;

"And will decide later upon the course to be adopted, after taking note of the suggestions of the Committee of Experts and the opinion of the Council in regard thereto."

- (c) Extract from the Resolution concerning the Progressive Codification of International Law adopted by the Assembly on September 27th, 1927.

"The Assembly decides:

"7. To ask the Committee of Experts at its next session to complete the work it has already begun."

5. *Question of Alcoholism.*

Resolution adopted on September 23rd, 1927.

The Assembly decides to place on the agenda of its ninth ordinary session the following proposal by the Finnish, Polish and Swedish delegations:

"Whereas it is desirable to co-ordinate the work which the League of Nations has undertaken, or will be called upon to undertake, on the subject of alcoholism, the Assembly requests the Council:

"1. To appoint a Committee of experts on alcoholism;

"2. To instruct this Committee to study the aspects of the question of alcoholism which come within the competence of the League of Nations, and which might be made the subject of scientific or practical work."

6. *Relations between the League of Nations and Institutes or Bodies set up under its Authority.*

- (a) Resolution adopted on September 26th, 1927.

The Assembly considers that the moment has arrived when the general question of the relations between the League of Nations and institutes or bodies set up under its authority, but not forming part of its organisation, should be studied, and the principles which should govern their acceptance by the League of Nations be laid down by the Council.

(b) Extract from the Report of the Second Committee, adopted by the Assembly on September 26th, 1927.

"The Second Committee has made a preliminary examination of the draft resolution presented by the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton with regard to institutes or bodies set up under the authority of the League of Nations.

"It has noted the great importance of this question and proposes that the Assembly should invite the Council to have this question studied and to ask that a report on this subject should be submitted to the Assembly at its ninth ordinary session in 1928."

7. *Cost of Living and Adjustment of Salaries.*

Resolution adopted on September 26th, 1927.

The Assembly decides:

1. To apply once more the system at present in force under which no changes will be made in the salaries in 1928;
2. To instruct the Salaries Adjustment Committee to make a new enquiry into all the aspects of this question, with the help of the competent services of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office, and to submit the results to the Supervisory Commission at its session in January 1928;
3. To instruct the Supervisory Commission to submit a general report on the question to the Assembly at its ninth ordinary session.

8. *Allocation of the Expenses of the League.*

Resolution adopted on September 26th, 1925.

The Assembly:

1. Requests the Council to ask the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses to follow the economic development of the various Member States with a view to submitting a revised scale to the Assembly of 1928.

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Appendix II.

1. *Report on the Work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security.*

Resolution adopted by the Council on June 4th, 1928.

The Council:

Having taken note of the work already done by the Committee on Arbitration and Security and of the programme for its future work;

Instructs the Secretary-General to insert on the supplementary Assembly agenda the question of the work and the proposals of the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

2. *Establishment of a League of Nations Radio-telegraphic Station.*

Resolution adopted by the Council on June 8th, 1928.

The Council decides to forward to the Assembly for consideration the report of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit on the question of the establishment of a League radio-telegraphic station.

The Advisory and Technical Committee is requested to furnish the supplementary report to which it has referred in time for transmission to the next meeting of the Assembly.

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Appendix III.

RULES DEALING WITH THE ELECTION OF THE NINE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

*Article IV. — Temporary Provisions.*

2. Of the nine Members thus elected in 1926, a maximum of three may be immediately declared re-eligible by a decision of the Assembly taken by a special vote by secret ballot, a separate ballot being held for each Member, and adopted by a majority of two-thirds of the number of votes cast.

Immediately after the announcement of the results of the election, the Assembly shall decide upon the requests for re-eligibility which have been presented.

Should the Assembly have before it more than three requests for re-eligibility, the three candidates having received the largest number of votes in excess of two-thirds of the votes shall alone be declared re-eligible.

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**Appendix IV.**

**RULE 4 OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE ASSEMBLY.**

1. The agenda shall be drawn up by the Secretary-General with the approval of the President of the Council. The complete agenda shall be circulated as nearly as possible four months before the date fixed for the opening of the session.

2. The agenda of a general session shall include:

- (a) A report on the work of the Council since the last session of the Assembly, on the work of the Secretariat, and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly;
- (b) All items whose inclusion has been ordered by the Assembly at a previous session;
- (c) All items proposed by the Council;
- (d) All items proposed by a Member of the League;
- (e) The Budget for the next fiscal period, and the report on the accounts of the last fiscal period.

3. Any Member of the League may, at least one month before the date fixed for the opening of the session, request the inclusion of additional items in the agenda. Such items shall be placed on a supplementary list, which shall be circulated to the Members of the League at least three weeks before the date fixed for the opening of the session. The Assembly shall decide whether items on the supplementary list shall be included in the agenda of the session.

4. The Assembly may, in exceptional circumstances, place additional items on the agenda, but all consideration of such items shall, unless otherwise ordered by a two-thirds majority of the Assembly, be postponed until four days after they have been placed on the agenda and until a committee has reported upon them.

5. No proposal for a modification of the allocation of expenses for the time being in force shall be inserted in the agenda unless it has been communicated to the Members of the League at least four months before the date fixed for the opening of the session.

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**Appendix V.**

**ARTICLE 14 OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.**

Vacancies which may occur shall be filled by the same method as that laid down for the first election. A member of the Court elected to replace a member whose period of appointment had not expired will hold the appointment for the remainder of his predecessor's term.

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ANNEX 2.

REPORT TO THE NINTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL, ON THE WORK OF THE SECRETARIAT AND ON THE MEASURES TAKEN TO EXECUTE THE DECISIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

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1.

CO-OPERATION OF SPAIN AND BRAZIL IN THE WORK  
OF THE LEAGUE.

The President of the Council, during its meeting of March 8th, 1928, called the attention of his colleagues to the fact that, according to the notices given during the year 1926, Brazil would cease to be a Member of the League from a date immediately following the next session of the Council, and Spain from a date coinciding with that of the next following session. He proposed that the Council should invite the two Governments in question to consider whether the reasons which had led them, in 1926, to give notice of withdrawal from the League had lost something of their force through events which had since taken place, or whether those reasons were still so strong in 1928 that they felt bound to take the final step.

The President felt that such an invitation would give one more unquestionable proof to Brazil and Spain of the value which not only the Council but the League as a whole set on their continued co-operation, and that it might remind those countries of the immense importance for the whole world of the decision which they would shortly have to take.

The proposal of the President was cordially welcomed by all the Members of the Council.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT.

The Council on March 9th, 1928, adopted the following resolution :

“ The Council :

“ Noting with deep concern that, in accordance with the notice given during 1926, Spain will cease to be a Member of the League from the month of September next ;

“ Convinced that the co-operation of the Spanish nation is of the utmost value for the successful work of the Council and of the Assembly for the preservation of peace and of good international relations ;

“ Expresses the hope that the Spanish Government will give the most favourable consideration to the possibility of continuing its participation in the work of the League, to which in the past it has contributed so much.”

The Council, at the same time, approved the terms of the covering letter to be addressed to the Spanish Government by the President of the Council :

“ I have the honour, on behalf of the Council of the League of Nations, and at its unanimous request, to communicate, for the consideration of your Government, a resolution which the Council adopted at its meeting on March 9th.

“ At the same time, I feel I should like to acquaint you with the spirit in which the Council adopted the resolution in question, the terms of which necessarily give an inadequate idea of the feeling of all the Members of the Council in regard to Spain.

“ I would state at the outset that the Council has been most careful to avoid even the appearance of an expression of opinion in regard to the possible interests of Spain in the decision which is now before your Government. If the Council sought to give an opinion on this point it would be exceeding its competence and departing from the principles which have continually guided the action of the League. The point which the Council now desires to make clear beyond any possibility of doubt is the keen desire which is felt by the whole League of Nations to see Spain once more co-operating fully in the progressive work which it is endeavouring to carry out.

“ It is inevitable that the Council should attach a very special importance to the co-operation of Spain. Spain is to all the world a country which has a secure place amongst the nations. In art and in letters, in her historical prestige, in her great contribution to the development of modern civilisation, and in the extension of Spanish civilisation to one of the most important regions of the world, Spain holds a pre-eminent position. The recent history of Spain clearly shows that her future will be no less splendid than her past. But to us who are Members of the Council, Spain means much more even than this. She was one of the original Members of the Council and, as the only one of the original Members not involved in the Great War, was marked out to play a part of special importance in our deliberations. She did, in fact, play that part in a spirit of impartiality and wisdom, to which other nations have on many occasions paid tribute. •

“ There is, we believe, no doubt that the influence and prestige of the League have steadily grown since its inception and are destined to grow much more. But in proportion as its influence increases, its responsibility increases also. The League has faced more than one moment of difficulty ; and the fact that it has faced them

with success makes it all the more certain that, should some new and graver crisis arise, it is to the League that humanity will look to save it from disasters equal to or greater than those that are within the memory of us all. It is because the League of Nations, and especially the Council, must endeavour to ensure with increasing certainty that, if a crisis arises, they may be strong enough to prevent the outbreak of war, that we view with special anxiety the prospect of being deprived of the collaboration of Spain.

“ It is therefore with deep concern that the Council, through me, ventures to ask you to give your earnest attention to our resolution, taking into account — as you must — both the interests of your country and also, I hope, the considerations which I have ventured to set forth as to the importance which the decision of your Government will have on the future of the League of Nations and the consolidation of international peace.

“ *(Signed)* URRUTIA,  
“ *President of the Council.*”

The Spanish Government on March 22nd, 1928, replied as follows :

“ I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of the 9th instant, communicating to me, on behalf of the Council of the League of Nations and in accordance with the wish expressed by all its Members, the resolution adopted by the Council at its meeting on that day, for the consideration of His Majesty's Government.

“ The cordial terms of your letter, in which you avoid even the appearance of an expression of opinion in regard to our national aspirations, merely stating your earnest desire that the League should not be deprived of the co-operation of Spain, so that she might continue to assist the League in its great and disinterested work, have made a profound impression on my Government, which met in Council for the express purpose of considering this important communication.

“ During these last years, Spain has not ceased to pursue the lofty ideal which inspires the League of Nations, and she has proposed and concluded treaties of conciliation and arbitration with various States. We therefore greatly appreciate the Council's invitation transmitted by you, and in reply, the Spanish Government has no alternative but to express its gratitude and to accept the invitation unconditionally and without reservation. We leave it to the Assembly to decide the form which Spain's co-operation should take and the position due to her in order that her rôle may be effectual and valuable and in consonance with her special situation as a great Power which was neutral during the last war, and with her great past, as the creator of nations and civilisations.

“ In conclusion, I should like you to convey my sincerest gratitude to the representatives of all the countries which have expressed affection and respect for the Spanish nation, with its long and glorious past, and I would renew to Your Excellency the special assurance of my highest consideration.

“ *(Signed)* Miguel PRIMO DE RIVERA.”

The President of the Council has acknowledged the receipt of this letter and asked the Secretary-General to communicate it to all the Members of the League.

#### CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF BRAZIL.

The Council on March 9th, 1928, adopted the following resolution :

“ The Council :

“ Noting with deep concern that, in accordance with the notice given during the year 1926, Brazil will cease to be a Member of the League from a date immediately following the next session of the Council ;

“ Convinced that the co-operation of the Brazilian nation is of the utmost value for the successful work of the Council and of the Assembly for the preservation of peace and of good international relations :

“ Expresses the hope that the Brazilian Government will give the most favourable consideration to the possibility of continuing its participation in the work of the League, to which in the past it has contributed so much.”

The Council at the same time approved the terms of the covering letter to be addressed to the Government of Brazil by the President of the Council :

“ I have the honour to forward to you a resolution adopted by the Council of the League of Nations at its meeting on March 9th.

“ No one who has worked for international peace and co-operation at the meetings of the League of Nations can forget the important part which the Brazilian delegations have taken in all our activities.

“ Brazil has been one of the protagonists of arbitration and international justice : the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice bears the profound imprint of the ideas put forward by Brazil, and the Brazilian delegates, to whose views their colleagues have always listened with respect, have year by year defended the cause of arbitration. I venture to say that they have seen the ideas they sowed bear a rich harvest, for the great movement towards arbitration which has taken place in recent years is undoubtedly due mainly to the existence of the League of Nations and to the action taken at its Assemblies by delegations inspired by a spirit of idealism and justice.

“ The League is, however, far from having reached its full development. Last year it dealt with the great problems of world economic organisation, and at this first Economic Conference, which is to be followed by further endeavours, Brazil once again gave the League the valuable assistance of her Government delegates and her experts. The problems raised by the great questions of the security of nations and the reduction and limitation of armaments are also among those dealt with by the League. Will not Brazil come to the League's aid alike with her idealism and her practical wisdom ? Will she discontinue her co-operation in all the other work — technical, intellectual and social — in which she has hitherto taken part as a Member of the League ?

“ Having the honour, at the moment, of being President of the Council of the League, it is my duty to express to you my colleagues' views ; and, being myself a citizen of one of those nations of the New World which have done so much and may yet do so much to realise the great ideal of international organisation and peace, I feel bound to associate myself with these views, with especial sympathy, but too inadequately expressed in this letter.

“ *(Signed)* URRUTIA,

“ *President of the Council.* ”

The Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs on April 9th, 1928, replied as follows :

“ I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's letter together with the text of the resolution on the relations between Brazil and the League of Nations adopted by the Council at the sitting held on March 9th.

“ I hereby renew to Your Excellency and to the Council the thanks I had the opportunity of expressing on answering the telegram in which you informed me of that resolution and advised me of the despatch of the documents which I have now received. I must furthermore express Brazil's appreciation of the very cordial terms in which these documents are worded.

“ On June 10th and 12th, 1926, Brazil announced her intention of withdrawing from the League of Nations, setting forth fully the grounds for her action. The facts which preceded that decision of the Brazilian Government are well known. The widest publicity was given to the occurrence in its divers phases, and to all commentaries aroused by it.

“ The Government now responsible for the policy of Brazil, duly considering the subject, both from the political and from the moral standpoint, reviewing all the documents of the case, with the sole purpose of being loyal to the duties and responsibilities of this country, find no determining factor for altering, under such delicate circumstances, a situation which has already been clearly defined, since the contingencies which brought it about are nowise changed. If therefore, collaboration with the League of Nations implies permanence as a Member thereof, the Brazilian Government is the first to regret that the present circumstances do not allow such collaboration.

“ It would appear to me, however, that it is not only by occupying a seat in the Assembly or in the Council that a country can collaborate with the League of Nations. Such countries collaborate as recognise its service to civilisation and to humanity. Countries that do honour to the great organisations created by the League of Nations, amongst which the Permanent Court of International Justice stands foremost, and join in conferences through which the League of Nations strives for universal welfare by working out problems of general interest, rightly consider themselves collaborators. Lastly, it is clear that support is also brought to the League of Nations by those countries that preach and practise, in whatever part of the world they may be, to the utmost of their power the true policy of preserving peace, in no matter what emergency, by the employment of juridical solutions, by their disinterestedness, by their amity and by their spirit of justice and of concord.

“ Collaboration being thus understood, I beg Your Excellency and the Council to consider my country one of the most devoted collaborators of the League of Nations, and if, in the future, Brazil finds it possible to return thereto, she will only have ground

for rejoicing both at the honour of being once more a Member and at the facts in consequence of which her return to that great institution will have been made possible. Brazil sincerely wishes that the blessings of mankind may be showered ever increasingly upon the League of Nations.

“ (Signed) Octavio MANGABEIRA.”

#### CO-OPERATION OF COSTA RICA.

The President, in submitting his draft resolution to the Council on March 9th, reminded his colleagues that the Government of Costa Rica had three years previously notified its intention of withdrawing from the League. He pointed out that the time-limit fixed by the Covenant had expired over a year previously, and that Costa Rica had therefore ceased to be a Member of the League. He ventured to emphasise, however, on behalf of the Members of the Council, the great satisfaction which would be felt by the League if the Government of Costa Rica, reversing its decision, would consent to participate again in that institution.

It was suggested that the Secretary-General should forward to the Government of Costa Rica the statement made by the President as an expression of the feelings of all the Members of the Council, and this suggestion has since been carried into effect.

## 2.

### LEGAL QUESTIONS

#### I. PROGRESSIVE CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

(See Agenda of the Assembly of 1928, Item No. 10 A, B and C.)

##### A. WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE FIRST CODIFICATION CONFERENCE.

By its resolution of September 27th, 1927,<sup>1</sup> the Assembly, after considering the reports presented by the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law,<sup>2</sup> decided to submit for examination by a first Codification Conference, to be held, if possible, in the year 1929, the following questions :

- (a) Nationality ;
- (b) Territorial Waters ;
- (c) Responsibility of States for Damage done in their Territory to the Person or Property of Foreigners.

The preparatory work for the Conference was entrusted by the Assembly to a Committee of five experts to be appointed by the Council. By a resolution of September 28th, 1927, the Council appointed as members of the Preparatory Committee : Professor BASDEVANT, Councillor Carlos CASTRO-RUIZ, Professor FRANÇOIS, Sir Cecil HURST and M. Massimo PILOTTI.

The method of work to be followed by the Preparatory Committee is set out in the report submitted to the Assembly by the First Committee.

The first task of the Committee is to draw up for each of the questions on the agenda of the Conference a schedule indicating the various points considered suitable for examination. The schedules are to be submitted to the Governments, through the Secretariat, with the request that information may be furnished from the three following points of view :

- (a) The state of their positive law, internal and international, with, as far as possible, circumstantial details as to the bibliography and jurisprudence ;

<sup>1</sup> The Minutes of the Assembly's discussions on the subject of codification are printed separately in document C.548.M.196.1927.V.

<sup>2</sup> See, in particular, document C.196.M.70.1927.V.

- (b) Information derived from their own practice at home and abroad ;
- (c) Their wishes as regards possible additions to the rules in force and the manner of making good present deficiencies in international law.

At the next stage of its work the Preparatory Committee is to examine the information and the expressions of opinion received from the Governments. It may, if necessary, address further enquiries to the Governments. When the necessary enquiries have been completed, the Committee is to establish the points on which agreement or divergency of view exists and to embody its conclusions in a report intended to serve as a detailed basis for the discussions of the Conference.

It will then be for the Council of the League to decide as to the date of meeting of the Conference and the form of the invitations to be issued to the Governments. In issuing the invitations, the Council is to consider the advisability of formulating special rules for the conduct of the Conference, more particularly with reference to certain questions specified in the Assembly's resolution of September 27th, 1927.

The Assembly contemplated that the Council would convene the Conference at The Hague by agreement with the Netherlands Government.

The first stage of the above programme of work was accomplished by the Preparatory Committee at a session held at Geneva from February 6th to 15th, 1928. A report (document C.44.M.21.1928.V) was drawn up setting out the three schedules of points on which the Governments are invited to furnish information. This report was transmitted to the Governments by the Secretary-General under cover of Circular Letter No. 36, dated March 1st, 1928.

In agreement with the Preparatory Committee, the Secretary-General has requested the Governments to transmit their replies to the Secretariat not later than October 31st, 1928, and has informed them that the Preparatory Committee considers it essential to have the replies by that date in order that it may be able to undertake the second part of its task at a session beginning on January 28th, 1929. The following passage from the Secretary-General's letter explains the views of the Preparatory Committee with regard to the subsequent progress of its work.

"In view of the Assembly's decision that the forthcoming Conference shall, if possible, be held in the year 1929, and of the considerable time which will evidently be required by the Committee for the purpose of examining the information furnished by the Governments and drawing up the contemplated bases of discussion for the Conference, the Committee has requested me to state that it attaches the greatest importance to receiving answers from all the Governments by a date not later than October 31st next. It has decided to hold a session to consider these answers not later than January 28th, 1929. These periods have been fixed with the view, on the one hand, of allowing to the Governments at least the period of six months contemplated by the report of the First Committee for the purpose of preparing their replies and, on the other hand, with the view of permitting sufficient time for the preparation of the resulting material for consideration by the Committee when it meets. Their observance appears to be essential if the Conference is to be held within the period fixed by the Assembly."

The Preparatory Committee has been invited to avail itself of any assistance which can be obtained from the various learned associations established for the study and development of international law. Accordingly, its report has been transmitted to these associations, and any communications which may be received from them will be considered by the Committee at the same time as the information supplied by the Governments.

As recommended by the First Committee of the Assembly, the Committee is also devoting special attention to the work of codification which has been undertaken by the Pan-American Union.

#### B. PROPOSAL OF THE DELEGATION OF PARAGUAY AT THE EIGHTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY FOR THE PREPARATION OF A GENERAL AND COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

The Assembly decided that the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law should be invited to consider at its next session under what conditions effect could be given to this proposal.

The question has therefore been placed on the agenda of the fourth session of the Committee which opens on June 22nd, 1928.

#### C. WORK OF THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS FOR THE PROGRESSIVE CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

This Committee was established in execution of the Assembly's resolution of September 22nd, 1924, with the mandate to prepare provisional lists of the subjects of international law the regulation of which by international agreement would seem to be most desirable



and realisable at the present moment, and, after obtaining the opinion of the Governments, to report as to the questions which are sufficiently ripe for international action and on the procedure which might be followed with a view to preparing eventually for conferences for their solution.

After presenting the reports referred to in Section A above, the Committee had still a number of subjects under consideration.

At its session of 1927, the Assembly resolved that the Committee should be invited to complete the work which it had already begun.

The next session of the Committee of Experts has been convened for June 22nd, 1928, and information concerning its work will accordingly be given in the supplementary report to the Assembly.

#### D. EFFECT GIVEN TO RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS FOR THE PROGRESSIVE CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW MADE IN ITS REPORTS TO THE COUNCIL IN 1927.

##### (a) *Procedure of International Conferences and Procedure for the Conclusion and Drafting of Treaties.*

In consequence of a recommendation of the Committee of Experts, the Secretariat has, under resolutions of the Assembly and the Council, been instructed to undertake a study of this question. The necessary measures are being taken for this purpose.

##### (b) *Exploitation of the Products of the Sea.*

After considering the recommendations made by the Committee of Experts, the Assembly, by its resolution of September 27th, 1927, decided that this subject, which it recognised to be of great importance and urgency, should be referred for consideration to the Economic Committee of the League, on whose agenda it has accordingly been placed. In consequence, information on the subject will henceforward be given in connection with the work of the Economic Committee, and not under the heading of Codification of International Law.

## II. LEGAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE POOR.

### EXECUTION OF THE ASSEMBLY'S RESOLUTION OF SEPTEMBER 20TH, 1924

The Assembly's resolution of September 20th, 1924, concerning legal assistance for the poor contemplated :

1. The collection, by enquiries addressed to the Governments, and the publication of (a) information regarding the treaties, laws and other provisions regulating legal assistance to poor persons in the various countries and between the various countries ; (b) a list of the agencies, both public and private, which afford legal assistance to poor persons ; and (c) a list of authorities or persons nominated by Governments to answer enquiries regarding legal assistance to the poor from authorities or duly qualified persons in foreign countries.

2. An enquiry as to how far the various Governments " would be disposed to become parties to a Convention dealing with free legal aid for the poor on the basis of the principles formulated in Articles 20 to 23 of the Hague Convention of July 17th, 1905, and whether possibly they would desire to propose any modification of such principles".

The collection of texts referred to above has now been issued by the Secretariat and communicated to all the Governments. The first part of the Assembly's resolution of September 20th, 1924, has therefore been executed.

As regards the enquiry concerning the extent to which the Governments would be disposed to become parties to a Convention dealing with free legal aid for the poor, the Council, on December 5th, 1927, decided that it was not necessary for the League to take steps with a view to the international regulation of the question, as it would in all probability be examined by the Conference on International Private Law, which was to be held at The Hague in the beginning of 1928 under the auspices of the Netherlands Government.

The Conference on International Private Law, which took place in January of this year at The Hague, examined the question of legal aid for the poor and adopted a new Convention.

### III. CASE OF THE CRUISER *SALAMIS*.

At its sessions of September and December 1927, the Council dealt with a request from the Hellenic Government that measures should be taken to establish the interpretation of certain articles of the Treaty of Versailles upon which partly depended the issue of proceedings brought before the Greco-German Mixed Arbitral Tribunal by the Hellenic Government for the cancellation of contracts for a cruiser known as the *Salamis*, which the Hellenic Government had concluded in 1914 with the Vulcan Company.

The Hellenic Government suggested that the Council might ask for an advisory opinion from the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The German Government informed the Council that it did not see any reason why the Council should intervene in the matter.

On December 12th, 1927, the Council approved a report drawn up by a Committee composed of the legal advisers of its members, to whom the subject, and more particularly the question of the Council's competence, had been referred. The principal conclusions of this report may be summarised as follows :

The matter which the legal advisers had to study was particularly a question of competence of the Council.

It will not be contested that, as a general principle, and in the absence of some special attribution of competence, the Council should not intervene in a question pending before another international organ, such as a Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, when (a) the request for the Council's intervention is made by only one of the parties ; and (b) when the case is being dealt with by that international organ, with the consent of both Parties, and is regarded by it as within its competence. If this rule were not followed as a general principle, the position of all international tribunals would be prejudiced and an intolerable burden would be imposed on the Council of the League of Nations.

The above principle would not apply if both parties to the case joined in asking the Council to intervene, or if the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal itself did so. The German representative, however, has not joined in the request to the Council, and the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, for its part, has not made any application to the Council.

In view of the importance of the principle that the Council should not take any action which could be misinterpreted as an encroachment on the sphere of an international tribunal which has been duly seized of a question, it would be courteous for the Council to address a communication to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal to the effect that, if it should judge it to be desirable that an interpretation of Article 192 (and Article 190, if that article is considered relevant) should be obtained by way of an advisory opinion by the Permanent Court of International Justice and should address a communication to the Council to that effect, the Council would defer to such a desire.

On December 12th, 1927, the Council adopted the report of the Committee of Jurists.

On instructions from the Council, the Secretary-General sent a letter to the President of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal in the sense proposed by the Committee of Jurists.

## 3.

### FINANCES OF THE LEAGUE

#### I. GENERAL FINANCIAL POSITION.

During the year 1927, 87 per cent of the amount of the contributions due for that year was received from the States Members, as against 86¾ per cent of the budget for 1926 during that year.

The total amount received on account of arrears during 1927 was 1,659,322.19 gold francs, as compared with 1,965,032.55 gold francs in 1926.

The cash position of the three autonomous organisations of the League on December 31st, 1927, was as follows :

Organisation	Gold francs	
	Surplus	Deficit
Secretariat	1,189,096.43	—
International Labour Organisation	—	328,700.16
Permanent Court of International Justice	230,197.25	—
	<u>1,419,293.68</u>	<u>328,700.16</u>

The work of the Treasury since the last ordinary session of the Assembly may perhaps be most conveniently illustrated by reference to the reports of the Supervisory Commission, which has met on two occasions since last September.

The Commission is now composed of the following members :

His Excellency M. Stefan OSUSKÝ, Czechoslovakia, *Chairman*  
Lord MESTON OF AGRA, India, *Vice-Chairman*.  
Dr. J. A. NEDERBRAGT, Netherlands, *Rapporteur*.  
M. Jean RÉVEILLAUD, France.  
His Excellency M. C. PARRA-PÉREZ, Venezuela.

## II. ACCOUNTS FOR 1927.

The Commission examined points raised in the report drawn up by the League's auditor, M. Ceresa, as well as certain general observations made by the Rapporteur. After having considered with the Secretary-General and the responsible officials of the autonomous organisations certain broad questions of principle, the Commission made recommendations regarding further improvements which might be made in the form of the accounts.

## III. SURPLUS FOR THE FINANCIAL YEAR 1927 AND LEAGUE BUILDING FUND.

The Commission recommended that the *net* surplus (*i. e.*, the total surplus less the deficit of the International Labour Organisation), amounting to 1,090,593.52 gold francs, should be returned to the Members of the League in accordance with Article 38 (*a*) of the Financial Regulations.

The Commission noted that the Building Fund would probably reach, after the sale of the Hôtel National and various receipts such as interest had been credited to it, the sum of 16½ million francs. At its last session, the Assembly had, however, approved in principle that the amount to be spent on the new building should be increased to approximately 19,500,000 francs. In these circumstances, the Commission considered it essential that some immediate steps should be taken to bridge over the difference between the amount available in the Building Fund Account and the commitments which it will have to meet. The Commission recommended therefore that the amount to be returned, in 1929, out of the Building Fund should be fixed at 700,000 gold francs, as against 1,400,000 francs during each of the two previous years.

## IV. BUDGET FOR 1929.

The budget for 1929, as forwarded to the Members of the League, for consideration by the Assembly, amounts to 26,871,244 francs, as compared with 25,333,817 francs for 1928.

The Commission, having noted that the major part of the increase was due to work that was being undertaken under direct or implied instructions from the Assembly and the International Labour Conference, decided to submit in its general bearings the problem of the increase of the budget for the consideration and orders of the Assembly.

## V. MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

The Commission, at its January and April sessions, began the consideration of the various administrative questions which had been submitted to it by the Assembly during its eighth ordinary session. This study is still being continued and will be completed at a further session to be held in June.

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4.

REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS.

I. DECLARATION REGARDING WARS OF AGGRESSION.

The Assembly, at its eighth ordinary session on September 24th, 1927, adopted the following resolution :

“ The Assembly :  
“ Recognising the solidarity which unites the community of nations ;  
“ Being inspired by a firm desire for the maintenance of general peace ;  
“ Being convinced that a war of aggression can never serve as a means of settling international disputes and is, in consequence, an international crime ;  
“ Considering that a solemn renunciation of all wars of aggression would tend to create an atmosphere of general confidence calculated to facilitate the progress of the work undertaken with a view to disarmament :

“ Declares :

“ (1) That all wars of aggression are, and shall always be, prohibited ;  
“ (2) That every pacific means must be employed to settle disputes of every description, which may arise between States.

“ The Assembly declares that the States Members of the League are under an obligation to conform to these principles. ”

In view of this resolution, the Council adopted the following resolution on September 27th, 1927 :

“ The Council :

“ In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 24th, 1927, prohibiting all wars of aggression and declaring that every pacific means must be employed to settle disputes of every description which may arise between States,  
“ Requests the Secretary-General to bring this resolution to the notice of all States Members of the League. ”

The Secretary-General communicated the resolutions of the Assembly and of the Council to the Governments in a circular letter dated October 18th, 1927.

II. CIVIL AVIATION.

The Assembly, during its eighth ordinary session on September 26th, 1927, adopted the following resolution :

“ Whereas in certain countries there is at present a close connection, from the technical point of view and from the point of view of organisation, between the requirements and developments of civil aviation and those of military aviation ;  
“ And whereas this connection leads to difficulties in limiting air armaments without hampering civil aviation ;

“ The Assembly :

“ Declares that it is desirable for this purpose that the development of civil aviation should be directed solely towards economic ends to the exclusion of military interests ;  
“ Recommends all States Members of the League of Nations to act as far as possible on the recommendations made in this connection by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference ;  
“ And requests the Council to instruct the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit to consider practical methods likely to facilitate the conclusion of the agreements between aviation undertakings in the various countries which are referred to in these recommendations. ”

The Council, on September 27th, 1927, after considering this resolution, asked the Secretary-General to forward it to the States Members of the League of Nations, and to the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit.

The Secretary-General, on October 18th, 1927, sent to all States Members a circular letter communicating to them the resolution of the Assembly.

The Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit, which met at Geneva on February 27th, 1928, decided to instruct a special Committee of Enquiry to determine the steps to be taken as a consequence of this resolution. The appointment of this special Committee was entrusted to the Chairman, who was authorised to take any measures that might facilitate the co-operation of the Governments concerned.

### III. METHODS OR REGULATIONS TO ENABLE THE COUNCIL TO TAKE SUCH DECISIONS AS MAY BE NECESSARY TO ENFORCE THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE COVENANT AS EXPEDITIOUSLY AS POSSIBLE.

(a) The Assembly, during its eighth ordinary session on September 26th, 1927, adopted the following resolution :

“The Assembly :

“Having taken note of the report (document C.169.M.119.1927) approved by the Committee of the Council on March 15th, 1927, with regard to the methods and regulations which would enable the Council to take such decisions as may be necessary to enforce the obligations of the Covenant as expeditiously as possible ;

“Approves this report and recommends its adoption by the Council as a valuable guide which, without restricting the Council’s liberty to decide at any moment the best methods to be adopted in the event of any threat to peace, summarises the results of experience, of the procedure already followed and of the studies so far carried out with a view to the best possible organisation of its activities in case of emergency.”

The Council, on December 6th, 1927, adopted the following resolution on this subject :

“The Council :

“Having taken note of the report approved by the Committee of the Council on March 15th, 1927, with regard to the methods or regulations which would enable the Council to take such decisions as may be necessary to enforce the obligations of the Covenant as expeditiously as possible ;

“Approves this report and adopts it as a valuable guide which, without restricting the Council’s liberty to decide at any moment the best methods to be adopted in case of any threat to peace, summarises the results of experience, of the procedure already followed and of the studies so far carried out with a view to the best possible organisation of its activities in case of emergency.”

(b) Number III (e) of the report of March 15th, 1927, referred to in the above resolution, is as follows :

“In order to satisfy itself of the way in which these measures have been carried out and to keep itself informed of the course of events, the Council may think it desirable to send representatives to the locality of the dispute. The Secretary-General, duly authorised by the Council, would keep lists of experts — political, economic, military, etc. — on the basis of lists supplied by the States Members of the League and of applications for employment submitted direct to him. These lists, classified according to categories, would be held by the Secretary-General at the disposal of the Council which, in case of crisis, would thus have names of suitable experts before it. The Council may also have recourse in this connection to diplomatic personages stationed in the neighbourhood who belong to States not parties to the dispute.”

The Secretary-General, in accordance with these suggestions, has taken the necessary steps with a view to compiling the lists mentioned, basing these lists on spontaneous offers of assistance which have reached him, on the lists of the members of the various Committees and Sub-Committees previously or at the moment in existence, and on the information contained in the files of the Secretariat regarding persons who have already assisted the League of Nations in its work. No Government has yet sent to the Secretary-General any list of experts of this character.

(c) A reference may here be inserted to No. 7a of the resolution adopted by the Council of December 8th, 1926. The resolution is as follows :

“The Council requests the Secretary-General :

“To collect systematically precise information regarding the economic and financial relations of the various States, with a view to a possible application of Article 16 of the Covenant. This work will be carried out in accordance with a plan to be submitted to the Council by the Secretary-General after consulting the technical organisations of the League, including, if necessary, the Joint Committee.”

The Secretary-General, acting on this resolution, has consulted the Economic and Financial Committees, whose views are embodied in two reports which were adopted

on March 9th and December 21st, 1927 respectively. These two reports have been communicated to the Committee on Arbitration and Security (mentioned below) and the Council expressed the view, in a resolution dated March 6th, 1928, that, at present, no further action on the part of the Secretariat was necessary.

(d) For the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security, see Section VI below.

#### IV. COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE LEAGUE IN TIMES OF EMERGENCY.

(a) The Assembly, during its eighth ordinary session on September 26th, 1927, adopted the following resolution :

“ The Assembly :

“ Being desirous of adopting all measures likely to make possible the prompt application of the system contemplated by the Covenant for the maintenance of peace, and of giving to States Members of the League of Nations a greater feeling of security ;

“ Convinced that, in this connection, it is of the utmost importance to ensure the rapid working of the organs of the League of Nations at times of emergency ;

“ Considering that their intervention in the shortest possible time may prove to be an essential condition for the prevention of war ;

“ Trusting that greater facilities for the immediate operation of the machinery of the League of Nations will assist the work of disarmament ;

“ Inspired by the spirit and provisions of the Covenant ;

“ Reasserts that it is the obligation of the States Members of the League of Nations to facilitate by every means in their power the rapid meeting of the Council in times of emergency ;

“ Invites the States Members of the League of Nations to take in advance all necessary measures for this purpose ;

“ Congratulates the Council on having studied the question, to which the Assembly attaches the greatest importance, and requests the Council to continue its studies, particularly in regard to telephonic communications between the seat of the League and the different capitals, the identification of air-craft making journeys of importance to the League of Nations at times of emergency, the establishment of a radio-telegraphic station at the seat of the League, the adaptation of a landing-ground in the neighbourhood of the seat of the League, and, more generally, provisions enabling the League of Nations to be prepared at any moment to meet any emergency with the greatest possible rapidity.”

The Council, acting on this resolution, adopted the following resolution on September 27th, 1927 :

“ The Council :

“ Having regard to the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 26th, 1927, regarding meetings of the Council and of the organs of the League of Nations in times of emergency ;

“ Notes that the Assembly asserts that ‘it is the obligation of the States Members of the League of Nations to facilitate by every means in their power the rapid meeting of the Council in times of emergency’, and calls the attention of the States Members of the League to the consequences of this obligation ;

“ Forwards to the States Members of the League of Nations this resolution of the Assembly ; and

“ Requests the Secretary-General to communicate it to the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit with the request that it will continue the investigations which it has already started on this question.”

This resolution of the Council, together with the resolution of the Assembly, was communicated by the Secretary-General to all the Members of the League of Nations in a circular letter dated October 19th, 1927.

The Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit, at its meeting on February 27th, 1928, continued its study of the questions affecting rapid communications between the seat of the League and the rest of the world, and particularly the questions mentioned in the resolutions quoted above.

For the details of the decisions taken and the present position of the work, reference should be made to that part of the report which deals with the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit.

(b) The Committee on Arbitration and Security adopted on March 7th, 1928, a resolution on communications with the League in times of crisis. See Section VI below.

## V. FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO STATES VICTIMS OF AGGRESSION.

The Assembly, during its eighth ordinary session, adopted on September 26th, 1927, the following resolution :

“ The Assembly :

“ Having taken note of the plan submitted to the Council by the Financial Committee with regard to the Finnish Government's proposal for ensuring financial aid to any State victim of aggression ;

“ Being convinced of the need for a system of financial aid for contributing to the organisation of security, which is an indispensable preliminary to general disarmament :

“ Requests the Council to continue its examination of the plan, which the Committee declares to be necessary, and to prepare and complete it with a view to its final adoption either by a Disarmament Conference or by a special Conference to be convened for the purpose.

“ The Assembly suggests to the Council that it would be advisable to submit the plan referred to, and the documents relating to Article 16 prepared by the Legal Section of the Secretariat, the observations submitted by the several Governments and the Minutes of the discussions in the Third Committee on this subject, to the Committee which it proposes should be appointed in pursuance of its resolution relative to arbitration, security and disarmament. ”

The Council took the following decision on September, 27th, 1927 :

“ The Council :

“ Notes the Assembly's resolution of September 26th, 1927, concerning financial aid to States victims of aggression ;

“ Forwards this resolution to the Preparatory Commission for communication to the Committee which it is to appoint to study questions relating to arbitration and security ;

“ Authorises that Committee to consult the Financial Committee whenever it thinks fit and, if necessary, to request the latter to make technical studies of the question ;

“ Requests the Financial Committee to co-operate with the Committee on Arbitration and Security and the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference for the purposes mentioned above. ”

As a result of the discussions in the Committee on Arbitration and Security, a Joint Committee was established composed of four members of the Committee on Arbitration and Security and three members of the Financial Committee. This Joint Committee held a session in the month of March 1928. A second session was arranged for the beginning of June 1928.

## VI. ARBITRATION, SECURITY AND THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

The Assembly, during its eighth ordinary session, adopted on September 26th, 1927, the following resolution :

“ The Assembly :

“ Noting the progress achieved in the technical sphere by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and by the Committee of the Council towards enabling the Council to be rapidly convened and to take decisions in case of emergency ;

“ Being anxious to bring about the political conditions calculated to assure the success of the work of disarmament ;

“ Being convinced that the principal condition of this success is that every State should be sure of not having to provide unaided for its security by means of its own armaments and should be able to rely also on the organised collective action of the League of Nations ;

“ Affirming that such action should aim chiefly at forestalling or arresting any resort to war and, if need be, at effectively protecting any State victim of an aggression ;

“ Being convinced that the burdens which may thereby be imposed on the different States will be the more readily accepted by them in proportion as ;

“ (a) They are shared in practice by a greater number of States ;

“ (b) The individual obligations of States have been more clearly defined and limited :

“ 1. Recommends the progressive extension of arbitration by means of special or collective agreements, including agreements between States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations, so as to extend to all countries the mutual confidence essential to the complete success of the Conference on the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments ;

“2. Recalls its resolution of September 24th, 1926, which reads as follows :

“‘Being desirous that the investigations, in regard to which the Assembly itself took the initiative in its resolution of September 25th, 1925, should be brought to a successful conclusion as soon as possible, it requests the Council to call upon the Preparatory Commission to take steps to hasten the completion of the technical work and thus be able to draw up, at the beginning of next year, the programme for a Conference on the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments corresponding to existing conditions in regard to regional and general security, and it asks the Council to convene this Conference before the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, unless material difficulties render this impossible.’”

“Accordingly requests the Council to urge the Preparatory Commission to hasten the completion of its technical work and to convene the Conference on the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments immediately this work has been completed ;

“3. Requests the Council to give the Preparatory Commission, whose task will not be confined to the preparation of an initial Conference on the limitation and reduction of armaments, and whose work must continue until the final goal has been achieved, the necessary instructions for the creation without delay of a Committee consisting of representatives of all the States which have seats on the Commission and are Members of the League of Nations, other States represented on the Commission being invited to sit on it if they so desire.

“This Committee would be placed at the Commission’s disposal and its duty would be to consider, on the lines indicated by the Commission, the measures capable of giving all States the guarantees of arbitration and security necessary to enable them to fix the level of their armaments at the lowest possible figures in an international disarmament agreement.

“The Assembly considers that these measures should be sought :

“In action by the League of Nations with a view to promoting, generalising, and co-ordinating special or collective agreements on arbitration and security ;

“In the systematic preparation of the machinery to be employed by the organs of the League of Nations with a view to enabling the Members of the League to perform their obligations under the various articles of the Covenant ;

“In agreements which the States Members of the League may conclude among themselves, irrespective of their obligations under the Covenant, with a view to making their commitments proportionate to the degree of solidarity of a geographical or other nature existing between them and other States ;

“And, further, in an invitation from the Council to the several States to inform it of the measures which they would be prepared to take, irrespective of their obligations under the Covenant, to support the Council’s decisions or recommendations in the event of a conflict, breaking out in a given region, each State indicating that, in a particular case, either all its forces, or a certain part of its military, naval or air forces, could forthwith intervene in the conflict to support the Council’s decisions or recommendations.”

The Council adopted the following resolution on September 27th, 1927 :

“The Council :

“Forwards to the Governments Members and non-Members of the League of Nations the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 26th, 1927, with regard to arbitration, security and disarmament ;

“Draws these Governments’ attention to the recommendations made by the Assembly with a view to ‘the progressive extension of arbitration by means of special or collective agreements, including agreements between States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations, so as to extend to all countries the mutual confidence essential to the complete success of the Conference on the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments’ ;

“Invites the Preparatory Commission of the Disarmament Conference to hasten the completion of its technical work in order that the Council may convene the Conference on the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments immediately this work has been completed ;

“Requests the Preparatory Commission to appoint a Committee which will be placed at its disposal and whose duty will be ‘to consider, on the lines indicated by the Commission, the measures capable of giving all States the guarantees of arbitration and security necessary to enable them to fix the level of their armaments at the lowest possible figures in an international disarmament agreement’.

“This Committee will consist ‘of representatives of all the States which have seats on the Commission and are Members of the League of Nations, the other States represented on the Commission being invited to take part if they so desire’.”

The Preparatory Commission constituted on November 30th, 1927, a Committee on Arbitration and Security. The resolution of the Council provides that the States non-Members of the League of Nations represented on the Preparatory Commission should



be invited to take part if they so desire. The representative of the United States of America on the Preparatory Commission replied to a question put to him on the subject by the Chairman to the following effect :

“ At such time as the Committee on Arbitration and Security, working parallel to this Commission, may submit its recommendations to this body, my Government will be glad, in the light of its traditional and historic policy, to take these recommendations into careful consideration. That these recommendations would be productive of fruitful results is, I assure you, our sincere hope.”

The representative of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics replied to the question of the Chairman as follows :

“ The Soviet delegation is unable to participate as a member of the Committee on Arbitration and Security. The Soviet delegation is, however, prepared to observe and follow with the closest attention the work of the Committee within such limits and forms as may be permitted by the Preparatory Commission and satisfactory to ourselves.”

The Commission, in view of this declaration, agreed that the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics should send an observer to the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

The Committee on Arbitration and Security first met on December 1st, 1927. Its bureau was constituted as follows : Chairman : M. BENEŠ (Czechoslovakia), Vice-Chairmen : M. URRUTIA (Colombia) and M. UNDÉN (Sweden).

To guide the Committee in its work, the Preparatory Commission transmitted to it the resolutions of the Assembly and the Council, to which reference has already been made. The Committee, on the basis of these texts, established a programme dealing with the following three classes of questions : Treaties of Arbitration and Conciliation ; Security Agreements ; Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant and Financial Assistance to States Victims of Aggression.

Three Rapporteurs, M. HOLSTI (Finland), M. POLITIS (Greece), and M. RUTGERS (Netherlands) were respectively asked to prepare, on each of these three questions, memoranda which might serve as a basis of discussion at the second session of the Committee arranged for February 1928.

It was understood that these memoranda, before being sent to the members of the Committee, would be co-ordinated by the Rapporteurs, in collaboration with the Chairman, who would endeavour to make of them an organic whole.

The Preparatory Commission was informed at its meeting on December 3rd, 1927, of the programme of work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

In conformity with this programme, the draft memoranda prepared by the three Rapporteurs were co-ordinated by them in collaboration with the Chairman of the Committee during a meeting held at Prague from January 26th to February 1st, 1928. The Rapporteurs and the Chairman, endeavoured to take into account, as far as possible, the indications contained in notes which had been sent by certain Governments (Germany, Belgium, Great Britain, Norway and Sweden) as well as the observations made by the representatives of other Governments during the previous discussions on the questions of arbitration and security.

The second session of the Committee began at Geneva on February 20th, when the document prepared at Prague was discussed (document C.A.S. 10). This document included :

1. Introduction to the three memoranda on arbitration, security and the articles of the Covenant, submitted by the Chairman and the Rapporteurs ;
2. A memorandum on arbitration and conciliation, submitted by M. Holsti ;
3. A memorandum on security questions, submitted by M. Politis ;
4. A memorandum on Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant, and on financial assistance afforded to States victims of aggression, submitted by M. Rutgers.

On the basis of discussions at the plenary meetings of the Committee, a Drafting Committee was instructed to prepare at once the following texts :

1. A model general convention for the pacific settlement of all international disputes ;
2. A model general convention relating to judicial settlement, arbitration and conciliation ;
3. A model general conciliation convention ;
4. A model collective treaty of mutual assistance ;
5. A model collective treaty relating to non-aggression ;
6. A model bilateral treaty of the same type ;
7. Various draft resolutions.

These texts were then submitted for approval to the Committee on Arbitration and Security, which decided :

1. To authorise its Chairman to convene it for a third session, not later than the end of June 1928 ;
2. To proceed, at its third session, with the second reading of the model treaties drawn up during its second session ;
3. To examine, at its third session, certain suggestions for the prevention of war made by the German delegation at the second session (M. Rolin Jaequemyns (Belgium) was asked to prepare a memorandum on this question) ;
4. To study, at the same session, draft model bilateral treaties ;
5. To continue the examination of the articles of the Covenant in accordance with the resolution of the Assembly of 1927.

The supplementary report on the work of the Council will deal with the model arbitration and security treaties, which must be read a second time, together with the German suggestions for the prevention of war, which are to be examined during the next session of the Committee.

The texts adopted by the Committee during its second session are given below. They take the form of draft resolutions which the Committee recommends should be submitted to the Assembly in September (see document C.P.D. 108).

#### RESOLUTION ON THE SUBMISSION AND RECOMMENDATION OF MODEL GENERAL CONVENTIONS ON CONCILIATION, ARBITRATION AND JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT.

“The Assembly :

“Having noted with satisfaction the model general conventions prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security regarding conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement ;

“Fully appreciating the value of these model general conventions ;

“And convinced that their adoption by the largest possible number of States would contribute towards strengthening the guarantees of security ;

“Recommends them for consideration by all States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations ;

“Hopes that they may serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude conventions of this sort ;

“Draws the attention of Governments which might find it impossible to assume general undertakings to the fact that they would be free to accept the rules established by these model conventions by means of private agreements or by a simple exchange of notes with States of their own choosing ;

“In view of this possibility, invites the Council to issue to the Secretariat of the League of Nations the necessary instructions for the keeping of a register, in which would be entered the separate undertakings given within the framework of the general conventions, in order that States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations may be rapidly informed of the progress made in the extension of this indirect effect of the general conventions.”

#### RESOLUTION REGARDING THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE COUNCIL.

##### *Arbitration.*

“The Assembly :

“In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 26th, 1926, requesting the Council to offer its good offices to States Members of the League for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security ;

“Recognising that the development of procedures for the pacific settlement of any disputes which may arise between States is an essential factor in the prevention of wars ;

“Expresses its appreciation of the progress achieved in concluding treaties of this kind, and its desire to see *the application* of the principle of the pacific settlement of all disputes extended as far as possible ; and

“Invites the Council to inform all States Members of the League that, should States feel the need of reinforcing the general security conferred by the Covenant and of concluding, for this purpose, a treaty to ensure the pacific settlement of any disputes which may arise between them, and should negotiations in connection therewith meet with difficulties, the Council would, if requested—after it has examined the political situation and taken account of the general interests of peace — be prepared to place at the disposal of the States concerned its good offices, which, being voluntarily accepted by them, would be calculated to bring the negotiations to a happy issue.”

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE OPTIONAL CLAUSE OF ARTICLE 36 OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

“ The Assembly :

“ Referring to the resolution of October 2nd, 1924, in which the Assembly, considering that the terms of Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice are sufficiently wide to permit States to adhere to the special Protocol opened for signature in virtue of that article, with the reservations which they regard as indispensable, and convinced that it is in the interest of the progress of international justice that the greatest possible number of States should, to the widest possible extent, accept as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Court, recommends States to accede to the said Protocol at the earliest possible date :

“ Noting that this recommendation has not so far produced all the effect that is to be desired ;

“ Being of opinion that, in order to facilitate effectively the acceptance of the clause in question, it is expedient to diminish the obstacles which prevent States from committing themselves ;

“ Being convinced that the efforts now being made through progressive codification to diminish the uncertainties and supply the deficiencies of international law will greatly facilitate the acceptance of the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court, and that, meanwhile, attention should once more be drawn to the possibility offered by the terms of that clause to States, which do not see their way to accede to it without qualification, to do so subject to appropriate reservations limiting the extent of their commitments, both as regards duration and as regards scope ;

“ Noting, in this latter connection, that the reservations conceivable may relate, either generally to certain aspects of any kind of dispute, or specifically to certain classes or lists of disputes, and that these different kinds of reservation can be legitimately combined.

“ Recommends that States which have not yet acceded to the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should, failing accession pure and simple, consider, with due regard to their interests, whether they can accede on the conditions above indicated ;

“ Requests the Council to communicate the text of this resolution to those States as soon as possible, desiring them to notify it of their intentions in the matter ; and

“ Asks the Council to inform it at the next session of the replies received by that date.”

RESOLUTION ON THE SUBMISSION AND RECOMMENDATION OF MODEL TREATIES OF NON-AGGRESSION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE.

“ The Assembly :

“ Having noted with satisfaction the model treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security ;

“ Fully appreciating the value of these model treaties ;

“ And convinced that their adoption by the States concerned would contribute towards strengthening the guarantees of security :

“ Recommends them for consideration by States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations ; and

“ Hopes that they may serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude treaties of this sort.”

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE COUNCIL.

*Security.*

“ In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 26th, 1926, requesting the Council to offer its good offices to States Members of the League for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security.

“ The Assembly :

“ Convinced that the conclusion between States in the same geographical area of security pacts providing for conciliation, arbitration and mutual guarantees against aggression by any one of them constitutes one of the most practical means that can now be recommended to States anxious to secure more effective guarantees of security ;

“ Being of opinion that the good offices of the Council, if freely accepted by all the parties concerned, might facilitate the conclusion of such security pacts ;

“ Invites the Council to inform all the States Members of the League of Nations that should States feel the need of reinforcing the general security conferred by the Covenant and of concluding a security pact for this purpose, and should the negotiations relating thereto meet with difficulties, the Council would, if requested — after it has examined the political situation and taken account of the general interests of peace — be prepared to place at the disposal of the States concerned its good offices which, being voluntarily accepted by them, would be calculated to bring the negotiations to a happy issue.”

RESOLUTION CONCERNING M. RUTGERS' MEMORANDUM ON ARTICLES 10, 11 AND 16  
OF THE COVENANT.

- " The Committee on Arbitration and Security :
- " Having taken note of the memorandum on Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant,
- " Appreciates the great importance of the work accomplished in regard to the application of these provisions ;
- " Considers that the data regarding the criteria of aggression collected in this memorandum constitute a useful summary of the Assembly's and the Council's work in regard to this matter and of the provisions of certain treaties ;
- " Draws particular attention to the fact that the action which the Council, under Article 11 and the other articles of the Covenant, is called upon to take in case of conflict will provide it with valuable indications to enable it to form an opinion and decide who is the aggressor if war breaks out in spite of all endeavours to prevent it ;
- " Considers that the examination of Article 11 of the Covenant, which lays down that the League 'shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations', forms a useful corollary to the enquiry undertaken by the Committee of the Council and approved by the Council on December 6th, 1927, on the recommendation of the Assembly, and at the same time clearly demonstrates — without in any way detracting from the force of the other articles of the Covenant — that the League must in the first place endeavour to prevent war, and that, in all cases of armed conflict or threat of armed conflict of any kind, the League should take action to prevent hostilities or to bring hostilities to a standstill if they have already begun ;
- " Notes the suggestions contained in the memorandum with regard to Article 16 ;
- " Recommends these studies to the Assembly as a valuable contribution in that they do not propose any rigid and detailed procedure to be followed in times of crisis, and do not add to or retract from the rights and duties of the Members of the League, but constitute highly instructive indications of the possibilities inherent in the various articles of the Covenant and the manner in which those articles can be applied without prejudice to the methods of application which an infinite variety of circumstances may demand."

RESOLUTION CONCERNING COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE LEAGUE  
IN TIMES OF EMERGENCY.

- " The Committee on Arbitration and Security,
- " Considering that, in case of emergency, rapidity and security in the matter of communications between the Secretary-General, the Members of the Council, the States concerned, or the special missions of the Council, are of particular importance with a view to ensuring efficacious action by the League ;
- " Noting that the importance of this was recognised by the Assembly, during its last ordinary session, in Resolution No. III, adopted on September 26th, 1927, on the proposal of the Third Committee ;
- " While gratified at the results of the initial efforts of the Committee for Communications and Transit to make the best possible use of existing means of communication ;
- " Directs attention to the following passage in the report of the Committee for Communications and Transit, dated March 1927, which was submitted to the Council and the Assembly :
- " ' . . . that at a time of general emergency — for example, immediately before mobilisation and, above all, during the actual period of mobilisation — the total or partial taking over by the State of the means of communication must inevitably mean that, in many cases, communications of importance to the League might be rendered less rapid or less certain despite the successful application of the measures laid down in the report approved by the Council at its December session, unless some special means, independent of the general system of national communications . . . ' ;
- " Considers that the systematic study of the means to be employed by the organs of the League to enable Members to carry out the obligations devolving upon them in virtue of the different articles of the Covenant, requires that communications for the purposes of League action in case of emergency should have every guarantee of independence and should be as little affected as possible by the disturbance which a state of emergency will necessarily produce in the regular working of the communications controlled by the different Governments ;
- " Trusts that the supplementary technical studies undertaken by the Transit Committee, at the request of the Council and in conjunction with all the authorities concerned, with a view to providing the League of Nations with independent air communications and a radio-telegraphic station enabling it to communicate direct with as many Members of the League as possible, may be rapidly completed ;
- " And emphasises the desirability of enabling the Assembly, during its next ordinary session, to take steps to put these schemes into effect, more particularly as regards the establishment of a radio-telegraphic station."

The Committee on Arbitration and Security further expressed the wish that the results of its second session should be communicated to all the States in time for discussion at the next ordinary session of the Assembly.

The Preparatory Commission, during its session held in March, 1928, expressed its satisfaction with the work done, and approved the direction which had been given to that work by the Committee. It supported the recommendation of the Committee by the following resolution :

“According to precedent, the report of the Committee on Arbitration and Security on the work of its second session, together with the Minutes of that session, will be communicated to all Governments. The Commission seconds the recommendation adopted by the Committee that these documents should be transmitted in sufficient time to allow of their discussion at the next session of the Assembly.”

## VII. PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

(a) The constitution of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference provides that the Council may change its composition if the composition of the Council itself should change. Taking into account the changes made in its membership owing to the last election, the Council, in a resolution of September 28th, 1927, noted the inclusion in the membership of the Preparatory Commission of the new Members of the Council. Among the members leaving the Council, the representative of Salvador, expressed a desire to leave the Commission in order to avoid unduly enlarging its membership. The Council, on the other hand, decided to invite the Governments of Belgium and Czechoslovakia, which were leaving the Council, to continue their collaboration with the work of the Commission, and the Greek Government to participate in that work.

Subsequently the Council, by a resolution of March 9th, 1928, invited the Government of the Turkish Republic to sit as a member of the Preparatory Commission. The Turkish Government was represented at the fifth session by its Minister for Foreign Affairs, and accepted on that occasion an invitation to become a member of the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

(b) The Preparatory Commission has held two sessions since the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly. The fourth session took place between November 30th and December 3rd, 1927. During that session it constituted the Committee on Arbitration and Security which met at once and adopted its programme of work. The Minutes of the fourth session of the Preparatory Commission and of the first session of the Committee on Arbitration and Security have been communicated to the Members of the League in document C.667.M.225.1927.IX.

The fifth session of the Commission was held from March 15th to 24th, 1928. During that session the Preparatory Commission examined the preliminary report of the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and adopted the resolution which was quoted in Section VI above.

Moreover, the Preparatory Commission examined a proposal submitted to it by the delegation of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics on November 30th, 1927, which was later amplified by a draft Convention for immediate, complete and general disarmament.

Finally, the Commission noted the position of the work as a whole. With reference to this last point, Count Bernstorff, delegate of Germany, submitted to the Commission a proposal relating to the last paragraph of Article 8 of the Covenant. Similarly, the delegation of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, after having noted that the Commission did not favour the adoption of the proposal to which reference has just been made, submitted a new and subsidiary proposal on the reduction of armaments.

The Preparatory Commission, after considering these various proposals and the question of the continuation of its work, adopted the following resolution on March 24th, 1928 :

“The Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference :

“I. Having examined the bases of the draft Convention for immediate, complete and general disarmament submitted by the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, notes that the immense majority of its members are of opinion that this draft cannot be accepted by the Commission as a basis for its work, which work must be pursued along the lines already mapped out ;

“II. Takes note of the proposal submitted by the German delegation regarding the last paragraph of Article 8 of the Covenant, and of the new draft Convention submitted by the delegation of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics on the question of the reduction of armaments, and, while reserving their consideration until its next session, commends them to the attention of the various Governments ;

“III. Decides to leave its President free to fix, according to circumstances, the date at which it would be practically useful to convene a new session of the Commission in order to proceed to the second reading of the draft Convention on the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. The Commission expresses the hope that the new session will begin at the earliest suitable date, if possible, before the next session of the Assembly.”

The Secretary-General communicated this resolution to the Members of the League of Nations in document C.164.M.49.1928.IX.

### VIII. PRIVATE MANUFACTURE AND PUBLICITY FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND OF IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

At its eighth ordinary session, the Assembly adopted the following resolution on this subject on September 24th, 1927 :

“ The Assembly :

“ Having noted the report (document C.219.M.142.1927) of the Special Committee appointed by the Council to draft a Convention on the supervision of the private manufacture and the publicity regarding the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war ;

“ Reaffirming the importance it attaches to the establishment of a Convention which would enable non-producing and producing countries to be placed on an equal footing, as contemplated in the declaration embodied in the Final Act of the Conference for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War ;

“ Convinced that the establishment of a Convention for the supervision of private manufacture and the publicity regarding manufacture is of the highest importance for the putting into force of the Convention on the International Trade ;

“ Request the Council to convey its views to the Special Committee, in order that the latter may agree upon a single text which will enable the Council to convene an international Conference as speedily as possible.”

The Council endorsed the resolution of the Assembly in its resolution of September 27th, 1927, and forwarded that resolution to the Special Commission. The Chairman of the Special Commission took advantage of the session of the Preparatory Commission in March 1928 to get into touch with the other members of the Special Commission. During these discussions, it was decided that the Chairman should call a meeting of the Special Commission a few days before the next session of the Preparatory Commission, or in any case, immediately before the session of the Council which preceded the opening of the next session of the Assembly.

As regards the composition of this Special Commission, it is to be noted that the Council in a resolution dated September 26th, 1927, decided, in view of the importance of Belgium and Czechoslovakia as producing countries, and the competence of the persons representing those countries on the Special Commission, and the special competence of Dr. Guerrero, delegate of Salvador, to maintain Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Salvador on the Special Commission.

### IX. CONTROL OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND IN IMPLEMENTS OF WAR : CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL WARFARE.

(a) The Convention signed at Geneva on June 17th, 1925, concerning the control of the international trade in arms and ammunition and in implements of war has been ratified, since the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, by China and Venezuela. Before the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, France had ratified the Convention and Liberia had adhered.

(b) The Protocol on Chemical and Bacteriological Warfare, drawn up at the same time as the Convention mentioned above, has been ratified, since the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, by Italy, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and Venezuela. Liberia has signified its adhesion.

### X. RIGHT OF INVESTIGATION UNDER THE TREATIES OF VERSAILLES, ST. GERMAIN, TRIANON AND NEUILLY.

#### (a) PRESIDENTS OF THE COMMISSIONS OF INVESTIGATION.

The Council, during its session held in December 1927, made the following appointments for a period of one year, with possibility of renewal :

Commission of Investigation in Germany : General BARATIER ;

Commission of Investigation in Austria : General CALCAGNO ;

Commission of Investigation in Bulgaria : Colonel SCHUURMAN ;

Commission of Investigation in Hungary : General G. C. CLIVE.

The changes made in 1927 in the composition of the Council involved corresponding changes in the possible composition of the Commission of Investigation. In conformity with the regulations adopted by the Council, administrative arrangements have been made by the Secretariat.

#### (b) INTER-ALLIED MILITARY CONTROL IN BULGARIA.

The President of the Conference of Ambassadors sent to the Secretary-General on December 31st, 1927, on behalf of the British, French, Italian and Japanese Governments,

a letter informing him that the Liquidation Board, to which the Conference had entrusted the duty of securing the continued enforcement of the military clauses of the Treaty of Neuilly after the termination of the work of the Commission of Control established under Articles 94 and following of that Treaty, had concluded its operations on June 30th, 1927. The President also forwarded to the Secretary-General a final report drawn up by the Liquidation Board with a view to the possible application by the Council of the League of Article 104 of the Treaty of Neuilly.

In the same letter, the Conference drew the special attention of the Council to the general conclusions set forth in Chapter XXIV of the report, and added that it would be for the Council of the League of Nations to draw its own conclusions from the facts reported by the Liquidation Board, particularly if it became necessary to apply Article 104 of the Treaty.

This letter was forwarded to the Council, and was published in the *Official Journal* of the League of Nations in March 1928.

(c) APPLICATION OF ARTICLE 89 OF THE TREATY OF NEUILLY.

The President of the Conference of Ambassadors addressed to the Secretary-General on August 31st, 1927, a letter enclosing a series of documents embodying an agreement made between the Governments represented on the Conference of Ambassadors and the Bulgarian Government, with a view to ensuring the application of Article 89 of the Treaty of Neuilly (article contained in Part IV, Section 3, clauses concerning military and naval aviation).

This letter intimated that the duties of the Liquidation Board of the Inter-Allied Commission of Control had ceased simultaneously with the entry into force of the regime provided for by the above agreement.

The agreement was communicated to the Members of the Council, registered by the Secretariat in accordance with Article 18 of the Covenant, and published in the *Official Journal* for March 1928.

(d) APPLICATION OF ARTICLE 128 OF THE TREATY OF TRIANON.

The President of the Conference of Ambassadors sent to the Secretary-General on December 3rd, 1927, a letter enclosing a series of documents embodying an agreement between the Governments represented on the Conference of Ambassadors and the Hungarian Government, with a view to ensuring the application of Article 128 of the Treaty of Trianon (article contained in Part V, section 3, clauses concerning military and naval aviation).

This letter intimated that the system established under the agreement had come into force. The agreement was communicated to the Members of the Council, registered with the Secretariat in accordance with Article 18 of the Covenant, and published in the *Official Journal* of March, 1928.

(e) INTER-ALLIED AERONAUTICAL CONTROL IN GERMANY.

The President of the Conference of Ambassadors sent on March 20th, 1928, to the Secretary-General the following letter, which has been forwarded to the Members of the Council :

“ I have the honour to forward to you the final report of the Committee of Aeronautical Guarantees in Germany, whose duties came to an end on September 1st, 1926.

“ This report, which was drawn up after that date by Colonel BURDETT, Chairman of the Committee, contains a survey of the development of German civil aviation between August 1922 and March 1926 and gives precise information regarding the position of aviation at the end of March 1926 ; it thus constitutes a link between the final report of the Aeronautical Commission in Germany, which was sent to the Secretariat of the League of Nations on April 28th, 1922, and the Air Agreements of May 22nd, 1926, which regulate the present German air position.

“ On behalf of the Governments represented in the Conference of Ambassadors, I have to request that you will bring this communication to the notice of the Members of the Council of the League of Nations. ”

XI. REQUEST OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF (a) CZECHOSLOVAKIA,  
(b) ROUMANIA, (c) KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES FOR  
CONSIDERATION BY THE COUNCIL OF THE INCIDENT WHICH OCCURRED  
ON JANUARY 1st, 1928, AT SZENT-GOTTHARD RAILWAY-STATION,  
ON THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN FRONTIER.

This question was placed on the agenda of the Council at its session of March 1928 at the request of the three Governments mentioned above. In their letters to the Secretary-General, dated February 1st, the representatives of these three Governments referred to the various decisions of the Council of the League of Nations concerning the exercise of the right of investigation provided for by the Peace Treaties, and to the regulations adopted by the Council on the same subject. The representatives of the three Governments urged that it was the duty of the Council, in virtue of the aforementioned decisions and the provisions of the Treaty of Trianon, to intervene.

At its meeting of March 7th 1928, the Council, appointed the representatives of the Netherlands, Chile and Finland to form a Committee to examine the documents and declarations made to the Council on the subject. The Committee submitted to the Council on March 10th, 1928, the following preliminary report :

“ By its resolution of March 7th, 1928, the Council appointed the representatives of the Netherlands, Chile and Finland to form a Committee entrusted with an examination of the documents and statements submitted to the Council in regard to this matter. The Committee was asked to make a report at a later meeting of the Council, and was authorised to request the assistance of any experts in the various League organisations that it considered necessary to call upon.

“ The members of the Committee have examined, either individually or together, in the course of several long meetings, the information submitted to the Council. They are of opinion that this incident is worthy of the Council's close attention and consider that it is indispensable that all suitable measures should be taken to elucidate the incident as fully as possible. They have come to the conclusion that, in order to submit the report requested by the Council, it will be necessary to obtain further information on various points. Amongst others, it is necessary to ask the Hungarian Government for information which it could hardly furnish immediately.

“ The Committee will, if necessary, use the powers conferred upon it by the Council resolution to consult technical experts chosen from among the League organisations, who might be sent to the spot, if the Committee finds that desirable for the execution of its task.

“ The Committee will consider at later meetings the information thus collected. It proposes to communicate its report to the Council before the June session.

“ The Committee, during its preliminary discussions, has also considered the question of conservatory measures to be taken in cases similar to that on which it is engaged and reserves the right to return to this question in its report to the Council.

“ The Committee requests the Council to approve the procedure indicated in the present preliminary report.”

The preliminary report of the Committee was approved by the Council.

The Committee of Three, after having obtained supplementary information from the Hungarian Government, and after having consulted a number of experts, met at The Hague from May 3rd to May 7th, 1928, and drew up two reports. One report dealt with the incident of Szent-Gotthard, and the other with the measures to be taken in the interval between the sessions of the Council. These reports have been distributed to the members of the Council and will be examined at its June session.

## XII. STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON THE TRADE IN ARMS, AMMUNITION AND IMPLEMENTS OF WAR : ARMAMENTS YEAR-BOOK.

The Secretariat continues to publish the *Statistical Information* on the trade in arms, ammunition and implements of war and the *Armaments Year-Book* (general information and statistics on land, naval and air armaments). These volumes have been still further developed this year. The first gives information on fifty-six countries, the second on fifty-eight.

Reference might be made, in this connection, to the proposals made by the delegate of Germany on the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference in regard to the last paragraph of Article 8 of the Covenant (see Section VII above).

### 5.

## POLITICAL QUESTIONS.

### I. REQUEST OF THE ROUMANIAN GOVERNMENT UNDER PARAGRAPH 2 OF ARTICLE 11 OF THE COVENANT REGARDING THE AGRARIAN QUESTIONS SUBMITTED TO THE MIXED ROUMANO-HUNGARIAN ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL.

### REQUEST OF THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT FOR THE APPOINTMENT BY THE COUNCIL, IN VIRTUE OF ARTICLE 239 OF THE TREATY OF TRIANON, OF TWO DEPUTY JUDGES FOR THE MIXED ROUMANO-HUNGARIAN ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL.

On February 26th, 1927, the Roumanian representative on the Council informed the Secretary-General that his Government had notified the President of the Mixed Roumano-Hungarian Arbitral Tribunal set up in virtue of Article 239 of the Treaty of Trianon that the Roumanian arbitrator would no longer sit for the discussion of agrarian questions introduced by Hungarian nationals. The Roumanian Government expressed the desire, in virtue of Article 11, paragraph 2, of the Covenant, to inform the Council of the reasons on which its decision was based.



On March 8th, 1927, the Council, after hearing the Roumanian and Hungarian representatives, requested the representative of the British Empire, assisted at his request by the representatives of Chile and Japan, to make a careful investigation of the important question before it and to submit to it a report at its next session.

At its meeting on June 13th, 1927, the Council decided, at the Hungarian representative's instance, to add to the Roumanian Government's request under paragraph 2 of Article 11 of the Covenant a request by the Hungarian Government for the appointment, by the Council, in virtue of Article 239 of the Treaty of Trianon, of two deputy judges for the Mixed Roumano-Hungarian Arbitral Tribunal.

On June 16th, 1927, the Committee of Three appointed at the previous session informed the Council that it had held several meetings and, after numerous exchanges of views with the Hungarian and Roumanian representatives, had requested them to ask their respective Governments to make a fresh study of the question. The Council accepted the Committee's proposal, and decided to examine the question at its next ordinary session in September, 1927.

The conciliatory proposals submitted by the Committee of Three to the two parties not having been accepted by them, the Committee convened the parties again on September 2nd, with a view to a new attempt at conciliation, but this also failed.

The Committee then decided to ask the opinion of a certain number of distinguished jurists, and, after receiving this opinion, drew up the following report :

" This question, as set out in the above titles, is only one aspect of the question which was submitted successively to the Conference of Ambassadors and the Council of the League of Nations in 1922 and 1923.

" On August 16th, 1922, the Hungarian Government applied to the Conference of Ambassadors in regard to the expropriation — undertaken by Roumania in connection with the scheme of agrarian reform — of the immovable property of persons who, while possessing rights of citizenship (*indigénat*) in the territories transferred to the Kingdom of Roumania by the Treaty of Trianon, had opted for Hungarian nationality under Articles 63 or 64 of that Treaty, and also under Article 3 of the Roumanian Minorities Treaty. The Conference of Ambassadors, in a note dated August 31st, 1922, informed the Hungarian Government that its claims related entirely to the stipulations of the Treaty between Roumania and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers concerning minorities, and should, under the Treaty, be addressed to the League of Nations. On a further request by the Hungarian Government, the Conference of Ambassadors, in a letter dated February 27th, 1923, informed Hungary that she, or another Member of the League, should take the initiative in bringing the matter before the Council.

" Hungary therefore applied to the League of Nations, stating that a satisfactory solution had not been obtained by direct negotiations, and formulating the following demands :

" 1. That the Council should deal with the substance of the question, in view of the urgency of the matter, at its next session ;

" 2. That it should give a ruling on the substance of the question by declaring that the Roumanian legislative and administrative enactments in question were contrary to the Treaties ; by insuring, as regards the future, that Roumania should act in conformity with the provisions of the Treaties ; by ordering that the immovable property of Hungarian optants should be restored to them and that it should in future be free from all charges contrary to the provisions of the Treaties ; and, finally, that full compensation for damage should be given to the injured parties.

" The Council considered this question in April and July 1923. The proposals made at the April session to refer the question to the Permanent Court to obtain a decision, or even an advisory opinion, were not accepted by the Roumanian representative.

" M. Adatci, the Rapporteur, was then requested to prepare the ground for a fresh discussion before the July session of the Council, and the Council expressed the hope that, in the interval between the sessions, the two Governments would do their best to reach an agreement. With this object, the representatives of Hungary and Roumania proceeded, on the invitation of M. Adatci, to Brussels on May 6th, 1923. The results of these negotiations will be found in a report to which a draft recommendation and a summary of the conversations were appended (see Annex 533a, page 1011, of the *Official Journal*, August 1923).

" On July 5th, 1923, during the twenty-fifth session of the Council, the Brussels negotiations were the subject of protracted discussions, the Roumanian delegate appealing to the Brussels 'Agreements' and the Hungarian delegate stating that no agreement had been reached. The following resolution was then proposed :

" ' The Council :

" ' After examining the report by M. Adatci dated June 5th, 1923, and the documents annexed thereto ;

" ' Approves the report ;

" ' Takes note of the various declarations contained in the Minutes attached to the report of the Japanese representative, and hopes that both Governments

will do their utmost to prevent the question of Hungarian optants from becoming a disturbing influence in the relations between the neighbouring two countries.

“ The Council is convinced that the Hungarian Government, after the efforts made by both parties to avoid any misunderstanding on the question of optants, will do its best to reassure its nationals ;

“ And that the Roumanian Government will remain faithful to the Treaty, and to the principle of justice upon which it declares that its agrarian legislation is founded, by giving proof of its goodwill in regard to the interests of the Hungarian optants.’

“ This resolution was adopted by all the members of the Council, with the exception of the Hungarian delegate, who refrained from voting and stated that, in his opinion, the whole problem remained open ; he added, *inter alia*, that his Government reserved the right to take any further steps which the Treaties and the Covenant of the League of Nations might allow in order to obtain justice for those whom he had the right and the duty to represent.

“ From December 1923 onwards, a number of applications from Hungarian nationals or optants owning lands in the territories transferred to Roumania were submitted to the secretariat of the Roumano-Hungarian Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, provided for in Article 239 of the Treaty of Trianon, asking, among other matters, that the Tribunal should declare that the measures restricting their right of ownership, which had been applied to their movable and immovable property by the Roumanian State, were contrary to the provisions of Article 250 of the Treaty of Trianon, and that it should order the Roumanian State to make restitution.

“ In 1925, the Roumanian Government submitted applications objecting to the jurisdiction of the Tribunal. After hearing the counsel of the two parties between December 15th and 23rd, 1926, the Tribunal, on January 10th, 1927, declared itself competent, in virtue of Article 250, paragraph 3, of the Treaty of Trianon, and called upon the defendant (Roumania) to forward her reply within a period of two months.

“ On February 24th, 1927, Roumania informed the Tribunal that she would refrain from submitting her reply regarding the substance of the question and that, consequently, her arbitrator would no longer sit in connection with any of the agrarian matters brought forward by Hungarian nationals. At the same time, she submitted to the Council, in virtue of Article 11, paragraph 2, of the Covenant, a request to allow her to acquaint the Council with the reasons on which her attitude was based.

“ This question came before the Council on March 7th, 1927.

“ The Roumanian representative explained the reasons which had led the Roumanian Government to withdraw its arbitrator from the Tribunal.

“ The Hungarian representative asked the Council to appoint, in accordance with the Treaty of Peace, two deputy members to enable the Tribunal to continue its work.

“ The Council, on the proposal of the President, requested the British representative to report on this question at its next session. Sir Austen Chamberlain having expressed the desire that two of his colleagues should be appointed to act with him for the purpose of examining the question, the Council requested the representative of Japan and the representative of Chile to assist Sir Austen Chamberlain in preparing a report for the next session. The two parties to the dispute accepted this proposal, which was adopted by the Council.

“ On May 31st, Sir Austen Chamberlain, on behalf of the Committee of Three, convened the Roumanian and Hungarian representatives in London. The conversations took place on May 31st and June 1st. The delegates of both countries stated at the outset that they could not definitely bind their Governments. The Committee first of all heard the additional statements of the two parties and certain particulars which they furnished. The Committee thought it its duty to try all possible means of reaching a final solution by conciliation. In doing so, it was confident that it was fulfilling the wishes of the Council and conforming to the established practice of that body. It therefore asked the delegates to obtain from their respective Governments all possible concessions with a view to reaching a satisfactory solution. On the proposal of the Committee, the delegates of the two Governments agreed to inform the Committee of the point of view of their respective Governments at the June session of the Council.

“ At the June session of the Council, the Committee of Three met on several occasions at Geneva and maintained close contact with the representatives of the two Governments.

“ Looking at the problem as a whole, the Committee desired to find a solution which would allay discontent. It could not forget that the matter had originally been submitted to the Council not under Article 239 of the Treaty of Trianon but under Article 11 of the Covenant, and that its intervention had been asked for, on that occasion, first of all by Roumania and then by Hungary. In these circumstances, it could not evade the duty imposed on it by the Covenant and confine itself simply to the election of the two deputy members for the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, which the Hungarian representative, as a result of the proceedings, demanded.

“ If it did so, it would have failed to discharge its political duties as a mediator and conciliator in a dispute which extended far beyond the actual terms in which it had been originally submitted by the two parties.

"Moreover, the Committee could not take a purely and strictly legal view of the Council's duties, especially as it realised that the election of the two deputy members would not have finally ended a difference which had been successively submitted to three international authorities.

"On the contrary, it attempted on more than one occasion to bring about a general settlement which would have terminated the controversy and led to better feelings.

"The Council, however, had further reasons for not playing a purely mechanical part.

"In 1923 — as to-day — the two parties stated their points of view at great length and dealt with all aspects of the dispute both as regards substance and form.

"The Council has merely followed the discussions of the two parties, and, having regard to the complexity of the problem, it recommended them in 1923 to do everything possible to prevent the question of the optants from becoming a disturbing influence in the relations between the two neighbouring countries.

"It recommended Hungary to reassure her nationals and Roumania to give evidence of goodwill in regard to the interests of the Hungarian optants.

"Would the question with which we have been dealing since our session last March have arisen if the two parties had followed these recommendations?

"The Committee of the Council during its June session submitted certain formulas to the two parties, always with a view to conciliation and in the hope that the two Governments would agree.

"The Committee is forced to confess that its hopes have been disappointed and that the two parties have been unable to accept the conciliatory formulas which it proposed.

"As the two parties rejected the compromise proposed by the Committee of Three, the latter convened them again on September 2nd, with a view to a final attempt at conciliation. During these fresh conversations, the representatives of the two countries communicated certain proposals to the Committee. The Hungarian representative renewed the offer made in March that the question of jurisdiction of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal should be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice, but declared that he was unable to make new concessions. This offer was not accepted by the Roumanian representative, who in his turn submitted certain formulas based on the proposals made by the Committee of Three with a view to compromise. These formulas were rejected by the Hungarian representative. Under these circumstances, the Committee of Three was compelled to abandon its hope of reaching a settlement by direct conciliation.

"The Committee was therefore obliged to seek a solution by other methods. A minute examination of the question of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal's jurisdiction seemed to be of primary importance. It therefore asked the following questions:

"1. Is the Mixed Roumano-Hungarian Arbitral Tribunal entitled to entertain claims arising out of the application of the Roumanian Agrarian Law to Hungarian optants and nationals?

"2. If the answer to that question be in the affirmative, to what extent and in what circumstances is it entitled to do so?

"The Committee, after examining these questions and having them examined by eminent legal authorities, arrived at the following conclusions:

"The Mixed Roumano-Hungarian Arbitral Tribunal owes its establishment to the Treaty of Trianon. It is an international tribunal and its jurisdiction is therefore fixed by the terms of the Treaty which created it. It has no jurisdiction beyond that which the agreement of the contracting parties has conferred on it. The limits of its jurisdiction are defined by Articles 239 and 250 of the Treaty of Trianon.

"The question at present submitted to the Council for examination relates to the claims addressed under Article 250 to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal by Hungarian nationals. The provisions of this article prohibit the retention and liquidation, dealt with in Article 232 and in the Annex to Section IV of Part X of the Treaty, of the property of Hungarian nationals situated in the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. They also provide for the restitution to their owners of goods freed from any measure of this kind and from any other measure of disposal, of administration or of sequestration taken in the period which elapsed between the Armistice and the entry into force of the Treaty. They authorise the submission of claims, by claimants who are Hungarian nationals, to the Mixed Roumano-Hungarian Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Article 239.

"If it could be established in any particular case that the property of a Hungarian national suffered retention or liquidation or any other measure of disposal under the terms of Articles 232 and 250 as a result of the application to the said property of the Roumanian Agrarian Law and if a claim were submitted with a view to obtaining restitution, it would be within the jurisdiction of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal to give relief.

"The Mixed Arbitral Tribunal is not competent to give decisions on claims arising out of the application of an agrarian law as such unless the case mentioned in the preceding paragraph arises. In this latter case, the jurisdiction of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal would not be ousted on the ground that the application of an agrarian law was involved.

"Since these considerations show that the claim of a Hungarian national for restitution of property in accordance with Article 250 might come within the jurisdiction

of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal even if the claim arises out of the application of the Roumanian Agrarian Law, we shall proceed to the definition of the principles which the acceptance of the Treaty of Trianon has made obligatory for Roumania and Hungary.

“ 1. *The provisions of the peace settlement effected after the war of 1914-18 do not exclude the application to Hungarian nationals (including those who have opted for Hungarian nationality) of a general scheme of agrarian reform.*

“ Article 250 forbids the application of Article 232 to the property of Hungarian nationals in the transferred territory. Under the terms of Article 250, the prohibition to retain and liquidate cannot restrict Roumania's freedom of action beyond what it would have been if Articles 232 and 250 had not existed. Even if none of these provisions appeared in the Treaty, Roumania would none the less be entitled to enact any agrarian law she might consider suitable for the requirements of her people, subject to the obligations resulting from the rules of international law. There is, however, no rule of international law exempting Hungarian nationals from a general scheme of agrarian reform.

“ The question of compensation, whatever its importance from other points of view, does not here come under consideration.

“ 2. *There must be no inequality between Roumanians and Hungarians, either in the terms of the Agrarian Law or in the way in which it is enforced.*

“ Any provision in a general scheme of agrarian reform which either expressly or by necessary implication singled out Hungarians for more onerous treatment than that accorded to Roumanians, or to the nationals of other States generally, would create a presumption that it was intended to disguise a retention or liquidation of the property of Hungarian nationals *as such* in violation of Article 250 and would entitle the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal to give relief. The same would apply in the case of a discriminatory application of the Agrarian Law.

“ The prohibition against the holding of immovable property by Hungarians in the territories transferred to Roumania, even if applied to all foreigners, would not be in accordance with the obligation which Roumania has contracted by the Treaty to permit Hungarian optants to keep their immovable property, but this is a question which does not come within Article 250.

“ 3. *The words ‘retention and liquidation’ mentioned in Article 250, which relates only to the territories ceded by Hungary, apply solely to the measures taken against the property of a Hungarian in the said territories and in so far as such owner is a Hungarian national.*

“ The right which the Allied Powers reserved to themselves under Article 232 to retain and liquidate Hungarian property within their territory at the time of the entry into force of the Treaty applies to the property of a Hungarian inasmuch as he is a national of an ex-enemy country. It is not sufficient that these measures entail the retention of Hungarian property by the Government and that the owner of this property is a Hungarian. The measure must be one which would not have been enacted or which would not have been applied as it was if the owner of the property were not a Hungarian.

“ The Committee of the Council therefore ventures to suggest that the Council should make the following recommendations :

“ (a) To request the two parties to conform to the three principles enumerated above :

“ (b) To request Roumania to reinstate her judge on the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.

“ The Committee of the Council hopes that the two parties, in so far as each is concerned, will accept these proposals.<sup>1</sup>

“ In the even of a refusal by Hungary, the Committee considers that the Council would not be justified in appointing two deputy members in accordance with Article 239 of the Treaty of Trianon.

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<sup>1</sup> Before reading the three concluding paragraphs of his report, Sir Austen Chamberlain said :

“The Committee would have been glad if it could terminate its report at this point, where it proposes a solution honourable alike to both parties and securing justice for both alike; a solution which further permits the normal functioning of the Arbitral Tribunal — to which we attach great importance, for there are many such international tribunals in existence — to continue with the assent and goodwill of both parties. But it is possible that one or other party, or even both parties, may even if the Council adopts the reports, refuse to accept these proposals, and we have therefore reluctantly and with the hope that it may never be necessary to have recourse to them, felt it our duty to suggest to the Council in what way they should deal with any one of these three contingencies.”

“ In the event of a refusal by Roumania, in spite of the acceptance by Hungary of the above proposals, the Committee considers that the Council would be justified in taking appropriate measures to ensure in any case the satisfactory working of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.

“ In the event of a refusal of the above recommendations by both parties, the Committee considers that the Council will have discharged the duty laid upon it by Article 11 of the Covenant.”

At its September session, the Council devoted four meetings (on September 17th and 19th, 1927) to the examination and discussion of this report, which was submitted to it by the British representative on the Council, Chairman of the Committee of Three. After the representatives of the two parties had stated their attitude (see Minutes of the forty-seventh session), the other members of the Council expressed their opinion on the Committee of Three's report. Finally, the Council adopted the following proposal, submitted to it by its President, the Chilian representative :

“ I proposed that the Council should pronounce on the recommendations contained in that part of the report which I have indicated,<sup>1</sup> but I deliberately excepted the two members of the Council who are parties to the dispute. I invited the latter not to give a final answer till the month of December, so that their Governments could examine carefully, and I hope favourably, the report of the Council.

“ I trust that the two parties will agree to delay till December their formal opinion on the part of the report in question and inform the Secretary-General in sufficient time before that meeting of their final decision, so that the Council may examine what further action, if any, may then be required.

“ If the parties will accept the suggestion I have just made, I ask my colleagues to join with me in submitting the recommendations contained in the report to the consideration of the Governments interested and to beg them to conform to the principles indicated therein.”

The Roumanian and Hungarian replies reached the Secretariat a few days before the session of the Council held in December 1927. Roumania stated that she accepted the report “ as a whole with its conclusions ”. Hungary said that she was unable to accept “ the text recommended by the Council as a basis of agreement with Roumania ”.

In a letter dated November 29th, 1927, the representative of Hungary also submitted to the Council a memorandum setting forth the reasons for her decision.<sup>2</sup> One of the annexes to this memorandum contained a copy of a letter in which the Hungarian Government applied direct to the Roumanian Government “ in order that they might come to an agreement for the friendly settlement of the matter ”. In the Hungarian Government's opinion, such an agreement would avoid touching on questions of principle ; it would aim only at practical results and would be based on an exact study of fact and on practical considerations, without prejudice to the rights invoked or maintained in this affair up to that time.

The Roumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, representing his country on the Council having fallen ill before the opening of the session of December 1927, the representative of the British Empire, acting as Rapporteur, sent him a personal telegram in which he advised him not to undertake the journey to Geneva in the present state of his health and before the Roumanian Government, which had recently suffered the loss of its Prime Minister, had been able to give full and complete consideration to the proposal that direct negotiations should be undertaken by the parties without prejudice to their legal position or to the procedure before the Committee of Three and the Council. The Rapporteur also informed the Council that he would regret the renewal of the discussion before the Roumanian Government had had time fully to consider the possibility of concluding a direct agreement between the two parties, in conformity with the desire expressed by the Council at its September session.

With the approval of the representatives of the two parties, the Council sent the Roumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs a telegram confirming the personal one the British representative had sent.

On March 7th, 1928, the Secretary-General communicated to the Council a note<sup>3</sup> addressed by the Roumanian Government to the Hungarian Government in reply to the Hungarian offer of direct negotiations.

The Roumanian Government informed the Hungarian Government that if the latter accepted the report of the Committee of Three, the Roumanian Government would be prepared, as an act of grace, to allow a certain sum to be deducted from the reparations due to her by Hungary. This sum would be paid by the Hungarian Government to the complainants (optants or non-optants), the suits would be withdrawn and the claims definitely cancelled.

Each party refusing to accept the proposals made by the other, the direct negotiations fell through. Proceedings were, therefore, resumed before the Council, as provided for in its decision of December 1927, and, on the Rapporteur's proposal, the President of the

<sup>1</sup> Namely up to and including point (a) of the last part of the report.

<sup>2</sup> See document C.619.1927.VII. *Official Journal*, April 1928, page 554.

<sup>3</sup> See document C.114.1928.VII, *Official Journal*, April 1928, page 573.

Council, at the meeting of March 8th, 1928, asked the representatives of Roumania and Hungary to state what action had been taken by their Governments as a result of the resolution adopted by the Council in September 1927.

The Roumanian representative renewed his acceptance of the report in its entirety. The Hungarian representative maintained that his Government could not accept the principles laid down in this report, and repeated the proposal that the question whether or not the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal had exceeded its powers in declaring itself competent to deal with agrarian questions should be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice. If the Roumanian Government repeated its refusal, Hungary proposed that the Court should be asked for an Advisory Opinion on the question whether the three principles contained in the report of the Committee of Three were to be deduced from the obligations assumed by Hungary and by Roumania in virtue of the Treaty of Trianon.

After the representatives of the two parties had made further speeches in support of their contentions, the Rapporteur put the following proposal to the other members of the Council :

“ Would my colleagues be prepared to recommend the representatives of the Hungarian and Roumanian Governments to agree that the Council should name two persons, nationals of States which were neutral in the war, who should be added to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal as established by Article 239 of the Treaty of Trianon (that is to say, that Tribunal including the Roumanian member, who would be restored to it by his Government) and that to this Arbitral Tribunal of five members there should be submitted the claims which have been filed under Article 250 of the Treaty of Trianon by Hungarian nationals who have been expropriated under the agrarian reform scheme in the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy transferred to Roumania ? ”

The members of the Council having accepted the Rapporteur's proposal, this was officially submitted to the two parties at the meeting held on March 9th.

The Roumanian representative said that he could accept the proposal on condition that the two supplementary judges should be compelled to respect, as a compromise, the three rules incorporated in the report of the Committee of Three of September 1927.

The Hungarian representative stated that his Government gave its full approval to the Rapporteur's proposal, but that it did not accept the amendment suggested by the Roumanian representative.

The Roumanian representative having pointed out that there was a contradiction between the Council's decision of September 1927 and the Rapporteur's new proposal, the Rapporteur suggested that, as an act of courtesy to the Tribunal, the Council should send it the complete Minutes of the discussions on the question. He added that, in his opinion, the resolutions taken previously were not contradicted by his new proposal.

After an exchange of views the President proposed to the Council the following draft resolution :

“ The Council, considering that the best method of settling the dispute was by friendly negotiation between the two parties, recommended that method to them in September 1927, and stated three principles which, in its opinion, might serve as an equitable basis for this negotiation.

“ Finding, however, that such friendly negotiation has not been possible between the parties, the Council, while considering its recommendation of September 19th, 1927, to be of value, and without modifying its views which are contained in the Minutes of its discussions, submits unanimously for the acceptance of the parties the following recommendation :

“ That the Council should name two persons, nationals of States which were neutral in the war, who should be added to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal as established by Article 239 of the Treaty of Trianon (that is to say, that Tribunal including a Roumanian member, who would be restored to it by his Government), and that to this Arbitral Tribunal of five members there should be submitted the claims which have been filed under Article 250 of the Treaty of Trianon by Hungarian nationals who have been expropriated under the agrarian reform scheme in the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy transferred to Roumania.

“ The Council requests the representatives of the Hungarian and Roumanian Governments to inform it at its next session of the replies of those Governments, and decides at once to insert the question on the agenda of that session. ”

This resolution was adopted by the Council and accepted by the representative of Hungary.

The Roumanian representative abstained from voting.

The question was placed on the agenda of the Council session of June 1928.

II. REQUEST OF THE LITHUANIAN GOVERNMENT DATED OCTOBER 15TH, 1927, UNDER ARTICLE 11 OF THE COVENANT.  
REQUEST DATED OCTOBER 26TH, 1927, WITH REGARD TO THE EXPULSION OF ELEVEN POLISH NATIONALS ON LITHUANIAN TERRITORY.

In a telegram dated October 9th, 1927, the Lithuanian Prime Minister, informed the Secretary-General of the closing of a number of seminaries and 45 primary schools, and of the imprisonment of 120 Lithuanians, headmasters of schools, priests and teachers in the Vilna district.

In this telegram the Lithuanian Government asked that the provisions of the Polish Minorities Treaty of June 28th, 1919, should be applied. He added that a detailed complaint would follow his telegram.

In a letter dated October 15th, 1927, the Lithuanian Prime Minister brought to the notice of the Council a number of facts which had given rise in his country to the fear that Poland might be intending to interfere in the domestic affairs of Lithuania. He stated that the Lithuanian Government had first of all regarded this matter as being merely a violation of the Minorities Treaty, but that later it had become convinced that the Polish Government was putting into operation a far-reaching scheme directed against the very existence of an independent Lithuania. The Lithuanian Government therefore asked that its complaint should be included in the agenda of the next Council session, in virtue of Article 11 of the Covenant, "in order that the legal position might be restored and the responsibility of the Polish Government established."

Other communications followed regarding the expulsion of eleven Polish nationals on Lithuanian territory, and the Lithuanian Government asked that this question of the exiles should also be included in the agenda of the December session under the same heading as the above-mentioned request (of October 15th), in order that the two questions might be considered simultaneously.

At its session in December 1927, the Council devoted two meetings, on December 7th and December 10th respectively, to this question.

The Lithuanian representative again stated his country's complaints and explained to the Council that the absence of definite relations, as well as the uncertainty reigning in this part of Europe, had created a state of mind unfavourable to peace. He requested the Council to be good enough to send a Commission to conduct an enquiry into the situation on the Polish-Lithuanian frontier, both on the Lithuanian and the Polish side.

The Lithuanian representative also observed that his Government considered that the Polish Government was entirely responsible for the organisation, on territory administered by the Polish Government, of *bandes de diversion* with a view to invading Lithuania under arms. An indirect attack might, he said, be more serious than a direct attack — in other words, than an attack by Polish regular troops.

Moreover, as the persecution of the Lithuanians in the Vilna district had not ceased, the Lithuanian Government requested the Council to order an enquiry and, in accordance with the results of that enquiry, to formulate a recommendation.

In reply to the various Lithuanian complaints, the Polish representative on the Council of the League pointed out that in minorities questions it was preferable to adhere strictly to established procedure, which laid down that the Secretary-General and the Committee of Three should examine the question before any further action was taken.

He assured the Council once more that Poland recognised the political independence and territorial integrity of Lithuania and harboured no designs against this independence. At the same time, he drew the Council's attention to the harmful nature, from the point of view of friendly relations between the two countries, of the arguments invoked by Lithuania, namely, that a "state of war" existed between Poland and Lithuania.

Replying to the Polish representative, the Lithuanian representative expressed the hope — indeed, the conviction — that Poland would no longer in the future constitute a menace to Lithuania. He explained that Lithuania, perhaps more than any other country, required a friendly understanding with all countries, and that the expression "state of war" referred solely to the non-existence of normal relations between the two countries; the political engagements of Lithuania and Poland entirely excluded the possibility of warfare.

After the statements of the two parties (see Minutes of the forty-eighth session of the Council, fourth and seventh meetings), the Netherlands representative on the Council and Rapporteur on this question submitted to the Council a report and resolution. This resolution was worded as follows:

"The Council of the League of Nations:

"Declares that a state of war between two Members of the League is incompatible with the spirit and the letter of the Covenant, by which Lithuania and Poland are bound;

"Takes note of the solemn declarations made by the Lithuanian representative that Lithuania does not consider herself in a state of war with Poland and that in consequence peace exists between their respective countries;

"Takes note of the solemn declarations of the Polish representative that the Polish Republic fully recognises and respects the political independence and territorial integrity of the Lithuanian Republic;

“Recommends the two Governments to enter into direct negotiations as soon as possible in order to establish such relations between the two neighbouring States as will ensure ‘the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends’ ;

“Places at the disposal of the two parties the good offices of the League and of its technical organs should their assistance be desired in the negotiations which it recommends ;

“Decides that the Lithuanian Government’s complaints regarding the treatment of persons of Lithuanian race or speech, referred to in its appeal, shall be examined by a Committee consisting of the Acting President of the Council and two other Members of the Council appointed by him. This Committee will report to the Council in due course ;

“Decides that, in the event of a frontier incident or threat of an incident, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations may, at the request of one of the parties, consult the Acting President of the Council and the Rapporteur, who shall then advise any steps they consider necessary to bring about a better state of feeling. The Council notes that both parties have agreed to facilitate any enquiry by the League of Nations ;

“Notes with satisfaction the Polish representative’s declaration to the effect that the Polish nationals referred to in the Lithuanian Government’s appeal will be authorised to return to Poland without hindrance. In case of unforeseen difficulties, the Rapporteur would place his good offices at the disposal of the parties with a view to removing those difficulties.

“The Council declares that the present resolution in no way affects questions on which the two Governments have differences of opinion.”

The Council adopted this resolution and the representatives of Poland and Lithuania accepted it on behalf of their Governments.

Further, the representatives of Great Britain, France and Italy, acting on a decision taken by the Council in private session, instructed their respective military attachés in the two countries to proceed without delay to the Polish-Lithuanian frontier zone, in order to make an inspection and submit a report to the Council. The military attachés’ report, stating that there was no abnormal concentration in that zone, was distributed to the Members of the Council in December 1927.

During the session of March 1928 the Rapporteur — the representative of the Netherlands — was requested by the Council at its meeting of March 5th to submit a report on the official information received from the Polish and Lithuanian Governments since the session in December 1927. The Rapporteur, at the meeting of March 9th, stated that he had telegraphed on March 5th to the Lithuanian Prime Minister so that the Lithuanian Government might, if it wished, be represented at the Council in case the report requested by the Council should come under discussion. The Lithuanian Prime Minister replied that, owing to the short notice given, he found it physically impossible to arrive at Geneva for the session then in course, and the Rapporteur therefore proposed that, out of courtesy to the representative of Lithuania, the subject should not be placed on the agenda for that session. The Council requested the Secretary-General to place the question on the agenda for the session of June 1928. The Rapporteur announced that he hoped to be in a better position at that time to inform the Council of the progress made.

As the result of the resolution of December 10th, the two parties, with a view to entering into the direct negotiations recommended by the Council, had already proceeded to a preliminary exchange of letters regarding the date and place of these negotiations, as well as the questions to be discussed.

In accordance with the procedure established in similar cases, the complaints relating to the treatment of Lithuanian minorities had been submitted for examination by a Committee of Three, consisting of the representative of China, Acting President of the Council, assisted by the representatives of the Netherlands and Colombia.

After the conclusion of the March session of the Council, the Secretary-General received a letter, dated April 6th, from the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, with which he forwarded the text of certain documents relating to the first meetings of the Polish-Lithuanian Conference which took place at Königsberg from March 30th to April 2nd. These documents showed that the two parties had succeeded at this first session in drawing up an agenda covering the following points :

1. Frontier traffic ;
2. Postal and telegraphic communications ;
3. Railway communication ;
4. Questions relating to transit ;
5. Liquidation of the consequences of the occupation of Vilna by General Zeligowski ;
6. Lithuanian security.

The inclusion in the agenda of the first four questions had been asked for by the Polish delegation and that of the other two by the Lithuanian delegation. The Polish delegation had submitted to the Lithuanian Government four proposals relating to the first four questions, and had made counter-proposals in regard to the fifth.

The Polish delegation had accepted the procedure suggested by the Lithuanian Prime Minister, viz., an examination of definite proposals in regard to the subjects on the agenda, their general discussion, and thereafter the constitution, if necessary, of Committees to study them.



By March 30th the two parties had been able to agree upon the Rules of Procedure of the Conference.

The Lithuanian delegation made the following proposals in regard to its complaints concerning, firstly, the military detachments of Lithuanian emigrants alleged to have been formed at Vilna and at Lida, and to be supported by Polish military and civilian authorities, and, secondly, the question of Lithuanian security ;

1. The institution of a Joint Committee to enquire into the organisation of the military detachments of Lithuanians ;
2. The consideration of the question of creating a demilitarized zone between Lithuania and Poland, together with other military measures likely to render impossible a Polish attack on Lithuania.

On April 1st, the Polish delegation replied that the complaints concerning the military organisations lacked foundation and were based on false reports. In order to safeguard the Lithuanian Government henceforth from false information of this type, the Chairman of the Polish delegation invited the Lithuanian Prime Minister to send to Warsaw an accredited representative who would be in a position to furnish the Lithuanian Government with definite and accurate information.

In regard to Lithuanian security, however, the Chairman of the Polish delegation referred to the formal declaration made by him before the Council of the League of Nations, that " the Polish Republic fully recognises and respects the political independence and territorial integrity of the Lithuanian Republic ". In order to render mutual aggression impossible, he proposed, moreover, that the Lithuanian Government should immediately conclude a Treaty of non-aggression with his country.

The foregoing is a summary of the information contained in documents received at the Secretariat in regard to the Königsberg Conference. Any further information which may be received will be summarised in the supplementary report on the work of the Council.

### III. THE BAHREIN ISLANDS.

On November 23rd, 1927, the Persian Government communicated to the Secretary-General, for the information of States Members of the League, a protest which it had forwarded on the previous day to the British Minister at Teheran. The Persian Government maintained that Article 6 of the Treaty signed at Jeddah on May 20th, 1927, by the representatives of Great Britain and the Hedjaz, relating to the Bahrein Islands, to which Persia had " indisputable rights ", constitutes an infringement of territorial integrity as guaranteed by Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. At the time of the conclusion of the special Agreement between the British Government and the Sheikh of Bahrein, the Persian Government protested, and Lord Clarendon, in his reply of April 29th, 1869, " officially recognised the justice of that protest ".

In conformity with the Persian Government's request, its note was forwarded for information to the States Members of the League of Nations,<sup>1</sup> and the Secretary-General informed the British Government that he would similarly communicate any observations it might wish to make.

On February 25th, 1928, the British Government sent a letter to the Secretary-General, to which was annexed a copy of the reply addressed to the Persian Government. The reply stated that His Majesty's Government was not aware of any valid grounds upon which the claim of the Persian Government to sovereignty over the Bahrein Islands could be based. Those islands were not a part of Persia geographically, nor were the inhabitants of Persian race. Persia had exercised no effective control over them since about 1783, when they were invaded by Arab tribes under the leadership of the direct lineal ancestor of the present Sheikh. Furthermore, the successive treaties which since 1820 had regulated the relations between His Majesty's Government and the Sheikhs of Bahrein had all been concluded on the basis that the Sheikh of Bahrein was an independent ruler. Lord Clarendon's note of April 29th, 1869, in no way admitted the validity of the Persian claims, and, since then, numerous agreements had been entered into between the British Government and the Sheikhs which quite excluded the possibility of Great Britain ever recognising either Persian or Turkish claims to sovereignty in the islands. The attitude of the British Government had been still more clearly defined in 1906, when the British Minister at Teheran had addressed to the Persian Government a Note stating that " His Majesty's Government have never admitted the ownership or sovereignty of Persia over Bahrein ".

The communication from the British Government has been forwarded for the information of the Members of the League.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Journal*, May 1928, page 605.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Journal*, May 1928, pages 605-607.

#### IV. GRECO-BULGARIAN QUESTION: EXECUTION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY THE COUNCIL ON DECEMBER 14TH, 1925, REGARDING THE PROPERTY OF REFUGEES FROM BULGARIA AND GREECE.

##### 1. REFUGEES.

At its session in September 1927, the Council was informed of the progress made in the work of valuation and liquidation of the properties of refugees who had been exchanged under the Emigration Convention between Bulgaria and Greece.<sup>1</sup>

The rather difficult question still outstanding, namely, that of compensation to the emigrants, was technical and financial rather than political in character, as the commitments of the two Governments resulting from the liquidations were expected to amount to considerable sums. The question arose as to the way in which these obligations could be met, and it was decided to request the Financial Committee to give advice on the technical aspects of the problem regarding which the President of the Mixed Commission might wish to consult it.

The result of this consultation will be found in the section of this report dealing with the work of the Technical Organisations.

##### 2. NOMINATION OF A PRESIDENT OF THE CONCILIATION COMMISSION ON THE GRECO-BULGARIAN FRONTIER.

As was stated in the report to the last Assembly,<sup>1</sup> the question of the appointment of the President of the Conciliation Commission had been postponed in September 1926. In September 1927, the Council considered a report on this subject from the Swedish officers attached to the Bulgarian and Greek frontier forces. These officers, who had not yet found a suitable candidate, were of the opinion that, on the completion of their mission in February 1928, they should be replaced on the Conciliation Commission by an official of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of each country, and that a neutral President should be appointed who should have certain additional duties during the following two years. The Bulgarian and Greek Governments agreed to the nomination of civilian officials from their respective Foreign Offices as members of the Conciliation Commission to take the place of the Swedish officers. In view, however, of the good relations existing between Bulgaria and Greece and on grounds of economy, the two Governments stated that they saw no necessity, for the moment, for the nomination of a neutral President of the Conciliation Commission. The Council took note of the replacement of the Swedish officers on the Conciliation Commission by officials of the Ministries for Foreign Affairs, and decided to leave open the question of the completion of the Commission by the appointment of a neutral President.

## 6.

### ADMINISTRATIVE QUESTIONS.

#### I. SAAR TERRITORY.

Since September 1927, the Council has dealt with only one question relating to the Saar Territory, viz., the appointment of the Chairman and members of the Governing Commission.

The representative of Italy acted as Rapporteur. The Council and the Members of the League have been kept informed of different questions concerning the Saar Territory by the periodical reports from the Governing Commission (published in the *Official Journal*).

#### GOVERNING COMMISSION.

On March 10th, 1928, the Council appointed the five members and the Chairman of the Governing Commission for a period of one year commencing on April 1st, 1928. M. Lambert (Belgian), who had been a member of the Commission since 1920, had expressed the wish not to have his term of office renewed.

The Commission at present consists of the following members :

M. EHRNROTH (Finnish),  
M. KOSSMANN (Saar),  
M. MORIZE (French),  
M. VEZENSKY (Czechoslovak),  
Sir Ernest WILTON (British), Chairman.

<sup>1</sup> See report to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 54, page 253.

In accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, the expenses of the Governing Commission are met out of the revenue of the Territory.

DOCUMENTS PRESERVED FOR THE PLEBISCITE OF 1935 : CHANGES AFFECTING DOCUMENTS PRESERVED FOR THE PLEBISCITE.

In his report of October 31st, 1923, the Provisional Records Commissioner for the Saar Plebiscite made certain recommendations, to the effect that the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the Governing Commission should be officially notified of any change in the position — as indicated in the original returns prepared by him — of documents preserved for the plebiscite.

In pursuance of these recommendations the seven Landräte of the Territory and the Bürgermeister of the town of Saarbruck have sent in quarterly reports on the period April 1st, 1927, to March 31st, 1928, and the Governing Commission has also sent in two half-yearly reports for 1927. The local authorities have continued to send in a special notification in the case of every change in the position of the documents, as was stipulated in the recommendations referred to above.

PETITIONS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE SAAR TERRITORY.

Since the last report to the Assembly, only one petition from the inhabitants of the Saar Territory has been communicated to the Council under the terms of its resolution of May 17th, 1920. It was submitted by certain trade unions, and related to the number of days' unemployment enforced upon miners of the Territory.

GENERAL QUESTIONS.

On May 17th, 1920, the Council approved an arrangement in accordance with which the Governing Commission has to supply the League of Nations with detailed information on all political, economic, financial, social and other questions concerning the Saar Territory which might be of interest to the League of Nations, together with all the official publications of the Governing Commission.

In accordance with this arrangement, the Governing Commission has sent to the League of Nations its thirty-first, thirty-second and thirty-third periodical reports, relating respectively to the third and fourth quarters of 1927 and the first quarter of 1928.

Some of the questions dealt with in those reports are given below :

1. *Political Situation.*

(a) In the course of its sessions between July 1927 and March 1928, the Advisory Council gave its opinion on various draft decrees prepared by the Governing Commission and relating to the following questions : compulsory vocational training, taxation of transferable securities and income, housing, bills of exchange, civil and criminal procedure, child welfare, free labour exchanges in the Saar, pensions and allowances for men disabled in the war, adhesion of the Saar to the International Convention regarding the measurement of vessels employed in inland navigation, etc.

During the same period, the Technical Committee also gave its opinion on the afore-mentioned draft decrees, and on the questions of the valorisation of mortgages and the tax on business turnover.

(b) The term of office of the members of the Advisory Council elected in July 1924 having expired, the elections for the new Advisory Council were held on March 25th, 1928. Whereas at the last elections the system of optional selection from various lists (*panachage*) had been allowed, the system of "blocked lists" (*listes bloquées*), which had already been employed at the elections for the district and municipal councils in 1926, was applied in these new elections. Further, all persons entitled to vote, even if not natives of the Territory, will henceforth be eligible for the Advisory Council, provided they have been continuously resident in the Territory for six years. In future, only voting papers prepared by the Administration may be employed.

The following is the number of seats obtained by the various political parties at the new elections for the Advisory Council, which consists of 30 members :<sup>1</sup>

Social-Democratic Party, 5 ;  
Communist Party, 5 ;  
German Economic Group (Saar Section), 1 ;  
German Democratic Party of the Saar Territory, 0 ;

<sup>1</sup> For the results of the last elections to the Advisory Council held in 1924, see report to the fifth ordinary session of the Assembly, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 23, page 270.

Saar-German Popular Party, 3 ;  
Christian Socialist Party of the Saar Territory, 1 ;  
German Nationalist Party, 1 ;  
Centre Party, 14.

The term of office of the members of the Technical Committee, which had expired on December 31st, 1927, was extended to December 31st, 1928.

## 2. *Economic, Financial and Social Situation.*

During the period from July 1st, 1927, to March 31st, 1928, economic questions engaged the Governing Commission's attention and, in particular, commercial negotiations affecting the interests of the Saar Territory. The scope of the provisional Franco-German Agreements concerning commercial transactions between the Saar Territory and Germany, dated August 5th, 1926, and November 6th, 1926, respectively, has been profoundly modified by the conclusion of the Franco-German Treaty of Commerce of August 17th, 1927, which extends to the whole Customs territory certain advantages hitherto reserved to the Saar Basin. On the other hand, it has considerably raised the minimum French tariff on many products in respect of which the latter formed the basis of the concessions granted to German imports into the Territory. The two Governments agreed to enter into negotiations in October 1927 for the adaptation of the Franco-German Agreement concerning commercial transactions in the Saar Territory to the situation created by the signature of the Treaty of Commerce.

On February 23rd, 1928, was signed the new Franco-German Agreement concerning commercial transactions between the Saar Territory and Germany, by which the provisional agreements were supplemented and extended. Certain industries have obtained the extension of the markets allotted to them in Germany, while others have secured fresh outlets. The number of items in the German tariff affected by the 1926 Agreement has been increased from 105 to 171. Former privileges have been maintained and increased as regards the Saar industries supply of machinery and raw materials, and special facilities have been provided in respect of certain raw materials classed as products for export. Further, Saar trade has received important advantages in respect of a certain number of articles of which Germany is the sole purveyor. As in the previous agreements, precautions have been taken to secure that these privileges would be confined to transactions between Germany and the Saar. As in the past, the Governing Commission has undertaken the task of allotting the quotas among those concerned. It has also obtained the right to supervise the utilisation of the quotas, and measures have been taken to make the first allotment of quotas before April 1st, 1928, *i.e.*, the date of the entry into force of the Agreement.

Paragraph 13 of the Annex to the Treaty of Versailles dealing with the Saar Territory lays down that the amount contributed by the French State Mines and their accessories and subsidiaries, either to the local budget of the Territory or to the communal funds, shall be fixed with due regard to the ratio of the value of the mines to the total taxable wealth of the Basin.

In March 1924, an agreement was reached on this point between the Governing Commission and France, by which the contribution of the mines was fixed for a period of three years. In the first quarter of 1927, the Governing Commission had decided to ask the French Government to open negotiations with a view to determining, with effect as from April 1st, 1928, the coefficient serving as a basis for the calculation of the mines' contribution. These negotiations were opened in January 1928. After a very thorough discussion, the Governing Commission reached an agreement with the French Government on the basis of the maintenance of the *status quo* as regards the contribution of the mines to the budget of the Territory and of an increase in the French Government's contribution to the budgets of the Saar communes. In addition, negotiations are to continue with a view to a revision of the 1924 settlement by friendly agreement.

Owing to the effects on the Saar mines of the European coal crisis, which makes it difficult for Saar coal to find a market, the French Mines Administration was obliged to introduce compulsory days of unemployment and to discharge a certain number of workmen. In the period from April 9th to the end of August 1927, about 800 workers were discharged. Between October 1st and December 31st, 1927, the total number of workers registered with the Public Labour Exchanges decreased by 1,866. On March 1st, 1928, approximately 3,800 workers were dismissed, 2,000 of whom were inhabitants of the Territory. In spite of these discharges, the effectives of the Saar mines remained higher than the 1920 figure. On March 15th, 1928, the total number of unemployed amounted approximately to 4,500, *i.e.*, 2.6 per cent of the workers employed in the Territory.

The Governing Commission did what it could to assist the discharged workmen. In 1927, moreover, it endeavoured by certain adjustments of railway rates to facilitate the marketing of Saar coal, and it negotiated a common scale of rates with the Reichsbahn with a view to enabling larger quantities of Saar coal to be disposed of in South Germany.

In August 1927, the Trade Unions organised a demonstration to protest against the days of enforced unemployment and the discharge of the miners by the Mines Administration. Proceedings were taken by the Governing Commission against the chief authors of the disturbances which occurred during this demonstration.

During the last quarter of 1927, some 26,000 workers employed in the heavy metal industry went on strike, because the employers had refused to accept an award regarding wages. This strike ended after four days as the result of action taken by the Governing Commission. A strike of railway employees involving 7,000 out of 8,000 workers also took place in December 1927, in consequence of a demand for a rise in wages ; it lasted eleven days.

The Committee of Conciliation intervened in a number of different cases and rendered several arbitral awards.

### 3. *External Relations.*

(a) *Social Insurance.* — After prolonged negotiations, a final Agreement was signed on October 13th, 1927, at Heidelberg between the Governing Commission and the German Government modifying the Agreement on social insurance, concluded in 1923 at Frankfurt-on-the-Main. Under this new Agreement the question of old-age pensions for miners was also considered. During the first quarter of 1928, negotiations took place at Düsseldorf and Berlin between the representatives of Saar and German Insurance Associations regarding the application of the Heidelberg Agreement.

Negotiations have also taken place between the representatives of the Governing Commission and those of the French Government concerning questions of social insurance arising between the Saar Territory and Alsace-Lorraine.

(b) *Justice.* — On December 14th, 1927, the Governing Commission and the French Government signed two declarations on the subject of judicial relations, dealing with the question of actions brought by Saar inhabitants in France, and actions brought by French citizens in the Saar Territory, and that of reciprocal legal assistance.

(c) *Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones.* — Negotiations which have been conducted with the administrations concerned resulted, during the last quarter of 1927 and the first of 1928, in the adjustment or reorganisation of different parts of the postal system, on the basis of the provisions of the Universal Postal Union, for purposes of correspondence between the Saar Territory and a number of countries.

The Governing Commission was represented at the Conference of the Universal Postal Union administrations which met on September 1st, 1927, at The Hague to draw up international regulations for air posts.

### 4. *Instruction in Schools regarding the League of Nations.*

The Governing Commission has continued to devote attention to the question of instruction in schools regarding the League of Nations. It has given subsidies to members of the teaching staff desirous of gaining information on international questions by attendance at various courses organised at Geneva. Steps have also been taken to introduce officially in the schools of the Territory instruction on the subject of the League of Nations.

### 5. *Administrative activities of the Governing Commission.*

The periodical reports of the Governing Commission contain, in addition to detailed information on numerous questions concerning the administrative activities of the Commission, chapters dealing with the following questions: finance, social insurance, labour, housing, administration of mines, public works, public education, situation of officials, justice, public relief and social hygiene, agriculture and forests, etc.

## II. FREE CITY OF DANZIG.

At its sessions in September and December 1927 and March 1928, the Council dealt with the following questions concerning the Free City of Danzig: financial situation of the Free City; manufacture of aircraft in Danzig; transport of Polish munitions and war material in transit through Danzig, access to and anchorage in the Port of Danzig for Polish war vessels (a question formerly referred to as *port d'attache* for Polish war vessels in the Port of Danzig) and jurisdiction of Danzig Courts in actions brought by the Danzig railway officials against the Polish Railways Administration.

The two questions concerning the police of the Port of Danzig and the protection of the interests of Danzig nationals in Poland (Ruetzen-Kositzkau case), which had been included in the provisional agenda of the session of the Council in September 1927, were adjourned, at the request of the Danzig and Polish Governments.

The representative of Chile acted as Rapporteur for all the Danzig questions, with the exception of those relating to the financial situation of Danzig. These are dealt with in the chapter of the present report concerning the work of the Financial Committee.

In April 1928, a report dated February 1928 from the League High Commissioner at Danzig was communicated to the Council. This report, which covers the period from 1926 to 1928, is of a general character and deals more particularly with the relations between the Danzig and Polish Governments, Danzig's relations with other States, financial and economic questions concerning the Free City and the situation of the Polish minority at Danzig.

The Secretary-General communicated to the Council certain publications prepared by the Danzig Senate and containing the decisions given by the High Commissioner in 1926-27, a summary of the legal effects of the decisions given by the High Commissioner during the period 1921-27, and a collection of the important treaties concluded between Danzig and Poland in 1924-27.

#### MANUFACTURE OF AIRCRAFT WITHIN THE TERRITORY OF THE FREE CITY.

On June 13th, 1927, the Council asked the Air Sub-Commission of the Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval and Air Questions for its opinion concerning a request submitted by the Danzig Government to the effect that, in the interests of Danzig industry and of scientific research at Danzig, the question of the restrictions imposed on the Free City in 1921 and 1922 in regard to the manufacture of aeronautic material might be re-examined.

On September 3rd, 1927, the Council examined the Air Sub-Commission's report and the relevant observations thereon made by the Danzig Government and the High Commissioner. The Rapporteur observed that the documents submitted seemed to show that the establishment of an aircraft industry at Danzig was a question of no practical interest at the moment. The question was really one of principle raised by the Senate: Should the Free City be placed in an inferior position, in this respect, to other States? The Rapporteur noted that the regulations approved by the Council on June 23rd, 1921, concerning the manufacture of civil aeronautic material at Danzig were subject to revision every two years and must therefore be considered out of date. Accordingly, they could not be regarded by Danzig as placing the Free City in a position of inferiority. The Rapporteur proposed the following solution, which was adopted by the Council: In the event of a definite request for the establishment of a civil aircraft industry at Danzig, the High Commissioner would be called upon to supervise that industry in accordance with the instructions of the League of Nations. He might, in that case, if he felt any doubts on the matter, refer it to the Council, who would, if necessary, ask the Air Sub-Commission to frame regulations to assist the High Commissioner in exercising this supervision.

#### TRANSPORT OF POLISH MUNITIONS AND WAR MATERIAL IN TRANSIT THROUGH DANZIG.

##### (a) *Cancelling of the Council's Resolution of March 14th, 1924.*

In July 1927, the Danzig Government asked the Council "to revise the procedure concerning the dispute between the Free City of Danzig and the Polish Republic regarding the establishment of a Polish depot for munitions of war in the port of Danzig and to cancel the resolution adopted by the Council on March 14th, 1924". By this resolution the Council had decided that the Westerplatte peninsula in the Port of Danzig should be placed at the Polish Government's disposal as a site for a depot for explosives and war material consigned to Poland, in transit through Danzig.

At the meeting on September 1st, 1927, the President of the Council stated that, in the ordinary course of events, disputes between Danzig and Poland were submitted to the Council, either by an appeal against a decision of the High Commissioner or at the request of the High Commissioner, who was authorised to refer to the Council a dispute which had been submitted to him for decision. He observed that, in the case under consideration, this procedure had not been followed. The Polish representative reminded the Council that the handing over of the Westerplatte to Poland was the result of a Danzig-Polish Agreement and, further, of a decision taken by the Council on March 14th, 1924. The Council was therefore required to settle the two following preliminary questions: Did the cancelling of the Danzig-Polish Agreement fall within the competence of the Council of the League? and, Could the resolution of the Council, based on this Agreement and already executed, be invalidated by the Council without the consent of both parties? After a discussion on the question of principle raised by Poland, in which several members of the Council took part, the Council decided to appoint a Committee of Jurists to submit a report.

The Committee of Jurists in its report, which was submitted to the Council on September 15th, 1927, concluded:

" . . . that, as regards procedure and form, the request to place the item in question on the agenda, submitted on July 25th, 1927, to the Council by the Senate of Danzig is not in conformity with the procedure laid down in the Polish-Danzig

Treaty ; that the Council — supposing the matter to have been regularly submitted to it — could only take a fresh decision on a site for the transit of Polish war material if the Council had before it a new question arising out of a new state of affairs — a matter on which the Committee cannot give an opinion ; and that, while not laying down here in regard to the revision of international decisions a rule which cannot be affirmed in the present position of international law, it is desirable to point out that, in any case, the request of the Senate of Danzig cannot be complied with without a modification in Treaty stipulations, and that such modification cannot take place without the consent of the contracting parties. ”

On the basis of the report of the Committee of Jurists, the Council decided that no action should be taken on the request submitted by the Danzig Government.

(b) *Utilisation of the Westerplatte.*

At its meeting on September 27th, 1927, the Council resumed the examination of the question which it had adjourned at its session in June 1927, concerning certain technical points relating to the utilisation of the Westerplatte. This question embraced the following matters, provisionally settled by the High Commissioner in a memorandum dated April 8th, 1927, and submitted by him to the Council for a final decision :

(1) Right of admittance of Danzig authorities to the Westerplatte ; (2) control and supervision of the observance of the safety regulations in this area ; (3) manner in which the Customs service is to be regulated ; (4) regulations applicable to consignments of war material and explosives leaving the Westerplatte ; (5) definition of “ war material ” which may be transported *via* the Westerplatte ; (6) appointment of an observer nominated by the High Commissioner.

The Rapporteur stated that the results of his examination confirmed all the essential points in the High Commissioner’s memorandum regulating these questions. The representative of the Danzig Government and the German representative requested the Council to carry out a thorough examination of certain legal aspects of the problem, more particularly of the questions of principle attaching to the points mentioned under Nos. 2 and 3 above. The Polish representative raised the question of the definition of war material. The Council decided to postpone the whole matter to its session in December 1927 to enable the Rapporteur to obtain the views of two jurists, chosen by himself, concerning the legal points raised during the course of the Council’s discussion.

On December 8th, 1927, the Rapporteur submitted to the Council the report of the two jurists, Sir Cecil Hurst (British) and M. Pilotti (Italian), and asked the Council to express an opinion on the procedure to be adopted. The Danzig representative accepted the jurists’ opinion. The Polish representative, after an exchange of views between certain members of the Council, expressed himself in favour of direct negotiations between the parties.

On December 12th, 1927, the Council invited the two Governments to open direct negotiations with regard to the practical settlement of the questions pending, and recommended them to take into consideration all the material contained in the documents on the question, including the views expressed in the jurists’ opinion. These negotiations would be presided over by the High Commissioner at Danzig, who, in accordance with the recognised procedure, might consult technical experts. If the negotiations failed to secure any result before the session of the Council in March 1928, the Rapporteur would submit proposals to the Council for a definite settlement.

In February 1928, the High Commissioner informed the Council that the two Governments had agreed to continue the conversations with a view to a final settlement of the matter, without resorting to the formal procedure laid down by the Council in December 1927.

On March 5th, 1928, the Council declared that, far from making any objection to the desire of the two Governments, it welcomed the proposal with satisfaction, and expressed the hope that it would be possible at a subsequent session to register a final agreement.

ACCESS TO AND ANCHORAGE IN THE PORT OF DANZIG FOR POLISH WAR-VESSELS.<sup>1</sup>

In August 1927, the Danzig Government informed the Council that it had denounced the provisional agreement of October 8th, 1921, concluded between Danzig and Poland with the object of providing the necessary facilities and security for Polish warships in the Port of Danzig. It added that Poland had not agreed to this denunciation. The Danzig Government was of opinion that the works in the Polish port of Gdynia were sufficiently far advanced to enable Polish warships to shelter there in bad weather or during the winter. Accordingly, the Danzig Senate requested the Council to re-examine the question and to settle it by a decision.

<sup>1</sup> In November 1927, the Danzig and Polish Governments agreed in future to describe as “ access to and anchorage in the Port of Danzig for Polish war-vessels ” the question hitherto described as “ *port d’attache* for Polish men-of-war at Danzig ”.

At the meeting of the Council on September 1st, 1927, the Danzig representative repeated his request for an immediate settlement, while the Polish representative asked for an adjournment of the question.

On September 8th, 1927, the Council asked the Polish Government to put forward its observations on the substance of the questions before October 15th, 1927. At the same time, the two Governments were invited to enter into direct negotiations under the presidency of the High Commissioner and with the participation of the President of the Harbour Board. The High Commissioner was to report on the results of the negotiations before the session of the Council in December. If the conversations at Danzig had not resulted in a settlement by November 15th, 1927, the question would be referred for an opinion to the Naval Sub-Commission of the Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval and Air Questions.

As the negotiations referred to in the above-mentioned Council resolution could not take place, owing to various circumstances, the Council, at its meeting on December 8th, 1927, decided once more to invite the two parties to engage in direct negotiations under the presidency of the High Commissioner and with the participation of the President of the Harbour Board. If no agreement were reached four weeks before the session of the Council in March 1928, the President of the Naval Sub-Commission was to appoint two experts to assist the High Commissioner, in order to enable him to present to the Council definite proposals regarding the technical regulations required.

In February 1928, the High Commissioner informed the Council that the two Governments had agreed, as in the above-mentioned case of the utilisation of the Westerplatte, to discuss the question in a friendly manner with a view to settling it without resorting to the formal procedure laid down by the Council, and on March 5th, 1928, the Council expressed itself in the terms which it had adopted in regard to the question of the Westerplatte.

#### JURISDICTION OF DANZIG COURTS IN ACTIONS BROUGHT BY DANZIG RAILWAY OFFICIALS AGAINST THE POLISH RAILWAYS ADMINISTRATION.

In January 1926, the High Commissioner was informed that the Polish Government would not in future take cognisance of actions brought by Danzig railway officials in virtue of the Danzig-Polish Agreement of October 22nd, 1921, and would not enforce any judgments given in such actions by the Danzig Courts. The Danzig Government requested the High Commissioner to mediate with a view to obtaining the withdrawal of the Polish statement. After prolonged conferences, the Danzig Government, in January 1927, submitted the question to the High Commissioner for decision.

On April 8th, 1927, the High Commissioner decided that Danzig railway officials were entitled to bring actions in respect of pecuniary claims before the Courts of the Free City, but that such claims could not be based on the Agreement of October 22nd, 1921.

The Free City appealed to the Council against the second part of this decision.

On September 22nd, 1927, the Council asked the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion as to whether the High Commissioner's decision, given as a result of the requests made by Danzig, was legally well founded as regards those points where the decision did not satisfy those requests.

On March 2nd, 1928, the Danzig and Polish Governments agreed to accept the opinion of the Court in advance.

That opinion was handed down on March 3rd, 1928.

On March 9th, 1928, the Council took note of the opinion of the Permanent Court and of the Agreement concluded between Danzig and Poland on March 2nd, 1928.

#### PRESIDENCY OF THE DANZIG PORT AND WATERWAYS BOARD.

The Danzig and Polish Governments agreed in April 1928, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 2 of Article 19 of the Danzig-Polish Treaty of November 9th, 1920, to extend the term of office of M. de Loës (Swiss) as President of the Danzig Port and Waterways Board for a further period of three years, dating from April 24th, 1928. M. de Loës accepted the extended term of office.

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN THE DANZIG AND POLISH GOVERNMENTS.

##### (a) Danzig-Polish Agreements.

In 1926 and 1927, the two Governments concluded direct agreements in regard to various questions, including, *inter alia*, the application of export duties; Polish stamp duties, Customs duties and handling charges; the apportionment of Customs receipts; the social insurance of railway officials; the establishment of a tobacco monopoly in the territory of the Free City of Danzig. The two parties entered into direct negotiations concerning various other economic and commercial questions.



(b) *Decisions of the High Commissioner.*

In addition to the above-mentioned decisions concerning the jurisdiction of the Danzig Courts and the Westerplatte, the High Commissioner, in virtue of Article 39 of the Danzig-Polish Treaty of November 9th, 1920, gave seven decisions during the years 1926 and 1927, relating to the following questions: sheds in the Port of Danzig; the liquidation of the property of M. Knospe situated in Poland (an appeal by Danzig against this decision was subsequently withdrawn); the appointment of experts in the matter of payments claimed by the Danzig Municipality from the Harbour Board and payments to the Danzig Municipality by the Harbour Board: case of Mottlau-Kaiserhafen (Danzig and Poland had appealed against these two decisions, but at the request of the two Governments these appeals were not placed on the agenda of the Council); the ratification by Poland of the Danzig-Polish Agreement concerning railway tariffs in the territory of the Free City of Danzig; Poland's obligation to pay contributions for the upkeep of dikes to the "Danzig Dikes Association"; the establishment of a Maritime Chamber of the Polish Merchant Services at Danzig. Other questions were submitted to the High Commissioner for arbitral decision or for mediation.

PARTICIPATION OF DANZIG IN INTERNATIONAL TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS.

In August 1927<sup>1</sup> and March 1928,<sup>2</sup> the Secretary-General communicated to the Council lists of international conventions to which the Free City had become a party, or expressed its intention of becoming a party, and treaties of interest to Danzig concluded between Poland and certain other countries. The Secretary-General added that the High Commissioner of the League of Nations at Danzig saw no reason to exercise in respect of the said instruments the right of veto provided under Article 6 of the Danzig-Polish Treaty of November 9th, 1920.

III. GRECO-BULGARIAN MIXED EMIGRATION COMMISSION.<sup>3</sup>

At its meeting on September 3rd, 1927, the Council examined the reports on the progress made in the execution of certain recommendations formulated by the Council on December 14th, 1925, regarding the property of refugees from Bulgaria and Greece. The Council noted that the question of compensation to the emigrants, and the commitments arising therefrom for the two Governments, presented great difficulties, but that these seemed to be of a technical rather than of a political nature. The Council accordingly requested the Financial Committee to be good enough to give advice on any technical aspects of the problem regarding which the President of the Mixed Commission might wish to consult it.

The President of the Mixed Commission immediately submitted the whole problem to the Financial Committee. The latter, at its session in December 1927, approved the general lines on which an attempt might be made to find a solution. Negotiations subsequently took place and resulted, on December 9th, in the conclusion of an Agreement which was signed by the Finance Ministers of the two countries and by the President of the Mixed Commission.

At its meeting on December 12th, 1927, the Council took note of this Agreement, and accepted it so far as the League of Nations was concerned.

As the Agreement had not been ratified when the Financial Committee met in March 1928, the Committee reported to the Council the difficulties which this delay involved, and the Council, at its meeting on March 10th, recommended the two Governments to ratify the Agreement as soon as possible.

IV. MIXED COMMISSION FOR THE EXCHANGE OF GREEK AND TURKISH POPULATIONS.<sup>4</sup>

In a letter to the Secretary-General, dated February 4th, 1928, the President of the Mixed Commission for the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations, referring to a report submitted to the Council by the Japanese representative on October 31st, 1924, requested that the Permanent Court of International Justice should be asked for an advisory opinion on the interpretation to be given to Article IV of the Final Protocol annexed to the Greco-Turkish Agreement signed at Athens on December 1st, 1926, the application of which was entrusted by the two Governments to the Mixed Commission.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Journal*, November 1927, page 1555.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Journal*, May 1928, page 757.

<sup>3</sup> The Mixed Commission, appointed in virtue of the Convention of November 27th, 1919, between Greece and Bulgaria, consists of one member appointed by each of the two contracting parties and two members (from among whom the President must be chosen) appointed by the Council of the League of Nations. The two members appointed by the Council are at present Mr. CORFE (New Zealand) and M. DE REYNIER (Switzerland).

<sup>4</sup> The Mixed Commission appointed in virtue of the Convention concluded between the Greek and Turkish Governments on January 30th, 1923, consists of two members representing Greece, two members representing Turkey, and three neutral members chosen by the Council of the League of Nations. The office of President of the Commission is held in turn by each of the three neutral members. In March 1928, one of the neutral members, M. Widding (Danish) resigned, in view of his appointment as a member of the Memel Harbour Board. The remaining two neutral members are M. HOLSTAD (Norwegian) and General DE LARA (Spanish).

On March 5th, 1928, the Council decided to appoint a Committee of Jurists to advise it on the preliminary question of the application of the report of the Japanese representative dated October 31st, 1924, to the case under consideration.

On March 7th, 1928, the Council took note of the report of the Committee of Jurists, which had come to the conclusion that the Council, acting in accordance with the spirit of its decision of October 31st, 1924, might decide to place the Mixed Commission's request on its agenda. The Committee suggested, however, that it might be desirable, before doing so, to ask the two Governments concerned whether they were prepared to consent to the Council submitting to the Court the question raised by the Mixed Commission. The Greek Government replied in the affirmative. As, however, the Turkish Government's reply had not arrived before the close of the session, the Council decided to leave the matter open. In a letter dated May 5th, 1928, the Turkish Government also agreed that the question be submitted to the Court.

## 7.

### PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

#### I. GENERAL REMARKS.

As was indicated in the reports to the sixth, seventh and eighth ordinary sessions of the Assembly, the Minorities Committee, composed, for each particular case, of three members of the Council, has in practice become a normal body for dealing with that part of the work of the League of Nations connected with the protection of minorities. Since the drafting of the report to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, this activity has continued in the usual manner. At each session of the Council a certain number of minorities petitions have been examined by these Committees and almost all the members of the Council have sat on the Committees as occasion required.

#### II. MINORITY SCHOOLS IN POLISH UPPER SILESIA.

##### 1. APPLICATION OF THE COUNCIL RESOLUTION OF MARCH 12TH, 1927.

The Council dealt at its forty-fourth session (March 1927) with a question raised by a petition from the "Deutscher Volksbund" of Polish Silesia concerning the admission of children to the primary German minority schools in the Voïvodie of Silesia.<sup>1</sup>

The resolution adopted by the Council in March 1927 prescribed that, in cases which seemed doubtful to the Polish authorities, a linguistic examination of the children concerned should be made by a neutral expert acting as assistant to the President of the Mixed Commission for Upper Silesia. For the school year 1926-27, the Polish authorities presented for examination 971 doubtful cases, of whom the neutral experts, M. Maurer, found that 444 might be regarded as linguistically fit to attend the minority schools, and that 527 were not so qualified.

In a letter addressed to the Secretary-General on October 18th, 1927, the Polish Government stated that, among the entries to minority schools for the new school year 1927-28, there were 735 children who did not understand German. The Polish Government therefore asked the Rapporteur to be good enough to exercise the interpretative authority conferred upon him by the Council resolution of March 12th, 1927, by pronouncing that the system of enquiry established by that resolution might also be applied to the 735 children concerned. This question of interpretation was duly submitted by the Secretary-General to the Rapporteur to the Council, the representative of Colombia. The latter, after consulting the two members of the Council, the representatives of Italy and the Netherlands, who had acted with him on the Committee which examined this question in March 1927, decided that the system of enquiry established by the resolution, whilst not intended to be maintained permanently, was applicable to the 735 children mentioned in the Polish letter of October 18th, 1927. This decision was based on a paragraph of the resolution reading as follows :

"A similar system of enquiry might also be applied in the case of any fresh demands for the admission of children that may subsequently be received from persons legally responsible for their education, when such cases appear doubtful to the Polish school authorities."

<sup>1</sup> A record of the proceedings before the Council and a summary of the case will be found in document A.13.1927 (Report to the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the League on the Work of the Council, on the Work of the Secretariat, and on the Measures taken to execute the Decisions of the Assembly — See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 54, page 261).

On November 14th, 1927, the Secretary-General received a telegram from the German Government stating that in its opinion the extension of the system of enquiry to children belonging to the school year 1927-28 was a mistaken application of the resolution of March 12th, 1927, and requesting that it might be made clear before the Council that the resolution in question was an exceptional measure which was not to be extended to children who might later be admitted to the minority schools.

The matter was accordingly placed on the agenda of the forty-eighth session of the Council, and discussed at the meeting held on December 8th, 1927. The German representative, having referred to the reservation he made in adopting the resolution of March 12th, 1927, pointed out that there was a divergence of view among the members of the Council on an essential point concerning the scope of that resolution. He did not desire to examine in detail the reasons for this divergence of view, and considered that the best method of settling the dispute would consist in securing a final legal decision on the principles governing the admission of children to the German minority schools. He therefore announced the intention of his Government to apply, under the provisions of the Geneva Convention, to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague for a judgment on the questions of principle involved.

The Rapporteur, the representative of Colombia, made certain explanations regarding the considerations which had led him to give his decision extending the system of enquiry to children of the school year 1927-28.

On the proposal of the President, the Council thereupon decided to take note of the intention of the German Government to refer the question to the Permanent Court of International Justice for judgment. It was to be understood that the examinations already begun of children belonging to the school year 1927-28 should continue, and that the decision which might be taken by the Court would decide whether children who, as a consequence of those examinations, might be transferred to Polish schools should finally be admitted to the minority schools.

The German Government, in pursuance of the intention announced before the Council, submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice for judgment certain questions relating to this matter. The judgment of the Court was delivered on April 26th, 1928, and has been sent by the Secretary-General to the States Members of the League.

## 2. ESTABLISHMENT OF A PRIMARY MINORITY SCHOOL IN THE SCHOOL DISTRICT OF BIERTULTOWY, POLISH UPPER SILESIA.

By a petition dated January 30th, 1928, addressed directly to the Council in virtue of Article 147 of the Germano-Polish Convention of May 15th, 1922, the "Deutscher Volksbund" of Polish Silesia submitted to the Council a question concerning the establishment of a primary German minority school in the school district of Biertultowy, Polish Upper Silesia.

The "Deutscher Volksbund" explained that the President of the Mixed Commission for Upper Silesia had, on October 10th, 1926, given an Opinion to the effect that the primary minority school at Biertultowy should forthwith be opened. As the local Polish authorities did not give effect to this Opinion, the petitioner, through the Minorities Office at Katowice, appealed on December 9th, 1926, to the Council of the League under Articles 149 and 157 of the Geneva Convention. The school not having been opened at the beginning of the new school year on September 1st, 1927, the petitioner enquired of the Minorities Office whether the appeal had been forwarded to the Council. No reply was received to this enquiry, and the petitioner therefore exercised the right of direct recourse to the Council provided by Article 147 of the Convention.

The question thus raised was placed on the agenda of the forty-ninth session of the Council held in March 1928. On March 1st, 1928, the Polish Government, to whom the petition had been forwarded by the Secretary-General, sent in certain observations. It stated that the fact that it had not so far forwarded the appeal mentioned in the petition was due, not to a desire to modify in any way the normal procedure laid down in the Geneva Convention for the examination of minorities petitions, but to the fact that the Government was of opinion that the question raised could not usefully be examined by the Council at the present juncture. The Government was of opinion that the request of the "Deutscher Volksbund" with regard to the school at Biertultowy was related to the general question of the interpretation to be given to Articles 106 and 131 of the Convention, which were actually the subject of proceedings before the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

The Council examined this question at its meeting held on March 7th, 1928. The Rapporteur, the representative of Colombia, took note of the fact that the Polish Government fully realised how important it was for the efficient operation of the system of minorities protection instituted in Upper Silesia by the Geneva Convention that appeals from the minority under Articles 149 and 157 of the Convention should be forwarded to the Council without delay. As regards the question of substance, he proposed that the Council should take note of the Polish Government's statement, and decide to postpone consideration of the question until the Permanent Court of International Justice had given its judgment in the proceedings to which the Polish Government had referred.

The representative of Germany, in accepting the report, emphasised the fact that, in his view, Articles 149 and 157 of the Geneva Convention, as well as the report, imposed on the Polish and German Governments the obligation of ensuring the prompt forwarding, without any exception, of appeals made by minorities.

The report was adopted by the Council, and the question thereby placed on the agenda of the session in June 1928.

### III. COMPLAINTS OF THE LITHUANIAN GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE TREATMENT OF PERSONS OF LITHUANIAN RACE OR SPEECH IN THE VILNA AREA.

At its meeting on December 10th, 1927, the Council adopted a resolution concerning an appeal made on October 15th, 1927, under Article 11 of the Covenant, by the Lithuanian Government. According to the terms of this resolution, the Council decided :

“ . . . that the Lithuanian Government's complaints regarding the treatment of persons of Lithuanian race or speech referred to in its appeal shall be examined by a Committee consisting of the Acting President of the Council and two other members of the Council appointed by him. This Committee will report to the Council in due course. ”

The representative of China, who was at that time President of the Council, invited his colleagues the representatives of Colombia and the Netherlands to become members of the Committee mentioned in this resolution. The Committee met for the first time on December 12th, 1927, when it decided to inform the Polish Government of its desire to be acquainted with any observations which the Government might wish to make on the subject with a view to facilitating the drafting of the report which the Committee must in due course submit to the Council. The Polish Government's observations were forwarded to the Secretariat in a letter dated February 27th, 1928. At a meeting held on March 5th, 1928, the Committee took note of the arrival of these observations, and decided to proceed to the examination of the whole question with a view to submitting a final report to the Council at the session in June 1928.

### IV. MINORITIES IN ROUMANIA.<sup>1</sup>

In a letter dated April 11th, 1928, from the Roumanian delegation accredited to the League of Nations, the Roumanian Government gave the Secretary-General definitive information regarding the distribution of the sum of 700,000 gold francs to the colonists of Hungarian race in the Banat and Transylvania who had been affected by certain agrarian reform measures in Roumania. This information, which was communicated to the Members of the Council on April 20th, 1928,<sup>2</sup> was accompanied by 10 files, giving details of the distribution by districts and colonies. These files contain the autograph signatures of the colonists who have accepted the sums distributed. The Roumanian Government explains that the amount due to the colonists who refused to share in the distribution — a sum of about 5,000,000 lei — has been deposited with the departmental financial administrations, where it will be held at the disposal of the parties concerned for five years, after which period it will, as provided by the Roumanian laws, revert to the State in cases where the interested parties persistently refuse to accept payment. The Roumanian Government adds that, if the average rate of the leu when the money was distributed is taken into consideration, the sum actually made available, amounting to 28,000,000 lei, represents not 700,000 gold francs but about 20 per cent more, the sum of the payments already accepted by the colonists representing alone 700,000 gold francs.

## 8.

### MANDATES.

#### I. DISCUSSION IN THE COUNCIL WITH REGARD TO THE WORK OF THE ELEVENTH SESSION OF THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION.<sup>3</sup>

The documents connected with the work of the eleventh session of the Permanent Mandates Commission and a report by the Netherlands representative on this subject were examined by the Council on September 8th, 1927. There were present at this meeting :

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 44, pages 199 and 298. See also *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 54, page 329.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Journal*, June 1928.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 54, page 330.

Mr. J. S. Smit, representing the Union of South Africa ; Sir James Parr, representing New Zealand ; Sir George Pearce, representing Australia ; and M. Van Rees, Vice-Chairman of the Permanent Mandates Commission.

#### OBSERVATIONS ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF VARIOUS TERRITORIES UNDER MANDATE.

The Council decided in every case to forward to the Government of the mandatory Power concerned the special observations on the administration of the eight mandated territories which the Commission had discussed at that session.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the Council requested these Governments to be good enough to take such action as might be necessary.

#### PETITIONS.

The conclusions of the Commission with regard to the petitions which it had examined were approved by the Council, and the Secretary-General was instructed to bring them to the notice of the mandatory Power and the petitioner concerned in each case.

#### QUESTION OF THE APPOINTMENT OF AN ADDITIONAL MEMBER OF GERMAN NATIONALITY TO THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION.

The Council decided to modify the constitution and Rules of Procedure of the Permanent Mandates Commission so as to increase the statutory number of the members of the Commission from nine to ten.

At its meeting on September 9th, 1927, the Council appointed M. Ludwig KASTI, a former high official in the German Colonial Service, former head of the Reparation Department in the Ministry of Finance, and at present Director of the "Reichsverband der Deutschen Industrie".

#### LIST OF QUESTIONS DRAFTED FOR THE PREPARATION OF THE ANNUAL REPORTS ON B AND C MANDATED TERRITORIES.

The Council decided to communicate to the mandatory Powers the observations contained in the Commission's report, and the comments in the report submitted by the Netherlands representative. The Rapporteur observed that the list of questions had been prepared by the Commission with the sole object of facilitating the task of the mandatory Powers, and that it would be entirely for these Powers to decide whether they would use it or not. In these circumstances, it hardly seemed to be necessary for the Council to make any special recommendation on this subject, particularly as the Permanent Mandates Commission observed in its report that the details given by the mandatory Powers continued to be both numerous and precise.

\* \* \*

In his report adopted by the Council, the Netherlands representative noted with satisfaction that the Jebel Druse revolt in Syria had come to an end. He expressed the hope that, following on the negotiations between the Syrian and Lebanese authorities, the mandatory Power would be in a position, within a reasonable time, to proceed with the promulgation of the Organic Law, which had been delayed.

As regards the legal relationship between the Government of the Union of South Africa and the mandated territory of South-West Africa, a question which the Permanent Mandates Commission had again considered,<sup>2</sup> the Rapporteur pointed out that the Covenant, certain articles of the Treaty of Versailles, the mandates themselves and various decisions already taken by the Council, had helped to determine or define the juridical relationship between the mandatory Powers and the territories placed under their mandate. This being a new relationship under international law, the employment of the usual phraseology in its traditional sense was not always in keeping with the new conditions. As, however, in a letter dated May 23rd, 1927, the Government of the Union had reserved the right to put forward its views on this question, the Council considered that it would be preferable merely to communicate to it the recent observations of the Commission.

In a letter dated February 10th, 1928, the Government of the Union of South Africa informed the Council that it had noted the opinion expressed by the Council on this subject, and had no comment to offer.<sup>3</sup>

\* \* \*

The Council agreed with the Rapporteur's suggestion that the League of Nations should convey to the British Government and through that Government to the people of Palestine and Transjordan its sympathy for the suffering caused by the earthquakes in July 1927.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Journal*, Special supplement No. 54, page 330.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 54, page 332.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Journal*, May 1928, page 709.

## II. WORK OF THE TWELFTH SESSION OF THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION.

### A. WORK OF THE COMMISSION.

At its twelfth session, held from October 24th to November 11th, 1927, the Permanent Mandates Commission, in the presence of the accredited representatives of the mandatory Powers, considered the following annual reports : Iraq (1926), Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate (1926), Cameroons under British Mandate (1926), Togoland under British Mandate (1926), Western Samoa (1926 and 1927), Ruanda-Urundi (1926).

The Commission also discussed several questions of a general nature.

#### 1. *Economic Equality : Postal Rates.*

The mandatory Powers are bound to ensure, as between all States Members of the League and their nationals, complete economic, commercial and industrial equality in the territories under A and B mandates. In most of these territories, however, if not in all, the mandatory Administrations have established, for communication with countries outside, postal rates which vary according to the destination. As a rule, correspondence despatched to the territory of the mandatory Power enjoys a lower rate than correspondence to the other States Members of the League. This system appears necessarily to involve, in international competition, a certain advantage for the commercial relations between the mandatory Powers and the mandated territories entrusted to them.

Accordingly, the Commission, whose members expressed the most divergent views, considered whether this practice was quite consistent with the strict application of the principle of economic equality. On the other hand, the practical importance of the existing differentiation was not perhaps such as to call for intervention by the League.

With a view to forming a definite opinion on the matter, the Commission proposed, therefore, that the Council should request the mandatory Powers entrusted with the administration of territories under A and B mandates to furnish particulars concerning :

1. Their system of postal rates ;
2. The reasons which have led them to adopt different rates ;
3. The practical importance of the question from the financial point of view.

#### 2. *National Status of the Inhabitants of Territories under B and C Mandates.*

The Commission expressed a desire to know what action the mandatory Powers have taken on the Council's resolution of April 23rd, 1923, regarding the national status of the inhabitants of territories under B and C mandates, and particularly on the fourth paragraph of this resolution, which is worded as follows :

“ It is desirable that native inhabitants who receive the protection of the mandatory Power should in each case be designated by some form of descriptive title which will specify their status under the mandate. ”

#### 3. *Frontiers between the Cameroons under French and British Mandate and Togoland under French and British Mandate.*

The Commission noted the declaration of the accredited representative of the British Government that, by common agreement, no important modifications of the frontiers between the spheres of the Cameroons and Togoland under British and French mandate respectively are now considered necessary, and that the work of delimitation is being carried out with the minor rectifications which such an operation entails. When the work has been completed, the Commission would be glad to receive a map showing the final delimitation.

#### 4. *General and Special International Conventions applied in the Mandated Territories.*

The Permanent Mandates Commission took note of two lists drawn up at its request by the Secretariat. One indicates the general and special Conventions applied in each mandated territory, and the other shows the mandated territories in which each general international Convention is applied.

The Commission asked the Council to instruct the Secretary-General to forward a copy of these two lists to each mandatory Power, requesting it to check them and to complete them, if necessary.

Further, the Commission suggested that the mandatory Powers should be requested to insert in their annual reports the data necessary to enable the Secretariat to keep these lists up to date.

5. *General Statistics.*

The Commission proposed that the statistical tables concerning the foreign trade, public finance and population of the mandated territories, as revised by the mandatory Powers,<sup>1</sup> should be published in the *Official Journal* of the League of Nations. Further, the Commission held that it would be well if the mandatory Powers would be good enough to supply the necessary information each year in their annual reports so that the tables might be kept up to date.

6. *Financial Statistics.*

The Commission expressed a desire to find in future in the annual reports certain financial statistics not contained in the general statistical tables, which would permit the reader to judge of the financial development of the territory under examination.

7. *Rules of Procedure: Their Adaptation to recent Decisions of the Council.*

As a result of various decisions taken by the Council affecting the Commission's Rules of Procedure, the latter proceeded with a formal adaptation of the text of these rules and submitted the revised text to the Council.

*Observations concerning Certain Territories under A, B and C Mandates.*

The Commission's observations on the reports it examined may be summarised as follows :

**Territories under A Mandate.**

*Iraq.*

(Representatives of the mandatory Power, Mr. B. H. Bourdillon, Counsellor to the High Commissioner for Iraq, and Mr. T. I. K. Lloyd, of the Colonial Office.)

The Commission much appreciated the statement made by the accredited representative on the more important of the outstanding problems in Iraq. It expressed a desire to learn what steps had been taken to carry out the recommendations of the Mosul Commission concerning minorities, and to have precise information in regard to the circumstances which have retarded the adoption of these measures or which might be obstacles to the fulfilment of these recommendations.

The Commission desired to obtain further information concerning the object and nature of the "Customs Duty Drawback Law", and to learn whether the mandatory Power considered this law compatible with the provisions concerning economic equality in the Treaty of October 10th, 1922, between Great Britain and Iraq.

From the point of view of economic equality, it also considered the question of the prolongation of the concession granted to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and expressed a desire to receive a copy of the text of the concessions granted to this company and to the Turkish Petroleum Company.

The Commission also considered various questions connected with public health, economic development, labour, education and religious matters; on certain points it expressed a wish to be supplied with more precise information.

The Commission noted with satisfaction that the position on the Persian, Syrian, and Turkish frontiers had improved; it regretted, however, that certain difficulties still existed in the relations between Iraq and Persia.

**Territories under B Mandate.**

*Togoland and the Cameroons under British Mandate.*

The Commission noted the shortage of doctors in the territories of Togoland and the Cameroons, and expressed a hope that the mandatory Power would make every possible effort to remedy this situation.

*Togoland.*

(Representatives of the mandatory Power, the Honourable W. G. Ormsby Gore, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, assisted by Mr. H. S. Newlands, Provincial Commissioner of the Gold Coast, and Mr. T. I. K. Lloyd.)

The Commission expressed a desire to receive information concerning the assets credited to the mandated territory as a result of the loans contracted by the Gold Coast. It reiterated a request, also put forward at a previous session, to be supplied with statistics regarding the number of labourers employed by the various Government Departments and for private enterprises in the territory. Finally, it expressed a hope that the mandatory Power would be able to furnish it with information concerning the increasing amount of spirituous liquors introduced into the territory.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 54, page 256.

### *Cameroons.*

(Representatives of the mandatory Power, the Honourable W. G. Ormsby Gore, assisted by Mr. H. R. Palmer, Lieutenant-Governor of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, and Mr. T. I. K. Lloyd.)

The Commission asked for information concerning the administration of the districts of the central part of the territory, which have not yet been brought under control, with regard to the steps taken by the mandatory Power in order better to adjust the burden of taxation as between Europeans and natives, and with regard to various questions connected with labour, education and ex-enemy property.

The accredited representative of the British Government forwarded to the Council on November 22nd, 1927, several observations concerning the reasons for the delay in sending in the annual report, a delay which the Commission had noted with regret.

### *Ruanda-Urundi.*

(Representative of the mandatory Power, M. Halewyck de Heusch, Director-General, Belgian Ministry for the Colonies.)

The Commission was distressed to learn of the famine from which the territory suffered in 1926, and thanked the mandatory Power for the information given with regard to the emergency measures taken to minimise the effects of this scourge and to prevent its recurrence.

The Commission expressed a desire to be acquainted with the principles in accordance with which expenditure in the common interest of the mandated territory and of the Belgian Congo is divided. It heard with very great interest the details given concerning the recruiting of workers for the service of the *Union Minière* of Katanga, and stated that it would follow with special attention the development of this question. The Commission welcomed the increase, from 1926 to 1927, of about 60 per cent in the budget estimates for education.

## Territories under C Mandate.

### *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate.*

(Representative of the mandatory Power, M. N. Sato, Minister Plenipotentiary, Director of the Japanese League of Nations Office.)

The Commission highly appreciated the generosity displayed by the Japanese Government in making a considerable subsidy each year to cover the deficit incurred by the administration of the islands. It asked that the total amount of such subsidies, up to the year 1927 inclusive, should be shown in the next report.

The Commission also stated that it would be glad to receive information concerning the poll-tax, and the burden of taxation falling upon the native as compared with the non-native. It also expressed a desire to learn the treatment accorded to the proprietors in connection with the exploitation of phosphate deposits on their land.

### *Western Samoa.*

(Representative of the mandatory Power, Sir James Parr, High Commissioner for New Zealand in London.)

The Commission expressed its thanks for the information which the mandatory Power and the accredited representative were good enough to furnish concerning the causes of the agitation in Western Samoa. It was glad to note that a Royal Commission had been constituted to investigate the situation. The Commission hoped that it would be put in possession as soon as possible of the report of the Royal Commission, together with the observations of the mandatory Power, the conclusions which it had been led to adopt, and the decisions which it might have taken in consequence of the report. The Commission decided to refrain from expressing an opinion before these documents were available.

The Commission, considering it desirable that it should be kept fully informed each year of political movements of any consequence in the mandated territories, noted with regret that no mention had previously been made of the underlying causes of the present agitation, or of any symptoms of unrest, which should have been brought officially to its notice before the current year.<sup>1</sup>

The attention of the Commission had been drawn to a speech in which the Administrator of the territory was reported as referring to the Islands as "part of the British Empire" and to their inhabitants as "British subjects". The Commission was therefore glad to learn from the accredited representative that, in spite of the use of these phrases by the Administrator, the opinion of the mandatory Power on this question was in conformity with the principles of the mandates system as laid down in the Covenant and upheld by the Council and the Assembly.

<sup>1</sup> The accredited representative of New Zealand forwarded to the Council on November 18th, 1927, a few observations on this subject. He pointed out that the events of 1921 and 1922, to which the Commission referred, had not then seemed of an importance sufficient to warrant their communication to the Commission.



The Commission expressed a desire to learn the destination of the rents paid for lands belonging to the New Zealand Reparation Estates. It was greatly interested in the attempts being made by the Administration to improve the situation of native copra producers.

The Commission considered certain provisions of the "Native Regulation (Samoa) Order" from the point of view of the payment of workers employed in constructing and maintaining roads, etc.

#### *Observations on Petitions.*

The conclusions of the Commission concerning the various petitions may be summarised as follows :

##### 1. *Palestine.*

Three petitions were received from various Turkish nationals of Palestinian origin, living in Honduras, San Salvador and Mexico respectively, asking for their recognition as Palestinian subjects. While it was of opinion that both in law and in equity, the claim of the petitioners to be immediately registered as Palestinian citizens was not justified, the Commission nevertheless considered that their attention might be drawn to Article 7, Section 5 of the Palestinian Citizenship Order in Council (in special cases the High Commissioner may grant a certificate of naturalisation although the two years' residence in Palestine usually required has not been completed within the last three years immediately preceding the date of the application for naturalisation).

##### 2. *Togoland under French Mandate.*

The Commission examined another petition from Mr. Casely Hayford (June 7th, 1927) on behalf of certain members of the Adjigo clan, and came to the conclusion, as a result of the information furnished by the mandatory Power, that it must adhere to the decision taken at its eleventh session<sup>1</sup> in connection with a former petition on the same subject.

##### 3. *South-West Africa.*

The Commission decided to take no action on a petition submitted in 1927 by M. Lange, who had already sent in several similar petitions.

The Commission expressed regret at the long delays which have occurred in the examination by the mandatory Power of the petition dated November 26th, 1926, from certain burghers of the Rehoboth community.<sup>1</sup> The opinion of the mandatory Power being essential to the final consideration of the petition, the Commission repeated the requests already made in this connection and suggested that the mandatory Power should be urged to supply the necessary information.

##### 4. *Western Samoa.*

In the case of two petitions received, one from Mr. Newton Rowe, the other from the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, London, the Commission proposed to reserve its judgment until it had received the report of the Royal Commission.

#### B. DISCUSSIONS IN THE COUNCIL.<sup>2</sup>

On March 5th, 1928, the Council adopted without discussion the report submitted by the Netherlands representative on the work of the twelfth session of the Permanent Mandates Commission. The Council noted the Commission's recommendations as regards postal rates in the territories under A and B mandates, as regards the status of the inhabitants of territories under B and C mandates, and as regards general and special international Conventions and financial statistics. It requested the mandatory Powers to furnish the Commission with the desired information. It instructed the Secretary-General to transmit to the mandatory Powers copies of the lists of the international Conventions referred to in the report, and to publish the tables of general statistics prepared by the Commission.

The Council noted the Commission's observations with regard to the frontiers between the Cameroons under French mandate and the Cameroons under British mandate and between Togoland under French mandate and Togoland under British mandate.

Finally, the Council approved the revised Rules of Procedure, and instructed the Secretary-General to publish them.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 54, page 334.

<sup>2</sup> The Council considered, on March 7th, 1928, the question of the communication to Iraq of the Convention on the Freedom of Transit and the Convention on the International Regime of Maritime Ports.

## OBSERVATIONS ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE VARIOUS TERRITORIES UNDER MANDATE.

The Council decided in every case to forward to the Government of the mandatory Power concerned the special observations on the administration of the six mandated territories which the Commission had discussed at its twelfth session. At the same time, the Council requested those Governments to be good enough to take such action as might be necessary.

### PETITIONS.

The conclusions of the Commission with regard to the petitions which it had examined were approved by the Council, and the Secretary-General was instructed to bring them to the notice of the mandatory Power and petitioner concerned in each case.

### III. NEW MEMBERS OF THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION.

On March 5th, 1928, the Council was informed of the death of Mme. Anna Wicksell, member of the Permanent Mandates Commission. It associated itself with the Netherlands representative in expressing its deep sorrow and instructed the Secretary-General to convey to the Swedish Government and to Mme. Wicksell's family its most sincere sympathy and its wholehearted gratitude for the distinguished services rendered by Mme. Wicksell to the League of Nations.

The Council had also to note the resignation tendered by M. Yamanaka, Japanese member of the Permanent Mandates Commission. It instructed the Secretary-General to convey its regret to M. Yamanaka and to thank him for his services.

M. Van Rees, Vice-President of the Permanent Mandates Commission, associated himself with the remarks made by the Netherlands representative concerning the services rendered to the League of Nations by Mme. Wicksell and M. Yamanaka.

At its private meeting on March 7th, 1928, the Council appointed M. Nobumichi SAKENOBE, retired member of the Japanese Diplomatic Service, to be a member of the Permanent Mandates Commission, and authorised the Acting President, after consulting, by letter, the other members of the Council, to appoint also a woman member of the Commission chosen from among the nationals of the non-mandatory Powers.

### IV. LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

At its eighth ordinary session on September 23rd, 1927, the Assembly adopted a resolution congratulating the Permanent Mandates Commission on its success in defining the important terms concerning the liquor traffic used in the B and C mandates and in the Convention of St. Germain of September 10th, 1919, and expressed the hope that all the mandatory Powers would soon be able to indicate their acceptance of these definitions. It also asked the Council to request the Permanent Mandates Commission, in collaboration with the mandatory Powers, to continue to give serious considerations to the causes of the increased importation of spirituous liquors into certain territories under B mandate and to the steps which have been taken to deal with this problem.

At its meeting on December 6th, 1927, the Council took a decision in the sense of the resolutions adopted by the Assembly during its eighth ordinary session.

By a letter dated May 4th, 1928, the Japanese Government has notified its acceptance of the definitions proposed by the Permanent Mandate Commission to which the British Government had adhered on May 14th, 1927 (document C.264.1927). The New Zealand Government stated, in a letter dated January 30th, 1928, that, in view of the policy applied in Western Samoa (entire prohibition of alcohol to all the inhabitants of the territory), it does not consider it necessary to present observations on the definition of the terms relating to spirits. On May 16th, 1928 the Belgian Government informed the Secretary-General that, with one slight qualification, it was prepared to accept the definitions.

### V. PUBLICATIONS.

In conformity with the desire expressed by the Assembly at its fifth ordinary session, and in continuation of the index to the Minutes of the first five sessions of the Permanent Mandates Commission published in 1925, an index of the Minutes and reports, from the sixth to the tenth session of the Commission, has recently been published.

9.

SLAVERY.

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On September 22nd, 1927, the Assembly, during its eighth ordinary session, adopted a resolution expressing the hope that countries which had signed the Convention of September 25th, 1926, would ratify it as soon as possible. On November 8th, 1927, the Secretary-General sent a circular letter to all States Members of the League reminding them of this recommendation.

Since the adoption of the resolution of the Assembly, the following signatory States have forwarded their ratifications : Belgium, Finland, Netherlands, Portugal and Sweden. Further, Ecuador, Egypt, Monaco, Nicaragua and the Sudan have adhered to the Convention.

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10.

WORK OF THE TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS.

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I. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ORGANISATION.

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A. Work in the Economic Field.

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(i) CONSTITUTION OF A NEW ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

1. RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE EIGHTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY ON SEPTEMBER 24TH, 1927.

In pursuance of a recommendation adopted by the Economic Conference in May 1927, the Assembly, during its eighth ordinary session, on September 24th, 1927, decided to introduce certain modifications in the Economic Organisation of the League, in order to enable it to carry out the work necessary to give effect to the recommendations of the Economic Conference. Under the terms of the Assembly's resolution on this subject,<sup>1</sup> the Economic Committee was to retain its existing powers, but in a form adapted to the new conditions called into existence by the Economic Conference. In addition, a new organ, a Consultative Committee, composed of persons competent in industry, commerce, agriculture, finance, transport, labour questions and questions relative to consumption, was to be constituted by the Council, with the object of following the application of the recommendations made by the Conference in May 1927.

2. COUNCIL RESOLUTION OF SEPTEMBER 28TH, 1927.

In order to give effect to the Assembly's decision, the Council, on September 28th, 1927, adopted the following resolution :

“ The Council,

“ Having taken note of the two resolutions adopted by the Assembly during its eighth ordinary session, on September 24th, 1927 — the one concerning the action to be taken on the resolutions of the International Economic Conference and the other concerning the changes to be made in the Economic Organisation of the League to enable it to deal with the work imposed upon it by the recommendations of that Conference ;

“ And having heard and approved the considerations set forth in the attached report by the German representative, acting as Rapporteur on economic questions :

“ Adopts the following decision :

“ I. *Economic Committee.*

“ The Economic Committee, whose nature and terms of reference are outlined in the afore-mentioned resolution of the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, shall henceforth work on the following lines :

“ 1. It shall consist of fifteen members<sup>2</sup>, of different nationalities.

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<sup>1</sup> See document A.117.1927.II.

" 2. The members shall be appointed by the Council in their personal capacity, on the ground of their qualifications in the economic field, and more particularly in the matter of international economic relations. They shall not be representatives of Governments.

" 3. Members shall hold office for three years from September to September. At the end of that period, the Council shall nominate afresh all the members of the Committee, though any vacancies that may occur in the meantime may be filled.

" 4. At the end of the above-mentioned period, the retiring members, unless succeeded by members of the same nationality, shall become 'corresponding members of the Committee'.

" (a) 'Corresponding members' shall be kept informed of all the Economic Committee's work. They shall, with that object, receive the Committee's documents and those of the sub-committees and special committees.

" (b) They shall assist the Committee in any investigations or enquiries which the latter may undertake, particularly in regard to their respective countries, and they may send the Committee such observations and submit to it in writing such opinions or proposals as they may think fit.

" (c) As a general rule, they shall not take part in the Committee's meetings, but the latter may summon corresponding members to attend if it thinks it necessary to hear those members' opinions on a particular question.

" (d) The Council may also, in cases where the utility of such action is recognised, appoint as corresponding members persons other than members retiring in the circumstances mentioned above.

" (e) Corresponding members shall be appointed for a period of three years. They may, however, be reappointed at the end of this period; but in any case their duties shall terminate as soon as the Council appoints a person of the same nationality as a full member of the Committee.

" 5. The members of the Economic Committee shall elect their own Chairman, who shall hold office for at least one year.

" 6. The Economic Committee is authorised to take any steps it may consider necessary in the course of its investigations and preparatory work, including the consultation of experts and forming of sub-committees or special committees, without on each occasion referring the matter to the Council; the latter, however, reserves the right to take any necessary decisions on the Committee's reports as soon as the work has passed the preparatory stage and entered upon the stage of action.

## " II. Consultative Committee.

" The Council will proceed at its next session to appoint the members of the Consultative Committee, under the conditions laid down in the resolution of the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, and

" Requests the Rapporteur on economic questions to draw up, in conjunction with the Secretary-General and after having proceeded to any necessary consultations, a list of the members of the Consultative Committee, which shall be submitted for the Council's approval at its next session."

### 3. ECONOMIC COMMITTEE — LIST OF MEMBERS.

At its meetings of September 28th and December 7th, 1927, the Council appointed the following members of the Economic Committee:

M. J. BRUNET,	Belgium	M. D. SERRUYS,	France
M. J. A. BARBOZA- CARNEIRO,	Brazil	M. W. STUCKI,	Switzerland
Sir Sydney CHAPMAN K.C.B., C.B.E.	Great Britain	Dr. E. TRENDELENBURG,	Germany
M. A. DI NOLA,	Italy	<i>Corresponding Members.</i>	
M. F. DOLEZAL,	Poland	Mr. C. A. B. CAMPION,	Australia
M. Jan DVOŘÁČEK,	Czechoslovakia	M. Y. Y. CHU,	China
Mr. Lucius R. EASTMAN,	United States of America	M. G. CURCIN,	Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes
M. N. ITO,	Japan	M. A. JENSEN,	Denmark
M. G. JAHN,	Norway	Three Corresponding Members, nationals of the Argentine, Chile and Venezuela respectively.	
Mr. H. A. F. LINDSAY, C.I.E., C.B.E.	India		
Professor E. NECULCEA,	Roumania		
Dr. Richard SCHÜLLER,	Austria		

At its session in December 1927, the Economic Committee elected M. SERRUYS, as its Chairman, and M. TRENDELENBURG, as Vice-Chairman, both for a period of a year.

#### 4. CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE — CONSTITUTION AND LIST OF MEMBERS.

On December 9th, 1927, the representative of Germany, Rapporteur for economic questions, submitted for the approval of the Council a list of members of the Consultative Committee, with the following observations :

“ The composition of the Consultative Committee, as now proposed, reproduces as far as possible the composition of the old Preparatory Committee for the International Economic Conference, with its balance among the various elements. In this way, I have endeavoured to comply with the wishes expressed by the International Economic Conference and subsequently by the last Assembly.

“ The list accordingly comprises groups of qualified experts on industry, commerce, agriculture, finance, labour questions and question affecting consumers.

“ Anxious as I was to secure a well-balanced representation for all these elements in proportion to their importance in economic life, and likewise to provide equitable representation for the various countries — particularly as regards Europe, to which according to an explicit recommendation of the Economic Conference, special attention is to be paid — I found myself compelled to exceed to a certain extent the number (35) suggested by the Assembly. The list before you comprises 47 members appointed directly by the Council, including the three members nominated by the International Labour Office.

“ It seems expedient that the Council should retain the right to make at any time any changes in this list which circumstances may dictate and also to review the entire composition of the Committee after a period which should not, I think, exceed three years.”

On the proposal of the Rapporteur, the Council adopted the following rules regarding the working of the Consultative Committee :

“ In pursuance of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 24th, 1927, with reference to the constitution of the Consultative Committee which is to form part of the Economic Organisation of the League of Nations :

“ And in accepting the proposals of the German representative, Rapporteur on economic questions,

“ The Council decides as follows :

“ 1. The members of the Consultative Committee are personally appointed by the Council and do not represent their Governments.

“ The Council may make modifications at any time in the composition of the Consultative Committee, and will in any case revise the whole list within a period not exceeding three years.

“ 2. The Secretary-General is requested to invite the persons named in the attached list to serve on the Consultative Committee and at the same time to forward them copies of this report.

“ 3. The Secretary-General is requested to send a like invitation to the President of the International Institute of Agriculture.

“ 4. Five members appointed by the Economic Committee will serve on the Consultative Committee. One member will also be appointed by the Financial Committee.

“ 5. The members mentioned in paragraphs 3 and 4 above will have the same rights as those mentioned in paragraph 2.

“ 6. The Council invites M. G. THEUNIS to enter upon his duties as Chairman, and M. LOUCHEUR, M. COLIJN and Sir Atul CHATTERJEE as Vice-Chairmen, of the Consultative Committee forthwith.

“ The Chairman and Vice-Chairmen are requested to take in concert — with the assistance of the Secretariat and maintaining communication with the other competent technical bodies — any preparatory measures that may be required for the meeting of the Committee.

“ 7. Members of the Consultative Committee may forthwith make to the Chairman of the Committee any proposals or suggestions they think fit with regard to the preparatory work and to the agenda and date of the next meeting.

“ 8. The date will be fixed by the Council on the advice of the Chairman of the Committee and the Secretary-General.”

The Consultative Committee is composed of the following members :

*Chairman :*

M. Georges THEUNIS, Belgium

*Vice-Chairmen :*

M. LOUCHEUR, France  
Sir Atul Chandra CHATTERJEE, K.C.I.E., India

*Members :*

Sir Arthur BALFOUR, K.B.E.,	Great Britain	M. F. VON MENDELSSOHN,	Germany
M. E. BELLONI,	Italy	M. Hermann MÜLLER,	Germany
M. BENNI,	Italy	M. A. NASTA,	Roumania
Professor Francisco BERNIS,	Spain	M. A. OERNE,	Sweden
M. CHUAN CHAO,	China	M. OUDEGEEST,	Netherlands
M. J. CLAN,	Denmark	M. DE PEYERIMHOFF DE FONTENELLE,	France
M. F. P. DA CUNHA LEAL,	Portugal	M. POPLAWSKI,	Poland
Mme. Emmi FREUNDLICH,	Austria	Mr. Arthur PUGH,	Great Britain
M. Jules GAUTIER,	France	M. T. RAMIREZ,	Chile
M. Gustave L. GÉRARD,	Belgium	M. E. ROSSONI,	Italy
M. Hipolit GLIWIC,	Poland	M. SERRARENS,	Netherlands
Count HADIK,	Hungary	Mr. Adam SHORTT, C.M.G., LL.D.,	Canada
Dr. A. HERMES,	Germany	M. Väinö TANNER,	Finland
Dr. F. HODÁČ,	Czechoslovakia	Mr. Alonzo E. TAYLOR,	United States of America
M. E. JARAMILLO,	Colombia	Dr. Milan TODOROVIC,	Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes
M. JCUHAUX,	France	M. J. TSUSHIMA,	Japan
M. N. KAWASHIMA,	Japan	M. K. VARVARESSOS,	Greece
M. Cl. LAMMERS,	Germany	Mr. Vernon WILLEY, C.M.G., C.V.O., C.B.E.,	Great Britain
Professor E. LAUR,	Switzerland	Professor Allyn YOUNG,	United States of America
Mr. W. T. LAYTON, M.A., C.B.E.,	Great Britain		
Mr. F. L. McDUGALL, C.M.G.,	Australia		

*Economic Committee :*

M. D. SERRUYS,	France	Sir Sydney CHAPMAN,	Great Britain
Dr. E. TRENDELENBURG,	Germany	K.C.B., C.B.E.,	
Dr. Richard SCHÜLLER,	Austria	M. Gunnar JAHN,	Norway

*Financial Committee :*

M. Léopold DUBOIS, Switzerland

*International Institute of Agriculture (Rome) :*

M. DE MICHELIS, President of the Institute

*International Chamber of Commerce (Paris) :*

M. A. PIRELLI  
Mr. Roland W. BOYDEN  
M. E. HELDRING

(ii) WORK OF THE ECONOMIC CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE.

1. INTRODUCTION.

The Economic Consultative Committee, established under resolutions of the Assembly and of the Council dated September 24th and 27th and December 9th, 1927, held its first session from May 14th to 19th, 1928.

The terms of reference of this Committee are "to follow the application of the recommendations of the Economic Conference". The Committee has, therefore, confined itself to reviewing the changes in the economic situation during the past year; to examining the action taken, whether through the organs of the League or otherwise, in order to put into effect the recommendations of the Economic Conference; and after examining the programmes submitted to it, to making certain suggestions for the future.

## 2. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN 1927.

It is necessary, in order to understand the nature and scope of the Committee's recommendations, to see them against the background of general economic conditions at the present time.

A general picture of these conditions at the beginning of 1927 was given in the first part of the report of the Economic Conference (document C.E.I.44 (1) pp. 15-19). The Committee has not thought it necessary to repeat the main conclusions of that review. It will be sufficient here to give a short account of the principal features in the developments of the past year.

Full statistics for 1927 are not yet available and statements in respect of that year must be provisional. Such figures as we have, however, of production, crops, foreign trade and employment make it possible to form some general impression.

*Production.* — The information before the Economic Conference pointed to the general conclusion that, up till 1925, there had been a slow recovery in Europe from the effects of the war, while in other continents the progress was much greater.

In the year 1926, the economic recovery in Europe was checked by the long stoppage of coal production in the United Kingdom and by continuing currency fluctuations. In the year now under review, 1927, the improvement in general conditions in Europe was certainly greater than in any year since the war. On the other hand, in the United States the level of economic activity was not more than maintained.

The improvement in Europe in 1927 was not, however, uniform, the increase being more rapid in the centre and east than in the west. The evidence tends to show, for example, that in Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia there was an increase in production, and unemployment diminished in this part of the continent, though still, in some cases, remaining at a high level. This increase in production in Central Europe must be attributed largely to the very considerable import of capital from overseas which has increased Europe's indebtedness. The rise on domestic savings, however, has likewise contributed to it.

The few countries in which there was a notable improvement are those in which the currency changes had a repressive influence. Italy and Norway were, for example, affected by such changes. In France, though industrial production was below the very high level of the preceding year, values gradually adapted themselves to the stable rate of exchange without any pronounced difficulties in the form of acute unemployment. In Finland and Sweden industrial output touched a new record. In the United Kingdom production was larger than in any year since 1920. It not only showed, as was natural, a considerable increase upon the previous year which was affected by the coal stoppage, but the number of unemployed was lower, in each quarter of 1927, than in the corresponding quarters of 1925.

As concerns agriculture, the cultivated area has increased markedly in Europe, the pre-war level having been almost reached in 1927. As regards the rest of the world, conditions in South America improved, particularly in the Argentine, where the harvest was generally good. But the prices of meat, maize and cotton ruled particularly low, and the Argentine, as well as Australia, New Zealand and Egypt all suffered from this fact. The low prices likewise affected the situation of certain European countries.

In certain countries, this continued discrepancy between the prices of agricultural produce and the cost of the goods required for the purposes of agricultural production still limits the earning capacity of the agriculturist, who is further handicapped by the relatively high interest rates demanded for long-term capital investments.

In the Far East, conditions were, on the whole, less favourable than in Europe. Japanese industry was adversely affected by banking difficulties in the spring. Chinese trade declined and the low price of rubber reduced the value of the exports of the Malay Archipelago and other rubber producing areas.

In striking illustration of the change which has taken place in the balance of production of the world, it may be noted that, if the abnormal year 1921 be ignored, the steel production in Europe in 1927 exceeded one-half of the world's total for the first time since 1914.

*Finance.* — Further progress was made during the year in the consolidation of State finances and in the stabilisation of currencies. By the end of the year, indeed, the currency had been put on a gold basis, or the rate of exchange had been *de facto* stabilised, in all the more important trading countries. Gold prices in the different countries showed a distinct tendency to converge, and by the end of the year the differences had been appreciably reduced.

The general price index of the United States averaged nearly 5 per cent lower in 1927 than in 1926. In Central Europe, on the other hand, the increase in prosperity was attended by an upward price movement.

The banking situation in Europe was characterised by an increase in the gold reserves of a number of central banks, while the gold stock held by the United States was reduced by about 150 million dollars.

*Trade.* — The available statistics for 1927, both as to weight and as to value, indicate a definite increase in world trade during 1927, though it is too early yet to estimate it closely. As in the case of production, it may be said that Central Europe has probably advanced relatively rather more than the west, and Europe as a whole more than North America.

It is not easy to summarise in a single sentence the net effect of all changes in tariffs or other restrictions upon trade. On the whole there appears to have been some improvement during the year. Many prohibitions were relaxed or removed though the actual reductions of tariffs made during the year have to be offset by a number of increases in different countries, and though the increases embodied in tariff laws have perhaps outnumbered the reductions, the conclusion of numerous commercial treaties and the general inclusion in them of the most-favoured-nation clause moderated the level of duties to which trade has actually been subjected. Coming after a series of years in which tariffs have been tending upward, in which many restrictive practices have been in force, and in which currencies have been in a state of chaos, the comparative stability of tariffs and of exchanges is largely responsible for the trade improvement that has actually occurred.

The above paragraphs describe the improvement that took place in 1927 compared with the preceding year. It must not, however, be forgotten that trade and production in 1926 were at a very unsatisfactory level. Both were in that year but little above the pre-war level, and Europe's trade was still some 5 per cent lower. When it is remembered that, in the decade before the war, production, trade and the standard of living had been making headway year by year, it is very far from satisfactory that the best we can say of the present situation is that, ten years after the end of the war, the international trade of Europe has at last recovered to about the pre-war level. If the conditions that obtained in 1927 have enabled our international trade to make an appreciable recovery, we must not forget that progress has been seriously checked for a decade and a half and we start to-day about where we left off fifteen years ago.

It is true that productive capacity has greatly increased, but the fact that a large proportion of this capacity remains unutilised militates against regularity in production and imparts an element of uncertainty into international trade.

Substantially, then, the diagnosis of the situation, in spite of the definite improvement that has resulted from monetary stability and the somewhat greater freedom of trade, remains in its main features the same as that made a year ago by the World Economic Conference. It follows, also, that economic policy must continue to be directed towards an expansion of world trade and of production without which a rise in the standard of living cannot take place. It is to this increase of trade and of production that the recommendations of the World Economic Conference were mainly directed.

### 3. ECONOMIC POLICY DURING THE FIRST YEAR AFTER THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.<sup>1</sup>

#### A. *Autonomous and Contractual Action by the States.*

The effect of the policy laid down at the World Economic Conference and the unanimity with which that policy was approved was immediately felt. The adhesion of a large number of Governments to its recommendations, whether given at the Council or the Assembly of the League of Nations or in the official statements to national Parliaments or otherwise, showed that the Conference did not misinterpret the desires and intentions of those responsible for the commercial policy of many of the countries of the world.

Concrete results in legislation could not be expected until after an appreciable lapse of time. It was several years after the Brussels Financial Conference of 1920 before the Finance Committee of the League was able to put on record concrete achievements in the sphere of financial reconstruction in Europe. In the case of the recommendations of the World Economic Conference, action has been considerably more rapid, for it may be said that the effect of the Conference has already substantially checked the upward movement of tariffs, which was in full swing in May 1927.

It is true that in certain cases the preparations which at this time last year were already being made for raising tariffs have been in part carried into effect and that some tariffs are to-day higher than a year ago. But, even in these cases, the actual rates of duty which are in force to-day are in general much less than those which were then proposed. A comparison of these proposals themselves and the actual rates which were brought into effect will show how great an influence has been exerted by the work of the Conference. This influence may also be traced in the fact that many strongly supported demands for

<sup>1</sup> For detailed statement of facts, see document C.C.E. 7 "Application of the Recommendations of the World Economic Conference".



increased tariffs that have been made during the year have been rejected. On the other hand, some countries have, in response to demands from the agricultural community, increased the protection on agricultural commodities to bring it into conformity with the general level of their tariffs, while others again have adjusted them to a new currency level.

But there has also been a second development in commercial politics which can be traced directly to the Economic Conference. The year 1927 is markedly distinct from preceding years in the fact that the nations of the world, and of Europe in particular, have acted in accordance with the maxim laid down by the Conference that "tariffs, though within the sovereign jurisdiction of the separate States, are not a matter of purely domestic interest, but greatly influence the trade of the world". This conception has chiefly shown itself in the large number of commercial treaties concluded during the year, which have not only reduced the rates of duty between the contracting parties, but have extended these reductions to third parties under the operation of the most-favoured-nation clause. The general adoption of this clause and the large number of treaties passed during the year mark not only the return to the pre-war contractual practices but also an extension of the system of tariff treaties. It is no exaggeration to say that 1927 has been the year of commercial treaties.

In this connection special mention should be made of the beginning that has been made in the conclusion of multilateral treaties — a form of agreement envisaged by the Economic Conference which is yet in its infancy, but may come to be of even greater importance than the existing network of bilateral agreements. The most important episode of the year in this connection has been the drawing up of the agreement for the abolition of export and import prohibitions and restrictions.

But hitherto the influence of the Conference, whether upon the autonomous action of Governments or by the encouragement of commercial agreements, has in the main been confined to the relations between European States. A feature of the past twelve months has been the more rapid improvement of trade between the nations of Europe than between Europe and the United States or other distant parts of the world, and this in spite of the influx of capital from the United States and the development of economic relations with that country. A survey of trade over a longer series of years shows that this inter-continental trade, no less than that between the States of Europe, is hampered by high tariffs. The movement for the diminution of trade barriers cannot gather its full momentum or have its full fruition in an increase of world trade until it has extended from Europe to all the countries of the world.

#### *B. Collective Action under the Auspices of the League of Nations.*

So far as the League of Nations is concerned, the main responsibility for carrying out the policy of the World Conference has rested with the Economic Committee. The task put upon this body by the wide scope and variety of the subjects treated at the Conference is a very heavy one.

The preparation of the International Conference on Import and Export Restrictions and the execution of the decisions of this Conference, the elaboration in conjunction with the International Chamber of Commerce of a draft international Convention on the treatment of foreigners, which is now before the Governments, the drawing up, with the help of experts, of a general outline of a uniform Customs nomenclature, the initiation of enquiries into treaty methods, into the most-favoured-nation clause and into the possibility of collective action in tariff matters, are among the tasks of the year carried out by the Committee. The progress already achieved is substantial and provides a basis on which there is every hope of erecting a superstructure of international agreement and understanding over a very wide field.

Further, the Convention for the execution of foreign arbitral awards, to which one of the resolutions of the Conference referred, was adopted on September 26th, 1927, by the Assembly of the League of Nations. Up to date seven countries have signed the Convention which is open to the signature of all the States parties to the 1923 Protocol.

In the same resolution the desire is expressed that it will be possible very shortly to find a general solution of the question of the assimilation of legislation on bills of exchange and cheques. Draft international Conventions embodying the different aspects of the problem have been drawn up by a committee of experts and are at present being considered by the Economic Committee. It is therefore to be hoped that before long positive results will be obtained in this domain.

While the influence of the Conference in matters of commercial policy has shown its effect in Government action, its resolutions on industrial questions must, in the main, be given effect to by private bodies or individuals. This is a convenient place at which to observe, however, that during the past year several countries have become more favourable to the formation of cartels. As a result some new industrial understandings have been reached. Nothing has yet been done, however, to study their effects by an international examination of the subject.

The tendency of those interested in agriculture to look more and more towards international action and to found their hopes on collaboration with the League of Nations has become more evident as the year has passed — a tendency which was unquestionably stimulated through the recognition by the Economic Conference of the close interdependence of industrial and agricultural prosperity.<sup>1</sup>

The Economic Organisation of the League has, however, been so fully occupied with the tasks which have been entrusted to it in connection with commercial policy that it has not yet been able to take active steps to carry out the tasks proposed for it in connection with industrial and agricultural questions. The Committee hopes that the Economic Organisation will, in the future, be placed in a position to carry out these tasks. Such attempts as have so far been made, as, *e.g.*, in the case of veterinary regulations, have not yet reached a successful conclusion.

The work done by the Economic Organisation of the League, of which the chief items have already been mentioned, represents a very great effort by all concerned, and the Consultative Committee wishes to express its very high appreciation of the progress which has been made. The Consultative Committee has also been happy to note how fruitful has been the collaboration between this organisation and the International Labour Office, and hopes that this collaboration will be continued for the considerable work which still remains to be done.

The programme of work for the future involves a considerable increase even upon the record of the past year. In the resolutions we have submitted, some indication is given of the relative importance of the various tasks which will fall upon the Economic Organisation. The Economic Committee will doubtless exercise a wise discretion in arranging a priority. The Consultative Committee is confident that it will do its best to proceed as rapidly as possible with all the tasks contained in the programme proposed.

The Committee desires, however, to record its view that, whatever efforts may be put forward at Geneva, they cannot obtain the hoped-for results unless they are fully sustained by the various Governments. Economic improvement cannot be secured by international conventions, however perfect, unless they are ratified and put into effect by national Governments.

#### 4. COMMERCE.

##### A. *Liberty of Trading.*<sup>2</sup>

The central problem with which the Consultative Committee has had to deal is that of the means by which an improvement in world trade can be secured.

The Consultative Committee observes with satisfaction that the Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, the preparation of which was begun before the International Economic Conference met, has now been signed by eighteen States. The Committee declares that the re-establishment of complete liberty of trading is an essential condition of any real improvement in international trade.

It appreciates highly the practical character of the provisions of the Convention signed on November 8th, 1927, and the spirit of mutual consideration shown by the signatory States in submitting for general approval those special or temporary measures which some of them wish provisionally to maintain as exceptions to the principle of the Convention. At the same time, it fears that certain reservations still under consideration by the signatory States may jeopardise the effectiveness of the Convention and perhaps even prevent the definite adhesion of certain States.

It is confident that, except in a very few cases, justified by abnormal circumstances which it would be unreasonable to ignore, the Conference which is about to meet again will refuse to admit any further exceptions under Article 6 to the principle of liberty of trading.

The Consultative Committee is glad to note that the Economic Committee has started work upon the question of the veterinary regulations in accordance with the recommendations of the Conference which drew up the Convention of November 8th, 1927, and hopes that the work will be pursued with the attention which the importance of the subject demands.

##### B. *Commercial Policy.*

The resolutions of the Economic Conference relating to tariffs contemplate autonomous action by individual States, bilateral action in the form of treaties and collective action under the auspices of the League of Nations.

<sup>1</sup> The work done by the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome is described in document C.C.E.16 "Agriculture and the Resolutions of the International Economic Conference", presented by the Institute for the first session of the Consultative Committee.

<sup>2</sup> "Liberty of Trading" is used in the same sense as in the Report of the Economic Conference, *i.e.* to include the removal of import and export prohibitions, etc., as distinct from questions of Customs tariffs which are dealt with in the following sections.

### 1. *Autonomous Action.*

The Consultative Committee notes with satisfaction that certain States have reduced their Customs duties by autonomous action. It notes further that the Economic Council of the Reich has already submitted proposals in this sense to the German authorities concerned.

### 2. *Bilateral Action.*

The Consultative Committee is glad to note that, during the year 1927-28, the bilateral action recommended by the Conference has proved particularly effective. Many commercial treaties have been concluded, which have facilitated the growth of international trade and have at the same time introduced an element of stability into commercial relations.

The Franco-German Treaty of August 17th, 1927, was, if not the first, at all events the most conspicuous practical example of the principle of international co-operation recommended by the Conference of 1927. This agreement between the two principal producing countries on the Continent has, on the one hand, made available to other countries new facilities which they have secured by virtue of the most-favoured-nation clause: on the other hand, it provided one of the parties to the agreement with an opportunity to make an upward revision of its tariffs, which had long been in contemplation. It must be recognised, however, that this increase was much less than that which the country in question was planning prior to the 1927 Conference, and that the increase of duties has subsequently been modified by tariff reductions made by France in her commercial treaties with Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Austria, as well as by the reductions granted by these countries to France. The benefit of these reductions has been extended to nearly every State by virtue of the most-favoured-nation clause.

The Consultative Committee also welcomes the treaties concluded between certain States of Central Europe, including those between Germany and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, between Germany and Greece, between Austria and Hungary and between Hungary and Czechoslovakia; it trusts that similar treaties may soon establish between other countries a network of agreements, the effects of which will benefit the commerce of all States.

It is glad to learn that the treaties concluded since the Conference have again been based upon the unconditional most-favoured-nation clause, and in most cases provide for the consolidation and reduction of tariffs.

The Consultative Committee, which has been informed of the work already done by the Economic Committee in the matter of tariff systems, contractual methods and most-favoured-nation treatment, realises that the difficulties arising from different conceptions and varying forms of legislation make it impossible, for the time being, to adopt common rules and practices for all countries.

While it may not be possible to secure complete uniformity in tariff systems and contractual methods, the Consultative Committee considers that the action taken by the Economic Committee with a view to getting States to accept arrangements which, in spite of divergent conceptions and methods, would result in practice in the effective execution of the resolutions of the 1927 Conference, is the only practical way, at the moment, of making progress in commercial policy.

It trusts that the Economic Committee's efforts in regard to tariff systems and contractual methods may be usefully supplemented by work in regard to the interpretation and application of the unconditional most-favoured-nation clause.

It is particularly anxious that a definite interpretation, confirmed and accepted by international agreement, should be arrived at in this matter as soon as possible, in order to put an end to inadmissible restrictions and the introduction of new conditions which have not been agreed to by the contracting States. In this connection the Consultative Committee calls attention to the unfair limitation which may result from the unreasonable specialisation of tariff schedules and the refusal to grant the benefit of tariff reductions to similar products which, under any fair application of the clause, ought to enjoy them. It is of opinion that the *de jure* exceptions covered by the clause should be clearly defined, and that *de facto* exceptions cannot bind third States except with their consent.

At the same time the Committee notes with satisfaction that the Economic Committee is considering the delicate problem of the repercussion of commitments undertaken in virtue of the terms of these multilateral agreements on the provisions of bilateral agreements based on the most-favoured-nation clause. It hopes that the work of the Economic Committee in this matter, without in any way prejudicing existing rights, will find a way of preventing them from forming an obstacle to a wide extension of multilateral agreements and the international guarantees which they afford.

### 3. *Collective Action.*

1. The Consultative Committee, while recognising the difficulties in the way of speedily reaching the collective agreement for the general reduction of tariffs contemplated in the resolutions of the World Economic Conference, considers that, in view of the low level at which the trade of the world still remains, a continuous effort should be made to overcome these difficulties and to reach a general agreement.

2. The Committee concurs in the suggestion of the Economic Committee that, as a practical method of approaching the problem and as a means of obtaining the necessary experience for dealing with it as a whole, efforts should be made in the first instance to reach agreement with regard to particular groups of commodities.

3. The agreement in respect of each group should cover as many stages of production as is practicable, having regard to the fact that, if reductions are limited to the rates of duty on raw materials or on semi-finished products, such reductions increase the protection afforded to the products of the industry in question at later stages of manufacture.

4. The Committee is of opinion that the collective reductions envisaged in the preceding paragraphs should eventually cover as large a number as possible of articles which play an important rôle in economic life, priority being given to those products in regard to which a collective agreement may most rapidly be attained.

The choice of the actual commodities in respect of which collective agreements are to be made must be left to be determined, after careful investigation, by the Economic Committee. The choice should not be limited to commodities which only interest a small number of countries.

5. The Committee considers that, while the procedure to be followed in carrying out this scheme may differ in the case of each investigation, it should, as a rule, provide for consultation with all those specially interested either as producers, traders or consumers in order to secure a fair adjustment of their respective interests.

6. The Consultative Committee is of opinion that the plans referred to above will have much greater prospect of success if, meanwhile, the Governments will, as far as possible, adhere to the recommendation of the Economic Conference that "the upward movement of tariffs should cease".

7. The Consultative Committee considers that indices of tariff levels afford a valuable means of ascertaining the progress made in the reduction of tariffs both by autonomous action or by commercial treaties and therefore recommends that such indices should continue to be compiled and published from time to time. Owing, however, to the approximate character of the method of index numbers and to the imperfection of the statistics on which tariff indices are based, it recognises that they may in some cases be open to criticism. It therefore considers it important that every effort should be made by the Economic Organisation of the League to make them as exact and comparable with one another as possible.

8. The Consultative Committee considers that the draft classification compiled by the Committee of Experts on Customs nomenclature has an importance which far surpasses its technical interest. Its adoption will greatly facilitate the efforts that are being made to secure collective action for the reduction of tariffs and general adoption of the most-favoured-nation clause and the simplification of Customs formalities.

The Committee therefore urges that the work of drawing up the detailed tables of commodities in each class should be pressed forward as rapidly as possible and that the completed classification should be adopted with the least possible delay. The Committee is anxious that, at every stage of this work, the need of simplification of tariffs should constantly be borne in mind.

9. The Committee recognises that, in many cases, the height of tariffs makes it possible, by virtue of the high prices maintained in the internal market, to sell goods abroad at artificially low prices, and that the practice of dumping, which frequently results from an exaggerated tariff level as well as from other artificial measures, is a serious menace to international trade. It therefore invites the Economic Committee to add to the investigations already in progress on the relation between anti-dumping measures and the fair application of most-favoured-nation treatment, a special study of the facts with a view to arriving at definite plans for mitigating the harmful effects of dumping.

### C. *Treatment of Foreigners.*

The Economic Conference rightly pointed out that "the granting of the legal, administrative, fiscal and judicial guarantees necessary to the nationals, firms or companies of a State admitted to exercise their trade, industry, or other occupation in the territory of another State, or to settle there, is one of the essential conditions of economic co-operation between nations".

The draft International Convention prepared by the Economic Committee and communicated by the Council to all the Governments is a first step towards the realisation of this idea. In place of all the inadequacies and uncertainties of bilateral treaties, a convention on the lines of the draft would substitute a multilateral treaty, which would institute an international statute both positive and liberal, marking a decided advance and affording a guarantee of peace.

The Consultative Committee warmly recommends this draft as the basis for an international conference, and hopes that this statute may later be supplemented, as

suggested in the Final Act, by guarantees relating to the exchange and settlement of labour, upon the drafting of which the International Labour Office might set to work as soon as economic circumstances allow.

#### D. *Administrative Protectionism.*

The Consultative Committee also calls attention to "administrative protectionism", which includes not only the questions dealt with in the International Convention relating to the Simplification of Customs Formalities, but also all measures directly or indirectly aimed at obstructing the import of foreign goods or excluding them altogether.

It is further recommended that steps should be taken as soon as possible to put an end to this disguised protectionism, which is manifested in the most diverse forms.

#### 5. INDUSTRY.

The Consultative Committee notes that the Economic Organisation, faced by the impossibility of dealing simultaneously with all the work arising out of the recommendations of the World Economic Conference, decided to concentrate its attention, first, mainly on questions of commercial policy, and has no doubt that this decision was a wise one.

The Economic Conference drew attention to three problems in the field of industry which it considered of outstanding importance, namely, rationalisation, industrial agreements and the provision of adequate statistics and information concerning industrial development.

On the first of these questions the Economic Organisation of the League was merely instructed "to keep in touch with the institutions specially concerned with this subject and include a note of its development in its reports on industrial conditions".

The International Management Institute having been created largely in order to study the questions dealt with in the Economic Conference's recommendations on rationalisation, the League Council left it to the Consultative Committee to ensure the Institute's co-operation, and that body has submitted to the Consultative Committee a memorandum bearing upon certain international aspects of rationalisation.<sup>1</sup>

The Consultative Committee, which is anxious to encourage the Institute in its efforts, would be glad if Governments, appropriate institutions and organisations of trades and occupations would grant it their support and make use of its machinery in connection with the investigations of rationalisation.

Furthermore, the Committee thinks it desirable that the Institute should devote attention to certain questions directly connected with the recommendations of the Economic Conference.

It suggests :

1. That, in pursuing its general work of propaganda and education and in continuing to collect documentary information relating to scientific management, the Institute will seek an agreement in regard to the terms, the subject-matter and the methods of rationalisation ;

2. That, with the help of the various national associations for standardisation and of the International Chamber of Commerce, it will study suitable methods of promoting international trade by abolishing unnecessary differences in the types and specifications of manufacture ;

3. That it will furnish the Economic Organisation with the necessary data to judge the expediency of international measures for the simplification of processes and for the reduction of the number of types of products ;

4. That it will suggest to Governments and institutions which have undertaken or may undertake general enquiries into the economic situation or the conditions of certain industries, that they should employ similar methods of investigation as regards the advance made in rationalisation, so as to allow of comparison between the results obtained ;

5. That it will submit to the Consultative Committee, before its next session, a brief report showing the progress achieved and submitting any proposals that may be useful.

In examining this question of rationalisation, in which the collaboration of the International Management Institute has proved of particular value, the Consultative Committee has noted that the study of the effects of rationalisation on labour is being undertaken by the International Labour Office.

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<sup>1</sup> Document C.C.E. 3.

No action has yet been taken with reference to the question of industrial agreements, and, in the document on the work of the Economic Organisation during the past year, submitted to the Consultative Committee, the latter is requested to give its advice as to the best way of giving effect to the wishes of the Economic Conference in this connection.

The Consultative Committee is fully conscious of the difficulty of the question; but it is clear that the Economic Organisation of the League cannot afford to ignore the importance of national and international agreements in the whole organisation of production and distribution.

The Consultative Committee is of opinion therefore that the proper approach to the whole problem would be by means of a study of the development of the forms of organisation and of the legal framework within which that development has taken place. It is desirable that the more important international agreements which have been reached, their various legal and economic forms and the laws under which they operate, should be analysed and classified. Such a study is necessary in order to enable the Economic Organisation to carry out its full mandate.

In pursuance, therefore, of the following recommendation of the International Economic Conference:

“The Conference considers that the League of Nations should closely follow these forms of international industrial co-operation and their effects upon technical progress, the development of production, conditions of labour, the situation as regards supplies, and the movement of prices, seeking in this connection the collaboration of the various Governments. It should collect the relevant data with a view to publishing from time to time such information as may be of general interest.”

the Consultative Committee recommends the Council to request the Economic Organisation of the League to study, in the first instance, the following points, the careful examination of which appears to be an essential preliminary to the complete execution of the recommendation in question. It should seek any advice it may consider necessary and should follow the methods recommended by the Economic Conference:

1. The subject-matter and nature of international industrial agreements and cartels and their importance from the international economic standpoint.
2. The status and juridical form of these agreements and cartels and the legislation applicable to them.
3. The measure of publicity given to them.

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Closely connected with the question of rationalisation in its wider sense is the problem to which the Economic Conference attached particular importance of the compilation of comparable industrial statistics, and the provision of precise, complete and up-to-date information concerning the development and activity of industry. Such information can only be obtained with the co-operation of the leaders of industry, and the Consultative Committee was accordingly glad to ascertain that the Economic Committee had received an offer of such co-operation from the International Chamber of Commerce. This offer related to the recommendation of the Economic Conference to the effect “that suitable measures should be taken so that Governments, in collaboration with the chief industries, should arrive at international agreements with reference to the definition of the terms, the methods employed, and the scope of industrial statistics”.

The International Chamber of Commerce proposes to set up a number of special committees on certain branches of production with a view to reaching preliminary agreements between industrialists on this question of comparability of methods. It is clearly important that the classification and nomenclature adopted in industrial statistics should conform, in so far as circumstances permit, with the tariff nomenclature now being elaborated, which should constitute at a later date the bases of the commercial statistics of the world. In this connection the work already accomplished by the International Bureau created by the Convention of 1913 should not be forgotten. This classification and nomenclature should further be rendered as similar as possible to the classification of products now being prepared by the Transit Organisation for employment in transport statistics. The policy which has been pursued by the Economic Committee is one which would appear to ensure these results, provided that the three lines of enquiry are kept carefully abreast of each other.

The Consultative Committee trusts therefore that the International Chamber of Commerce will press forward the work of the special committees which it proposes to set up, and that it will, as the work progresses, widen the range of industries and products to be covered.

The Council of the League of Nations further proposes to convene, towards the end of this year, a Diplomatic Statistical Conference with the object of obtaining the definite undertaking of Governments to compile and publish certain classes of economic statistics

and reach at the same time an agreement concerning the methods to be adopted in the preparation of those statistics. It is to be hoped that a full measure of agreement may be reached.

The Consultative Committee notes with satisfaction that, in accordance with the final resolution of the Economic Conference, the Economic Organisation of the League has been able to publish a further edition of the Memorandum on Production and Trade, bringing the world indices up to the end of 1926, and, further, that it has inserted in this publication a preliminary study of the important question of the relationship between the prices of agricultural and industrial products.

Attention should, however, be drawn to the resolution of the Economic Conference whereby the League of Nations should arrange for the compilation of reports on the general conditions obtaining in different branches of production, and it is to be hoped that the Economic Organisation of the League may be in a position to carry out the wishes of the Conference on this point. The ready and wholehearted assistance of the various national industrial associations is an obvious prerequisite to the efficient accomplishment of this task, and the Consultative Committee would accordingly venture to urge the organisations concerned to do all in their power to help the League of Nations in this connection.

## 6. COAL AND SUGAR.

The difficulties considered by the Economic Conference in the chapters on Commerce and Industry are exemplified in a special degree by the present position of the industries of coal and sugar. The Committee has therefore come to the conclusion that a study of the problems presented by these two industries might usefully be undertaken, and has accordingly voted the following resolutions :

### (a) *Coal.*

“ The Consultative Committee :

“ Impressed with the serious position of the coal industry and the importance of the international factors involved in this problem,

“ Recommends, in the interest of consumers and producers alike, that the Council should invite the Economic Organisation of the League to take up the enquiries that have been started in relation to the coal problem and to supplement them as soon as possible by obtaining such advice as it may deem appropriate and in the manner suggested by the Economic Conference.

“ A report should be submitted to the Council in order that the latter may be able to judge whether concerted international action could further the solution of this problem.”

### (b) *Sugar.*

“ The Consultative Committee :

“ Having regard to the difficult world position of the sugar industry, and particularly to the international aspects of the problem, the great importance and urgency of which are generally recognised,

“ Recommends that the Council invite the Economic Organisation of the League to undertake a thorough study of all factors and measures influencing the production and consumption of sugar and the international trade therein, and to lose no time in obtaining such advice and employing such methods of work as it may deem appropriate.

“ A report should be made to the Council, in order that the latter may be able to judge whether concerted international action could further the solution of the problems under consideration.”

## 7. AGRICULTURE.

The discussions which have taken place during the present session of the Consultative Committee have shown the great importance of the resolutions adopted last year by the Economic Conference on the subject of agriculture. It has become evident that, in order to secure the fulfilment of those resolutions, it would be necessary first of all to establish close collaboration between all the organisations which can contribute to that fulfilment.

The Consultative Committee considers that both the work of the 1927 Economic Conference and the communications submitted to it at its first session go to show that, on the one hand, no efforts to encourage and develop economic co-operation between peoples can achieve positive results unless they extend simultaneously to all branches of economic activity, and, in particular, to the systematic study of the problems of agriculture ; and that, on the other hand, to obtain fruitful results in the shortest possible time, it is necessary to ensure the closest possible co-operation in the general economic field under the direction of the League of Nations, between the various organisations which devote themselves to the study of agricultural questions. It accordingly recommends :

“ That the League of Nations should examine the possibility of instituting as soon as possible the most appropriate methods for bringing about such co-operation.”

Further, the Committee, having become aware, in the course of its discussions, of the initiative taken by the Italian Government with the object of bringing about close relations between the International Institute of Agriculture and the League of Nations, recommends that its Chairman be kept fully and promptly informed of the progress towards the agreements which it is desired to arrange so that he may collaborate in the task in any way that may seem most suitable.

Further, the Consultative Committee suggests :

“(a) That the League of Nations should arrange for the collection of the existing documentation concerning the intensification of agricultural production, training, co-operation, credits, means of transport and marketing of agricultural products in order to facilitate the study of the most appropriate methods of developing agriculture ; and

“(b) That the League of Nations should examine the most suitable means of ensuring that direct relations may be established and developed between Producers' Co-operative Societies and Consumers' Co-operative Societies in the various countries, in accordance with the resolution passed by the Economic Conference.”

#### 8. ECONOMIC TENDENCIES AFFECTING THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.

The Consultative Committee has had under consideration the first of the general resolutions of the Economic Conference, which runs as follows :

“The Conference :

“Recognising that the maintenance of world peace depends largely upon the principles on which the economic policies of nations are framed and executed,

“Recommends that the Governments and peoples of the countries here represented should together give continuous attention to this aspect of the economic problem, and looks forward to the establishment of recognised principles designed to eliminate those economic difficulties which cause friction and misunderstanding in a world which has everything to gain from peaceful and harmonious progress.”

This resolution is directly connected with the first of the two objects of the Conference, namely, the attainment of conditions favourable to peace. The Committee has considered what steps can be taken to give it effect. It realises that, at the present stage, the subject is not suitable for the treatment which it has recommended in other cases, namely, an expert enquiry leading up possibly to international conferences and conventions.

It confines itself, therefore, on this occasion to a recommendation that a preliminary study should be made with a view to further consideration next year. Meanwhile, the Committee ventures to express the hope that this enquiry will stimulate interests in this range of subjects on the part of economic historians and other investigators.

The Committee recommends :

“That the Economic Organisation be asked to make, in consultation with such persons and by such methods as may seem most suitable, a preliminary study of some of the more important principles and tendencies in financial and economic policy and practice which tend to create or to destroy conditions favourable to peace. The Committee considers that such a study might form a basis of further discussion at its next meeting and would in the meantime serve a valuable purpose in securing for this most important aspect of economic problems the attention both of Governments and of the public.”

#### 9. PURCHASING POWER OF GOLD.

The year which has passed since the World Economic Conference has seen a further and important development in the stabilisation of the foreign exchange rates. Another series of countries have either definitely returned to the gold — or gold exchange — standard or are preparing to do so in the near future. The greater stability of foreign exchange rates is undoubtedly one of the main reasons of the increase in international trade.

The stability of currencies in relation to gold has, however, brought into prominence a further problem in this domain. The Genoa Conference, as early as 1922, pointed out that, once the foreign exchanges have been stabilised on a gold basis, monetary policy should aim at regulating credit “not only with a view to maintaining the currencies at par with one another, but also with a view to preventing undue fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold”.

Without desiring to express an opinion as to technical methods, the Committee wishes to emphasise the great advantages to economic development of a monetary policy which should as far as possible reduce fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold, and has adopted the following resolution :

“The Consultative Committee, while recognising the great benefit to international commerce that has already resulted from the stabilisation in terms of gold of the currencies of most countries of the world, recalls the fears entertained by the



Genoa Conference of the dangers that might arise from undue fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold. In view of the detrimental effects upon industry, agriculture and the conditions of employment that would result from such fluctuations, the Committee appreciates the great interest which the central banks take in this problem and recommends it to the attention of the Financial and Economic Organisation of the League."

#### 10. SCOPE OF WORK TO BE UNDERTAKEN.

The Committee has attempted to sketch in outline the present economic situation ; it has described the contribution of the past year to the execution of the recommendations of the Economic Conference ; it has come to the conclusion that, while there are legitimate reasons for satisfaction, a much more sustained effort is necessary if the ground which was won by the recommendations of the Economic Conference is not to be lost.

The report of the Conference was adopted unanimously by the Assembly and separately endorsed by the specific declarations of twenty-nine Governments. The Committee is therefore entitled to assume that there is a genuine and widespread desire that a serious effort should be made to carry the recommendations of the Conference into effect, and that their execution has become an integral part of the work of the League of Nations, all the more important because those recommendations and the assumption by the League of the tasks involved have aroused interest and expectation throughout the world.

The Committee desires to point out that work cannot be begun simultaneously on every recommendation in the field of economic co-operation which has been opened up by the Economic Conference and the Assembly ; that in each year certain branches of work must be selected for immediate treatment ; that for each of these branches preparatory work can only be done by specialised technical committees, in close relation to the permanent bodies responsible for the economic policy of the League of Nations, leading up, in appropriate cases, as the work matures, to conferences, and that no work should be undertaken which does not offer a prospect of yielding practical results. This is the principle which has guided the Committee in considering future work, and, in reviewing the work done in the past.

The first conclusion at which the Committee has arrived is that the work done during the past year, so far as it goes, has been well done and far more than justifies the expenditure involved. The Committee is, indeed, surprised at the value and volume of the work done by so small a staff. But it does not go far enough. As regards the future, the Committee considers it essential that certain further work should be immediately undertaken.

In recommending, for what it considers imperative reasons, important new tasks not included in the programme of work already contemplated by the Economic Organisation, the Consultative Committee desires to state that it considers it absolutely essential that these new tasks should not have the effect of either reducing or retarding this programme. After a careful review it has selected certain subjects which it recommends for immediate study. These subjects necessarily require the appointment of several new technical committees.

In arriving at these recommendations, the Committee has throughout had in mind considerations of economy and has proposed only such work as, in its deliberate opinion, is worth much more than the necessary expense it would entail. It has not included in its recommendations those branches of work which, while they would undoubtedly meet the wishes of certain important sections of public opinion, are not ripe for action, or do not fall within immediate requirements.

At the same time, it should be realised that piecemeal work can also be uneconomical ; that the different pieces of work suggested are interdependent : and that if the scheme now proposed is curtailed for budgetary reasons the result will not only be serious delay in carrying out the Assembly's resolutions, but considerable waste of effort. The interdependence of these different branches of work is based on technical considerations which it is impossible to set forth here in full. One illustration may suffice. The work on Customs nomenclature will be largely wasted and become out of date if the work of scheduling the commodities involved is not begun at the same time.

The Committee desires to emphasise that, in its opinion, the programme contained in its report represents such tasks as are really practical and valuable, and that their execution should not be precluded or retarded for budgetary reasons.

#### 11. CONCLUSION.

Finally, while the Committee has thought it well to emphasise the large amount of additional work thrown upon the organs of the League, it considers it no less important to emphasise the great extent to which the achievement of the purposes desired by the Economic Conference depends upon the Governments of the different countries and upon the efforts made in those countries by all those whose advice is sought by the Governments and who are in a position to educate public opinion. For all the work which can be initiated

or carried through by the League organs, the limiting factor is necessarily to be found in the attitude of the several countries and their willingness to proceed further in the direction which the Conference recommended in the interests alike of the increased prosperity and the more assured maintenance of the peace of the world.

### (iii) WORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE.

Since its reconstitution at the time of the last session of the Assembly, the Economic Committee has held two sessions — in December 1927 and March 1928 — at which it dealt with the following questions :

#### 1. COMMERCIAL POLICY.

Now that the resolutions adopted by the International Economic Conference have received the almost unanimous approval of the Governments and the cordial assent of the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, the Economic Committee feels that its main work must be to carry out the commercial policy advocated by the Conference.

In the Committee's view, the outstanding result of the great meeting of May 1927 is the new orientation of commercial policy towards a liberal and equitable regime of trade. True, the Committee did not feel that it could neglect preparation for further discussion on industrial and agricultural questions ; but, at the same time, it determined to concentrate all its efforts at the outset on bringing about, as promptly and on as large a scale as possible, the reforms in commercial policy which the Conference held up as the goal of common international effort.

These reforms were contemplated by the Conference in three different aspects, those to be effected by the autonomous action of Governments, those to be effected by bilateral conventions between States, and those to be effected by the concerted and simultaneous action of States under the auspices of the League. The Economic Committee does not see how it could influence the autonomous action of Governments except by repeated affirmation of a liberal policy of which it feels itself to be the chosen advocate.

On the other hand, as regards governmental action in the form of bilateral and multi-lateral agreements, the Committee considered that its investigations and proposals should be aimed at diverting such action definitely into the channel indicated by the Conference.

The Economic Committee therefore turned its attention towards :

- (a) The placing on a sound basis of treaty-making methods (including the study of the most-favoured-nation clause), and
- (b) The possibility of collective action for a concerted lowering of Customs barriers.

The Committee has not yet reached any definite conclusions and proposes to continue the study of these questions at its next session in the month of June.

#### 2. UNIFICATION OF CUSTOMS NOMENCLATURE.

The Sub-Committee of Experts for the Unification of Customs Nomenclature, under the Chairmanship of M. Fighiera (France), and composed of experts from Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Germany and Italy, began its work in August 1927.

Within a comparatively short time the Sub-Committee submitted to the Economic Committee a draft of a general scheme providing a detailed and reasoned classification of all the goods which should be included in the various sections and chapters. This classification, accompanied by detailed commentaries, is embodied in document E.350(1).

The Economic Committee, at once realising the necessity of securing the assistance of the economic circles concerned in its investigations, instructed the Secretariat to send the draft prepared by the experts to all the circles interested and thus to invite any useful criticisms and observations the draft might suggest.

The Committee, in carrying out its enquiries and consultations, desired to make it clear that a common solution should as far as possible, be found also for cognate questions relating to Customs clearance regulations, in order to avoid the application of divergent rules which might undo all the work accomplished in compiling a collective classification.

The Sub-Committee of Experts continued its work, analysing the observations received and studying the different methods of Customs clearance applied in a large number of countries, with special reference to certain difficult problems, such as the clearance of composite goods. In order to help it to accomplish this somewhat heavy task, and in view of the increasing difficulty of its subsequent work, the Economic Committee decided to add to the Sub-Committee a Hungarian and a Swiss expert.

Only at a later stage, and only if the Sub-Committee of Experts is able to prepare an actual nomenclature, even though incomplete, should this work be continued with a view to meeting the necessity for a simplification of the Customs nomenclature, a necessity to which the World Economic Conference of 1927 drew special attention.

### 3. TREATMENT OF FOREIGN NATIONALS AND COMPANIES.

The International Economic Conference affirmed in most emphatic terms its view that freedom of trade would remain a dead letter if trading or other business in foreign States was hampered by restrictions placed on the activities or the establishment abroad of the nationals or companies of other States.

The Conference took up the suggestions formulated by the International Chamber of Commerce which had appointed a special Committee to study a model agreement in regard to establishment. The Conference recommended that this agreement should take the form, not of bilateral conventions, but of an international undertaking to be submitted for adoption to a diplomatic conference.

In conformity with this resolution of the Conference, the Economic Committee, after instructing the Secretariat to collect all useful information, appointed M. Serruys, one of its members, working in conjunction with M. Riedl, the author of the draft put forward by the International Chamber of Commerce, to establish a draft international convention; this the two Rapporteurs presented to the Committee at the twenty-third session.

While avoiding the very delicate question of the complete freedom of establishment of foreign nationals and companies, a question hitherto not dealt with at international consultations, the authors of the draft have not restricted the scope of the convention to conditions for the establishment of foreign nationals or companies already admitted into a State, although the fixing of these conditions has been their main consideration.

They have supplemented the previous draft by introducing guarantees in regard to trade for the nationals of Contracting States not established in a foreign territory but desirous of carrying on business or investing capital in that territory, whether directly, through agents, or by correspondence.

The Committee at its twenty-third session, held in December 1927, accepted the framework and principles of the draft submitted to it, while reserving the right to discuss the individual articles at its next session.

At its session of March 1928, the Economic Committee completed the draft after a particularly careful study of the question.

In its present form, the draft embodies all the guarantees to be afforded on a basis of reciprocity by any one State to the nationals of any other State — whether they be natural persons or legal entities — who have been allowed to establish themselves in the territory of the latter State.

These guarantees, which apply not only to the exercise of all economic activities but also to civil and legal rights, to the acquisition, preservation and transmission of property and interests of all kinds, to charges of a fiscal character, both exceptional and normal, to which persons and their property may be subject, constitute as complete a codification on as broad a basis as possible of the law of establishment, in so far as it seems possible and equitable to codify this law in view of the disparity of concepts, situations and laws and of international practice under existing treaties.

The Economic Committee did not attempt to enter into discussion of the doctrines which it has systematised and co-ordinated in the draft. It desired, however, in the report it submitted after its session of March 1928, to point out to the Council that it has not only endeavoured as far as possible to secure treatment on the same terms as nationals and equality with nationals of the country of establishment, rather than most-favoured-nation treatment, which often leads to differentiation and uncertainty; it had even, in many instances, preferred to replace those rather relative guarantees by positive undertakings to which the various acceding countries would make their laws and actions conform.

The Economic Committee is confident that its draft must have a beneficial effect on international relations and will encourage co-operation for the economic restoration of all countries. It has therefore asked the Secretary-General of the League to avail himself of the option which the Council accorded him on March 5th, 1928, to communicate this draft to the Governments of the States Members of the League. At the same time, he requested those Governments to inform him whether they consider that the draft constitutes an adequate basis for an international Convention, and whether they are prepared to participate in a diplomatic Conference for the conclusion of such a Convention.

This communication was made by a circular letter dated May 16th, 1928, and replies were asked for by November 1st, 1928, at latest. When it has received these replies, the Economic Committee will propose to the Council the date of the future Conference.

### 4. ABOLITION OF EXPORT PROHIBITIONS ON BONES AND RAW HIDES AND SKINS.

By its decision of December 6th, 1927, the Council referred to the Economic Committee for study the recommendation made by the Conference on Prohibitions, held in November 1927, regarding the most effective means of inducing States to abolish export prohibitions on bones and raw hides and skins, so that any reservations made by the States concerned on the basis of Article 6 of the Convention of November 8th, 1927, may be withdrawn before the second meeting of the Conference on prohibitions, which is arranged for the beginning of July 1928.

Having, through the intermediary of its members, taken the opinion of the circles concerned in their respective countries, and having consulted experts from the countries interested in the question but not represented on the Economic Committee, the latter came to the conclusion that the majority of countries, and particularly those whose accession is most important, are prepared to abolish the prohibitions in question. It therefore proposed to the Council that a meeting should be held, to which the Governments of the countries concerned should be invited, with the object of preparing a common solution of the question to be proposed to the Conference in July.

5. PREVENTION OF DISEASES IN ANIMALS AND PLANTS : VETERINARY POLICE MEASURES AND MEASURES OF CONTROL INTERFERING WITH THE EXPORTATION OF ANIMALS AND PLANTS.

The World Economic Conference of 1927, urging the necessity of preventing diseases of animals and plants, expressed the view that international agreements organising sanitary control should also avoid in the regulations adopted any suspicion of disguised protection and should help to stabilise commercial relations.

At the Conference for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions a similar recommendation was urged, more particularly by agricultural countries whose export trade is hampered by sanitary restrictions.

Accordingly, in the Final Act of that Conference, the Council of the League was recommended to undertake investigations as to the most expedient means of conciliating the interests of countries desirous of guarding against diseases of animals and plants and the interests of countries exporting those products.

The Economic Committee, which was entrusted with this work by the Council, called a meeting of a small body of Experts to ascertain and define, as regards animals, the possibilities of international action in the matter and the scope of such action.

This Sub-Committee of Experts on veterinary police matters is composed of equal numbers of experts from countries which, following different policies in the matter, respectively favour and disapprove of international agreements of this kind. An official representative of the International Epizootic Institute at Paris has been added to the Committee.

The duty assigned to this Sub-Committee is to examine the safeguards that might be given by cattle-exporting countries, and the facilities that might be granted by importing countries on the basis of those safeguards, and in general to determine the best means of applying veterinary police measures with due regard to the economic interests of the exporting countries and, at the same time, without prejudicing the interests of countries wishing to guard against animal diseases.

After an exhaustive discussion, the experts laid it down as a general preliminary condition for any international action to facilitate trade that confidence must be established between importing and exporting countries. This confidence can only be founded on the existence in each country of veterinary services on a proper basis, and on the regular and speedy publication of accurate particulars of the health situation in exporting countries.

With the help of the information obtained regarding the conditions under which these two principles are applied in the various countries at the present time, the experts will be able to compare the organisation of the services in the different countries.

As the outcome of these discussions and of other suitable measures which the experts propose to consider, it is to be hoped that, wherever it seems necessary, this organisation may be raised to a level generally recognised as adequate to provide the necessary safeguards.

Confidence having thus been restored, exporting and importing countries also will be able to consider jointly what measures should be taken by the importing countries to facilitate the importation of livestock. The Economic Committee proposes to appoint a Committee of Experts, and with its assistance to undertake similar enquiries in connection with the prevention of diseases of plants and the possibility of reconciling the necessity for a campaign for this purpose with the legitimate requirements of the export trade.

6. STATISTICS.

(a) *Statistical Conference.*

As stated in its latest report to the Assembly,<sup>1</sup> the Council approved a proposal put forward by the Economic Committee that a Diplomatic Conference should be convened during the course of the year 1928 with the object of obtaining greater uniformity in the principles applied in the compilation of economic statistics.

With this object in view, a small Committee consisting of certain members of the Economic Committee and other experts met at Geneva in March 1928 and drew up a draft Agenda for the Conference (document C.S.O.1.). This agenda is divided into two parts, the first of which deals with the question of scope and the second with the problem of methods.

Invitations have been sent to the Governments of all States Members of the League, and also Costa Rica, Ecuador, Egypt, Mexico, Turkey, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and the United States of America, to send fully authorised delegations to take part in this Conference.

<sup>1</sup> See Report to the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 54, page 276.

(b) *Industrial Statistics.*

At its twenty-third session in December 1927, the Economic Committee received from M. Pirelli, the President of the International Chamber of Commerce, an offer of collaboration in the execution of the resolution of the World Economic Conference on Industrial Statistics. This resolution reads as follows :

“ The Economic Organisation of the League of Nations should take all suitable measures so that Governments, in collaboration with the chief industries, shall arrive at international agreements with reference to the definition of the terms, the methods employed and the scope of the statistics. ”

The Economic Committee warmly welcomed this offer of collaboration. As it was obviously desirable that the work on industrial statistics should be carried on in close connection with that on Customs nomenclature, it was proposed by M. Pirelli that the International Chamber of Commerce should appoint a series of special committees to consider the problems of statistical methodology connected with those industries which are to be examined first by the Committee of Experts for the Unification of Customs Nomenclature. On each of these special Committees a member of the Committee of Experts and one or more officials of the Secretariat of the League would be invited to sit.

The International Chamber of Commerce has appointed a special Central Statistical Committee to arrange for the appointment, and to direct the action, of the special industrial Committees mentioned above.

7. ASSIMILATION OF LEGISLATION ON BILLS OF EXCHANGE AND CHEQUES.

The Economic Committee was anxious in the first place to ascertain from a Committee of Experts consisting of men who were familiar with current business practice what genuine difficulties hampering commercial transactions are involved by the differences between the various laws of the “ continental ” type on bills of exchange and cheques.

Having ascertained the position in this respect, the Committee asked a body of expert jurists to formulate concrete proposals. The work of these experts, who have held a large number of meetings, is now completed. They have submitted to the Economic Committee a report accompanied by draft conventions on bills of exchange, promissory notes and cheques.

One of the main reasons why the Hague Convention was never put into force was that the Uniform Regulations which were drawn up constituted a complete code of laws on bills of exchange and promissory notes; and the various Parliaments to which this code had to be submitted with a view to the ratification of the Convention had to adopt or reject it as it stood without amendment.

The experts, whose report aims at unifying, as far as possible, the various laws of the “ continental ” type, have prepared two draft sets of regulations embodying the solutions they recommend for the various problems connected with bills of exchange and promissory notes and with cheques respectively. According to their proposals, however — unlike the system recommended by the Hague Conference — the States participating in the future Conference would merely be asked to submit within a fixed period, for acceptance by their Parliaments, a draft law embodying in the national law the solutions generally accepted at the Conference.

On certain points the experts did not think general agreement possible, and here the draft they submit leaves Governments free to legislate as they think fit. Thus, even among States accepting the unified regulations conflicts of law might arise on points not touched by these regulations. In order to obviate the resultant difficulties, the experts submitted two other draft conventions which are intended to fill the gaps left by the partial unification proposed in the first instance.

The rules laid down in these draft conventions are offered as a possible method for the settlement on uniform lines of any conflicts of law in the matters referred to above, and could in any case be accepted as a remedy for the present situation, in which, owing to the lack of such rules, the courts of different countries often arrive at different conclusions. Even States not taking part in the Conference might possibly see their way to accept these rules.

The Economic Committee is to consider the experts' report at its session in June 1928. It will then decide whether, as the experts suggest, their proposals should be submitted to the Members of the League as a basis of discussion for an international conference. At its session in March 1928, the Council, recalling a resolution by the Economic Conference urging that the work undertaken with a view to introducing greater uniformity in the various laws on bills of exchange and cheques should be continued, has already authorised the Secretary-General to communicate these proposals to the Members of the League as soon as the Economic Committee has approved the experts' report.

## 8. EXPLOITATION OF THE PRODUCTS OF THE SEA.

On September 23rd, 1927, the Assembly adopted a resolution instructing the Economic Committee to "study in collaboration with the Permanent International Council for the Exploration of the Sea at Copenhagen and any other organisation specially interested in this matter, whether and in what terms, for what species and in what areas, international protection of marine fauna could be established". The Economic Committee was also instructed to report to the Council on the results of this study, indicating whether a technical Conference on the subject should be held at an early date.

The Economic Committee requested four of its members to undertake, with the help of the Secretariat and in conjunction with the International Council at Copenhagen, any preliminary research work that might enable the Economic Committee to take a decision as to the practical action which should follow. The Committee also decided to confine its investigations to such species as are of economic importance.

The first provisional conclusions reached by the Rapporteurs were that further investigations should be mainly confined to whales and certain species of fish which are consumed on a large scale. In both cases, however, in view of the paucity of accurate scientific data regarding the migrations and reproduction of these species and the consequences of the present methods of catching them, it did not seem possible to make any proposals as to the desirability of protective action or the form such action should take.

The Rapporteurs considered that the assistance of the Copenhagen Council would be particularly useful to them in this respect, and accordingly they suggested to the Economic Committee that this Council should be officially invited to co-operate, as proposed in the resolution of the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly. A letter to that effect was sent to the Copenhagen Council by the Secretary-General, and the standing Committee of that Council stated in reply that it was prepared to co-operate and thought that the methods of such joint action could be discussed and decided upon at the session the Council would hold in June 1928, to which it invited the Economic Committee to send representatives. Three members of the Economic Committee will therefore attend the session and will afterwards report to the Economic Committee.

The Rapporteurs also considered the question of the protection of seals, and concluded as a result of their first investigations that, in this matter, the agreements existing between the countries principally concerned were perhaps adequate to ensure the protection desired.

## 9. APPLICATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION OF NOVEMBER 3RD, 1923, RELATING TO THE SIMPLIFICATION OF CUSTOMS FORMALITIES.

Under the terms of Article 9 of this Convention, each of the contracting States must, within twelve months from the coming into force, in its own case, of the Convention, furnish the Secretary-General of the League of Nations with a summary of the steps which it has taken to effect such simplification.

The first summaries received by the Secretary-General were communicated to the various States with the observations of the Economic Committee on July 7th, 1927 (document C.354.M.127.1927.II).

Since the last session of the Assembly, the following States have communicated summaries: Austria, France, Hungary, India, the French Protectorate of Morocco, Norway, Persia, Roumania, Siam, Sweden and Switzerland. The Economic Committee has carefully examined these summaries, and its study has revealed the improvements brought about in the Customs regulations of these countries as a result of the Geneva Convention, whether by independent measures or by the conclusion of bilateral agreements.

The Committee desired to draw particular attention to the concrete results of the 1923 Conference, and to express the hope that future summaries and the reports thereon would be given the same publicity as the previous reports.

Since the last session of the Assembly, there has been no new ratification of the Convention.

## 10. COMMERCIAL ARBITRATION.

The Protocol which has been open since September 24th, 1923, for the signature of all States, whether Members of the League of Nations or not, did not provide for any obligation to ensure the execution of arbitral awards other than those rendered in the territory of the State in which execution was requested.

In order to make good this omission the Economic Committee requested a Committee of Experts to consider the possibility of providing, by an international agreement, for the execution of foreign arbitral awards.

As a result of the work of these experts a draft Protocol was prepared, which, in May 1927, was communicated, with the approval of the Economic Committee, to all Members

of the League, and the question of opening a Protocol of this kind for signature by all States desiring to accede thereto was placed on the agenda of the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly.

The Assembly referred the matter to its Second Committee, which appointed a Committee of Jurists to study the observations on the draft Protocol which had been received from a number of Governments, and submitted to the Assembly a revised draft Convention, which was adopted by a resolution dated September 26th, 1927 (see document C.659. M.220.1927.II).

In pursuance of a Council resolution of December 1927, the Secretary-General drew the attention of States to the value of the Protocol and Convention, and informed them of the conditions under which they could become contracting parties to these agreements.

So far, the Convention has been signed by Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain and Italy.

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(iv) CONFERENCE FOR THE ABOLITION OF IMPORT AND EXPORT PROHIBITIONS AND RESTRICTIONS.

The International Conference for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, called as the result of a decision by the 1924 Assembly, took place at Geneva from October 17th to November 8th, 1927, under the Presidency of M. Colijn, former Prime Minister of the Netherlands, who was appointed by the Council of the League.

Delegates were present from the following States Members and non-Members of the League: Abyssinia, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States of America. The International Chamber of Commerce was invited by the Council and was represented in an advisory capacity.

After three weeks' discussion, the Conference unanimously adopted the International Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions and the Protocol of the Convention, which has the same validity, effect and duration as the Convention itself. The Conference also adopted a Final Act containing the records of its work and a series of recommendations and resolutions.

The Convention and Protocol were signed on November 8th, 1927 — the closing date of the Conference — by eighteen States, namely: Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Roumania, Siam and Switzerland.

They have since been signed by the following States: Sweden (December 2nd, 1927), Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (January 24th, 1928), Estonia (January 30th, 1928), United States of America (January 30th, 1928), Norway (January 31st, 1928), Portugal (January 31st, 1928), Poland (January 31st, 1928), Latvia (January 31st, 1928), India (April 26th, 1928).

M. Colijn, President of the Conference, in his report to the Council, summarised the results of the Conference as follows:

“The question had been exhaustively studied by the Economic Committee; without such preparation, even the modest though positive results that we have achieved would never have been possible.

“The purpose in view was to abolish all import and export prohibitions, with the exception of those designed to safeguard superior interests, such as public order, the health of animals and plants, etc. — in short, to revert to the conditions regarded as normal before the war. The Economic Committee was forced to recognise, however, that the state of economic insecurity prevailing after the war made the States hesitate to resume unreservedly even an obligation which, prior to 1914, all had regarded as normal and devoid of danger. The Committee found it necessary accordingly to introduce a fairly comprehensive reserve to allow for such apprehensions.

“The first notable act of the Conference was its refusal to accept this reservation in the elastic form in which the Committee, against its will, had been obliged to submit it. The Conference was unwilling to conclude a Convention which would simply have signified the collective approval of a principle, without involving specific obligations in regard to its application. This attitude is worthy of note: it represents considerable progress as compared with previous Conferences, and is undoubtedly due to a great extent to the influence of the International Economic Conference. But directly we get away from vague general formulas and endeavour to apply these reservations to concrete cases, we inevitably come up against difficulties of a material order, which we cannot hope to eliminate at a single stroke.

“Thus our Conference found itself faced by redoubtable obstacles, which for a solid three weeks it conscientiously endeavoured either to eliminate or to reduce to a minimum.

“The result you already know. It was not found possible to abolish all prohibitions at once; on the contrary, it was necessary to record a number of reservations, a small

number, it is true, but most important ones. I need only mention dyestuffs in the case of Great Britain, coal in that of Germany and Czechoslovakia, scrap iron and scrap of other metals for some ten countries.

"These reservations, however, have been admitted in virtue of the first paragraph of Article 6, and, in so doing, the parties concerned have explicitly recognised them to be of a temporary character, having undertaken to withdraw them as soon as the circumstances from which they arise cease to exist.

"The words 'the circumstances from which they arise' do not constitute a formula to be interpreted at the discretion of each individual party; they refer to recognised and specific situations of fact and of law, which, for the time being, prevent two or three of the big European States from abolishing prohibitions completely, more particularly as regards dyestuffs, coal and scrap iron.

"Nevertheless, in order to limit the period of application of these reservations, a special clause providing for denunciation has been inserted, whereby any high contracting party may resume its freedom of action in the matter of prohibitions if at the end of three years as from November 8th, 1927, the date on which the Convention was signed by eighteen States, any one of the exceptions allowed in virtue of Article 6, paragraph 1, still exists.

"In conclusion, as soon as the Convention comes into force — which I hope will not be later than the beginning of 1929 — we shall be able to record as immediate results the restoration of free movement for a large number of important materials and commodities; an undertaking on the part of a great many countries not to hamper this freedom of movement by any new prohibitions; and, finally, what in my opinion is the extremely important fact, that nearly all the countries, particularly in Europe, which are of any great economic importance have agreed to condemn the system of prohibitions, and to prevent its being used in future as a means of exerting pressure in international commercial negotiations.

"These results will not, however, have been finally achieved until after the meeting of the signatory States which is to take place between June 15th and July 15th next for the purpose of pronouncing upon any claims to exceptions that may be submitted by individual States, and more particularly of determining the number and geographical distribution of the countries whose accession is necessary in order that, particularly in Europe, the Convention may have its full effects, and fixing a time-limit — if possible, the same for all parties — for ratification."

The date of the second meeting of the Conference has been fixed by the Secretary-General for July 3rd, 1928. M. Colijn has been invited by the Council to preside over this meeting also.

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The Conference adopted in its final Act the following recommendation:

"In order to prevent the submission of any reservation under Article 6 of the Convention in the case of certain prohibitions, concerning in particular skins, hides and bones, which are at present in force in a large number of countries, the Conference recommends:

"(a) That the countries in which these prohibitions are applied should immediately confer together with a view to ascertaining whether they could not simultaneously renounce all reservations in this connection;

"(b) That, if this result cannot be attained, preparatory work should be undertaken in order that the question may be settled in the most satisfactory manner at the meeting provided for in Article 17."

At its meeting on December 6th, 1927, the Council decided to ask the Economic Committee to examine the questions referred to in the above recommendation.

(For the action taken in regard to the Council's decision, see the chapter headed: "Work of the Economic Committee".)

#### (v) MEETING OF GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES REGARDING EXPORT PROHIBITIONS AND DUTIES ON RAW HIDES AND SKINS AND ON BONES.

In order to give effect to Recommendation No. 3 of the Final Act of the International Conference for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, signed on November 8th, 1927, the Council, after hearing the views of the Economic Committee, convened a meeting at Geneva of all States concerned. The following Governments were invited to send representatives: Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Roumania, and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

The Council asked M. Serruys, Chairman of the Economic Committee, to preside over this meeting. With the exception of Greece and India all the States invited sent representatives.

The meeting took place at Geneva from March 14th to 16th, 1928, and resulted in the establishment of the two Protocols<sup>1</sup> preceded by a report to the Council by the President.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Journal*, May 1928, page 728.



As regards raw hides and skins, it was agreed that the delegates should recommend to their respective Governments :

(a) To undertake not to render the export of fresh or prepared skins or pelts subject to any prohibition or restriction, and accordingly to renounce in respect of these products all claims to exceptions under Article 6 of the International Convention of 1927.

(b) To undertake not to maintain or introduce any export duty on these products.

As regards raw or dried bones and glue-stock hide, the delegates agreed to recommend their respective Governments to abolish all prohibitions or restrictions on the export of these products.

As regards export duties on these products, the delegates recognised that a transition period was necessary before these duties could be completely abolished. While agreeing to the maintenance or introduction of export duties on the products in question, the delegates decided that such duties should not exceed three gold francs per 100 kilos, and should only be leviable for a period of two years from the time when, under Article 2 of the principal Convention, the export prohibitions should cease to be applicable.

The contracting States undertake to meet again during the six months immediately preceding the expiration of the above-mentioned period, with the object of proceeding in common either to abolish all export duties or to reduce the maximum rate indicated above.

The Governments in question are to inform the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, before May 15th, 1928, of their decisions regarding the agreements the bases of which are indicated in the two Protocols. They also agree to take part in any further meeting which the Secretary-General may, at the instance of the Economic Committee, be required to summon, with a view to ascertaining the situation created by the notifications he has received.

The Secretary-General is requested to bring these agreements to the notice of those signatory States of the principal Convention which did not take part in the special meeting, it being understood that these agreements are open for signature by any State which has already signed the Convention for the Abolition of Prohibitions.

The delegates added to the two Protocols an annex containing a declaration emphasising the importance they attach to the principle laid down in the Final Act of the International Conference for the Abolition of Prohibitions, in virtue of which the re-establishment of the free export of certain specified raw materials should bring about an improvement of the Customs regime applied to the import of products manufactured from such raw materials.

## B. Work of the Financial Committee.

### (i) GREEK STABILISATION SCHEME AND SETTLEMENT OF GREEK REFUGEES.

The most important work done by the Financial Committee during the past year has been in connection with the Greek stabilisation scheme.

The circumstances in which the Committee was requested to undertake this task are described in the Report and Supplementary Report to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly.<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that the Greek Government in June of last year had approached the Council with a request to approve the issue of a loan yielding £9 million sterling, of which one-third was to be spent in paying off budget arrears, one-third for the stabilisation of the currency and one-third for completing the refugee settlement work.

### THE REFUGEE LOAN OF 1924.

It was in February 1923 that the problem of the settlement of Greek refugees was first brought before the Council of the League of Nations.

It will be remembered that, after the retreat of the Greek Army and the capture of Smyrna by Turkish troops, more than one million refugees,<sup>2</sup> chiefly from Asia Minor, poured into Greece, which, single-handed and without the assistance of an external loan, would not have been in a position to face a problem of such magnitude.

At the request of the Greek Government and under the authority of the Council of the League, a settlement scheme involving the issue of such a loan was prepared by the Financial Committee and embodied in a Protocol signed at Geneva, on behalf of Greece, on September 29th, 1923, and amended in the same manner a year later.

<sup>1</sup> See Records of the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 54, pages 281, 346 and 348.

<sup>2</sup> The number, including those who did not need public assistance, ultimately reached about 1½ million.

It contemplated the issue of a loan not exceeding £10 million sterling in net yield, the proceeds to be expended under the authority of an autonomous organisation, the Refugee Settlement Commission.

The functions and composition of the Settlement Commission were laid down in Statutes annexed to the Protocol. It consists of four members; the Council of the League appoints two members, including the Chairman, who is a national of the United States; the two other members are appointed by the Greek Government with the approval of the Council. The function of the Commission is "to promote the establishment of refugees in productive work, either upon the land or otherwise in Greece". It is expressly stipulated that the funds of the Commission may not be spent on the relief of distress or for charitable purposes, as distinct from settlement in productive work. All assistance is given on terms involving ultimate repayment.

Four years' experience has proved the efficiency of the scheme. When, therefore, some years later the Bulgarian Government made an appeal to the League for assistance in connection with its refugee problem, a similar scheme was worked out for Bulgaria, the main differences between the Greek and the Bulgarian schemes being due to the smaller size of the problem in the latter country.

#### SOME STATISTICS ON THE WORK FOR THE REFUGEES.

This first Greek settlement loan was successfully raised in December 1924. Issues were made in London, New York and Athens. In the meantime, work had been proceeding with the help of provisional advances, which were repaid out of the loan, *i.e.*, £1,500,000 advanced by the Bank of England, £500,000 by the National Bank of Greece, and £1 million by the Hellenic Government.

The net proceeds of this loan amounted to £9,970,000; and the following tables show how it had been expended up to the middle of last year:

	To December 31st, 1926 <sup>1</sup>		To June 30th, 1927	
	£	%	£	%
Agricultural settlement. . .	7,541,324	87.6	7,911,023	87.2
Urban settlement . . . . .	973,082	11.3	1,051,174	11.6
Central administration . . .	95,242	1.1	113,658	1.2
Total . . . . .	8,609,648	100	9,075,855	100

The sum of £7,541,324 expended on the *settlement of agricultural refugees* was used for the settlement of 147,211 families, an average sum of £51 per family. At the rate of 300 drachmæ to the £, which was the average rate of conversion, this £7,541,324 yielded 2,262 million drachmæ, which was spent for the following purposes:

	Million Drachmæ	Per cent
Supplies (including advances in cash and in kind, seed, animals, implements, fertilisers). . . . .	989	43.7
Building . . . . .	821	36.3
Public works . . . . .	65	2.9
Various. . . . .	36	1.6
General expenses (provinces) . . . . .	172	7.6
Suspense . . . . .	179	7.9
Total. . . . .	2,262	100

The details of the expenditure on *urban settlement* (£973,082) was as follows:

	Million Drachmæ	Per cent
Building . . . . .	266	91.3
Improvements (including drains, canalisation, etc.) . . . . .	11	3.8
Upkeep of the quarters (removal of sewage, cleaning of streets, etc.) . . . . .	12	4.2
Various. . . . .	2	0.7
	291	100

= £973,082 (at 300 drachmæ to the £).

The total number of urban houses erected was 16,756, an average of 22,087 drachmæ or £73 12s. 6d. per house. The houses are inhabited by some 24,000 families.

<sup>1</sup> For the expenditure up to December 31st, 1926, detailed statistics are available. See the Fourteenth Quarterly Report of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission (document C.281.1927.II).

Thus by the end of 1926 the back of the problem had been broken. It is impossible to give anything like exact figures of the number of refugees, urban and agricultural, who had by then been definitely settled, as no exact census could be made, the Statistical Services of the State having been temporarily suppressed for reasons of economy. But it is probable that the number of persons who had received assistance was considerably more than 700,000.

No mere figures, however, can measure the wider significance of the settlement work for both the political and economic future of the country. Greek Macedonia now has a more homogeneous population than has been known before in its recent history. The opportunities of employment offered to the swarms of destitute refugees who were pouring into Athens has greatly assisted the marked improvement in the internal political situation. The establishment of the refugees in productive work has not only removed a social danger and an economic burden but has positively endowed the country with a new source of wealth and prosperity. This is indeed the most remarkable conclusion to be drawn from the experience of the last three years. The refugees have proved to be admirable material; almost everywhere they have made good whenever even the most slender assistance and encouragement could be given, and it is not too much to say that their final absorption into the social and economic life of the country will leave Greece far stronger and far more prosperous than she could have hoped to become if the influx of refugees had not taken place.

#### HISTORY OF THE NEW LOAN SCHEME.

In March 1927, the Refugee Settlement Commission informed the Financial Committee that the work of establishment could not be satisfactorily completed without an additional loan. At the time when the original scheme was drawn up, the settlement loan had been fixed at a net yield of £10 million, partly in order that Greece might not exceed her borrowing capacity at that time, and partly in consideration of the needs of the refugees who had then arrived in Greece. Since then, a considerable number of additional refugees have come into Greece and the Commission estimated that, together with the funds still at its disposal, a further amount, estimated at the time at £5 million, would be required in order to complete the work. In view of this situation, the Committee stated, in its report to the Council, that if the Greek Government were to make an application for such an additional loan, it would be absolutely indispensable that the Committee should have "complete information of a kind which would give it a clear picture" of the financial situation of Greece. This report was approved by the Council.

The Committee also requested the Secretariat "to collect as complete information as possible" regarding the efforts of the Greek Government to secure budget equilibrium in conformity with Article 6 of the Protocol of September 1923.

In April 1927, on the occasion of a visit to the Balkans of M. Avenol, the Deputy Secretary-General of the League, the Greek Government requested him to collect such information as might be necessary to throw light on the financial and budgetary situation. The information in question was obtained in May 1927, under the direction of M. Avenol, by certain members of the Secretariat, to whom the Greek Government offered every facility.

On the basis of this information, the situation was examined by the Financial Committee during its June session. At the same time, the Greek Government addressed a request to the Council to approve in principle the issue of a new loan and to authorise the Financial Committee to give its assistance to Greece with a view to drawing up a complete plan of monetary and banking reorganisation.

In its June report to the Council, the Financial Committee states as its conclusion that a loan of £9 million would be required, of which £3 million would be available for refugees, £3 million for budget arrears and £3 million for strengthening the Bank of Issue.

With regard to the refugees, the Committee stated that :

"While the sum of £5 million mentioned in the report of the Commission of May 25th is, in view of the considerable number of additional refugees who have come into Greece since the original scheme was drawn up, a reasonable estimate for the completion of the work of settling all the refugees, both agricultural and urban, under satisfactory conditions, such a sum is not essential for the urgent work of establishment which it is important to carry through in the next two years. The Committee considers, however, that for this purpose a sum of £3 million (in addition to what remains of the original loan) is necessary; and that without this sum the work of the Commission must cease before its task is completed."

As to the budget, the Committee stated that the budget arrears amounted, on the information before it, to about £3 million, and added :

"But the provisions for the current year appear to the Committee to have been made on a prudent and careful basis and to give a prospect of securing an equilibrium this year at a level not exceeding the capacity of Greece, provided that steps could be taken to liquidate the arrears of the past. Subject to the final consolidation of past debts, the Greek Government further contemplates a budget equilibrium in

the next two years at a slightly lower figure. The Committee is impressed by the substantial improvement in the budget situation during the term of office of the present Finance Minister, M. Caphandaris, and expresses its congratulations to the Government on the important progress which this position represents."

The Greek Government and the National Bank further informed the Committee of their intention to stabilise the drachma on a gold-exchange basis. The Committee stated its opinion that, if the functions of the Bank were revised so as to bring them into closer conformity with modern principles of central banking, and if some £3 million were devoted to the reduction of the Government debt to the Bank, the latter would be sufficiently strengthened for its enhanced responsibilities.

Subject to satisfactory measures being taken on the points raised in its report, the Financial Committee considered the definite equilibrium of the budget and the stabilisation of the currency practicable in conjunction with a loan of £9 million.

The report of the Financial Committee was approved by the Council of the League, which in principle agreed with the proposals of the Greek Government, and authorised the Financial Committee to continue its collaboration with the Government for the further elaboration of the scheme.

The main problem in evolving a satisfactory scheme was the creation of a Bank of Issue which would fulfil the limited functions of a modern central bank. It required long and careful study. Drafts were prepared during the summer for the statutes of a new Bank of Issue and for an agreement between the Greek Government and the National Bank of Greece for the creation of such a new Bank.

The original idea of the Financial Committee had been that the existing Bank of Issue, that is to say, the National Bank of Greece — which is a combination of a bank of issue and an ordinary commercial bank — should be reformed by winding up or transferring to other institutions all those parts of its activities which would not normally fall within the scope of a bank of issue. This idea is embodied in the Committee's June report. On closer examination of the problem, it was found, however, that it was necessary for the economic system of the country that the National Bank of Greece should continue its commercial work and that it would therefore be preferable to transfer to a new bank its privilege of note issue and those of its other activities which are usually carried on by a Central Bank. On this principle were based the draft statutes for the new Bank and the draft agreement between the Government and the National Bank for the creation of the new institution.

During August, these texts were studied by the authorities in Athens. At the September meeting in Geneva, they received their final shape. At this meeting, the scheme was embodied in a formal Protocol to be signed on behalf of Greece and defining the obligations of the Greek Government. This Protocol is thus the main document containing the legal basis of the scheme and the precise statement of its various features. To it are attached six Annexes, containing, *inter alia*, the Bank Statutes and the agreement between the Government and the National Bank.

These documents were submitted by the Financial Committee to the Council; the Council approved them on September 15th and the Assembly of the League, on September 22nd, 1927, passed a resolution expressing the hope that the scheme would be entirely successful.

The Protocol was signed by the Greek Minister of Finance, M. Caphandaris, on September 15th, and was ratified by the Greek Parliament on November 25th, 1927.

It only now remained for the three Governments (the British, French and Italian), whose consent was required in order that the International Financial Commission should control the revenues assigned as security for the new loan, to sign the Annex undertaking to give the necessary instructions. This Annex was signed on December 8th, and the Council, on the following day, after receiving a report from the Financial Committee, declared the way clear for the beginning of the loan negotiations.

In the meantime, Greece had made an arrangement with the Government of the United States of America in connection with a settlement of a war debt, under which the latter Government lends Greece a sum of \$12,167,073 or approximately £2½ million, at 4 per cent per annum, redeemable in twenty years.

This agreement was ratified by the Greek Parliament on November 25th, 1927, was submitted for ratification to Congress with a message from the President on February 6th, 1928, and has been favourably reported upon by the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives. One of the conditions of the loan is that the proceeds shall be entirely spent on the settlement of refugees; the sum to be obtained, pending the ratification of the agreement by Congress, from a public issue under the present scheme amounted to about £6½ million. In the prospectuses of the public loan it was, however, stated that power had been formally reserved by the Greek Government to raise a further effective amount of £2½ million under the Protocol signed on September 15th, 1927, ranking equally with the public issues then made.

The £6½ million were obtained by the issue of loans for public subscription in London and New York, a portion of the sterling bonds being taken in Italy and Sweden and of the dollar bonds in Switzerland. The loan was issued at 91, carrying 6 per cent interest. In accordance with the Protocol, a member of the Financial Committee approved the loan contracts and also the reference to the League of Nations in the prospectuses of the sterling and dollar blocks issued in London and New York.

The Chairman of the Financial Committee, in accordance with the powers conferred on him by the Protocol, has allocated one-third of the amount referred to above for the reimbursement of budget arrears, £3 million to the repayment of the State debt (this being the amount required in order to enable the new Bank of Issue to open its doors) and £500,000 to the Refugee Settlement Commission, the remainder being retained by the issuing houses until such time as the balance of the total loan of £9 million has become available, either by the ratification of the American Agreement or by the issue of a supplementary loan.

The new Bank of Issue opened its doors on May 14th, 1928, and the other parts of the scheme have come into operation in accordance with the plan described below.

#### SUMMARY OF THE SCHEME.

The Protocol lays down, first of all, the conditions to which the new loan must conform in order that it may be issued under the auspices of the League. Its net yield, for instance, may not exceed £9 million (see preceding paragraph as to effect of the American loan). The conditions of the loan as to issue price, rate of interest, etc., must be at least as favourable to the Greek Government as the Refugee Loan of 1924. The period of amortisation must not be less than thirty years. The Chairman of the Financial Committee is empowered to verify the fulfilment of these conditions.

The service of the loan is to be secured by all the revenues which are under the control of the International Financial Commission, in so far as they are not pledged for the service of earlier loans. These revenues and the prior charges upon them are described in Annex II to the Protocol. It is estimated that the surplus revenues which are available for the service of the new loan will, during the present fiscal year, amount to at least £5 million.

If, during any six months, the available surplus amounts to less than 150 per cent of what is required for the service of the loan during such period, the International Financial Commission shall require the Greek Government to assign other additional revenues sufficient to bring the yield again up to at least 150 per cent of the service of the loan.

The service of the loan will be assured by the International Financial Commission, which has been established in Athens since 1898. Since the war it has consisted of three members, representatives of the Governments of France, Great Britain and Italy respectively. Annex I to the Protocol contains a declaration signed on behalf of those three Governments, to the effect that they will authorise their representatives on the Commission to discharge the duties contemplated in the present Protocol. A similar declaration was attached to the Protocol of 1923.

The rest of the Protocol deals with the employment of the loan and with the reforms which the Greek Government undertakes to carry out with regard to the Bank of Issue, the currency and the administration of public finances.

In the first place, the Greek Government undertakes legally to stabilise the national currency in relation to gold as from the day on which the new Bank of Issue shall begin business. This Bank will be established and will begin business within six months after the issue of the loan. In order to put this Bank on a strong footing, £3 million from the yield of the loan will be used by the Government to pay off part of the State debt which the new Bank will take over from the National Bank.

The exact manner in which the new Bank, entitled the "Bank of Greece", is constituted is laid down in the draft Agreement between the Government and the National Bank (Annex III to the Protocol). The share capital of the new Bank, amounting to 400 million drachmæ will be taken over by the National Bank, which is obliged to offer it for public subscription at par in three issues, the first within two months after the opening of the new Bank and the second and third issues each with a year's interval. The Agreement defines in detail the assets and liabilities which the old Bank will transfer to the new. The arrangement is such that, when it commences business, the Bank of Greece will have a reserve in gold and gold exchange of not less than 50 per cent of the total of the note circulation and its other demand liabilities (the statutes lay down that the reserve shall be at least 40 per cent). The Agreement also provides for the gradual and complete redemption of the State debt to the National Bank and the Bank of Greece after the first payment of £3 million from the new loan.

Annex IV to the Protocol contains the Statutes for the Bank of Greece. It is impossible to summarise them within the scope of this document. In a sense they may be said to be the most modern of their kind and, as such, will form interesting material for students of central banking. They are, in general, based on the last statutes which had been elaborated under the auspices of the Financial Committee, namely, those for the Estonian Bank of Issue, which in turn were based on the Austrian and Hungarian statutes. Certain ideas inserted have been taken from other recent statutes, those of the Reichsbank, the Reserve Bank of South Africa, the Bulgarian National Bank and the proposed Indian statutes. Other provisions, such as, for instance, the careful definition of the gold reserve in Article 62, may be claimed to be improvements upon what existed up till now in this domain.

With regard to the budget, the Greek Government undertakes in the Protocol "to make, and to persist in making, every effort" to keep the budget during the next two financial years within the present limits "and to maintain thereafter a complete equilibrium between the current revenue and current expenses of the State". The latter are defined as "all expenditure except such capital outlay for revenue-producing purposes as may be provided for from other sources."

Three million pounds from the proceeds of the new loan, together with some other available resources, will be used by the Government for paying off the budget arrears. These are enumerated in Annex V to the Protocol. The £3 million will be paid by the issuing houses of the loan into a special account at the Bank of Issue and can be drawn upon only upon the production of certificates from the independent Central Audit Office of the Hellenic State that the payments in question are in respect of such arrears. Subsequently, the Audit Office will verify that the payments have been effected and will publish its findings.

The Greek Government further undertakes in the Protocol to create a new system of public accounting based on the principle of the unity of the State budget, of cash accounting supplemented by liability accounting and of the centralisation at the Bank of Greece of all the receipts and payments of the State and the State enterprises. Annex VI to the Protocol shows how this centralisation shall be carried out. The Government will also publish in future monthly statements showing the cash position of the Treasury, the receipts and expenditure on account of the budget, the position of Treasury liabilities and the position of the public debt.

The Greek Government also undertakes in the Protocol to issue no Treasury bills or create similar floating debt in excess of 800 million drachmæ (*i.e.*, less than one-tenth of the present budget). This clause corresponds to provisions in the statutes of the Bank of Greece, which is allowed to grant credits in current account to the Government up to a maximum of 400 million drachmæ and to discount Treasury bills endorsed by a third party up to a similar limit.

The Protocol finally lays down that £3 million shall be employed for the refugees by the Refugees Settlement Commission for the purposes described in the Protocol of 1923, or for such other purposes as the Council of the League may approve on the proposal of the Commission.

#### CONCLUSION.

In comparing the present Greek scheme with loan schemes prepared by the League for other countries it will be observed that it has been possible, as in the case of the previous Greek loan, to make use of machinery already existing. The service of the loan and the control of the revenues assigned for that service are placed in the hands of the International Financial Commission in Athens, which for nearly thirty years has successfully fulfilled similar functions for other Greek loans.

With regard to the employment of the loan, it was obvious that the part of the yield which was to be used for the establishment of refugees should be employed through the intermediary of the Settlement Commission in accordance with its existing rights and duties. One-third of the proceeds, earmarked for the reduction of the State debt to the new Bank of Issue, only requires to be paid over by the issuing houses directly to the new Bank. The remaining third, which has to be used for paying off budget arrears, will be expended under the control of the independent Central Audit Office of the State in a manner similar to that which has been working successfully in the case of the Danzig Municipal Loan of 1925 and the Danzig Free City Loan of 1927.

There have been cases in the past where Governments in serious financial difficulties have appealed to the Council of the League and have recognised the necessity, and indeed the desirability, of accepting an external control of the budget by a Commissioner-General responsible to the Council. No such necessity arose in this case. The budget needed to be maintained in, rather than restored to equilibrium. The *de facto*, and hitherto somewhat precarious, stability of the drachma needed to be made legal and safe. It was not a question of attaining currency stabilisation and budget equilibrium, but of strengthening the foundations on which they are based. The measures provided in the present scheme were devised by the Financial Committee as appropriate and adequate for the purpose.

The detailed work of the Refugee Settlement Commission is described in the four quarterly reports submitted to the Council. A summary of it will be included in the Supplementary Report to the Assembly.

At the present moment, the entire proceeds of the original £10 million loan and of the £500,000 advance out of the second loan have been either spent or allocated, and until either the Greco-American Agreement is ratified by Congress or, in the event of failure to ratify, a supplementary loan is issued by the Greek Government, the Commission is short of money for the completion of its work.

(ii) SETTLEMENT OF BULGARIAN REFUGEES AND BULGARIAN STABILISATION SCHEME.

(a) PROGRESS IN THE APPLICATION OF THE SCHEME.

The three quarterly reports of the Commissioner for the Settlement of Refugees cover the period from May 15th, 1927, to February 15th, 1928. The progress of the settlement work there described in detail can be summarised as follows.

The yield of the revenues assigned as security for the loan has remained at a sum which covers more than twice the service of the loan. At the end of the year, out of the total proceeds of the loan, equivalent to about £3,327,596, there remained a balance of about £1½ million. During the winter months, progress was necessarily slow, and in certain cases the work had to be suspended altogether on account of frost, heavy snowfalls and the difficulties of communications. The progress made, however, before the winter set in had been substantial. Nearly 3 million kilogrammes of seed, about 7,419 animals and a large quantity of carts and wagons, ploughs and harrows had been distributed. On February 1st, 1,464 buildings, 1,276 sheds and 1,084 stables were either completed or under contract for completion. Over 13,000 families had definitely received allotments of land. Plans for draining marshes have been prepared, work has begun on certain railways and roads and, with the help of the Health Organisation of the League and the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, an anti-malaria campaign has been begun.

(b) BULGARIAN FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION SCHEME.

On September 15th, 1927, the Council, at the request of the Bulgarian Government, asked the Financial Committee and the Secretariat to undertake an examination of the financial position of Bulgaria. A League delegation accordingly visited Sofia in the autumn of last year and agreed with the Bulgarian representatives a scheme of reconstruction, which was approved by the Council and signed by the Bulgarian Finance Minister on March 10th, 1928. It was ratified by the Sobranje, after considerable discussion, on April 13th, 1928, and the Bulgarian Government is now making the preliminary arrangements necessary before a reconstruction loan can be issued. Moreover, an expert enquiry has been made by M. Regnoul, Chief Engineer of the Paris-Lyons-Mediterranean Railway Company in order to determine the amount required out of such a loan for the reconstruction of the State railways.

The following extract from the report of the Financial Committee describes the reconstruction scheme :

“By way of preface to the scheme, it is enough to recall that, the leva having been stable and the budget in approximate equilibrium for some years, the League in 1926 authorised the issue of a loan under its auspices solely for the purpose of refugee settlement, without at that time undertaking the responsibility for general financial reconstruction. Subsequent experience showed that, if the financial position were to remain on a safe basis and if the stability of the currency were to be maintained, it was necessary for the refugee scheme to be supplemented by one of financial reconstruction.

“ The present scheme is the result.

“ It will be seen that it contemplates a loan of £4½ million sterling, to be used for the following purposes :

National Bank . . . . .	£1,500,000
Agricultural Bank . . . . .	500,000
Central Co-operative Bank . .	150,000
Budget Arrears . . . . .	1,100,000
Roads and Railways. . . . .	1,250,000
	<hr/>
	£4,500,000

“ The loan is to be secured by a first charge on the Customs revenues if this security can be released for the purpose. The independence of the Bank is to be assured ; it is to be transformed, under the conditions described below, into a private share bank ; and a foreign bank adviser, with extensive powers, is to be appointed and to remain for at least two years after this transformation has been effected. The sums devoted to roads and railways will be expended in accordance with a plan drawn up with the aid of a foreign expert, who will make a survey in the country, and both this expenditure and that upon budget arrears will be supervised by the present League Commissioner in charge of the Refugee Settlement, M. René Charron.

“ *The Reconstruction Scheme.*

“ With this preface, the problem and the solution recommended may be described in more detail.

“ The exchange rate of the leva has been approximately stable for over four years. There would appear to be, *prima facie*, a sufficient basis for proceeding now to a definite legal stabilisation of Bulgarian currency, provided that the measures described later in this report are adopted.

“ *Budget.*

“ When the Financial Committee considered the question of the issue of the refugee loan in 1926, the latest available results were those for the financial year 1924-25, which gave a surplus of 548 million levass. In the following financial year, characterised by a severe economic crisis, revenue collections were reduced, while the expenditure figure was increased, the accounts closing with a deficit of 741 million levass.<sup>1</sup> As the result of a compression of expenditure effected by the newly instituted Budget Commission, the deficit was reduced to 393 million levass in the year 1926-27, making a total for two years of 1,134 million levass. This deficit was partly met by surpluses from previous years : but on April 1st, 1927, the budget arrears amounted to 767 million levass (about £1,100,000).

“ The budget estimates for 1927-28 were : revenue, 6,993 million levass : expenditure, 7,085 million levass. But, on the basis of the results of the period April-December 1927, the actual results for the year 1927-28 may be estimated at : revenue, 6,600 million levass ; expenditure, 6,540 million levass ; or a surplus of 60 million levass. This result has been obtained by a stringent control over expenses, and it is very necessary that this should continue.

“ In the next two years there will be certain increases in expenditure, partly for liquidation of outstanding pre-war and war charges and for the considerable sums due in respect of compensation payable under the awards of the Mixed Greco-Bulgarian Emigration Commission, but the Bulgarian Finance Minister has informed the Committee that, in his opinion, the ordinary and extraordinary budget expenditure (including any new loan service) can be kept approximately within 6,750 million levass in 1928-29 and 7,000 million in 1929-30, excluding in both cases receipts and expenditure accounted for in special funds and such capital outlay as is met from the loan. The Committee believes that these results should be realised but that they will need certain financial reforms, including a reduction in the number of officials by 10,000 to be effected over the next two financial years.

“ But it will be necessary to clear off from special resources derived from the proposed external loan the existing dead weight of past arrears and some of the temporary loans from which such arrears have been for the moment met. The Committee proposes that a sum of £1,100,000 should be devoted to these purposes. It considers that with this assistance any other arrears can be met from the budget within the limits indicated above.

“ Supervision over the expenditure of any loan monies for the payment of arrears as well as for other purposes should, in the opinion of the Committee, be exercised by the League Commissioner for the Settlement of Refugees.

“ Certain other technical measures are also essential : *inter alia*, complete unity of the budget (including the incorporation therein of a large number of the existing funds) ; maintenance of the system of monthly budgets and of the present Budget Commission, and establishment of a complete and permanent system of Treasury control ; regular publication every month, under appropriate heads of returns of actual receipts and expenditure ; centralisation of cash balances in the Treasury account, control by the Minister of Finance, after consultation with the Governor of the National Bank, over borrowings by public authorities.

<sup>1</sup> £ = 675 levass ; \$ = 138 levass ; 1 Sw. fr. = 26.70 levass.



*“ National Bank.*

“ A considerable sum will be required from the loan to reduce the liabilities of the State to the Bank and to relieve it of various other non-liquid assets, as well as to increase its unencumbered foreign exchange reserve to a more satisfactory percentage of its total sight liabilities.

“ The Committee proposes that a sum of £1,500,000 shall be devoted to paying off in part the advances of the National Bank to or on behalf of the State and to relieving the National Bank of the advances to the two other State Banks, namely, the Agricultural Bank and the Central Co-operative Bank.

“ Various changes will also be required immediately in the Bank’s statutes to define more accurately its proper sphere of action and to establish its complete independence on surer foundations.

“ Independence is above all essential. On this depends the prospect of monetary stabilisation which is necessary for any sound scheme of financial reform. In the opinion of the Committee, independence can be best secured by constituting the Bank as an independent corporation with shares, carrying a limited dividend, as widely distributed as possible throughout all classes of the population. This is the solution which has been adopted in the case of all recently founded Central Banks and will enable the National Bank of Bulgaria to take its proper position among the Central Banks of the world to-day. The Committee has prepared an outline of a scheme embodying this principle, by which it thinks, taking into consideration the special conditions of Bulgaria, such a reorganisation could be secured.

“ The scheme does not contemplate that the shares or voting power should be in the hands of persons other than Bulgarian nationals. Nor would the National Bank be dominated by any particular group or class or by a few persons only, the share units being intentionally fixed at a low figure and the maximum voting power of the holder of any number of shares being strictly limited. The National Bank of Bulgaria would remain in the truest sense the property of all classes of the Bulgarian people. Further, the Committee realises that, as in other cases, a certain lapse of time will be necessary before the proposed reorganisation can be fully completed.

“ The Bulgarian Government fully recognises the desirability of the proposed reform and has undertaken to safeguard the complete independence of the National Bank. In all the circumstances, the Committee agrees that, subject to the appointment forthwith of an expert adviser at the National Bank with definite powers, the final decision as to the date of transformation may be deferred.

“ The Committee is glad to record that agreement on this question has been reached. It is embodied in the following passage of the Protocol (Article IV, paragraph 1) :

“ ‘ The Bulgarian Government undertakes to safeguard the independence of the Bulgarian National Bank from any political influence whatsoever.

“ ‘ The Bulgarian Government agrees, with this intention and for this purpose, to the appointment by the Council of the League of Nations of a technical adviser to the Bulgarian National Bank, whose powers shall be those defined in the amendments to the Statutes of the National Bank (Annex I).

“ ‘ The Bulgarian Government fully recognises that for the definite consolidation of the financial situation of Bulgaria it is important to transform the Bulgarian National Bank in accordance with the plan laid down in Annex II, in order to bring it into conformity with the other Central Banks, and undertakes to effect this transformation at a date to be fixed by agreement between the Council of the League of Nations and the Bulgarian Government. The details of this transformation shall be fixed by agreement between the Council and the Bulgarian Government on the advice of the Financial Committee.’

*“ Agricultural and Central Co-operative Banks.*

“ It will, moreover, be desirable to provide new working capital for these two Banks : to the extent of £500,000 for the Agricultural Bank and £150,000 for the Central Co-operative Bank.

*“ Communications.*

“ The position of the State railways requires very careful consideration, and the Committee thinks that the Bulgarian Government has been wise, before preparing any new schemes, in securing, on the advice of the Transit Organisation of the League, a foreign expert to prepare a report on this problem. This expert will doubtless advise on the relative economic advantages to Bulgaria of railway or road construction ; on the degree to which repairs are essential on the existing railway system ; on the railway accounting system ; and on the desirability or otherwise of reorganising the railways on an autonomous basis.

“ The Committee proposes that a sum of £1,250,000 should be provided in the loan for expenditure on communications, in accordance with a programme to be approved after the advice of the expert has been received.

“ *Amount of the Loan.*

“ The Financial Committee is of opinion that Bulgaria should not at present borrow any sum that is not absolutely indispensable. The present resources of the country are limited, and its foreign liabilities are relatively considerable, though the present foreign payments do not, including reparation charges, exceed in gold value the pre-war budget charge for foreign debts. The Committee thinks it would be unwise to expect that a larger sum than £4,500,000 could now be raised ; moreover, it believes that the necessary requirements outlined above could be met within that sum.

“ Provided that adequate measures are taken to establish budget equilibrium, and monetary stabilisation is carried out and maintained by the working of a satisfactory Central Bank, a loan of this size does not exceed the financial capacities of the country.

“ *Securities.*

“ The Committee has discussed at length what revenues could be pledged for the service of such a loan. After examining in detail the various possibilities, the Committee has been forced to the conclusion that the charge which, from a market point of view, would justify confidence in a successful issue of the loan would be a first lien on the Customs revenues. These are at present subject to a first lien for reparation and other treaty charges. There may also be certain private claims on these revenues. But it might be possible to arrange that the Inter-Allied Commission at Sofia (whose assent in any case would be necessary for a release from the *general* charge for reparations on all Bulgarian revenues and assets) should allow the Customs revenues now specifically pledged for reparations to be pledged in the first place for the service of the contemplated new loan, and, while retaining a second charge on the Customs, should accept for what they release an alternative charge on some other satisfactory revenue.

“ The Committee wishes to draw attention to the importance for the success of this scheme of an early settlement of certain outstanding questions, such as the possibility of securing a first charge on the Customs revenues and sufficient progress in the settlement of various pre-war private debts of the Bulgarian State.”

(iii) MIXED GRECO-BULGARIAN EMIGRATION COMMISSION.

On September 3rd, 1927, the Council, on the report of the British representative, requested the Financial Committee to give advice to the President of the Mixed Commission, if he so desired, on any technical aspects of the problem as to how the financial obligations of the Bulgarian and Greek Governments, arising in connection with Greco-Bulgarian emigration, were to be met.

In December, the Committee prepared, and the Council approved, an Agreement which was signed by the two Governments.

On March 10th, 1928, the Council passed a resolution strongly urging the two Governments to ratify this Agreement as soon as possible. It was ratified in the same month by the Sobranje and has been submitted to the Parliamentary Commission which, according to Greek Parliamentary practice, has to examine and propose to the Chamber the ratification of the Agreement.

The Agreement implements the Convention on Reciprocal Emigration which was signed at Neuilly in 1919, and provides the mechanism whereby the exchanged populations are indemnified by each Government for the property they have left behind, and for the adjustment of the resulting debts between the two Governments. Bonds are to be issued to the refugees and a neutral bank is to be appointed by the Council for the deposit of bonds by the debtor State representing the half-yearly interest and amortisation of the debt which has arisen, as between the two States concerned, out of the indemnification of the refugees.

It is agreed under this instrument that the bonds issued to the refugees may be accepted by the League settlement organisations in both countries in respect of certain payments due by them, and the functions of the Mixed Commission are to be transferred to such other person or body as may be approved for the purpose by the Council of the League of Nations if at any time it shall so decide.

(iv) FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF PORTUGAL.

On November 24th, 1927, the Finance Minister of the Portuguese Republic informed the Council that the Portuguese Government desired to carry out a scheme of financial reconstruction, currency stabilisation and economic development, and asked that the Financial Committee should examine the question. The Council decided on December 5th to request the Financial Committee and the Secretariat to study the financial situation of Portugal.

A delegation accordingly visited Lisbon and the whole situation was carefully examined both there and at Geneva, with the help of representatives of the Government and the Government Departments, the National Bank and others.

During its session in March, the Financial Committee endeavoured to draw up a reconstruction scheme, in agreement with the Government, and reported as follows :

“ The technical problem presented is in principle similar to that presented by some of the other schemes which have been recently before the Council. The currency of Portugal has seriously depreciated since the war. An effort to arrest depreciation was made, which maintained a *de facto* stability for some years; but the general financial position has made this stability precarious and prevented a legal stabilisation. In these circumstances, the Portuguese Government, anxious to achieve permanent reform by means of a comprehensive scheme, including an external loan, has applied for the assistance of the League.

“ The first results of the Committee's study involve the establishment of budget equilibrium, the legal stabilisation of the currency, the consolidation of the floating debt and the reduction of the State debt to the Bank of Portugal, and, finally, the issue of an external loan, a portion of which could be devoted to public works which are economically essential. With the aid of these measures, and under the other conditions discussed with the Government, the Committee consider that the finances of Portugal and its currency could be placed on a sound basis.

“ It has not yet been possible to complete the scheme, and the Committee is still in discussion with the Government on some features in it. ”

This report was noted by the Council at its March session. In June, the Portuguese Government informed the Council that it was forced to recognise that it could take no further steps in this matter.

(v) PUBLICATION OF MONETARY AND BANKING LAWS.

The Committee decided, in view of the expense and the difficulty of preparing and keeping up a volume recording all monetary and banking laws, that it could not recommend that the League of Nations should proceed at present with this publication, but that the Secretariat should make as complete a collection as possible of such documents and should consider the possibility of including in one of its regular publications a bibliography on this subject.

(vi) VARIOUS QUESTIONS.

The Committee has at its quarterly sessions considered minor questions arising in connection with the Danzig Municipal Loan of 1925, the expenditure of the balances of the Austrian and Hungarian Reconstruction Loans, and the Currency and Banking reform in Estonia.

The last-named scheme has been satisfactorily carried out in accordance with the Protocol signed at Geneva on December 10th, 1926. Of the loan of £1,350,000, a sum of £1 million was paid to the Bank of Estonia at the end of December 1927, so that the legal stabilisation of the Estonian currency became effective as from January 1st, 1928.

(vii) DOUBLE TAXATION AND FISCAL EVASION.

As reported in the Supplementary Report to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly<sup>1</sup>, the Council decided, at its session in June 1927, to convene a general meeting of Government experts in 1928. This Conference will consider the report of a Committee of Experts who have been working upon the subject during the past three years, and in particular four model bilateral conventions on the following subjects :

- (a) The prevention of double taxation;
- (b) The prevention of double taxation in regard to the special question of succession duties;
- (c) Administrative assistance in matters of taxation;
- (d) Judicial assistance in the collection of taxes.

The Conference will meet on October 22nd, 1928.

<sup>1</sup> See records of the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 54, page 350.

As a preparation for this Conference, the Council, at its September 1927 session, on the recommendation of the Financial Committee, authorised the publication in a single volume of existing Conventions on Double Taxation and the annual publication in future of any new Conventions concluded in the manner proposed by the Committee of Experts in their report of April 1927.

### C. Publications of the Economic Intelligence Service.

Since the end of August 1927, the following publications have been prepared and issued by the Economic Intelligence Service of the Economic and Financial Section of the Secretariat :

- (a) *Memorandum on International Trade and Balances of Payments, 1912-26* (two volumes).
- (b) *Memorandum on Production and Trade, 1913 and 1923-26.*
- (c) *International Statistical Year-Book.*
- (d) *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics.*

In addition, a *Memorandum on Commercial Banks, 1913-27*, is in preparation.

- (a) MEMORANDUM ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND BALANCES OF PAYMENTS, 1912-26  
(two volumes).

In accordance with the resolution adopted by the Assembly during its third ordinary session, the *Memorandum on International Trade and Balances of Payments* has been prepared year by year and has now become a standard work of reference.

The scope of the present edition may be summarised as follows :

Volume I contains a general survey of world trade during the years 1925 and 1926, summary tables giving separately the total imports and exports of sixty-three countries and general tables for all countries of the world, showing trade by value and by weight, trade at 1913 prices and by countries of origin and destination. It contains, in addition, estimates of the balance of international payments of some twenty-five States in recent years. These statements have, in the majority of cases, been specially prepared for the League of Nations in a uniform manner.

Volume II contains detailed trade statistics of sixty-three countries, each chapter being prefaced by a note explaining the manner in which the statistics are compiled, the extent of their comparability, etc.

- (b) MEMORANDUM ON PRODUCTION AND TRADE, 1913 AND 1923-26.

This new *Memorandum on Production and Trade*, which constituted one of the three or four central documents of the World Economic Conference, brings the data and indices up to the end of 1926. It represents an attempt to assess the changes that have taken place since 1913 in the population of the world and in the territorial distribution of that population, in the production of basic raw materials and foodstuffs in the world as a whole and in the main divisions into which the world naturally falls, and in the quantum of world trade and its distribution. In a final chapter, the problem of the relative prices of manufactured commodities, on the one hand, and raw materials and foodstuffs on the other is discussed.

- (c) INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL YEAR-BOOK.

The first edition of the *International Statistical Year-Book* was published at the time of the Economic Conference, and, owing to the large demand, it was rapidly exhausted. A reprint was accordingly issued in the early autumn. In the second edition of this reference handbook, the majority of the statistics are brought up to the end of the year 1926 or 1927. It gives in a concise form the more important categories of statistics concerning area and population, including migration movements, production of cereals, textiles, ores and minerals, artificial fertilisers, etc.: international trade by value and weight, shipping, maritime freights, railways and motor vehicles, public finance (summary of budget accounts, analysis of revenue and expenditure, public debt, etc.), monetary statistics (note circulation, gold and foreign assets reserves, commercial bank deposits, etc.), rates of exchange, wholesale and retail prices, etc.

(d) MONTHLY BULLETIN OF STATISTICS.

A considerable number of the more important tables contained in the *International Statistical Year-Book* are kept regularly up to date in this *Bulletin*, and the more important monthly economic statistics of the world are given.

Changes in the scope of and method of preparing the published statistics are noted and explained in special introductions, and diagrams showing the volume of industrial production in the United States of America and indices of economic prosperity in the United Kingdom are prepared for each issue.

(e) MEMORANDUM ON COMMERCIAL BANKS, 1913-27.

The publication of a *Memorandum on Commercial Banks* which was recommended by the Brussels Conference and approved by the second and sixth ordinary sessions of the Assembly has been postponed. The preparation of this volume is now, however, almost completed and it will shortly be published as a companion volume to the *Memorandum on Currency and Central Banks*, of which it is hoped to publish a new edition, covering the years 1913-28, early next year.

## II. ORGANISATION FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT.<sup>1</sup>

The Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit has, since the last ordinary session of the Assembly, which followed immediately on the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit, continued the examination of the questions that had already been studied in part, and of the new problems raised either by the General Conference or by the Council or the Assembly. The Committee, having been renewed at the Third General Conference, had also to reconstitute itself and to reorganise its various permanent and technical Committees. It held a session for this purpose from February 27th to March 2nd, 1928. A meeting of the Permanent Committee on Road Traffic, composed as formerly, was held in November 1927; a certain number of other meetings have been held, particularly those of the Sub-Committee of Experts on Maritime Tonnage Measurement, of the Committee for the Unification of Transport Statistics, and of the Special Committee which is examining the question of the jurisdiction of the European Commission of the Danube.

The position of the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit as regards the principal questions on the agenda may be summarised as follows:

### 1. ROAD TRAFFIC.

Subsequent to the work of the Permanent Committee on Road Traffic, a scheme for the standardisation of road signals was drawn up. It is at present being submitted for examination to the authorities concerned. This scheme was drawn up in agreement with the "Union internationale des Villes" and in close connection with the "Association internationale des Automobile-Clubs reconnus".

The Committee on Road Traffic is continuing the examination of the standardisation of road regulations and has, on the other hand, undertaken, with the approval of the Advisory and Technical Committee, the study of two new problems. One of these relates to the fiscal regime for motors of foreign tourists, in so far as this regime affects international touring; the other, which may be of general importance in the future, deals, for the first time from an international standpoint, with commercial motor transport. This form of transport, both of travellers and of goods, is developing more and more, and perhaps general international regulations may become necessary shortly. A preliminary enquiry has been undertaken into this subject, particularly in order to examine whether the Customs facilities afforded to touring motors by the triptych regime might be extended to commercial motors.

The Advisory and Technical Committee has also dealt with the measures that might be taken to facilitate the entry into force of the Convention on International Motor Traffic, concluded at Paris in 1926, which introduced in the international regime of motor traffic a certain number of new facilities for which the Committee has asked on several occasions.

### 2. INLAND NAVIGATION.

The work for the unification of private law in inland navigation has been continued in association with the River Commissions. There is reason to hope that, particularly in nationality questions, registration questions and collision questions, an agreement may be made for the establishment of a basic text which it may be possible to submit to an international conference. The Committee for the Unification of Private Law is to meet

<sup>1</sup> This chapter constitutes the report presented by the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit to the Council, for transmission to the Assembly, on the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit between the eighth and ninth ordinary sessions of the Assembly.

in June 1928, and will be able to make use in connection with the registration question of a text which has already received, in the Central Commission for Rhine Navigation the agreement of the States represented upon that Commission.

### 3. MARITIME NAVIGATION.

(a) *Buoyage and Lighting of Coasts.* — The Advisory and Technical Committee, following the report of a special Committee, has sent to the Governments of the maritime Powers a scheme for the standardisation of the buoyage and lighting of coasts, and has asked these Government for their observations. A large number of replies have been received. The Committee thought it necessary, before deciding on the expediency of convening an international conference, to transmit these replies to the special Committee in order that the latter may undertake a supplementary study and consider as far as possible the suggestions and objections presented. The Directors of the services of lighthouses and buoys of a certain number of countries have been nominated Rapporteurs for this purpose to the special Committee, and are making enquiries on the spot. At the present moment they are undertaking this study particularly in the United States of America and in Canada, with the collaboration of the local authorities concerned.

(b) *Unification of Maritime Tonnage Measurement.* — The Sub-Committee of Experts instructed to present a preliminary scheme has concluded its work and is presenting to the Technical Committee itself a unanimous report. The Committee will meet before the next ordinary session of the Assembly and an account of its work will be given in the Supplementary Report. It should be noted that all the important maritime Powers are participating in this study, whether they are Members of the League of Nations or not.

(c) *Penal Consequences of Collision at Sea.* — Various recent and well-known cases, particularly that of the *Lotus*, have drawn attention to the disadvantages which result from the absence of any international agreement on the penal consequences of collision at sea. A statement upon the subject has been transmitted to the Advisory and Technical Committee by the International Association of Merchant Marine Officers. The Committee for Ports and Maritime Navigation has been asked to give its views to the Committee upon the expediency of examining this question, and to present, if there be occasion, any useful suggestions upon the procedure to be followed.

### 4. AIR NAVIGATION.

The Assembly, during its last ordinary session, requested the Council to refer to the Advisory and Technical Committee the consideration of the action to be taken to give effect to the resolution of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference relating to the expediency of economic co-operation between air navigation enterprises (resolution adopted in accordance with the unanimous wish expressed by the Committee of Experts in Civil Aeronautics of the Preparatory Commission).

The attention of the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit had, moreover, been drawn to the problem of the general international organisation of air navigation. The Advisory and Technical Committee decided to nominate a Committee of specialists to examine this group of questions. The task of the Committee is to decide whether it is possible to contemplate the constitution of an international organisation of air navigation, of as universal a character as possible, and in what way greater co-operation between civil air-navigation administrations and enterprises might be established with the assistance of all, or nearly all, the countries concerned.

The Advisory and Technical Committee has, on the other hand, continued its increasingly close collaboration with the International Commission on Air Navigation instituted by the Paris Convention of 1919.

### 5. GENERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING VARIOUS METHODS OF TRANSPORT.

(a) *Unification of Transport Statistics.* — The Committee has already had the question of the standardisation of inland navigation transport statistics examined by a Committee of Experts. In pursuance of a recommendation of the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit and in order that the views of an important group of carriers may, as soon as possible, be known in connection with the study, related from certain points of view, of the standardisation of Customs nomenclature, undertaken by the Economic Organisation, the Advisory and Technical Committee has converted the Committee for the Unification of Inland Navigation Statistics, which had already arrived at practical results in respect of this method of transport, into a Committee competent to examine both inland and maritime navigation transport statistics.

The first session of this enlarged Committee has already shown that it is easy to reconcile the needs of inland navigation and maritime navigation transport statistics. The Advisory and Technical Committee will ultimately examine whether or not it is possible to standardise railway statistics upon the same basis. It is keeping in touch with the Economic Committee, and expects that, as far as possible, the work of unifying Customs nomenclature will be based upon the desiderata presented

for transport statistics. It is, indeed, highly desirable that the large groups of goods that would appear as chapter headings or as sub-headings in Customs nomenclature should correspond to the designations that would be introduced in transport statistics. It would thus be possible to follow, by means of Customs and transport statistics in the aggregate, all the movements of both foreign and home trade.

Besides the simple question of nomenclature, the Committee for the Unification of Statistics is endeavouring to standardise the administrative procedure in the collection of statistics by seeking to obtain a grouping of these statistics according to districts, which would make it easy to follow the movement of goods from one district to another.

(b) *Combined Transport.* — The study of the question of combined transport with a single transport document has shown that the establishment of such a transport document between maritime or inland navigation transport and railway transport presents fairly serious difficulties in view of the legal differences between railway transport documents and maritime or inland navigation transport documents in most countries.

The Special Committee on Combined Transport is to re-examine the whole question. Doubtless, it will be led to undertake a particular study of the principal of these legal differences, namely, the negotiability of navigation transport documents and the non-negotiability of railway transport documents in Europe.

On the other hand, it has been possible to make the question of combined transport between railways and air navigation the object of definite recommendations. Pending the establishment of a single transport document, a system that is at present in force in certain countries makes it possible to obtain, without a single transport document, most of the practical advantages that the single document would secure. The system has been submitted for the consideration of the Governments and administrations concerned. It might even apply not only to combined transport by air and rail, but be of more general utility.

(c) *Obstacles to Freedom of Transit.* — The Third General Conference instructed the Committee to examine in detail the position created by such obstacles as still exist to freedom of communications and transit, and to study their effect on traffic and on international trade. The Committee noted that, in accordance with the terms of the Assembly's resolution of December 9th, 1920, its duty was "to consider and propose measures calculated to ensure freedom of communications and transit at all times". It considered, therefore, that it was its duty to study, by any method which it thought best suited for the purpose, any situation created by obstacles to freedom of transit which was brought to its notice either by a Government or by the Council or by the Assembly or by one of its Members. With this object in view, in order to facilitate the fulfilment of its duties and to complete, if necessary, the information already in the possession of the members of the Committee, the Chairman was asked to bring to the notice of its members, as information of a personal kind, any communication received by him or by the Secretariat which appeared to him to contain data that might be considered by members of the Committee to be worthy of its examination. Questions so brought to their notice would only be examined in detail by the Committee after the Government or Governments concerned had been informed of a proposal to place the question on the agenda, and had thus been enabled to make any observation which they thought useful.

(d) *Serious Occurrences of a General Character affecting Routes of Communication.* — The Secretary-General of the Committee was instructed to present to the Committee at a future date a report on the recommendation adopted on this question by the Third General Conference. The Conference, as will be remembered, instructed the Committee to discover how provision could be made in normal times for measures which would ensure, as soon as possible, the re-establishment of communications affected by grave occurrences of a general character. This question concerns railway communications as well as air and motor transport. Certain aspects of it are also political and legal in character.

(e) *Collection and Exchange of Information on Communications and Transit.* — The Third General Conference asked for the organisation of a service for the collection and exchange of information regarding communications and transit, and, pending the adoption of the budget for 1929, authorised the Head of the Communications and Transit Section of the Secretariat to adopt certain preparatory measures. The Committee has defined the scope of these measures, and has already asked a certain number of Governments to communicate their publications on a given list of subjects. The Head of the Communications and Transit Section has got personally into touch with the administrations concerned in a certain number of countries, in order to explain more clearly the exact nature of the information required. The first steps in this direction make it possible to state, as was hoped, that a service for the collection and exchange of information will not only facilitate the work of the Committee and be of practical service to all administrations, but will also make closer co-operation possible between the experts of far-distant countries.

(f) *Application of the Resolutions of the Conference on the International Regime of Passports: Cards for Emigrants in Transit.* — The Secretary-General of the League has been instructed to ask all the Governments, to which the results of the Second General Conference on Passports were communicated, what action has been taken on the recommendations adopted by that Conference. Particulars which had up to that moment reached the Secretariat unofficially showed that, in a large number of cases, progress had been achieved since the holding of that Conference on the lines of its recommendations, especially in the suppression of visas by means of bilateral agreements.

The report to the last ordinary session of the Assembly stated that the question of cards for emigrants in transit, which would exempt them from having to obtain a visa, had been entrusted for examination to a special Committee, which had drawn up an international draft agreement on the subject. This draft agreement was accordingly communicated to the various European Governments. After examining the replies of these Governments, the Committee has decided to propose that the Council should convene a European Conference with instructions to draw up an international agreement. Most European Governments have accepted the recommendations of the Committee of Experts, but some have suggested certain amendments to the proposed texts.

#### 6. EFFECT TO BE GIVEN TO THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE OF PRESS EXPERTS RELATING TO QUESTIONS OF COMMUNICATIONS.

The Advisory and Technical Committee has examined the questions of communications raised by the Conference of Press Experts. The state of the work on this subject is described elsewhere in the report.

#### 7. COMMUNICATIONS OF IMPORTANCE TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT TIME OF CRISIS.

(a) *General Measures.* — The Communications and Transit Organisation has completed the general measures to be applied in time of crisis. Those measures have already been submitted to the Council and to the Assembly. Before the next ordinary session of the Assembly the International Commission on Air Navigation will have finished its investigation of the questions submitted to it on this subject by the Advisory and Technical Committee. A general table of measures which can be applied is to be drawn up by the Secretary-General of the Committee for circulation to all the administrations concerned. This table will give full details of the measures contemplated in order that each administration may obtain the necessary instructions from its Government. The Section for Communications and Transit will, in future, be in direct relation, in so far as the application of these measures is concerned, with one or more officials chosen by each Government, who will thus possess accurate knowledge of measures of urgency to be adopted when the necessity arises.

(b) *Landing-Ground for Aircraft.* — The Committee of Experts appointed by the Advisory and Technical Committee has drawn up a plan for the construction of a landing-ground near to the seat of the League. This plan is based on the development of an existing landing-ground. An agreement on this subject has been concluded with the competent authorities in so far as the technical points are concerned. It was, however, discovered during the negotiations that, more especially owing to the financial requirements of such a scheme, it would probably be difficult to find a solution for the question within the local limits which had so far alone been discussed. It was considered that the Secretary-General of the Committee and the Federal authorities concerned should discuss the question from a more general standpoint in order to discover any solution which might be acceptable from an economic and technical point of view. The Committee is not, therefore, in a position to submit a report to the Council on this question for the moment.

(c) *Wireless Station for the League of Nations.* — On the other hand, in so far as the wireless station for the League of Nations is concerned, the Committee has sent a general report to the Council. This report contains full details regarding the method of construction and working of the wireless station both in normal times and in times of crisis. Nevertheless, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, and in order that the Assembly may receive all additional information possible, certain questions in connection with its working are to be examined by a special Committee, whose views will be communicated by the Chairman of the Transit Committee at a suitable date before the next ordinary session of the Assembly. It appears unnecessary to summarise the general report of the Committee on this subject, as it has been issued as a separate document (C.141.M.32.1928.VIII).

#### 8. SPECIAL QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY THE COUNCIL.

The Advisory and Technical Committee, in its capacity as an advisory body to the Council, has had, as in the past, to examine various questions regarding the application of treaties, more especially the application of the railway clauses of the Treaties of St. Germain and of Trianon.

Up to the moment, all questions of this kind have, after a preliminary examination by the Committee, been settled by friendly agreement between the parties concerned.



### 9. JURISDICTION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION OF THE DANUBE.

Negotiations between representatives of the European Commission of the Danube, carried on with the co-operation of the special Committee appointed by the Transit Committee, were continued after the Permanent Court of International Justice had promulgated its opinion on the present legal position. These negotiations concern the possibilities of changing this legal position. The result of the negotiations will be communicated at a future date.

### 10. QUESTIONS OF ORGANISATION.

The main object of a new statute of the Organisation of Communications and Transit adopted by the Third General Conference is to codify existing practices, and has therefore not resulted in any great change in the working of the Committee.

The Committee, which appointed as its Chairman the Italian member, has reconstituted the Permanent Committees in order to ensure the best possible representation of all the interests concerned in each case, by the individual appointment of the best-qualified persons. The composition of the Permanent Committee on Transport by Rail has been enlarged and made more elastic in order that it may be possible to obtain a larger measure of co-operation from the railway experts of non-European countries.

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During its discussions, the Committee was again informed by the representative of the International Broadcasting Union of difficulties which have occurred owing to the fact that certain forms of propaganda, regarded as inadmissible from an international point of view, have been carried on by means of broadcasting. The Committee did not consider itself competent to examine the question, despite its importance, for it has decidedly political aspects. It decided, however, to mention the matter in its report to the Assembly.

## III. THE HEALTH ORGANISATION.

In 1927, the Assembly, during its eighth ordinary session, approved in two resolutions the work done by the Health Organisation. The first of these resolutions dealt with the possibilities of technical co-operation with public health and medical authorities in Latin-American countries. The second dealt with the general programme of work. This latter resolution especially mentioned the Eastern Bureau at Singapore, the conclusion of agreements with the Office international d'hygiène publique, the work of the Commissions, various special enquiries and technical investigations, and the scheme for the study of health problems in the Pacific area.

In these resolutions, and in the report to the Council on the work of the eleventh session of the Health Committee, attention was drawn to the increasing tendency of the Health Organisation to ensure a more extensive and intimate collaboration between the health administrations and the League, and between these administrations themselves. This tendency, which affects an increasingly wider and more fruitful field in the domain of health organisation, was referred to in a resolution adopted by the Assembly during its seventh ordinary session, and every year the number of countries inviting and accepting this collaboration increases.

Striking proof has been afforded, during the past year, of the increasing part played by the Health Organisation in the co-ordination of health work. As examples we may quote the following: the development of the Service of Epidemiological Information and of the Singapore Bureau; the offers of the health administrations of the United States and the countries of Latin America; the requests of the Governments of Belgium and Greece; the co-operation accepted by the Bulgarian Government.

Besides this universal tendency towards collaboration, it may be noted that the Health Organisation progressively extends the field of its investigations. After having endeavoured to solve problems of a strictly technical and medical character, such as the problem of epidemiological information and the standardisation of sera, the Health Organisation is now undertaking more complicated questions of social and rural hygiene. It is embarking upon the study of phenomena closely bound up with the economic and sociological facts which intimately affect modern life.

The activities of the Service of Epidemiological Intelligence, the work of the Eastern Bureau, the work of the Commissions, the arrangements for the organisation of interchanges, the direction taken by special investigations and researches — all this work of the Health Organisation is evidence of the above characteristic tendencies.

### 1. EPIDEMIOLOGICAL INFORMATION AND PUBLIC HEALTH STATISTICS.

Effective sanitary police organisation is largely determined by the abundance, exactitude and rapidity of epidemiological information, and the Health Organisation, by its epidemiological service, endeavours to put at the disposal of the administrations concerned information which is increasingly complete, reliable and up to date.

From all countries which are able to furnish such information, the Health Organisation receives periodical reports on the appearance, frequency and geographical distribution, character and gravity of the transmissible diseases of importance from the point of view of public health defence.

This information is received at Geneva at the head office of the Epidemiological Intelligence Service and at the Eastern Bureau at Singapore, an organisation which has so considerably developed that a special chapter will be devoted to it.

The chief progress achieved in 1927 mainly concerns the extent and presentation of the information received, which is published in the form of weekly, monthly and annual reports.

The *Weekly Record* is intended to place at the disposal of the health administrations information of an urgent character. It contains all the information which reaches Geneva during the week on pestilential and serious epidemic diseases against which the administrations concerned have to be continually on guard. Numerous countries have recognised the utility of this weekly report, which increases daily owing to improvements in telegraphic communications with the regions in which pestilential diseases are liable to break out.

The *Monthly Epidemiological Report*, which registers the frequency and distribution of the principal transmissible diseases throughout the world, has been notably improved so far as its presentation is concerned. The maps and graphs have been increased, and every number contains an epidemiological survey of diseases which have an immediate interest at the moment of publication.

The *Annual Epidemiological Report* for 1927 will appear in October 1928.

Besides these improvements in detail as regards documentation, a Conference was held at Geneva on October 25th and 26th, 1927, attended by a small number of experts, who were asked to study the most appropriate methods for grouping, transmitting and publishing epidemiological information. This conference resulted in conclusions of a technical character for the improvement of the epidemiological service.

Finally, an agreement has been concluded between the Health Organisation and the Office international d'hygiène publique.

Article 7 of the International Convention of June 21st, 1926, is to the following effect :

“ In order to facilitate the accomplishment of the task entrusted to it by the present Convention, the Office international d'hygiène publique, because of the value of the information which is furnished by the Service of Epidemiological Intelligence of the League of Nations, including its Eastern Bureau of Singapore and other similar bureaux, as well as by the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, is authorised to negotiate necessary arrangements with the Health Committee of the League of Nations as well as with the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau and other similar organisations. ”

In execution of this Convention, the Permanent Committee of the Office international and the Health Committee (tenth session) concluded an arrangement. The first two articles of the arrangement are as follows :

“ I. Governments may effect the notifications and communications provided for by the Convention and intended for the Office international d'hygiène publique by means of one of the regional bureaux of the Health Organisation of the League of Nations, subject to a special agreement being made between the Office international d'hygiène publique and the League of Nations for each particular bureau.

“ II. Governments which adopt the above procedure will be termed Governments associated with the regional bureaux. Regional bureaux will undertake the transmission of information addressed to them in conformity with rules which will be fixed in the particular agreement which relates to each bureau. ”

The special arrangement which concerns the Eastern Bureau at Singapore contains the following provisions :

“ I. The Eastern Bureau of the Health Organisation at Singapore will act as a regional bureau under the conditions provided for by the General Agreement which has been concluded in virtue of Article 7 of the International Sanitary Convention of June 21st, 1926.

“ II. The Singapore Bureau will effect the transmission of information addressed to it in accordance with the following regulations. ”

These rules relate to the application of the Sanitary Convention.

The resolutions of the tenth session of the Health Committee were approved by the Council during its session held in June 1927.

## 2. EASTERN BUREAU AT SINGAPORE.

The Assembly, during its eighth ordinary session, noted that the work of the Eastern Bureau was increasing and was becoming continually more useful.

During the year 1927, the work of the Bureau continued to develop. Not only has the number of ports with which the Bureau is in weekly telegraphic communication increased from 123 to 140, but an endeavour is at present being made, with growing success, to forward epidemiological information covering the whole of certain countries as well as their ports.

The transmission of the *Weekly Record* by wireless has been appreciably improved and developed. The wireless transmission of code messages has been entrusted to the powerful stations, and the weaker stations have been asked to transmit messages in clear which are intended for reception by ships at sea.

On October 1st, 1927, the station of Tananarivo began to relay the Bulletin in code transmitted by the powerful station at Saigon. Wireless communications have been established with the Persian Gulf, and the station of Malabar publishes a summary of the *Weekly Bulletin* in clear which is picked up by the stations at Madras and Karachi.

Moreover, the *Weekly Fasciculus* prepared at Singapore is transmitted by cable to Geneva and relayed every Saturday by the station at Nauen (through the Trans-Ocean Company, G.m.b.H., of Berlin) for the use of the health services of European countries and of certain countries outside Europe.

Thirty-five health administrations of the Far East inform the Bureau of the arrival of infected vessels in the ports under their jurisdiction.

At the outset, the functions of the Eastern Bureau were limited to the reception, centralisation and distribution of epidemiological information. The importance of its work has progressively increased, and to-day it constitutes one of the most important efforts which have been made to extend to Eastern countries the technical work of the Health Organisation. The Bureau at Singapore acts as a centre of co-ordination for the investigation of certain problems—such as the value of the method of vaccination by the mouth against cholera and dysentery—which are of special interest to health administrations in the Far East.

The Advisory Committee of the Eastern Bureau, during its third session, held at Delhi, from December 26th to 29th, 1927, decided to communicate to the Health Committee the programme of a co-ordinated enquiry into plague.

During this same session, the Committee recommended that the Bureau should collect detailed information in regard to the quarantine stations of the East and their value.

The Eastern Bureau is thus gradually organising the international effort which is necessary to determine and to settle problems of public health in the East, and to assure in this part of the world the execution of the programme drawn up by the Health Organisation.

The Advisory Committee of the Eastern Bureau, during its session held at Delhi in December 1927, examined and adopted the regulations and statutes relating to its constitution. The Committee is composed of a delegate of each of the following countries: Australia, China, the Dutch East Indies, Indo-China or other French colonies, India, Japan, the Japanese colonies, the British colonies and dependencies.

### 3. LIAISON BETWEEN THE HEALTH SERVICES OF THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES: INTERCHANGES.

The first international health course instituted by the Health Organisation took place at the Health Institute of the Faculty of Paris from January 17th to March 5th, 1927. This was described in the previous report to the Assembly.

The effort was so successful that a second international course was organised in London from November 3rd to December 15th, 1927. There were nineteen participants in the course drawn from seventeen public health administrations, together with a certain number of occasional participants, who were able to visit a large number of administrative services, hospitals, dispensaries and medical and health institutions, while that at the same time benefited from lectures delivered by distinguished experts.

The interchange in Germany began at Berlin on September 19th, 1927. Twenty-five health officials, from twenty-one health administrations, participated. The programme was drawn up with meticulous care by the health administrations of the Reich, of the States of Prussia, Saxony and Bavaria, and of the city of Hamburg. The majority of the participants held important posts in their respective health administrations, and drafted very interesting reports, which showed how much advantage they had derived from the tour.

The interchange in India, which constituted the second collective study tour organised in the Far East, began at Delhi on January 2nd, 1928, and finished at Bombay on February 18th. Fifteen health officials from twelve administrations participated. They studied the chief characteristics of the recent active developments in the field of preventive medicine and public health in eight provinces of India. They were afforded the greatest possible facilities to enable them to observe at first hand the work of the health services of the central, provincial and municipal authorities.

The interchange devoted to the study of problems of rural hygiene began on May 28th, 1928, and will be concluded towards the end of July. It includes both medical health officers and sanitary engineers. Twenty-one officials from nineteen health administrations are participating in the interchange. The officials participating will visit in turn rural districts chosen in the following countries: Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

According to the precedent established by the interchange in Germany, the health authorities concerned have drawn up short statements on the districts and institutions to be visited.

The studies of those participating in the interchange will not be limited to health organisations specifically, but will be extended to all institutions which are likely to influence rural health, such as schools of agriculture, public relief works, co-operative and real estate associations. Moreover, special attention will be devoted to problems of rural health policy, particularly to the problems of garden city planning, methods of water supply, refuse disposal, housing and the organisation of medical and hospital services.

Questions of rural hygiene are at present among the most difficult that have to be settled by the public authorities, and the study of the problems raised by the interchange may result in solutions which will be applicable in practice.

A certain number of individual fellowships have been granted to officials nominated by their health administrations with a view to special studies and in order to ensure contact with the experts of the Far East and Latin America. Seven doctors from the Far East were entrusted with missions in Europe and the United States, where they have been able to study problems of public health, to familiarise themselves with laboratory research and to deliver lectures.

Four public health officials from Latin America have come to Europe in order to visit health institutions and to take part in certain work of the Health Organisation.

Among the Europeans, one expert has studied the problem of nutrition at Tokio; another has derived benefit from staying at the Institute of Malariology at Trogir; a third has visited the health organisations of London; a fourth was admitted to the Pasteur Institute of Paris; a professor of physiology and physical education has prepared a report on the centres which he visited in Europe.

#### 4. WORK OF THE COMMISSIONS.

##### *Malaria Commission.*

The Assembly, during its eighth ordinary session, expressed its high appreciation of the work of the Malaria Commission which had reached practical and concrete conclusions.

Malaria has, since the war, been one of the great problems of social health and social economy, and the Commission has studied the most suitable and least difficult measures which may be adopted to deal with this scourge, which at present is found in all parts of the world.

During 1927, two members of the Malaria Commission made a short journey to the United States of America to study the results of the anti-malaria campaign in the Southern States. The object of this personal enquiry on the spot into the methods used in those States was to assist the Malaria Commission to form an opinion concerning the anti-malaria measures adopted in Europe.

The concrete and practical experience secured by the Commission is summarised in various reports. The most important of these was published in July 1927 (document C.H. Malaria. 73). The Commission met at the end of June in order to discuss the conclusions of these reports.

In order to assist in the training of experts for the campaign against malaria, special malaria courses have been organised in London, Hamburg, Paris and Rome. The theoretical courses will be followed by practical work in Spain, Italy, and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Twelve fellowships for participation in these courses have been assigned by the Health Organisation, in addition to others which were granted by the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation.

##### *Commission of Health Experts on Infant Welfare.*

The enquiry into infant mortality, as determined by clinical, hygienic and social causes, has, like the enquiry into malaria, been very definitely directed towards an endeavour to find practical solutions which may be of service to health administrations.

It was decided at the session of the experts (January 17th to January 20th, 1927) who were entrusted with this investigation, to institute enquiries on uniform lines in order to ensure the comparability of the results. Twenty-nine rural and urban districts were chosen in seven countries of Europe (Germany, England, Austria, France, Italy, Norway and the Netherlands).

The session in Vienna in September 1927 enabled certain provisional conclusions to be reached which were extremely interesting, such as the importance of premature birth and still-birth and the decrease, under certain conditions, in the rate of infantile mortality among illegitimate children to a rate appreciably equal to the rate for legitimate children.

The Conference at Montevideo (June 7th to 11th, 1927) corresponded with a movement for the geographical extension of this investigation by associating in the work of the Health Organisation four countries of Latin America — the Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay.

The enquiry, which will last a year as in Europe, and which will cover more than 5,500 deaths of infants of less than one year of age, began on February 1st in Brazil, on March 1st in the Argentine and Uruguay, and on April 1st in Chile. The enquiry will include urban and rural sections in each country (five districts in the Argentine, eight

in Brazil, four in Chile and seven in Uruguay), and it will be conducted on the same lines as in Europe. In some districts it will even be enlarged in certain respects (autopsies, serological examinations).

This enquiry will considerably increase the value of the investigations undertaken in Europe, and will be of considerable importance for the countries of South America. By a study of the influence of climate, race, and social conditions on the birth rate and on infant mortality, it will enable progress to be made towards practical solutions of the demographic problems which so acutely arise in these countries.

In Europe, as in South America, this enquiry is likely to facilitate the organisation and development of child welfare and the protection of maternity, and to contribute to the settlement of certain demographic questions, which are so intimately bound up with health policy and social economy.

#### *Commission of Expert Statisticians.*

The report to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly describes the work of the session of the Commission of Expert Statisticians which was held at Geneva in March 1927.

Two important problems were dealt with by the Commission. The first related to mortality statistics and the second to morbidity statistics.

The estimation of mortality and the determination of its causes are indispensable factors in establishing the bill of health of a community, and it is necessary to secure uniformity and to develop methods which will enable statistics to be obtained which will be exact, complete and comparable as between one country and another. This is the task which the Commission has endeavoured to undertake in studying the revision of the International List of Causes of Death.

The report of the statistical experts on this subject has been forwarded to the administrations concerned for their views. Twenty-six Governments have replied to this communication.

In conformity with a suggestion of the French Government, the Health Committee, during its twelfth session, recommended to the Council that a certain number of delegates of the League of Nations and of the International Institute of Statistics should collaborate in the co-ordination of the proposals of the two organisations on the proposed lists.

Mortality statistics give an incomplete and misleading picture of the health position of a country, and the economic and social consequences of this health position are more especially determined by the situation in regard to morbidity. The Commission has paid considerable attention to the analysis of the morbidity factor, which is a more exact indication than the factor of mortality of the losses and burdens of the community. An endeavour has been made to collect, classify and interpret extensive material and to co-ordinate the researches made in various countries in order to elucidate this difficult question and to endeavour to elaborate an international list of causes of morbidity.

#### *Commission on Permanent Standardisation of Sera, Serological Reactions and Biological Products.*

This Commission, which endeavours to establish and procure the acceptance of international standards which may serve as units of measure for the activity of sera and, in general, of serological and biological products, met at Frankfort-on-Main from April 25th to 28th, 1928, and concluded an important part of its work.

The results so far achieved are due to long and minute researches undertaken in the principal institutes of the world, and co-ordinated by two laboratories acting for the Health Organisation, namely, the State Sero-Therapeutic Institute at Copenhagen, under the direction of Professor Th. Madsen, for serological studies, and the National Medical Research Council in London, under the direction of Professor H. H. Dale, for the examination of biological products.

An agreement was reached for the standardisation of a whole series of important sera, such as anti-diphtheritic, anti-tetanic and anti-dysenteric sera, and for the method of examination of a series of biological products, such as the arseno-benzines, etc. The unit of insulin recommended at the meeting at Geneva in 1926 is to-day universally adopted. The Health Committee has recommended that the report and conclusions of the session of the Permanent Commission should be forwarded to the Governments and to the competent authorities of the various countries.

Studies on the sero-diagnosis of syphilis were the subject of the Conference held at Copenhagen at the end of May 1928. It is unnecessary to emphasise the importance of this diagnosis and the necessity of comparing the various methods and the experience of the chief institutes.

#### *Cancer Commission.*

The Cancer Commission, as a result of its session of October 1927, submitted to the Health Committee an important general report on the work done between 1923 and 1927.

The work of the Commission has shown the utility of the national and local co-operation of medical practitioners, surgeons, health experts and statisticians. This work has accustomed the various experts to engage in collective and co-ordinated enquiries. The results already achieved will facilitate, and point the way to, further researches of the Commission.

Among the numerous studies of an international character which call for the attention of those who attack the obscure problem of cancer, there are two in which it seems possible to achieve rapid practical results, viz., a study of occupational cancer and the radiological treatment of cancer of the uterus.

According to present evidence, occupational cancer is very irregularly distributed in the various countries; and the study of the causes of the difference of incidence has a considerable economic importance. Moreover, it is interesting to estimate the efficacy of certain preventive measures. Thus, in Germany, cancer of the bladder, formerly frequent among workers in the aniline dye industry, has completely disappeared as a result of the application of preventive measures.

The radiological treatment of cancer has proved to be of great value. Nevertheless, there are marked differences, both as regards the precise action of the rays and the best method of applying them. Moreover, it appears that a considerable number of small hospitals apply the treatment in a manner which is hardly satisfactory. In these circumstances, the Commission considers that the study of practical methods of radiological treatment from the international point of view would have especial interest.

The Commission, during its session in April 1928, decided to conduct investigations into the effects of radiological treatment and, in collaboration with the Health Organisation and the International Labour Office, into occupational cancer.

#### *Smallpox and Vaccination Commission.*

Several urgent problems are being dealt with by this Commission: the distribution, frequency and origin of smallpox epidemics in Europe, their comparative mildness or severity and, finally, post-vaccinal encephalitis.

#### *Opium Commission.*

The Health Committee was invited by a resolution of the Council dated March 14th, 1925, to consider whether it was advisable to consult the Office international d'hygiène publique concerning the products covered by Articles 8 and 10 of the International Opium Convention of 1925. Article 8 deals with the preparations which cannot give rise to the drug habit, and which should be exempted from the provisions of the Convention. Article 10 deals with the preparations containing narcotics which, owing to abuses to which they might give rise, should come within the scope of the Convention.

The Health Committee, as a result of investigations undertaken by its Opium Commission, has informed the Council (forty-eighth session) that it considers eucodal and dicodide to be narcotics and that they should therefore be subject to the Convention. The Governments of the countries which have signed the Geneva Convention were previously consulted, and, among the replies so far received, ten are in conformity with the views expressed by the Health Committee, while only one reply is to the effect that eucodal and dicodide should not come under the Convention. Various other products, such as dilaudide and the esters of morphine, are at present the subject of a technical enquiry of the same character.

#### *Commission on Education in Public Health and Preventive Medicine.*

The Commission on Health Training met from September 29th to October 4th, 1927, on the occasion of the opening of the Health Institutes of Hungary and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This Commission, composed of distinguished experts, studied the programmes of the institutes, the relation of these institutes with one another and with the universities and public health services. It also examined the problem of the recruiting and technical training of students.

In order, by healthy competition and close collaboration, to stimulate the scientific spirit which should inspire these institutes to achieve practical results, the Commission has drawn up a programme which provides for a periodical meeting of the directors, an interchange of assistants, the rapid and mutual transmission of the results of investigations, the limitation of enquiries to a few definite problems and the institution of a competition in a special subject of rural hygiene between the various schools (Prague, Warsaw, Budapest, Zagreb, etc.).

The problems which have been submitted for study relate to preventive measures and the treatment of scarlet fever, and to vaccination by the mouth against typhoid. The problems which relate more particularly to rural hygiene deal with the supply of drinking-water and the removal and treatment of refuse.

#### *Joint Commission of Experts for the Study of the Relations between the Public Health Services and Sickness Insurance Organisations.*

The enquiry into the most effective methods of establishing collaboration between sickness insurance organisations and public health services is progressing in conformity with the programme traced by the Commission and indicated in the previous report to the Assembly.

During 1928, the enquiry dealt more particularly with preventive measures against tuberculosis, the protection of maternity and children below school age, and the study of morbidity statistics.

#### *Commission on Sleeping-Sickness.*

The International Commission for the Study of Sleeping-Sickness, which was set up as a result of the recommendation of the International Conference which met at London in 1925, has finished its work. The results achieved appear to be of indisputable value, particularly with a view to a more effective collaboration between health administrators.

An informal meeting of the chief health advisers of the Colonial administrations of the countries which will participate in the Second International Conference on Sleeping-Sickness (Belgium, Spain, France, Italy, Great Britain and Portugal) met at Paris on May 10th and 11th, 1928, and discussed the preparatory work for the Conference, taking as a basis a memorandum prepared by the Health Section.

The questions to be examined by the International Conference, which will meet at Paris towards next November, have been grouped as follows and have already been the subject of useful preparatory work :

1. Administrative measures.
2. Progress achieved by the administrations.
3. Reports of the administrations on methods of combating the disease, and the results obtained.
4. Steps to be taken in order to co-ordinate efforts with a view to suppressing the disease.
5. Studies and enquiries to be undertaken in the infected territories.
6. Co-ordination of these enquiries.
7. Veterinary problems relating to animal trypanosomiasis.

## 5. COLLABORATION WITH VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

### *Latin America.*

*The Problem of Leprosy.* — The Assembly, during its eighth ordinary session, having noted the report of the President of the Health Committee on the possibilities of technical collaboration with the health and medical authorities of the countries of Latin America, asked the Council to study measures with a view to realising these various schemes of collaboration after having obtained the advice of the Health Committee.

The Council (December 1927) invited the Secretary-General to communicate to the Argentine and Brazilian Governments its resolution concerning an arrangement, to be examined by the Secretary-General with the assistance of these two Governments, for placing the schools and research centres to be established in these two countries under the auspices of the League.

After having noted the reply of the Brazilian Government, the Health Committee, in the absence of its Argentine member, decided to adjourn the study of the question. On the other hand, it examined with interest a Brazilian proposal concerning leprosy.

The problem of leprosy has considerable international importance and is of special interest to countries of the East and of Latin America. The Health Committee, recognising its importance, decided to entrust to some of its members the preparation of a plan of international enquiry into the subject of leprosy.

Further, the Medical Director was invited to get into touch with the health administrations which had submitted, or which might submit, a request to that effect, with a view to discovering the best method of international organisation for the study of this universal problem, to which the Health Organisation could not remain indifferent.

The Committee was happy to note that the Brazilian Government offers special facilities for the study of leprosy and is ready to appoint, to the extent to which it is possible, one or several experts to collaborate in the study of leprosy with the health administrations which have submitted, or which may submit, a request. It recommended the Council to obtain information from the health administrations of the countries concerned as to the extent to which they would be prepared to contribute to the enquiry.

The problems of contagion, early diagnosis and treatment of leprosy are still extremely obscure, and there is no doubt that a study undertaken by the special technical institutes and co-ordinated by the Health Organisation, might lead to interesting practical results.

### *Yellow Fever in the Belgian Congo.*

The Belgian Government, acting on behalf of the Belgian Congo, has expressed a desire (document C.H. 11) that the League of Nations should undertake negotiations with the interested Governments with a view to concluding an agreement which would make it possible to take co-ordinated preventive measures against yellow fever in the territories adjacent to the estuary of the Congo.

The Health Committee has placed itself at the disposal of the four countries concerned (England, Belgium, Portugal and France), and will examine any action which those Governments think it desirable to recommend to the Health Organisation.

### *Tuberculosis in Greece.*

The Council on March 5th, 1928, approved a suggestion made by the Financial Committee, which had been struck by the ravages of tuberculosis among the Greek refugees. It expressed the wish that the Greek Settlement Commission should get into touch with the Health Organisation so that the latter might assist the Greek public health authorities and the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission to remedy this situation.

The Health Committee, after having examined the problem with the Director of the public health services of the country, recommended that the services of the Health Organisation should be placed at the disposal of the Greek health administration to help it in carrying out a campaign against this scourge.

### *Earthquake in Bulgaria.*

In agreement with the President of the Health Committee, the Secretary-General of the League offered the public health administration of Bulgaria the services of the Health Organisation to co-ordinate any health measures which might be considered necessary by this administration. The offer was accepted and an Epidemic Commissioner was immediately placed at the disposal of the Bulgarian administration. This Commissioner has secured the collaboration of the health services of Hungary, Poland, Roumania and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

## 6. VARIOUS INVESTIGATIONS.

### *Enquiry into the Health Conditions of certain Pacific Islands.*

The Assembly, during its eighth ordinary session, noted the recommendations formulated by the International Pacific Conference held at Melbourne in December 1926, concerning the work which might be undertaken by the Health Organisation with a view to the study of health problems in the Pacific region, and expressed the hope that the possibilities of action in this direction might be examined in detail by the Health Committee.

As a result of this examination, two experts will go to the Pacific at the beginning of November next and carry out a preliminary investigation into the present health conditions in Papua, New Guinea, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, the Solomon Islands and Fiji.

### *Ship Fumigation.*

The problem of deratisation of ships, which is very closely bound up with the problem of plague, is supremely an international question, and the Committee has thought it desirable to compare the methods of fumigating ships, and more particularly to determine the value and limits of the practical application of hydrocyanic acid gas. The use of this gas is general in certain countries, whereas in others it is prohibited.

The Health Committee has entrusted the study of this question to a commission presided over by the Chief of the Federal Public Health Service of the United States, whose Service will assist the commission and its experts, and place at their disposal the facilities available for experiments to be carried out on board ships, and the hospitality of the ports of New York and New Orleans.

### *Other Enquiries.*

In the field of hygiene and social welfare, the Health Organisation, in collaboration with the International Labour Office, is carrying out an enquiry into the condition of the *blind*, following a detailed questionnaire.

A considerable amount of information is being collected which is intended for use as the basis of a report on *physical education*.

Further, the Health Committee, during its twelfth session, decided to collect information on legislative provisions for the elimination of dangers attendant upon the *use of X-rays*.

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## 11.

### HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS.

#### I. PROTECTION AND WELFARE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE.

##### A. TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

###### (a) PART II OF THE REPORT BY THE SPECIAL BODY OF EXPERTS : MEASURES TAKEN BY THE COUNCIL.

In March 1927, the Council decided that Part II of the report of the Special Body of Experts should be sent to the various Governments for their observations. In June 1927, it decided that the Governments should be invited to forward their observations to the Secretariat by the end of September at latest ; that a meeting of the Special Body of Experts should be convened, if funds were available, on or about November 15th, 1927, to consider the communications of the Governments and to make such modifications in Part II of the report as were useful and necessary ; and that Part II should then be submitted to the Council during the first session after the meeting of the Experts and should be published immediately after that session of the Council. In accordance with this decision, a session of the Special Body of Experts was held at Geneva from November 15th to 27th, 1927, funds for the purpose being again generously provided by the American Bureau of Social Hygiene.



The Special Body of Experts presented to the Council two documents :

1. Part II of their report, modified in the light of observations made by the Governments.

It may be noted that one of the Experts, Dr. Paulina Luisi, who was absent when Part I was considered, did not accept Part II without reservations.

2. The communications from the Governments, with the comments of the Special Body of Experts thereon.

Eighteen Governments sent observations and another Government sent certain information through a member of the Special Body of Experts.

As regards the second document, the Special Body of Experts has endeavoured to give effect, as far as possible, to corrections of fact or other modifications suggested by the various Governments. Certain Governments have criticised the method of enquiry of the Experts and the conclusions which they have drawn. Others have confirmed the general accuracy of the report. In several countries the position has changed for the better since the enquiry was begun, and a good deal has been done in the way of new legislation or administrative action to cope with the evil dealt with in this report.

After a statement by the Chairman of the Special Body of Experts regarding the general character of the afore-mentioned reservations by Dr. Paulina Luisi, the Council authorised the immediate publication of Part II of the Experts' report, it being understood that the Governments' observations and the comments of the Special Body of Experts would be annexed to it.

The observations of one Government, which were communicated after the publication of this material, have been transmitted separately to the Members of the League.

(b) WORK OF THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN COMMITTEE.

The seventh session of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee was held at Geneva from March 12th to 17th, 1928.

1. *Material and Moral Protection of Music-hall and Similar Artistes Touring Abroad.*

The Committee, after hearing a report submitted by the International Labour Office on this subject, considered that, although the class of persons concerned was not very large, it was nevertheless particularly exposed to moral danger. It was accordingly decided that the first step was to consult Governments on certain points connected with the conditions of employment of these young artistes and a questionnaire was drafted for this purpose. The Committee also decided to ask the International Labour Office to consult some of the principal professional organisations and ask them to furnish their observations upon the different subjects dealt with in the questionnaire.

2. *Annual Reports of Governments for the Year 1926.*

The Committee examined the annual reports from Governments and decided that, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, an explanatory note should henceforward be appended to the questionnaire.

It was also decided that a list of countries which have not yet replied to some or all of the questions asked should be published with the summary of annual reports.

3. *Reports of Voluntary Associations.*

The assessors representing voluntary associations submitted their annual reports to the Committee. They also made certain recommendations, the chief of which are as follows :

That the question of the desirability of an international convention to settle the question of voluntary or obligatory repatriation of prostitutes should be placed on the agenda of the next session of the Committee.

That consideration should be given at the next session to the question of an international convention on child adoption with a view to safeguarding the children concerned.

That the Committee should study the question of the biological education of the adolescent.

That the expert enquiry into the traffic in women and children should be extended to the Far-Eastern countries.

That women should be more extensively represented on all Committees which are more particularly concerned with the social and moral interests of women.

4. *Employment of Women in the Police.*

Although this question had not been placed on the agenda, the Committee, in view of the presence at Geneva of Mlle. Erkens, Women-Police Inspector at Hamburg, heard a report on the development of women-police work in Germany. The Committee, after

hearing this statement, decided to place the question of women police on the agenda of its next session.

5. *Assistance to Women leaving Prison.*

At the request of the Spanish representative, this question was adjourned to the next session, at which a clear distinction will have to be made between the discussion of measures affecting minors and measures affecting adults.

6. *Report of the Special Body of Experts, Part II.*

Certain members of the Committee, when examining Part II of the Experts' report, considered that the enquiry might have been more thorough in some of the countries visited and that it would be expedient to ask the Governments and voluntary organisations to forward to the Secretariat any information in their possession which might add to that already available. The Committee once more thanked the Experts and paid a tribute to the important work done by the investigators.

7. *Continuation of the Experts' Enquiry.*

After hearing various proposals regarding the selection of new countries to which the enquiry should be extended, and the means of doing so, the Committee unanimously called for the continuation and extension of the enquiry. The nature and scope of the further enquiry will need careful consideration and the Committee proposed to put this subject on the agenda of its next session.

8. *Examination of the Resolution adopted at the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly with regard to the System of Licensed Houses.*

The Committee took note of the Assembly resolution requesting it to examine as soon as possible the question of the desirability of recommending to all Governments the abolition of the system of licensed houses.

Certain delegates and all the assessors agreed with the conclusion of the Special Body of Experts on the subject of licensed houses. Other delegates, without expressing any definite view on this question, were of the opinion that, in countries where the system had long been in existence, it was important that the public should recognise the necessity of bringing it to an end. They therefore urged the necessity of putting their Governments in possession, beforehand, of information as to the legislative and administrative measures taken by countries in which the system had been abolished.

The Committee earnestly hoped that the Governments of all those countries which still retained the licensed-house system would investigate the question as soon as possible in the light of the report made by the Body of Experts and the other information collected by the League; in order to facilitate this investigation, the Committee asked the Secretariat to make a study of the laws and regulations in force in those countries where the system had been abolished.

9. *Action to be taken against Persons living on the Earnings of Prostitutes.*

The discussion in the Committee showed that it was necessary to adopt stricter measures against *souteneurs* in order to put a stop to their operations, which are among the main causes of the traffic in women. The Committee therefore requested the Secretariat to submit at its next session a concise study of the laws and penalties relating to the *souteneur*.

10. *Desirability of abolishing the Age-limit in Conventions.*

The Committee discussed the desirability of abolishing the age-limit in the Conventions of 1910 and 1921. In spite of the fact that the Committee had heard the arguments put forward from various quarters, its attention was drawn to the drawback of proposing such a modification in the text of the Conventions lest ratification by certain Governments should be further delayed.

The Committee requested the assessor representing the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women to submit a report on this question at the next session.

11. *Legal Age of Marriage.*

The Committee, after examining this question, referred its consideration to a joint meeting of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee and the Child Welfare Committee. It noted that the fixing of the age of consent and the age of marriage at too early an age is apt to encourage the traffic and to promote the corruption of the young. It therefore recommended that the appropriate legislative action should be studied by the Child Welfare Committee.

12. *Examination of the Replies from Governments on the Subject of the Suppression of Obscene Publications.*

The Committee decided to give more careful consideration at its next session to the subject of obscene publications, which undoubtedly contribute to the growth of the traffic.

The Committee's attention was drawn to the fact that, of the forty-three countries which had signed the Convention of 1923, only twenty-two countries had ratified, and five had since acceded thereto.

In virtue of Article XVI of the Convention of 1923, the question of the desirability of calling a further Conference might come before the Council this year, and the Committee decided to suggest to the Council that the time had not yet come for such a step.

The Committee placed this question on the agenda of its next session.

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The report of the Committee was placed on the agenda of the June session of the Council. The resolutions adopted by the Council as a result of the examination of this report will be summarised in the Supplementary Report to the Assembly.

B. CHILD WELFARE.

The Child Welfare Committee held its fourth session at Geneva from March 19th to 24th, 1928.

1. *Legal Age of Marriage.*

At a joint meeting, the Traffic in Women and Children Committee and the Child Welfare Committee examined the observations made by various Governments on the resolution relating to the age of consent adopted by the Committee in 1927. Considering that with regard to the age of consent it was unnecessary to add to this resolution, the Committee recommended that Governments should examine, in the light of these considerations, the question of the ages of marriage fixed in their respective laws. The fixing of the age of marriage has an important bearing on the physical and moral welfare of persons of both sexes and, if fixed too low, may lead to serious dangers.

2. *Cinematograph.*

A. *International Educational Cinematograph Institute.*

The Council submitted to the Committee a plan for the establishment at Rome of an International Educational Cinematograph Institute. The Committee emphasised the importance of this Institute, the object of which would be to encourage the production, distribution and exchange between the various countries of educational films.

On the invitation of the Council, the Committee examined the draft Statutes of the Institute and made the following suggestions :

(1) That the Council of the League of Nations, under whose direction the Institute will work, should take due note, not only of the opinions expressed by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, but also of those expressed by the Child Welfare Committee.

(2) That the number of delegates from the Child Welfare Committee appointed to sit on the Governing Body of the Institute should be increased from one to three.

(3) In fixing periodically the programme of work of the Institute, the Governing Body should pay due regard to the powers of the Child Welfare Committee, among other institutions.

The Committee appointed the Spanish delegate to represent it on the Governing Body of the Institute. If the number of its delegates can be increased to three, it will appoint as its two other members the German and Belgian delegates.

B. *Progress of Work.*

M. Martin read to the Committee a detailed report on the question of the cinematograph and its influence on children and young people.

The Committee reaffirmed its recommendations adopted in 1926, and requested further that the attention of States should be drawn to the advisability, from the point of view of the moral and physical protection of the young, of showing films in diffused light and in daylight. The Rapporteur then pointed out to the Committee the value of unflammable films, which in his opinion offer a complete guarantee of safety.

### 3. *Recreation.*

The Committee, after hearing the statements of the three Rapporteurs and of the delegate of the International Labour Office, considered that the enquiry regarding education should be continued on general lines, and expressed its thanks to the authors of these reports and to the voluntary organisations which had kindly furnished information.

### 4. *Juvenile Courts.*

The Committee paid a tribute to the report on this question submitted by the International Prison Commission, and expressed the hope that the enquiry would be completed by including the question of the auxiliary services of juvenile courts, particularly as to the social action which could be undertaken to reform delinquent children and improve their home environment. It appointed three Rapporteurs to submit proposals, after consulting the International Prison Commission, regarding the form which the future enquiry should take.

### 5. *Legal Sub-Committee.*

The Sub-Committee, after considering the documents so far received, decided that its future proceedings should be taken in the following order :

(1) Final drafting of a preliminary draft Convention for the repatriation of minors not under the authority of their parents or guardians.

(2) Proposal for a preliminary draft Convention on the relief of minors of foreign nationality.

(3) Final drafting of a preliminary draft Convention on the execution of judgments relating to maintenance payable on behalf of children by persons responsible for their support who have deserted them and gone abroad.

### 6. *Illegitimate Children.*

The Committee decided to maintain this question on its agenda, and to ask the Council to communicate the Secretariat's report to the Governments which have replied to the questionnaire, inviting them to forward any observations, and notify any changes which may have occurred in their respective laws. The Secretariat was requested to supplement the information received and to submit a new report at the 1929 session.

### 7. *Blind Children.*

The Committee heard a report from Mr. L. W. Carris, Director of the American Association for the Prevention of Blindness, in the course of which he laid before the Committee a scheme for the creation of an international organisation to deal with this subject. The Committee took cognisance of the document concerning blind children sent to the Secretariat by various Governments and private organisations, and instructed the Secretariat to point out to the delegates of Governments which have not yet sent any information on the question that it was of the utmost importance to obtain their replies. The Danish delegate was appointed Rapporteur.

### 8. *Protection of Life and Health in Early Infancy.*

The Committee noted the progress of the enquiry into the causes of mortality of infants. An assessor of the Committee requested that this enquiry should be extended to include the effects of premature marriage from the point of view of infantile mortality and the mother's health, particularly in countries in which the age of marriage is very low.

In conclusion, the Committee heard two memoranda, one on the results obtained by anti-tuberculosis vaccination, and the other on the work of boarding-out of infants, the object of which is to remove children from a tuberculosis-infected environment.

### 9. *Utilisation of Funds.*

A joint meeting of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee and the Child Welfare Committee considered methods of utilising a gift of \$5,000 made in 1925 by the American Social Hygiene Association to the Child Welfare Committee in order to allow the latter to extend its studies in the field of social hygiene.

A proposal had been submitted to the Committee for using this sum for an enquiry into the methods employed in various countries for giving biological education to young people. The proposal, however, was dropped, the Joint Committee failing to reach agreement. After examining other proposals for enquiries, the Child Welfare Committee decided that this sum could most usefully be employed in studying the problem of the child whose environment is bad and who is exposed to moral and social danger.

The Committee considered that further information was required to show how far the legislative, administrative and voluntary measures were adequate for the protection of children who are handicapped by the surroundings in which they grow up. Attention

must be paid not only to the work done by various institutions but also to what can be done for such children in their own homes.

The Committee therefore recommended the following procedure :

(1) That seven or eight countries should be selected for a preliminary study and that the Governments of these countries should be invited to afford facilities for the purpose.

(2) That this study should be made by a competent person to be nominated by the Chairman of the Child Welfare Committee in agreement with the Secretary and subject to the approval of the Council of the League. The person appointed should gather together and correlate information furnished by the Governments, and should consult not only the official bodies, but also the voluntary organisations and any individuals who may be able to furnish useful information.

(3) The object of the study should be to ascertain to what extent provision is being made for children who need protection against moral and social dangers owing to their surroundings, and what results are being obtained by the various methods employed.

(4) That on the results of this preliminary study the lines of any further enquiries should be determined.

#### 10. *Alcoholism.*

The Committee heard a report on the dangers of the consumption of alcohol in relation to the development of the child.

The Committee expressed the opinion that further enquiries should be made into the effects of alcoholism on the physical and mental development of children, with reference to the measures taken in various countries to restrict the consumption of alcoholic beverages by young people. Further, a study might also be made, subsequently, of the problems of poverty, abandonment and crime connected with alcoholism, and also the protection of the child against ill-treatment inflicted by adult alcohol addicts.

#### 11. *Family Allowances.*

The Committee, after having taken cognisance of the report by the International Labour Office and of the note drawn up by the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, expressed its conviction that the investigations carried out by the International Labour Office have very greatly helped to interest the various countries in the system of family allowances. It thinks it desirable that the organisation of family allowances and the influence which they exercise on the welfare of children should be studied at a subsequent session of the Committee.

#### 12. *Feeble-minded Children.*

The Committee recognised the great importance of an exhaustive study of the psychological methods applied to abnormal or feeble-minded children. The question is so wide, however, that the Committee preferred not to add it to its programme before completing the study of some of the subjects already figuring thereon.

It invited the International Association for the Protection of Children to get into touch with Dr. Simon, Chairman of the A. Binet Society, in order to obtain a scientific definition and classification of feeble-minded children with a view to subsequent investigations.

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The Committee's report was placed on the agenda of the June session of the Council. The resolutions adopted by the Council on examination of this report will be summarised in the Supplementary Report submitted to the Assembly.

## II. TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS.

### 1. TENTH (EXTRAORDINARY) SESSION OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

The tenth (extraordinary) session of the Advisory Committee was held at Geneva from September 28th to October 8th, 1927. It was convened by the Chairman in exercise of the discretion conferred upon him by the resolution of the Council dated March 11th, 1927. The primary object of the session was to consider the question of the illicit traffic, but advantage was taken of the opportunity presented to discuss various cognate questions and to deal with certain documents which had either been referred to the Committee or had been circulated to it by order of the Council.

(a) *Ratification of the Geneva Convention.*

The Committee adopted a resolution stating that further experience had strengthened its conviction of the absolute necessity, if the illicit traffic was to be dealt with adequately, of the powers which the Geneva Convention of 1925 confers. Until that Convention comes into operation over as wide a field as possible, the Committee thought that little progress could be hoped for in combating the traffic. The Committee urged the Council to give this question its most serious consideration, as the coming into force of the Convention depended solely on the action taken by the States Members of the Council.

(b) *Reservations made by the Swedish Government to Article 6 (c) of the Geneva Convention of 1925.*

At the Council meeting of June 13th, 1927, the question of the ratification by the Swedish Government of the Geneva Convention of 1925, subject to a reservation regarding Article 6 (c), was referred to the Committee for a report embodying its views on the subject. Article 6 (c) of the Convention requires chemists, among others, to enter in their books all sales and other distribution of certain narcotic drugs, unless they should adopt the alternative course which is provided for by the Convention of filing and preserving the relevant medical prescriptions.

The Swedish Government considered that the entry of such details would involve the upkeep of records dealing in meticulous detail with many comparatively unimportant transactions and would delay, and greatly complicate, the making-up of prescriptions. It felt that the control in Sweden is so strict and the standard of pharmaceutical practice there so high that these provisions would, in fact, add little or nothing to the effective measures of control which are already in existence.

As a result of the discussion which took place on this point and during which M. Hennings, the representative of the Swedish Government, gave the views of that Government, the Committee felt that it would be undesirable for it to pronounce a definite opinion on the point at issue. It hoped that the information which had been placed at M. Hennings' disposal as to the practical working of the system in other countries would serve to remove the difficulties which had hitherto been anticipated by the Swedish Government. It considered that, until that Government had had an opportunity of examining this information, and of learning the general trend of the discussion before the Committee, it would be premature to come to any final decision in the matter.

The Norwegian Government had made it known unofficially that it felt difficulties similar to those experienced by Sweden, and an unofficial representative of the Norwegian Government, Dr. Lange, was present throughout the discussions.

The Committee recommended to the Council that a copy of the section of its report dealing with this question, together with copies of the relevant Minutes of the meetings, should be forwarded to the Swedish Government officially and to the Norwegian Government unofficially for their information and consideration, with the intimation that the Committee proposed to reconsider the question at its next session.

(c) *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Production of Opium in Persia.*

The Committee examined the report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Production of Opium in Persia and congratulated the Commission on its detailed and exhaustive study, at the same time thanking the Persian Government for the way in which it had responded to the suggestions put forward by the Commission of Enquiry. It pointed out, however, that, as a rule, any opium from Persia which is not covered by import certificates becomes absorbed in the illicit traffic.

(d) *Memorandum by M. Cavazzoni suggesting a System for the Control of the Drug Traffic.*

M. Cavazzoni, the representative of Italy on the Committee, presented to it for its consideration a memorandum containing an elaborate scheme for the control of the drug traffic.

The Committee felt that the moment was opportune for a general examination of the question of the best methods of ensuring administrative control over the drug traffic and for the preparation of a report on the subject. A Sub-Committee was therefore appointed to undertake this work, including a detailed study of M. Cavazzoni's memorandum. The following members were appointed members of the Sub-Committee: Dr. ANSELMINO, M. BOURGOIS, Dr. CARRIÈRE, M. CAVAZZONI, Sir Malcolm DELEIVINGNE and M. VAN WETTUM.

(e) *Illicit Traffic.*

The Committee examined, case by case, all the seizure reports received since the time of its last session. Eighty-three reports were examined relating to seizures and records of illicit transactions amounting in the aggregate to tons of morphine and diacetylmorphine in all parts of the world.

It was pointed out that free ports, if not efficiently and adequately controlled, become bases of the illicit trade and it was represented that wholesale dealers should be effectively supervised and licences withdrawn from manufacturers or traders whose products are regularly finding their way into the illicit traffic.

The Committee passed a resolution requesting the Council to urge as insistently as possible upon all Governments Members of the League and parties to the Opium Convention that all factories manufacturing dangerous drugs should be owned or adequately controlled by the Governments. Under either system the Governments would at least:

(1) Regulate, and require an accurate accounting of, all internal traffic, including the purchase of raw materials, manufacture, sales, distribution, storage;

(2) Strictly control the issue and possession of licences or authorisations for the manufacture, sale, distribution and storage of the drugs;

(3) Adopt, and rigidly enforce, the import and export certificate system;

(4) Strictly control the export of dangerous drugs to any country which does not enforce the import and export certificate system. Where this system is not in force in the importing country, the Government of the exporting country must satisfy itself, beyond reasonable doubt, that the demand is for legitimate purposes only. This precaution is particularly important, since the readiest route which the illicit traffic can follow is through those countries which do not enforce the import and export certificate system. It is recognised that this will present various difficulties until the Central Board has been constituted; but it is imperative that such control should be exercised, as far as that is practicable, by the exporting countries until the Central Board begins to function. Experience in certain countries has shown that, even in present circumstances, a large measure of effective control can, in fact, be exercised in such cases.

Another resolution was passed, asking all Governments to give precise information as to the manner in which narcotic substances which have been seized are dealt with, in order that the Committee might be in a position to form an accurate idea as to the traffic.

Finally, the Committee requested the Council to represent to the Government of China that it would be of the greatest assistance to the Committee in its work if it were provided with information regarding all important seizures of narcotic substances effected by the Chinese Maritime Customs. Such reports would also help other Governments to prevent the illicit export of narcotics into China.

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The report of the Committee was placed on the agenda of the December 1927 session of the Council. The Council instructed the Secretary-General to take the necessary action in order to give effect to the resolutions adopted by the Committee. During the discussion which took place, the representative of Italy called attention to the question of the establishment of a Central Board as provided for in the Geneva Convention of 1925. As this Board was to be rather a small body, the Italian representative feared that many States interested in the suppression of the drug traffic could not be represented on it. If the Secretary-General could, however, so constitute the Secretariat of the Central Board that it would form part of the Social Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, there would be no further difficulties, because, through the League of Nations, all States would be able to supervise the work of the Central Board. The question was referred to the Advisory Committee for examination.

## 2. ELEVENTH SESSION OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

The eleventh session of the Advisory Committee was held at Geneva from April 12th to April 27th, 1928.

### (a) *Ratification of the Geneva Convention.*

The Committee noted with satisfaction that further ratifications had been registered and that there is every hope of the Convention coming into force very shortly.

### (b) *Statistics.*

Considering the importance of the accuracy and completeness of the information which forms the basis of its work, the Committee adopted a resolution requesting that Governments should be asked to classify their exports and imports of raw opium according to the country of production (Turkish, Persian, Indian, etc.). It further decided to call the attention of Governments to the difficulties which arise from the fact that some Customs statistics give the gross weight of the consignments and not the net weight of the goods. Governments might be asked to base their statistics on the net weight of the narcotics exported and imported.

(c) *Annual Reports from Governments.*

The Committee found that, thanks to the goodwill of a very large number of Governments, it now receives information of great value. There are, however, still certain gaps in this information, so that it is impossible for the Committee to acquire an exact idea of the situation. In the eyes of the Committee, it is particularly unfortunate that certain producing countries have not yet seen their way to supply the Committee with information. Two producing or manufacturing countries — Turkey and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics — are not Members of the League. The League Secretariat was asked to consider whether, and, if so, in what form, the Governments of these two countries could be requested to furnish the Committee with particulars concerning their territory.

A resolution was adopted asking the Council to instruct the Secretary-General to send a reminder to any Government which fails to send in its report by July 1st in the case of European countries, and by November 1st in the case of countries outside Europe. If no reply is received to the reminder, a second reminder would be sent (by cable when necessary) not less than one month before the date of the annual meeting of the Committee.

(d) *Situation in the Far East.*

The Committee decided to request the Secretary-General to remind the Persian Government of the resolution adopted by the 1927 Assembly inviting this Government to keep the League of Nations informed of the progress made in carrying out the scheme proposed for the gradual diminution of the cultivation of the opium poppy in Persia. With

With regard to China, it was found that the contraband trade in narcotics which exists to-day on so large a scale in that country is a very serious danger and that energetic steps would have to be taken to counteract this truly critical situation.

(e) *Swedish Reservation.*

The Swedish Government addressed to the Secretary-General of the League a note, dated March 31st, 1928, stating that, after careful consideration of the document submitted as a result of the discussion which took place during the tenth session, its apprehensions were not entirely dispelled, and it could not therefore see its way to make any definite examination of the question of Sweden's accession to the Convention until it knew whether its reservation would be accepted.

The Committee concluded from this communication that the Swedish Government was not prepared to withdraw its reservation. It therefore considered whether the Council should not be advised to accept the Swedish reservation. A resolution was adopted, pointing out that the Convention allows two alternatives : the registration by the pharmacist of the details of the supply of the drug or the retention by the pharmacist of the prescription ; that the difficulties in the way of registration were not, in the Committee's opinion, such as to justify a reservation on the point, and that the Committee deprecated, for the reasons which appear in the Minutes of the discussion in the Committee, the acceptance of the Swedish reservation.

(f) *Illicit Traffic.*

It appeared from the documents submitted to the Committee that the position with regard to the illicit traffic is still highly unsatisfactory. The measures taken to combat the traffic should therefore be increased and strengthened. This will certainly be possible if the certificate system is generally applied. Moreover, the Committee considered that the attention of Governments should be drawn to the necessity of inflicting on traffickers heavy penalties in the form of imprisonment and fines in view of the serious character of the offence and the large profits traffickers derive from their transactions. The Courts everywhere should energetically associate themselves with the action of the administrative authorities.

A resolution was adopted, emphasising the urgent necessity for :

(a) The immediate ratification and enforcement by all States Members of the League of the Geneva Convention of 1925 ;

(b) The adoption and strict application of the other measures which have been recommended by the Committee from time to time, and in particular the following :

(i) Withdrawal of the licence to manufacture or trade in the drugs from any firm, if there is sufficient evidence to show that the firm is engaged in or is knowingly supplying drugs for the illicit traffic ;

(ii) Strict control over exports to countries not exercising adequate supervision over the trade in the drugs, and the rigid limitation of such exports to the quantities that may reasonably be required for medical purposes in the country itself ;

(iii) Immediate communication of the fullest particulars relating to any important seizures of smuggled drugs to the Governments of any countries in which the persons connected with the transaction may be or may have been residing at the time or in which any part of the transaction may have taken place ;



(iv) Immediate and full investigation by the Government, on the receipt of particulars of such a transaction, whether directly or from the League ;

(v) Exercise of an adequate control by every Government to ensure as far as possible that its territories shall not be used for the transit or transshipment of consignments of drugs (whether declared as such or not) for the illicit traffic ;

(vi) Provision in each country's national law of severe penalties for persons convicted of organising the smuggling of drugs whether into that or into other countries.

A further resolution was adopted recommending Governments to supply each other with all particulars necessary for enquiries conducted by the authorities in regard to persons implicated in smuggling offences and to communicate to each other, whenever this is recognised as essential, copies of telegrams relating to the transactions of smugglers.

(g) *Benzoyl-morphine.*

Since morphine has been subject to control, a number of manufacturers have endeavoured to find substitutes for this alkaloid which would escape the supervision applicable only to morphine and its salts. One of these substitutes is benzoyl-morphine, which is already manufactured in comparatively large quantities and has been shown to possess all the properties of a drug of addiction. Moreover, the morphine contained in benzoyl-morphine can readily be recovered by a simple chemical process, and hence quantities of morphine which will escape supervision can be put on the market. In addition to benzoyl-morphine there is a whole series of other morphine "esters", *i.e.*, combinations of morphine with an organic acid having the same properties. The Committee therefore thought it necessary to consider the possibility of applying Article 10 of the Geneva Convention to all these products. As this was an urgent question, and as the regular procedure would still require a certain amount of time, the Committee adopted a resolution requesting the Council to draw the attention of Governments to the necessity of placing benzoyl-morphine, and possibly other similar substances, under control forthwith.

(h) *List of Drugs and Preparations covered by the Convention.*

In 1925, the Committee appointed a Sub-Committee consisting of Dr. ANSELMINO, Dr. CARRIÈRE and Dr. TSURUMI (then the Japanese delegate) to study the possibility of drawing up a list showing with all necessary detail the drugs and preparations which fall under the provisions of the Convention. As, however, Dr. Tsurumi has since left the Committee and has not been replaced by a delegate who is an expert in pharmacology, the Committee decided to add to the Sub-Committee two experts who are not members of the Committee, namely, Dr. KNAFFL-LENZ, Professor of Pharmacology in the University of Vienna and Expert to the Health Committee ; and Dr. BÜRGI, Professor of Pharmacology in the University of Berne.

(i) *Question of the Permanent Central Board and its Relations with the Advisory Committee.*

The question of the respective powers of the Advisory Committee and those of the future Permanent Central Board had been raised at the previous session by the representative of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and a Sub-Committee had been appointed to examine the question. The Sub-Committee presented a report to the full Committee, which returned it with a request that the question should be further examined at a later session. A new fact, however, emerged in the meantime, namely, the suggestion made to the Council of the League during its December session by the Italian delegate. This suggestion was that the Secretary-General should be requested to constitute the Secretariat of the Central Board as a part of the Social Section of the League's Secretariat. This proposal, which the Council had submitted to the Committee for consideration, temporarily relegated to the background the question of the respective powers of the Committee and the Central Board, and it was this proposal which the Committee had to consider in the first instance.

The Committee adopted a resolution stating that the proposal referred to was in complete agreement with the stipulations of Article 20, paragraph 1, of the Opium Convention of February 19th, 1925, whereby the Secretary-General of the League of Nations is requested to provide for the control of the staff in administrative matters. The resolution further contained a statement that the proposal did not in any way affect the right which is conferred on the Central Board by Paragraph 2 of the said Article 20 to nominate the members of its staff, which will be appointed by the Secretary-General, subject to the approval of the Council.

(j) *Sub-Committee for the study of Administrative Systems of Control over the Drug Traffic, including the Memorandum by M. Cavazzoni.*

This Sub-Committee was appointed during the tenth session to consider the whole question of administrative control. For this purpose it was furnished with a great deal of

material received from a number of countries, which was studied at the same time as the memorandum submitted by M. Cavazzoni. The Sub-Committee selected from this memorandum, and from the information placed at its disposal regarding the systems in force in the various countries, the provisions which it considered sound or which had proved valuable in practice. These provisions were embodied in a standard set of regulations or code for the supervision of the traffic in narcotics. This code is appended to the Committee's report to the Council.

The results of the work of the Sub-Committee were approved by a majority of the full Committee, M. Cavazzoni dissenting. He embodied his views in a special declaration.

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The report of the Committee will be considered by the Council at its June session.

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## 12.

### ARMENIAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENT SCHEME.

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The question of the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan was placed on the agenda of the Council session held in September 1927.

Dr. Nansen, High Commissioner for Refugees, informed the Council that he had not been able to secure any confirmation by the Armenian Government of the proposed arrangement whereby that Government would undertake itself to carry out a great part of the scheme of irrigation which it was originally proposed should be carried out by means of a loan to be raised under the auspices of the League. Dr. Nansen added that he had come to the firm conclusion that it would be very difficult for him to secure any such confirmation unless and until he could offer to the Armenian Government a solid promise of material help for the execution of the settlement parts of the scheme from the Members of the League.

The representative of Roumania said that it would be extremely unfortunate if Dr. Nansen gave up his mission. In the Roumanian representative's view, the best solution would be to make a last appeal to all the Members of the League to give their assistance. The Roumanian representative's proposal to address a further appeal to all the Members of the League was adopted. The matter was also referred to the Assembly, where Dr. Nansen, on September 26th, 1927, addressed an appeal to the delegates.

In a letter of October 31st, 1927, the Secretary-General informed the Governments of all States Members of the League of the Council's decision, attaching, in accordance with the Council's instructions, a copy of the Minutes of the Council meeting of September 22nd, 1927, containing Dr. Nansen's report and an account of the discussion thereon. A copy of Dr. Nansen's speech to the Assembly was also attached to the letter.

Up to May 1928, a certain number of replies had been received. The German, Greek, Roumanian and Swiss Governments have declared themselves willing to co-operate in various ways in order that the settlement scheme may be realised ; in addition, the Netherlands Government has declared that, if effective guarantees can be furnished for the practical realisation of the plan and if the participation of all interested States can be assured, it will not fail to collaborate. Certain Governments have not given any definite reply ; others have for various reasons finally declared themselves unable to respond to the Council's appeal.

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## 13.

### INTERNATIONAL RELIEF UNION.

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The Assembly on September 22nd, 1927, adopted the following resolution :

“ The Assembly :

“ Highly gratified at the success of the Conference for the Creation of an International Relief Union ;

“ Convinced that the Governments before which the results of the Conference have now been laid, will definitely decide to co-operate in this work of international solidarity :

“ Offers its thanks to Senator Ciruolo, to the President of the Conference, and to the members of the Preparatory Committee for the scheme on which the Conference's work was based, and requests the President of the Conference and the members and experts

of the Preparatory Committee to hold themselves at the Council's disposal to propose to it all measures that may be calculated to facilitate the putting into force and the application of the Convention concluded by the Conference."

The Council considered this resolution on December 6th, 1927, and took the following decision :

"The Council decides to invite the Preparatory Committee of the International Relief Union to meet in the near future, under the chairmanship of the recent President of the International Conference, in order to carry out the work indicated in the Assembly resolution of September 22nd, 1927. The date of this meeting will be fixed by the Secretary-General in agreement with the President of the Conference.

"If supplementary investigations are required as a result of this meeting, the Preparatory Committee is requested to appoint as small a body as possible to continue the work on its behalf.

"M. Kittredge, Secretary-General of the League of Red Cross Societies, is appointed member of the Preparatory Committee in succession to Colonel Bicknell."

The Preparatory Committee met at Geneva on February 23rd and 24th, 1928. The results of the meeting were embodied in the following resolutions :

#### I.

"The Preparatory Committee of the International Relief Union :

"Expresses its satisfaction at the resolutions adopted by the Assembly and Council to facilitate the rapid application of the Convention establishing the International Relief Union ;

"Draws the Council's attention to the fact that the Convention has up to the present been signed by seventeen States ;

"Desires to state that the Convention is open for signature until April 30th, 1928, and that after this date accessions only may be received ;

"Considers that, in view of the spirit of international and universal solidarity which should animate the Union, it is advisable that the greatest possible number of States should be included among the original signatories of the Conventions ;

"Notes with satisfaction the results already obtained, and would be grateful to the Council if it would be good enough to communicate the present resolution to all the States referred to in Article 15 of the Convention.

#### II.

"The Preparatory Committee of the International Relief Union, at its first meeting since the Conference at which the Convention establishing the International Relief Union was drawn up,

"Expresses its gratitude to the Red Cross organisations for their promise of assistance so as to enable the work of the Union to be carried on in a spirit of mutual understanding and solidarity, which is essential for its complete success.

#### III.

"The Preparatory Committee of the International Relief Union :

"Having been requested by the Council to create as small an organisation as possible for the purpose of conducting on its behalf the supplementary studies necessary for the putting into force and the application of the Convention concluded by the Conference for the establishment of the International Relief Union ;

"And remaining at the disposal of the Council to examine any questions which the Council might consider within its competence, until the organs of the Union are ready to operate :

"Decides to create from among its members a permanent committee, consisting of its Chairman, M. Külz ; its honorary President, Senator Ciruolo and the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Conference, Senator François.

"The duties of this Committee, the members of which will co-operate in accordance with arrangements made between them, will be :

"(1) To represent the Preparatory Committee permanently ;

"(2) To take or recommend measures to facilitate the coming into operation of the International Relief Union ;

"(3) To co-opt for this purpose one or more members of the Preparatory Committee, according to the requirements of each particular case ;

"(4) If necessary, to convene a meeting of the Preparatory Committee, particularly in order to approve draft regulations to be submitted to the General Council of the Union. "

These resolutions were circulated to the Members of the Council by the Secretary-General, and the Council considered them during its session held in March 1928. It decided, in view of the special importance of the first of the resolutions, to forward it to all the States mentioned in Article 15 of the Convention.

The resolution was circulated to those States under a covering letter from the Secretary-General on March 29th, 1928.

On May 25th 1928, the following States had signed the Convention for the establishment of an International Relief Union on May 25th, 1928 :

Albania	Finland	Monaco
Belgium	France	Nicaragua
Brazil	Germany	Poland
Bulgaria	Greece	Portugal
Colombia	Guatemala	Roumania
Cuba	Hungary (with reservation	San Marino
Czechoslovakia	as to Article 10)	Spain
Danzig (Free City of)	India	Turkey
Ecuador	Italy	Uruguay
Egypt (with reservation)	Latvia	Venezuela

*Accession.* — Sudan.

#### 14.

### INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

On September 22nd, 1927, the Assembly, at its eighth ordinary session, took note of the reports submitted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Governing Body of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. It recognised that the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation had in hand a large number of definite and practical undertakings of international co-operation in regard to various scientific, artistic and literary activities, and that results had already been obtained.

The Assembly observed that the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation would in future receive grants from other States in addition to that given by the French Government. At the moment, the following States have replied to successive appeals from the Assembly on this point: Austria, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Hungary, Italy, Luxemburg, Monaco, Poland, Portugal and Switzerland. The Assembly once more expressed the hope that States Members of the League who had not already done so would consider the possibility of providing the necessary funds to meet the expenses of their respective National Committees.

The Assembly noted as being particularly worthy of attention and encouragement, the proposals of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in regard to the following points :

1. The creation at the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation of an International Co-ordination Service of Information Offices attached to libraries ;
2. Plans for co-ordination between the organs of bibliography for the various sciences ;
3. The recommendation of the International Committee in favour of annual tables of constants and mathematical quantities ;
4. The steps taken by the Institute with a view to preparing for the Popular Arts Congress an international agreement with regard to casts, an extension of the work of museums as a means of artistic education, etc.

As the result of the report submitted by M. Jules Destrée, the Assembly approved the recommendations of the Sub-Committee of Experts for the instruction of children and youth in the existence and aims of the League of Nations. It instructed the Secretary-General to communicate them to the Governments of States Members of the League, requesting them, so far as might be possible in each case, to take the necessary measures to give effect to the recommendations.

Finally, the Assembly approved the creation of a League of Nations Educational Information Centre under the conditions laid down by the Sub-Committee of Experts. It decided that the Sub-Committee should continue its work on the lines suggested by the French representative in his report approved by the Council on September 2nd, 1927.

In view of the fact that the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will not meet until July of this year, an account of its work will be inserted in the Supplementary Report on the work of the Council, together with a summary of the activities of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

It is, however, possible to refer in the present report to certain measures taken in the field of international intellectual co-operation by the International Institute since the last session of the Assembly.

1. ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL CINEMATOGRAPHIC INSTITUTE AT ROME.

It will be remembered that, on September 6th, 1927, the Italian delegate informed the Assembly that the Royal Government of Italy had decided to propose the establishment of an International Educational Cinematographic Institute at Rome to be placed under the direction of the League. On September 20th, 1927, the Assembly adopted the report of its Second Committee and acknowledged with gratitude the generous offer of the Royal Italian Government, the decision as to the future steps to be taken being reserved for the Council after consultation with the competent organisations, more particularly the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and in agreement with the Italian Government.

At the request of the Italian Government, representatives of the Secretary-General, assisted by the Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, met at Rome, on February 6th and 7th, 1928, representatives of the Royal Italian Government with the object of drawing up a draft statute of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute. The Council, during its forty-ninth session, received this draft statute and decided to submit it for examination and comment to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, to the Child Welfare Committee and to the International Labour Office. The Council will examine at a later date the replies given by these organisations with a view to concluding an agreement with the Royal Italian Government.

2. OFFER OF \$5,000 MADE BY THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION FOR AN ENQUIRY REGARDING EUROPEAN AGENCIES FOR EXCHANGES OF PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS.

In a letter dated December 15th, 1927, the Chairman of the American National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation informed the Chairman of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation that the American Council on Education held the sum of \$5,000 at its disposal for the purpose of conducting an enquiry into the European agencies dealing with exchanges of professors and students. It should be noted that the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation had already considered taking similar work in hand and had appointed a special committee in July 1927 to study the question of international exchanges of professors and students.

The Chairman of the Committee gave his provisional approval to the contemplated enquiry, and the Council of the League of Nations, by a resolution dated March 7th, 1928, approved this provisional decision and expressed its great appreciation of the help thus given to the work of intellectual co-operation. An enquiry is being carried out at the moment by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, and the results will be published during the summer.

3. INSTRUCTION OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN THE EXISTENCE AND AIMS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

(a) *Replies of Governments.*

The recommendations of the Sub-Committee of Experts on this subject, approved by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation on July 26th, 1927, by the Council on September 2nd, 1927, and by the Assembly on September 22nd, 1927, have been communicated to Members of the League in a letter from the Secretary-General dated October 28th, 1927, and published in the *Official Journal* of the League for March 1928. In the same number of the *Official Journal*, and in the May number, are to be found the replies to the letter received from the Governments of South Africa, Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands and Hungary. The measures taken and the appreciable progress which has been made can be judged from these replies.

(b) *National Conferences.*

Among other recommendations, the Sub-Committee of Experts took the view that an international conference should be convened by the Government of each country, after consulting as far as possible the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation. The object of this Conference would be to adapt the general recommendations of the Sub-Committee to the special needs of each country and to ensure the harmonious co-operation between the administrations, professors, teachers and voluntary associations. Action in this sense has already been taken by the British Government, which convened, on June 8th, 1927, a Conference of local educational authorities. The Sub-Committee of Experts also recommended that the reports of the various national Conferences should be sent by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, for purposes of information, to the States Members of the League, and the Secretary-General, in a letter dated February 23rd, 1928, forwarded a copy in English of the report of the Conference of local educational authorities of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, convened by the Board of Education on June 8th, 1927. This report had been received by the Secretary-General from the British Government.

(c) *Handbook for Teachers.*

The Sub-Committee of Experts also urged the preparation, for the use of teachers, of a special reference work dealing with the constitution and working of the League of Nations of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice. To carry out this recommendation, which was approved by the Assembly, the Secretary-General has appointed two experts in education with instructions to prepare a draft manual to meet the views of the Sub-Committee. These experts have submitted their draft, which is being examined by the services concerned with a view to publication at a future date.

4. APPOINTMENT OF NEW ADDITIONAL MEMBERS TO THE SUB-COMMITTEES.

*Sub-Committee on University Relations :*

Baron A. DE KOBANYI, Professor of Medicine, Director of Third Medical Clinic of the Royal Hungarian University of Budapest.

*Sub-Committee on Science and Bibliography :*

M. Otto JESPERSEN, Professor at the University of Copenhagen ;  
M. THIBAUDET, Professor of French Literature at the University of Geneva, Author ;  
M. IONESCU-MIHAESTI, Sub-Director of the Institute of Sera and Vaccines at Bucharest, Professor of the Faculty of Medicine at Jassy.  
M. Antonio GARBASSO, Professor of the University of Florence.

*Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters — (a) Letters Branch :*

M. KIPPENBERG, Director of the " Insel Verlag ", Leipzig ;  
M. Vittorio ROSSI, Professor of Italian Literature at the University of Rome ;  
Mr. John GALSWORTHY, Author and Playwright ;  
M. Salvador DE MADARIAGA, Professor of Spanish Literature at the University of Oxford.

*(b) Arts Branch :*

Sir Cecil Harcourt SMITH, Surveyor of His Majesty the King of England's Works of Art ;  
M. GRAUL, Director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts and of the Museum of Decorative Art, Leipzig ;  
Mr. Edward J. DENT, Professor of Music at the University of Cambridge, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

*Sub-Committee on Intellectual Rights :*

M. Louis GALLIÉ, Secretary-General of the International Confederation of Intellectual Workers to represent that Confederation.

5. DEATH OF PROFESSOR H. A. LORENTZ, CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has had the misfortune to lose its Chairman, Professor Lorentz, who died at Haarlem on February 4th last. At the forty-ninth session of the Council, the French representative, Rapporteur for questions of intellectual co-operation, paid a tribute to the memory of Professor Lorentz. The Council unanimously associated itself with the proposal of its Rapporteur that the Council should address its respectful condolences to Mme. Lorentz, who was her husband's devoted assistant, and should also ask the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, representing that country on the Council, to express to the Netherlands Government the deep regret with which all the members of the Council had heard of the death of his distinguished compatriot.

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15.

INTERNATIONAL BUREAUX.

(ARTICLE 24 OF THE COVENANT.)

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I. CO-OPERATION WITH INTERNATIONAL BUREAUX.

Co-operation with the international bureaux placed under the authority of the League of Nations has been continued.

### 1. INTERNATIONAL HYDROGRAPHIC BUREAU.

Co-operation between the Bureau and the League Secretariat has been substantially extended during the past year. The Bureau continues to send to the Secretariat its publications, reports and circular letters addressed to its members. The Secretariat regularly audits the Bureau's accounts. The Bureau, by collecting and publishing valuable information with regard to existing buoyage systems throughout the world, has assisted the League's Technical Committee on Buoyage and Lighting of Coasts.

### 2. CENTRAL INTERNATIONAL OFFICE FOR THE CONTROL OF LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN AFRICA.

This Bureau sends to the Secretariat the information forwarded to it by the parties to the Convention of St. Germain-en-Laye relating to the Liquor Traffic in Africa. It also furnishes the Permanent Mandates Commission, by request, with a yearly report containing statistics of import of liquor into the mandated territories in Africa and the adjacent areas.

### 3. INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR AIR NAVIGATION.

During the past year, closer contact and co-operation have been established between the International Commission for Air Navigation and the League of Nations. All the publications of the International Commission for Air Navigation are now sent to the Secretariat. The Secretary-General of the Commission attended the meetings of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit, and the Secretary-General of the League of Nations was represented at the meetings of the International Commission for Air Navigation.

In the course of the year, the International Commission for Air Navigation held two sessions: one at Rome in October 1927 and the other at Geneva at the Secretariat of the League in June 1928. At each of these two sessions, the International Commission for Air Navigation dealt with two questions submitted to it by the League: the identification of aircraft doing service for the League; and the guarantees to be afforded in times of emergency to aircraft employed in a service of importance to the League.

### 4. INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF CONGRESSES FOR PUBLIC RELIEF.

An International Congress for Public and Private Relief will be held in Paris from July 5th-8th, 1928, in connection with the "Quinzaine sociale internationale".

## II. PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS.

The publication of the *Quarterly Bulletin of Information on the Work of International Organisations* has been continued. No. 22 of the *Bulletin*, published in January 1928, contains a list of ninety-six conferences and international congresses organised by the different associations. The number of international associations which make use of the *Bulletin* steadily increases.

A new edition of the *Handbook of International Organisations* will be published during the course of this year.

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## 16.

### INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF PRESS EXPERTS.

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#### ACTION TAKEN ON ITS RESOLUTIONS.

The Conference on Press Experts, which met at Geneva from August 24th to 29th, 1927, was attended by one hundred and eighteen members, of which sixty-three were delegates, thirty-five technical advisers and twenty assessors, from thirty-eight States and five continents.

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

The first resolution demands that the dissemination of Press news shall be assured as rapidly as possible and at moderate rates; the second asks for the authorisation of an appropriate code, at ordinary Press rates, for the despatch of Press news by wireless; the third stresses the importance of the improvement of telegraphic, telephonic and wireless communications; the fourth asks for greater facilities for the transport of newspapers; the fifth recommends the more general use of postal subscriptions to newspapers.

The sixth resolution, which was the object of protracted discussions, concerns the protection of news. This is a delicate and complicated problem — possibly the most difficult which the Conference had to handle. For a long time it has engaged the attention of Press circles which, on several occasions, have endeavoured to find a national or international solution for it. The resolution adopted by the Conference condemns unfair competition as regards the publication of news, declares itself in favour of protection for non-published news, subject to certain guarantees, and recommends equality of treatment as regards the issuing of news from official sources.

The seventh resolution concerns professional facilities for journalists such as collective travel tours, schools, scholarships, reductions of railway fares, passport visas, identity cards, equality of treatment for foreign journalists, etc. It also deals with the question of the double taxation of journalists living abroad and that of repressive measures against foreign journalists. The preamble defines the sense in which these suggestions are put forward :

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

The eighth resolution characterises peace-time censorship as an obstacle to the exchange of international information, recommends that it should be promptly and definitely abolished and asks that, in any country where it still exists, its application should be subject to certain guarantees.

The ninth resolution, with numerous sub-divisions, deals with the publication of tendentious news, expresses itself in favour of university courses for journalists and of the establishment in newspapers of a special heading on the work of the League of Nations, emphasises the rôle of the Press as regards moral disarmament, recommends regional Press understandings, and asks the Council to examine the possibility of regular Press conferences.

The tenth resolution appeals to all participants in the Conference to support the resolutions and to promote the general interests of the Press in their newspapers in order to influence public opinion and the Governments of their respective countries.

The Council, at its meeting on September 2nd, 1927, referred to the League Committee on Communications and Transit, for further study, all the resolutions on telegraphic and telephonic rates, code telegrams, the improvement of communications and the despatch of newspapers, identity cards for journalists, etc., adjourning to its December session the consideration of resolutions calling for Government action, or action by the Press itself. These resolutions related to the protection of news, professional facilities, peace-time censorship, the dissemination of false or tendentious news, etc.

The Council, after examining these resolutions at its December session, noted that they aimed at promoting peace and international co-operation, in accordance with the principles of the League, and stated that, in its view, their application would contribute in a large degree to the removal of misunderstandings among the peoples. In its resolutions, it drew the attention of Governments to such Conference resolutions as called for action on their part, requesting them to inform the Secretary-General of any measures they might be able to take.

The Committee on Communications and Transit, at its session of February-March 1928, began to study the resolutions of the Conference referred to it. All questions on wireless telegraphic and telephonic communications were referred to a special Committee convened for May 22nd, 1928.

The Chairman and Secretary-General of the Committee were instructed to make a general study of Press facilities as regards communications between Geneva and the rest of the world in order to meet, as far as possible, the requirements of journalists.

On one important point journalists have already obtained satisfaction, thanks to the joint efforts of the Communications and Transit Organisation and the British, French and Swiss telegraphic administrations. The International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations complained on November 18th, 1927, of the delay in the transmission of telegrams from Geneva to London, and accordingly telegrams transmitted *via* London to non-European countries, and pointed out that this delay was prejudicial not only to the interests of journalists, but to those of the public and, indirectly, to those of the League of Nations itself. The Council invited the Organisation for Communications and Transit to deal with this question. As the result of negotiations between the latter and the French, British and Swiss telegraphic administrations, a through wire between Geneva and London was established on February 20th for Press telegrams concerning the League.



The question of the abolition of Customs formalities applicable to newspapers will be studied by a special conference of experts at the end of 1928. Definite recommendations as to possible improvements will then be made to European Governments. Meanwhile, the Committee has asked Governments which levy special duties on the import of newspapers and periodicals to consider the possibility of abolishing them and to communicate to it the results of their examination.

On the subject of the transport by rail of newspapers and other periodicals the Advisory Committee on Communications and Transit decided to seek the opinion of various European Governments before December 31st, 1928, so that the Committee on Transport by Rail might study the question at the beginning of 1929. If this Committee considers it desirable, a European Conference will be summoned to examine the measures already taken or contemplated by Governments and railway administrations. Finally, the Committee asked any countries which reserve the transport of newspapers and periodicals as a postal monopoly to consider as soon as possible whether this system could not be abandoned. The question of the air transport of newspapers will be discussed at the next Conference of the Universal Postal Union.

The Committee on Communications and Transit decided to refer to the Committee of the International Railway Union the resolution concerning reductions of railway fares for journalists. The Committee considered that, as regards passport visas, the necessary steps to obtain exceptions to the general rules might be more easily taken by the competent Press associations of the various countries.

Finally, it decided to study the question of the creation of an international identity card for journalists.

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## 17.

### CONSTRUCTION OF AN ASSEMBLY HALL, OF NEW BUILDINGS FOR THE SECRETARIAT, AND OF A NEW LIBRARY.

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The Assembly, during its eighth ordinary session, adopted on September 26th, 1927, the following resolution :

“ The Assembly :

“ Approves the report (document A.93.1927) of the Special Committee of five members in regard to the new buildings ;

“ Approves, in principle, that the amount to be spent on the new buildings may be increased to approximately 19,500,000 francs. The exact amount of the supplementary credit necessary will be submitted to the Assembly at the next session ;

“ Empowers a Committee composed as follows :

“ M. Adatei, M. Osuský, M. Politis, M. Urrutia and Sir Edward Hilton Young to study the nine plans awarded the equal prizes of 12,000 francs in the architects' competition, and to choose, with any changes that may be necessary, a plan which in its opinion complies most nearly with the practical and æsthetic requirements. The decision of this Committee will be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for approval and ratification, and will be communicated to the Assembly at the next session. ”

On September 12th, 1927, the Assembly, in reference to the gift of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for the construction and endowment of a League of Nations Library, adopted the following resolution :

“ In accordance with Article 23 (a) of the Financial Regulations of the League, the Assembly confirms with gratitude the acceptance by the Council of the League of the gift of two million dollars offered by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for the construction and endowment of a League of Nations Library. ”

The Special Committee appointed under the former resolution during a session held in November 1927, carefully examined the nine plans from which its choice was to be made and called for supplementary reports :

(a) From the Secretary-General on the administrative needs of the Secretariat ;  
and

(b) From two experts nominated by the Committee itself on certain strictly technical points.

It also, in accordance with the desire expressed by the Assembly, consulted the Swiss Cantonal and Federal Authorities. At the following session, held in December 1927, the Committee examined the reports presented by the Secretariat and by the two experts referred to above, as well as a report prepared by two Swiss experts for the Federal and Cantonal Authorities, which had been communicated to the Committee for its information.

The Committee felt itself bound, by its terms of reference, to choose one plan from among the nine submitted to it; but, being authorised by the Assembly resolution of September 26th, 1927, to propose any changes that might be necessary to the plan chosen, it considered itself empowered to take advantage of certain features of other plans, and consequently to propose that the author or authors of the plan chosen should collaborate with the authors of other plans, not only in the preparation of a revised design, but also in the ultimate execution of the design, as finally adopted.

After a careful study of the above reports and a further examination of the plans, the Committee reached unanimously the following conclusions:

1. That the plan which, in its opinion, was most nearly satisfactory, both from the practical and æsthetic points of view, was that numbered 387 and the result of collaboration between M. H. P. Nénot, of Paris, and M. J. Flegenheimer, of Geneva.

2. That this plan was open, nevertheless, to a certain number of objections and must be revised.

3. That the authors of this plan should be invited to revise the design on the lines indicated to them in full by the Committee, and to do this in collaboration with the authors of three other designs, as follows:

No. 117, Messrs. Broggi, Vaccaro and Franzi, of Rome.

No. 143, M. Camille Lefèvre, of Paris.

No. 431, M. Joseph Vago, of Budapest.

Design No. 117 being the joint work of three authors, one of them was to be nominated by his colleagues as their sole representative in this collaboration.<sup>1</sup>

The revised plan, which was to make provision for a separate building for the new library, was to be submitted to the Committee by the end of February 1928, and the Committee reserved entire liberty of judgment on the revised design before definitely accepting it and submitting it to the approval and ratification of the Council in conformity with the Assembly's decisions.

The revised plan was examined by the Special Committee at a session immediately preceding the session of the Council in March 1928, and was considered generally satisfactory. The Committee did not, however, approve the façade or the proposed form of the Assembly Hall. It therefore reported to the Council proposing the provisional adoption of the revised plans subject to the final approval by the Special Committee of new designs for the Assembly Hall and façade. It also proposed to the Council the acceptance, with certain modifications, of the arrangements proposed by the architects with regard to fees and office expenses.

The Council, on March 6th, 1928, approved the report of the Special Committee on the understanding that the contract between the League and the architects would not be signed by the Secretary-General until the Special Committee had given its full and final approval to the revised design, including the alterations desired to the Assembly Hall and the façade.

Shortly after the close of the forty-ninth session of the Council, the first meeting took place of the Committee of Experts appointed by the Secretary-General with the authorisation of the Assembly and in agreement with the donor, to advise on the best use of the Rockefeller fund and to draw up specifications for the new Library building.

This Committee, after an inspection of the site and a careful study of the revised plans which had just been provisionally approved by the Special Committee and the Council, made a strong and unanimous recommendation against the adoption of the site proposed for the Library, on the ground of its exposure to noise and dust, inadequate size and the impossibility of providing for future extensions.

The plans were therefore referred to the architects with a view to the revision of the Assembly Hall and façade and study of a possible alternative site for the Library.

Information on subsequent progress will be given in the Supplementary Report on the work of the Council.

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## 18.

### RATIFICATION OF AGREEMENTS AND CONVENTIONS CONCLUDED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

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The Secretary-General, on August 31st, 1927, and on February 29th, 1928, acting on the instructions contained in the report adopted, on the recommendation of the Assembly, by the Council during its forty-third session on December 6th, 1926, submitted a list indicating the States which had become contracting parties either by ratification or adhesion

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<sup>1</sup> M. Broggi was nominated by his colleagues.

to agreements and conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, and mentioning at the same time the States which had signed these international agreements but which had not yet ratified them. There was further indicated in the lists the States which had neither signed nor adhered to Conventions framed during Conferences in which they had participated, or Conventions to which they had been invited to adhere.

The submission of the report of the Secretary-General to the Council gave rise to various comments on the part of its members with reference to some of the Conventions. In particular, the report of March 1928 was the subject of a discussion, and the Minutes of that discussion were, at the request of the Council, forwarded to all the Members of the League.

The above discussion dealt with certain Conventions or Protocols concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, but the debate had also a general interest.

The Council accordingly instructed the Rapporteur on the subject, the Italian representative, to present a further report on the whole question.

The Secretariat, as is customary, will submit as an annex to the Supplementary Report on the work of the Council to the next ordinary session of the Assembly a list giving all the ratifications, signatures and adhesions to treaties, conventions and agreements concluded under the auspices of the League.

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19.

PRESENT SITUATION WITH REGARD TO INTERNATIONAL  
ENGAGEMENTS REGISTERED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE  
LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

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REGISTRATION AND PUBLICATION OF TREATIES AND INTERNATIONAL  
ENGAGEMENTS.

(ARTICLE 18 OF THE COVENANT.)

As in previous years, the registration of treaties by the Secretariat has been carried out according to the method laid down by the Council's memorandum of May 19th, 1920. Between May 19th, 1920, and May 19th, 1928, 1,718 treaties and international engagements have been submitted for registration.

During the period between May 19th, 1927, and May 19th, 1928, 247 treaties have been submitted for registration by Members of the League or communicated by other States.

The treaties registered have, as in previous years, dealt with various subjects, as may be seen by consulting the following list, which gives a general picture of the character of the agreements registered during the period in question. Some of the treaties mentioned in the list may be classified under several heads.

ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION CONVENTIONS, TREATIES OF GUARANTEE AND PACIFIC  
SETTLEMENT, ETC.

Registration No.	Registration No.
1484. Germany and Estonia.	1555. Denmark and Lithuania.
1487. Great Britain and Siam.	1558. Spain and Italy.
1493. Spain and Uruguay.	1561. Hungary and Italy.
1494. Sweden and Uruguay.	1567. Belgium and Switzerland.
1496. The Netherlands and Switzerland.	1593. France and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.
1500. Denmark and Estonia.	1610. Chile and Italy.
1527. Germany and The Netherlands.	1618. Belgium and Finland.
1540. Belgium and Sweden.	1673. Chile and Spain.
1541. Denmark and Czechoslovakia.	1684. Denmark and France.
1542. Belgium and Denmark.	1700. Italy and Lithuania.
1551. The United Kingdom and Bulgaria.	

CONVENTIONS RESPECTING THE REGULATION OF LIQUOR TRAFFIC, NARCOTIC DRUGS, ETC.

1508. Germany and Estonia.	1543. United States of America and Spain.
1536. China and Switzerland.	1690. United States of America and Belgium.

AGREEMENTS CONCERNING COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION.

Registration No.	Registration No.
1472. Norway and Sweden.	1600. Germany and Norway.
1473. Italy and France.	1615. Economic Union of Belgium and Luxemburg and Greece.
1474. Italy and France.	1625. Germany and Denmark.
1475. Economic Union of Belgium and Luxemburg and Estonia.	1626. Finland and Greece.
1478. Greece and Switzerland.	1633. Guatemala and Italy.
1479. Greece and Sweden.	1636. Denmark and Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.
1480. Greece and Italy.	1644. Finland and Turkey.
1483. Iceland and Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.	1645. Austria and Finland.
1488. British Empire and Greece.	1647. Economic Union of Belgium and Luxemburg and Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.
1490. British Empire and Spain.	1652. Greece and Latvia.
1498. Denmark and Sweden.	1660. Great Britain and Latvia.
1501. Switzerland and Czechoslovakia.	1665. Haiti and The Netherlands.
1507. Albania and Czechoslovakia.	1668. Denmark and Spain.
1512. Great Britain and Maskat.	1674. Czechoslovakia and Turkey.
1516. Austria and Latvia.	1678. Haiti and Italy.
1517. Great Britain and Japan.	1688. Finland and Sweden.
1520. Hungary and Czechoslovakia.	1689. Economic Union of Belgium and Luxemburg and France.
1524. Germany and France.	1694. France and Italy.
1530. Norway and Poland.	1697. Hungary and Turkey.
1532. Finland and Czechoslovakia.	1698. France and Switzerland.
1544. Switzerland and Turkey.	1701. Italy and Lithuania.
1546. The United Kingdom and Hungary.	1702. Estonia and Sweden.
1553. France and Hungary.	1703. Finland and Sweden.
1568. Bulgaria and Greece.	1704. Latvia and Sweden.
1569. Greece and Roumania.	1710. Germany and Bolivia.
1574. Finland and Switzerland.	1711. Germany and France.
1586. Denmark and Italy.	1712. Germany and Turkey.
1591. Latvia and Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.	1716. Germany and Paraguay.
1596. Economic Union of Belgium and Luxemburg and Guatemala.	1717. Germany and France.
1598. Estonia and Greece.	

CONSULAR CONVENTIONS AND CONVENTIONS RESPECTING  
CONDITIONS OF RESIDENCE.

1587. France and Japan.	1696. Hungary and Turkey.
1599. Belgium and France.	1706. Switzerland and Turkey.
1614. Bulgaria and Hungary.	1713. Germany and Turkey.

AGREEMENTS CONCERNING CUSTOMS AND CUSTOMS FORMALITIES.

1522. Germany and Poland.	1557. Finland and Norway.
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ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL TREATIES.

1503. United States of America and Great Britain.	1607. Great Britain and Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.
1549. Great Britain and Greece.	1681. Belgium and Portugal.
1565. Greece and Turkey.	1692. Estonia and Latvia.
1585. Hungary and Italy.	1714. Germany and Austria.

AGREEMENTS REGARDING DELIMITATION OF FRONTIERS AND FRONTIER TRAFFIC.

1485. Germany and Economic Union of Belgium and Luxemburg.	1648. Estonia and Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.
1504. Germany and Poland.	1649. Germany and Poland.
1509. Estonia and Latvia.	1683. Belgium and Portugal.
1511. Great Britain, Iraq and Turkey.	1693. Germany and Poland.
1642. Union of South Africa and Portugal.	

TAXATION.

Registration No.	Registration No.
1563. United States of America and Norway.	1661. Germany and Great Britain.
1655. Denmark and Japan.	1669. Germany and Denmark.

TONNAGE MEASUREMENT.

1510. Portugal and Sweden.	1672. Iceland and Sweden.
1552. United Kingdom and Latvia.	1677. The Netherlands and Sweden.
1617. Norway and Portugal.	1705. Germany and Latvia.
1662. Great Britain and Portugal.	

LEGAL AND EXTRADITION CONVENTIONS.

1477. Estonia and Switzerland.	1620. Estonia and Czechoslovakia.
1491. Switzerland and Uruguay.	1630. France and Saar Territory Governing Commission.
1492. Brazil and Uruguay.	1631. France and Saar Territory Governing Commission.
1495. Estonia and Czechoslovakia.	1635. Norway and Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.
1497. Belgium and Latvia.	1646. Netherlands and Sweden.
1502. Germany and Bulgaria.	1667. Denmark and France.
1523. Belgium and Estonia.	1671. Latvia and Norway.
1531. Finland and France.	1687. Denmark and Estonia.
1545. Albania and the United Kingdom.	
1588. Liberia and Monaco.	
1594. Switzerland and Czechoslovakia.	
1597. Belgium and The Netherlands.	

AIR NAVIGATION.

1525. British Empire, France, Italy, Japan and Bulgaria.	1595. British Empire, France, Italy, Japan and Hungary.
1528. Denmark and Netherlands.	1659. Germany and Great Britain and Northern Ireland.
1554. Poland and Czechoslovakia.	1707. Spain and France.

CONVENTIONS CONCERNING FISHERIES.

1481. Greece and Italy.	1634. Finland and Sweden.
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POLITICAL AGREEMENTS, TREATIES OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP, SOVEREIGNTY, ALLIANCE, ETC.

1556. China and Finland.	1616. Albania and Italy.
1559. Italy and Yemen.	1624. Estonia and Turkey.
1560. Italy and Roumania.	1658. British Empire and Hedjaz.
1592. France and Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.	

POSTAL, TELEPHONIC, TELEGRAPHIC AND RADIO-TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATIONS.

1489. Hedjaz and Sudan and British Empire.	1582. Belgium, France and The Netherlands.
1513. Great Britain and Northern Ireland and The Netherlands.	1601. India and Iraq.
1547. Germany and Great Britain.	1602. India and Iraq.
1548. Belgium and Great Britain.	1603. United States of America and Great Britain.
1550. Great Britain and Northern Ireland and France.	1604. United States of America and Great Britain.
1575. Germany and The Netherlands.	1605. India and Iraq.
1576. Germany, Austria and The Netherlands.	1606. Germany and Great Britain.
1577. Germany, The Netherlands and Switzerland.	1611. Commonwealth of Australia and Norway.
1578. Germany, The Netherlands and Czechoslovakia.	1619. Estonia, Finland and Latvia.
1579. Germany, Denmark and The Netherlands.	1653. Denmark and Iceland.
1580. Belgium and The Netherlands.	1656. Belgium and Great Britain.
1581. Belgium, Luxemburg and The Netherlands.	1657. Belgium and Great Britain.
	1666. Great Britain and the Netherlands.
	1691. United States of America and the Netherlands.

AGREEMENTS REGARDING SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

Registration No.	Registration No.
1476. Estonia and Latvia.	1675. Germany and Finland.
1486. Belgium and the United Kingdom.	1686. Denmark and The Netherlands.
1562. Denmark and Iceland.	1695. Belgium and Luxemburg.
1612. Denmark and Switzerland.	1715. Germany and Austria.
1629. Germany and Saar Territory Governing Commission.	1718. Germany and Poland.

AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Registration No.	
1539.	Germany, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, British Empire, Spain, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, The Netherlands, Poland, Roumania, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia. Convention regarding the measurement of vessels employed in Inland Navigation, and Protocol of Signature, signed at Paris, November 27th, 1925.
1622.	Greece. Protocol for the stabilisation of the currency and liquidating the budget arrears of the Hellenic State and for the further settlement of Greek refugees, signed at Geneva, September 15th, 1927.
1623.	France, Great Britain and Italy. Declaration concerning the Protocol signed by Greece on September 15th, 1927, signed at Geneva, December 8th, 1927.

QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE APPLICATION OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES.

Registration No.	Registration No.
1564. Germany and Italy.	1650. Germany and Poland.

SANITARY CONVENTIONS.

1499. Germany and Latvia.	1680. Belgium and Portugal.
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TRANSIT CONVENTIONS.

Registration No.	Registration No.
1482. Finland and Latvia.	1583. Italy and The Netherlands.
1505. Germany and Poland.	1584. Norway and Sweden.
1506. Germany and Poland.	1628. France and Saar Territory Governing Commission.
1514. Estonia and Latvia.	1637. Germany and Norway.
1526. Austria and Latvia.	1651. Finland and Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.
1529. Estonia, Latvia and Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.	1663. Finland and Switzerland.
1533. Germany and Finland.	1664. Austria and Norway.
1534. Estonia and Finland.	1670. Austria and Sweden.
1535. Austria and Finland.	1682. Belgium and Portugal.
1566. Luxemburg and Norway.	1685. Finland and Japan.
1570. Austria and The Netherlands.	1699. Finland and Sweden.
1571. Austria and Portugal.	1708. Japan and Norway.
1572. Austria and Denmark.	1709. Austria and Czechoslovakia.
1573. Austria and Great Britain.	

WATERWAYS AND INLAND NAVIGATION.

1515. Germany and Poland.	1643. Union of South Africa and Portugal.
1519. Germany and Poland.	1654. France and Switzerland.
1521. Italy and Switzerland.	1676. Germany and Poland.
1621. Germany and Poland.	

GENERAL RELATIONS.

Registration No.	Registration No.
1518. Spain and Switzerland.	1638. Poland and Czechoslovakia.
1537. Germany and Poland.	1639. Poland and Czechoslovakia.
1538. Hungary and Czechoslovakia.	1640. Poland and Czechoslovakia.
1590. Germany and Poland.	1641. Poland and Czechoslovakia.
1609. Great Britain and France.	1679. Sweden and Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.
1613. French Indo-China and Siam.	
1627. Germany and Saar Territory Governing Commission.	

INTELLECTUAL RELATIONS.

1632. France and Norway.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1589. United States of America and France.  
1608. Great Britain and Spain.

The following table gives the number of treaties registered by the Secretariat at the request of the various States during the period from May 19th, 1927, to May 19th, 1928 :

Union of South Africa. . . . .	2	Latvia . . . . .	12
Albania. . . . .	1	Liberia . . . . .	1
Austria. . . . .	8	The Netherlands. . . . .	19
Belgium. . . . .	19	Norway. . . . .	13
Great Britain . . . . .	34	Poland . . . . .	18
Bulgaria . . . . .	1	Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes . . . . .	2
Chile. . . . .	2	Siam . . . . .	1
China. . . . .	1	Spain. . . . .	1
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	14	Sweden . . . . .	14
Denmark . . . . .	21	Switzerland . . . . .	15
Estonia. . . . .	17	Uruguay . . . . .	3
Finland. . . . .	18	Venezuela. . . . .	1
France . . . . .	4	Conference of Ambassadors. . . . .	2
Germany . . . . .	10	Saar Territory Governing Commission. . . . .	5
Greece . . . . .	11	International engagements registered in consequence of their deposit with the Secretariat of the League . . . . .	3
Hungary . . . . .	7		
Italy. . . . .	20		
Japan . . . . .	2		

Four treaties were communicated by the United States of America in accordance with the arrangement described on page 125 of the Report to the Assembly of 1926.

The Secretariat has also registered many adhesions, ratifications, denunciations, etc., to conventions previously registered at the request of Members of the League of Nations.

It has also registered further information relating to general conventions which it had already published.

The above-mentioned international engagements have appeared, or will appear, in the *Treaty Series* in their original languages, with translations into French and English.

The Secretariat will shortly issue the *Index* of registered treaties from No. 1001 to No. 1500. This *Index* is a continuation of the *Index* published last year, which included the first thousand treaties registered. It contains chronological and alphabetical tables arranged according to subject, giving details regarding the character of each treaty, the contracting parties which have signed it, and the position of each international engagement registered.

Up to the present, sixty-eight volumes of about 450 pages each, containing some 1,600 treaties, have been published by the Secretariat. Other volumes will appear in the near future.

ANNEX 2 a.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT TO THE NINTH ORDINARY SESSION OF  
THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE ON THE WORK OF THE  
COUNCIL, ON THE WORK OF THE SECRETARIAT AND ON THE  
MEASURES TAKEN TO EXECUTE THE DECISIONS OF THE  
ASSEMBLY.

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1.

COLLABORATION OF COSTA RICA IN THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE.

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In a reply, dated July 18th, 1928, to the letter which was addressed to the Government of Costa Rica in accordance with the indications given by the Council at its March session, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Costa Rica states that his Government, while deeply appreciating the Council's action, desires, before giving a definite answer, to know the interpretation placed by the League of Nations on the Monroe doctrine and the scope given to that doctrine when it was included in Article 21 of the Covenant.

This letter has been communicated to all the Members of the League (see document C.391.M.126.1928).

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2.

LEGAL QUESTIONS.

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I. WORK OF THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS FOR THE PROGRESSIVE CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW DURING ITS FOURTH SESSION.

The Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law held its fourth session from June 22nd to 28th, 1928, M. Hammarskjöld being Chairman.

Its agenda included first of all the examination of Government replies to Questionnaires Nos. 8 to 11 on the following subjects :

*Questionnaire No. 8.* Communication of judicial and extra-judicial acts in penal matters and letters rogatory in penal matters.

*Questionnaire No. 9.* Legal position and functions of consuls.

*Questionnaire No. 10.* Revision of the classification of diplomatic agents.

*Questionnaire No. 11.* Competence of Courts in regard to foreign States.

It had to be determined whether the replies received from the various Governments were sufficiently favourable to allow the Committee to recommend to the Council and the Assembly certain subjects as ripe for international regulation.

The question of the legal position and functions of consuls and that of the competence of Courts in regard to foreign States were held by the Committee to have reached a stage suitable for codification.

The Committee was of opinion that the regulation by means of a general convention of the question of the communication of judicial and extra-judicial acts in penal matters and letters rogatory in penal matters was not yet practicable. It felt, however, that judicial co-operation should be ensured in conventions on certain crimes universally condemned. Although, with regard to the question of the revision of the classification of diplomatic agents there was a majority of Governments in favour of international regulation, the minority was so strongly represented that, for the present, the Committee does not regard codification as possible.

Of the above four questions, therefore, two were held by the Committee of Experts to be ripe for international regulation ; they have consequently been recommended to the Council and to the Assembly.

The Committee also had on its agenda certain questions which, for various reasons, had been adjourned until this session. These were matters which had been studied by Sub-Committees of the Committee of Experts, but which were not to be referred to the various Governments unless the Committee decided that it would be desirable to do so. The question of prescription was not maintained on the list, the Committee agreeing with the negative conclusions of its Rapporteur. Consideration of the legal position of private non-profit-making associations and private international foundations was adjourned, the Committee having learned that this question was being considered by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris, and that the work was making good progress. In order to avoid overlapping, the Committee thought it preferable to postpone the examination of this subject. The question of the conflict of laws in the matter of domicile also came before the Committee, which had received a report on the subject from

one of its Sub-Committees. After consideration, the Committee decided to submit this subject to the various Governments for their opinion in the form of Questionnaire No. 12. This is the only subject on which the Committee prepared a new questionnaire for the Governments.

The Committee has also had to consider a proposal submitted by the Paraguayan delegation to the Assembly in 1927. The proposal was for the preparation of a general and comprehensive plan of codification of international law. On this subject the Committee has addressed a special report to the Council and the Assembly, the tenor of which is as follows:

In the light of the experience gained during its work, the Committee of Experts is of opinion that codification should be carried out progressively, account being taken of the realities of the legal situation and the numerous obstacles of a political nature which make it impracticable to deal with the various subjects in an order corresponding to considerations of system, but which imperatively require that the method of procedure shall be cautious and modest. The Committee of Experts has taken into account first and foremost the actual possibilities of codification. It is for this reason that it has always felt that a method of partial and progressive codification is preferable.

Although, in conformity with the Assembly resolution of September 22nd, 1924, it is in favour of adhering to the method which it has hitherto followed in its work, the Committee of Experts nevertheless considers that the proposal of the delegation of Paraguay deserves attention.

If the Council and the Assembly of the League feel that the course suggested by the delegation of Paraguay should be followed, it would be possible to draw up a systematic outline of a more complete codification, on the understanding always that what was contemplated was not immediate and simultaneous realisation of a plan thus formed, or determination of the order in which the various matters ought to be the subject of efforts at international legislation. Advantage might be seen in such a work of co-ordination.

Finally, mention should be made of Recommendations VII and VIII, formulated by the Mixed Committee for the Suppression of Counterfeiting Currency, which the Council had transmitted for an opinion to the Committee of Experts. The first of these recommendations referred to the question of extradition. This question had already been included in the agenda of the Committee at a previous session, and the Committee had come to the conclusion that it was not yet ripe for codification. The Committee felt bound to reaffirm its former opinion on the subject, but added in its report to the Council that there were, in the domain of the suppression of counterfeiting, particularly strong arguments in favour of establishing rules for extradition, and that consequently the universal adoption of Article 2 of the draft Convention prepared by the Mixed Committee seemed to be highly desirable and also practicable.

With regard to the second recommendation, regarding letters rogatory, the Committee merely referred to the opinion expressed in its report on the questions which seemed to be sufficiently ripe for codification (see previous page, Questionnaire No. 8).

The Committee has reported in the following documents its conclusions on the various questions submitted to it:

1. Letter dated June 28th, 1928, from the Chairman of the Committee of Experts to the Secretary-General, communicated to the Council and the Assembly (document A.14.1928.V).
2. Report to the Council, transmitted to the Assembly, with regard to the questions which seem to be mature for international regulation (Questionnaires Nos. 8 to 11) (document A.15.1928.V).
3. Questionnaire No. 12, addressed to the various Governments for their opinion on the question of domicile (document C.343.M.101.1928.V).
4. Report to the Council, transmitted to the Assembly, concerning the Paraguayan delegation's proposal (document A.16.1928.V).
5. Report to the Council regarding Recommendations VII and VIII of the Mixed Committee for the Suppression of Counterfeiting Currency (document C.344.1928.V).

The reasons which, at its third session, induced the Committee to abstain from undertaking the study of new questions still persisted at its fourth session.

Under these conditions, the Committee felt that, before resuming its activities, it should wait until new circumstances have arisen or further instructions have been received.

With regard to the question of domicile, the only question on which the various Governments are being consulted by the Committee of Experts, the Committee has requested the Secretary-General to transmit the replies from the Governments for consideration either to the Committee itself, if the latter has occasion to meet at a sufficiently early date, or to the Council direct.

## II. INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR THE UNIFICATION OF PRIVATE LAW.

The opening of the Rome International Institute for the Unification of Private Law took place on May 30th, 1928, at the Villa Aldobrandini, Rome, in the presence of His Majesty King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy, and under the presidency of Signor Mussolini, Head of the Government and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Italy.

There were present the Diplomatic Corps accredited to His Majesty the King of Italy, the representative of the President of the Council of the League of Nations, the President of the Institute, His Excellency M. Scialoja, and the members of the Governing Body of the Institute, the representatives of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, of the Director of the International Labour Office and of the Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

After the inaugural meeting the Institute held two sittings, at which the representatives of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, of the International Labour Office and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation were present.

In the course of these meetings the Governing Body discussed and adopted the regulations governing the work of the Institute, appointed Professor Pietro de Francisci Secretary-General, and outlined its initial programme of work.

On June 20th, 1928, His Excellency M. Scialoja, President of the Institute, forwarded to the Secretary-General the Minutes of the inaugural meeting, of the two meetings of the Governing Body, and also the texts of the three sets of Regulations (Internal, Staff and Financial) as adopted by the Governing Body.

Under Article 14 of the Organic Statute of the Institute, the above-mentioned three sets of Regulations have been placed on the agenda of the next session of the League Council for approval, in order that the Institute may exchange its present provisional organisation for a permanent one. When this approval has been given, the three sets of Regulations will be communicated to the Assembly of the League of Nations and to the Italian Government.

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### 3.

## FINANCES OF THE LEAGUE.

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### I. GENERAL FINANCIAL POSITION.

The financial position remains satisfactory owing to the regular payment of contributions by States Members. Over 59 per cent of the amount due under the budget for 1928 has been received during the first seven months of this year.

### II. ACTION TAKEN BY THE COUNCIL AT ITS JUNE SESSION.

The Council, at its June session, decided not to submit any observations on the report of the Supervisory Commission, on the accounts for 1927 and the budget for 1929, reserving, however, the right of its members to make, during the Assembly, such proposals or amendments as they might think desirable.

### III. EXTRAORDINARY SESSIONS OF THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION.

The Supervisory Commission held two extraordinary sessions during the course of the summer.

#### (a) SUPPLEMENTARY CREDITS AND DIVERGENCIES BETWEEN THE FOURTH COMMITTEE AND OTHER COMMITTEES OF THE ASSEMBLY WITH REGARD TO BUDGET CREDITS.

The Assembly, at its eighth ordinary session, requested the Supervisory Commission to consider the improvements which might be made in the procedure of the Assembly in regard to the consideration of supplementary credits and the settlement of divergencies which might arise between the Fourth and another Committee of the Assembly concerning the budget.

The Supervisory Commission came to the conclusion that the only satisfactory method of dealing with this question was to amend the Financial Regulations and the Rules of Procedure on the basis of the following principles :

All proposals for supplementary credits should be forwarded, at least one month before the opening of the Assembly, to the Secretary-General, who would estimate the expenditure involved. The proposals and the Secretary-General's estimates would be referred to the competent technical Committee of the Assembly ; if the Committee agreed with the policy involved, it would, within fifteen days after the opening meeting of the Assembly, communicate its report direct to the Supervisory Commission, which, after considering the estimates, would report to the Fourth Committee.

A similar procedure would be applied when, at its May session, the Supervisory Commission had doubts concerning new expenditure.

Any divergency between the Fourth and another Committee of the Assembly would be finally settled by a second vote of the Fourth Committee, taken after an interval sufficient to enable the members to consult their colleagues.

(b) COST OF LIVING AND ADJUSTMENT OF SALARIES.

The Supervisory Commission, after discussing the matter at four consecutive sessions and receiving, in accordance with the Assembly's decision, the views of the Salaries Adjustment Committee, and a report drawn up by the statisticians of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office, decided to recommend the Assembly to stabilise the salaries at the 1921 nominal figures.

In taking this decision, the Commission was moved by the following four principal considerations :

1. The cost-of-living index amounted at present to 95.2 per cent of the index during the basic period.

2. It seemed probable that the upward tendency of the index would continue for some time to come.

3. The officials thought that they had been unfairly treated in past years because the rent index had been based on insufficient data.

4. Finally, there would be a considerable advantage, from an administrative point of view, if all the officials came under a single system devoid of complications and above criticism.

(c) ESTIMATES OF THE REFUGEE SERVICE FOR 1929.

The Commission approved the estimates of the Refugee Service, amounting to 238,000 francs, as against 339,175 francs in the budget for the present year.

(d) PUBLICATIONS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Supervisory Commission recommended the Assembly to adopt a certain number of new principles in regard to the control of the printing of League publications, documents, Minutes, etc.

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4.

REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS.

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I. COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE LEAGUE IN TIMES OF EMERGENCY.

For the details of the decisions taken and the present position of the work, reference should be made to that part of the Supplementary Report which deals with the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit.

II. FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO STATES VICTIMS OF AGGRESSION.

See Section III below on the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security and that of the Joint Committee composed of members of that Committee and of the Financial Committee.

III. ARBITRATION, SECURITY AND THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

The Committee on Arbitration and Security having, at the end of its second session, expressed the wish that the results of its work would be communicated to all the States in time for discussion at the next ordinary session of the Assembly<sup>1</sup>, the Preparatory

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<sup>1</sup> See General Report to the Assembly, Annex 2, page 223.

Commission for the Disarmament Conference at its fifth session endorsed this recommendation in the following terms :

“ The Commission :

“ Expresses its satisfaction with the results achieved and its approbation of the general spirit in which the Committee carried out the work.

“ According to precedent, the report of the Committee on Arbitration and Security on the work of its second session, together with the Minutes of that session, will be communicated to all Governments. The Commission seconds the recommendation adopted by the Committee that these documents should be transmitted in sufficient time to allow of their discussion at the next session of the Assembly. ”

At its meeting on June 4th, 1928, the Council, acting on the motion of the Roumanian representative, adopted the following resolution :

“ The Council :

“ Having taken note of the work already done by the Committee on Arbitration and Security and of the programme for its future work,

“ Instructs the Secretary-General to insert on the supplementary Assembly agenda the question of the work and the proposals of the Committee on Arbitration and Security. . . . ”

The Committee on Arbitration and Security held its third session at Geneva from June 27th to July 4th, 1928, in order to proceed to :

- (1) The second reading of the model treaties and conventions drawn up at the second session ;
- (2) The examination of the German delegation's suggestions for the prevention of war on the basis of a memorandum prepared by M. Rolin Jaequemyns, Rapporteur ;
- (3) The study of model bilateral conventions ; and
- (4) The continuation of the examination of the scheme of financial assistance to States victims of aggression, on the basis of the report by the Joint Committee, submitted as a result of its second session, held at Geneva on June 5th, 1928.

After discussions before the plenary Committee, the Committee on Arbitration and Security instructed a Drafting Committee to prepare for second reading the model treaties and conventions adopted on first reading during the preceding session, and, further, to prepare a model treaty designed to give effect to the German delegation's suggestions. These drafts, accompanied by an introductory note and a resolution regarding the German delegation's suggestions, were subsequently submitted to the Committee on Arbitration and Security, which adopted them, together with three model bilateral conventions for the pacific settlement of disputes. It also adopted a report and a resolution on the question of financial assistance and proceeded to the second reading of the resolutions which it had drafted at its second session.

The following is a list of the texts adopted by the Committee on Arbitration and Security from the time of its creation until the end of its third session (see document A.20.1928) :

1. Model arbitration and conciliation conventions, accompanied by an introductory note and two resolutions, one submitting and recommending these model conventions, the other relating to the good offices of the Council.
2. Resolution on the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.
3. Model treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance, accompanied by an introductory note and two resolutions, one submitting and recommending these model treaties, the other relating to the good offices of the Council.
4. Resolution concerning the memorandum on Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant.
5. Resolution concerning communications with the League in times of emergency.
6. Resolution and report on financial assistance to States victims of aggression.
7. Model treaty with a view to strengthening the means of preventing war, accompanied by an introductory note and a resolution.

The resolutions adopted by the Committee on Arbitration and Security read as follows :

*Resolution on the Submission and Recommendation of the Model Conventions on Conciliation, Arbitration and Judicial Settlement.*

The Committee on Arbitration and Security recommends that the following draft resolution be submitted for the approval of the next ordinary session of the Assembly :

- “ The Assembly :
- “ Having noted the model general conventions drawn up by the Committee on Arbitration and Security on the subjects of conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement ;
- “ Appreciating the value of these model general conventions ; and
- “ Being convinced that their adoption by the greatest possible number of States would serve to increase the guarantees of security :
- “ Recommends all States, whether Members of the League or not, to accede thereto ;
- “ Draws the attention of Governments which may not feel able to assume general obligations to the fact that they could accept the rules established by the aforesaid model conventions by means of special agreements or a simple exchange of notes with any States they may desire ; and
- “ Requests the Council, with a view to this eventuality, to give the Secretariat of the League of Nations instructions to keep a list of the special obligations undertaken within the scope of the general conventions, so as to enable Members of the League of Nations and States non-Members of the League to obtain information thereon as soon as possible. ”

*Resolution regarding the Good Offices of the Council.*

The Committee on Arbitration and Security recommends that the following draft resolution be submitted for the approval of the next ordinary session of the Assembly :

- “ The Assembly :
- “ In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 26th, 1926, requesting the Council to offer its good offices to States Members of the League for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security ;
- “ Recognising that the development of procedures for the pacific settlement of any disputes which may arise between States is an essential factor in the prevention of wars ;
- “ Expresses its appreciation of the progress achieved in concluding treaties of this kind, and its desire to see the application of the principle of the pacific settlement of all disputes extended as far as possible ; and
- “ Invites the Council to inform all States Members of the League that, should States feel the need of reinforcing the general security conferred by the Covenant and of concluding for this purpose a treaty to ensure the pacific settlement of any disputes which may arise between them, and should negotiations in connection therewith meet with difficulties, the Council would, if requested — after it has examined the political situation and taken account of the general interests of peace — be prepared to place at the disposal of the States concerned its good offices, which, being voluntarily accepted by them, would be calculated to bring the negotiations to a happy issue. ”

*Resolution concerning the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.*

The Committee on Arbitration and Security recommends that the following draft resolution be submitted for the approval of the next ordinary session of the Assembly :

- “ The Assembly :
- “ Referring to the resolution of October 2nd, 1924, in which the Assembly, considering that the terms of Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice are sufficiently wide to permit States to adhere to the special Protocol opened for signature in virtue of that article, with the reservations which they regard as indispensable, and convinced that it is in the interest of the progress of international justice that the greatest possible number of States should, to the widest possible extent, accept as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Court, recommends States to accede to the said Protocol at the earliest possible date ;
- “ Noting that this recommendation has not so far produced all the effect that is to be desired ;
- “ Being of opinion that, in order to facilitate effectively the acceptance of the clause in question, it is expedient to diminish the obstacles which prevent States from committing themselves ;
- “ Being convinced that the efforts now being made through progressive codification to diminish the uncertainties and supply the deficiencies of international law will greatly facilitate the acceptance of the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court, and that meanwhile attention should once more be drawn to the possibility offered by

the terms of that clause to States which do not see their way to accede to it without qualification to do so subject to appropriate reservations limiting the extent of their commitments, both as regards duration and as regards scope ;

“ Noting, in this latter connection, that the reservations conceivable may relate, either generally to certain aspects of any kind of dispute, or specifically to certain classes or lists of disputes, and that these different kinds of reservation can be legitimately combined ;

“ Recommends that States which have not yet acceded to the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should, failing accession pure and simple, consider, with due regard to their interests, whether they can accede on the conditions above indicated ;

“ Requests the Council to communicate the text of this resolution to those States as soon as possible, desiring them to notify it of their intentions in the matter ; and

“ Asks the Council to inform them at the next session of the Assembly of the replies it has by then received. ”

*Resolution on the Submission and Recommendation of Model Treaties of Non-aggression and Mutual Assistance.*

The Committee on Arbitration and Security recommends that the following draft resolution be submitted for approval to the next ordinary session of the Assembly :

“ The Assembly :

“ Having noted the model treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security ;

“ Appreciating the value of these model treaties ;

“ And convinced that their adoption by the States concerned would contribute towards strengthening the guarantees of security :

“ Recommends them for consideration by States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations ; and

“ Hopes that they may serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude treaties of this sort. ”

*Resolution concerning the Good Offices of the Council.*

The Committee on Arbitration and Security recommends that the following draft resolution be submitted for approval to the next Assembly :

“ In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 26th, 1926, requesting the Council to offer its good offices to States Members of the League for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security,

“ The Assembly :

“ Convinced that the conclusion between States in the same geographical area of security pacts providing for conciliation, arbitration and mutual guarantees against aggression by any one of them constitutes one of the most practical means that can now be recommended to States anxious to secure more effective guarantees of security ;

“ Being of opinion that the good offices of the Council if freely accepted by all the parties concerned might facilitate the conclusion of such security pacts ;

“ Invites the Council to inform all the States Members of the League of Nations that, should States feel the need of reinforcing the general security conferred by the Covenant and of concluding a security pact for this purpose, and should the negotiations relating thereto meet with difficulties, the Council would, if requested — after it has examined the political situation and taken account of the general interests of peace — be prepared to place at the disposal of the States concerned its good offices which, being voluntarily accepted, would be calculated to bring the negotiations to a happy issue. ”

*Resolution concerning M. Rutgers' Memorandum on Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant (Document C.A.S. 10).*

The Committee on Arbitration and Security :

Having taken note of the memorandum on Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant, Appreciates the great importance of the work accomplished in regard to the application of these provisions ;

Considers that the data regarding the criteria of aggression collected in this memorandum constitute a useful summary of the Assembly's and the Council's work in regard to this matter and of the provisions of certain treaties ;

Draws particular attention to the fact that the action which the Council, under Article 11 and the other articles of the Covenant, is called upon to take in case of conflict, will provide it with valuable indications to enable it to form an opinion and to make it easier to decide who is the aggressor if war breaks out in spite of all endeavours to prevent it ;



Considers that the examination of Article 11 of the Covenant, which lays down that the League "shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations", forms a useful corollary to the enquiry undertaken by the Committee of the Council and approved by the Council on December 6th, 1927, on the recommendation of the Assembly, and at the same time clearly demonstrates — without in any way detracting from the force of the other articles of the Covenant — that the League must in the first place endeavour to prevent war, and that in all cases of armed conflict or threat of armed conflict of any kind the League should take action to prevent hostilities or to bring hostilities to a standstill if they have already begun ;

Notes the suggestions contained in the memorandum with regard to Article 16 ;

Recommends these studies to the Assembly as a valuable contribution in that they do not propose any rigid and detailed procedure to be followed in times of crisis, and do not add to or subtract from the rights and duties of the Members of the League, but constitute highly instructive indications of the possibilities inherent in the various articles of the Covenant and the manner in which those articles can be applied without prejudice to the methods of application which an infinite variety of circumstances may demand in practice.

*Resolution concerning Communications of the League in Case of Emergency.*

The Committee on Arbitration and Security :

Considering that, in case of emergency, rapidity and security in the matter of communications between the Secretary-General, the Members of the Council, the States concerned or the special missions of the Council are of particular importance with a view to ensuring efficacious action by the League ;

Noting that the importance of this was recognised by the last Assembly in Resolution No. III, adopted on September 26th, 1927, on the proposal of the Third Committee ;

While gratified at the results of the initial efforts of the Committee for Communications and Transit to make the best possible use of existing means of communication ;

Directs attention to the following passage in the report of the Committee for Communications and Transit, dated March 1927, which was submitted to the Council and the Assembly :

" . . . that, at a time of general emergency — for example, immediately before mobilisation and, above all, during the actual period of mobilisation — the total or partial taking over by the State of the means of communication must inevitably mean that, in many cases, communications of importance to the League might be rendered less rapid or less certain despite the successful application of the measures laid down in the report approved by the Council at its December session, unless some special means, independent of the general system of national communications . . . " ;

Considers that the systematic study of the means to be employed by the organs of the League to enable Members to carry out the obligations devolving upon them in virtue of the different articles of the Covenant requires that communications for the purposes of League action in case of emergency should have every guarantee of independence and should be as little affected as possible by the disturbance which a state of emergency will necessarily produce in the regular working of the communications controlled by the different Governments ;

Trusts that the supplementary technical studies undertaken by the Transit Committee, at the request of the Council and in conjunction with all the authorities concerned, with a view to providing the League of Nations with independent air communications and a radio-telegraphic station enabling it to communicate direct with as many Members of the League as possible, may be rapidly completed ;

And emphasises the desirability of enabling the next Assembly to take steps to put these schemes into effect, more particularly as regards the establishment of a radio-telegraphic station.

*Resolution regarding Financial Assistance to States Victims of Aggression.*

The Committee on Arbitration and Security :

Having taken note of the report by the Joint Committee on questions relating to financial assistance ;

Thanks the Joint Committee for its valuable collaboration ;

Adopts the attached report submitted by its Rapporteur (document C.A.S.69) ;

Invites the Financial Committee to continue its technical enquiries on the basis of the results obtained after the meeting of the Assembly ;

Recommends that the Assembly should give its opinion upon the questions raised ;

For this purpose, requests the Secretary-General to forward the report and the Minutes of the Joint Committee to Governments in order that they may give instructions to their delegates at the Assembly.

*Resolution on the Suggestions submitted by the German Delegation with a view to Strengthening the Means of preventing War.*

The Committee on Arbitration and Security :

Having taken note of the memorandum of its Rapporteur, Baron Rolin-Jaequemyns, on the suggestions submitted by the German delegation with a view to strengthening the means of preventing war ;

Thanks its Rapporteur for the exhaustive report which he has submitted ;

Adopts the model Treaty designed to give effect to the German delegation's suggestions and submits it to the Assembly ;

And requests the Secretary-General to forward the said model with the introductory note, as well as Baron Rolin-Jaequemyns' memorandum and the Minutes of its third session, to the Governments in order that they may give the necessary instructions to their delegations at the Assembly.

IV. PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

The Minutes of the fifth session of this Commission, at which was adopted the resolution of March 24th, 1928, quoted in the General Report to the Assembly<sup>1</sup>, have been distributed in document C.165.M.50.1928.IX.

V. PRIVATE MANUFACTURE AND PUBLICITY FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND OF IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

The Chairman of the Special Commission has convened the members of this Commission to a meeting to be held at Geneva on August 27th, 1928, for the purpose of establishing a single text for the draft Convention, as requested by the Assembly during its eighth ordinary session.

VI. RIGHT OF INVESTIGATION UNDER THE TREATIES OF VERSAILLES, ST. GERMAIN, TRIANON AND NEUILLY.

On June 25th, 1928, the Secretary-General was informed that Major-General G. S. Clive, President of the Commission of Investigation for Hungary, will be unable to complete his term as President of that Commission.

VII. REQUEST OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF (a) CZECHOSLOVAKIA, (b) ROUMANIA, (c) KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE COUNCIL OF THE INCIDENT WHICH OCCURRED ON JANUARY 1ST, 1928, AT SZENT-GOTTHARD RAILWAY STATION ON THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN FRONTIER.

Three letters dated February 1st, 1928, were received by the Secretary-General, containing requests by the Governments of Czechoslovakia, Roumania and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes for the consideration by the Council of the incident which occurred on January 1st, 1928, at the Szent-Gotthard railway station on the Austro-Hungarian frontier.

The matter concerned the discovery of war material (machine-gun parts), under a false declaration, in five wagons of Italian origin which, after passing in transit through Austria, had entered Hungarian territory. The way-bills gave as the consignor, Commercio Universale in Ferramenta Ed Ordigni, S. A., Giovanni Curti, engineer, Verona ; as consignee, the firm Berkovics Bros., Slovensko Nové-Mesto ; and, as the final destination, Warsaw.

The Czechoslovak and Serb-Croat-Slovene Governments attached to their request a memorandum in which they pointed out that the consignment was not intended for Czechoslovakia, that the Polish Government had formally stated that it was not intended for Poland, that Berkovics Bros. was a Hungarian firm, the owners residing in Hungarian territory, in the town of Satoraljaujhély, one of the stations being Slovensko Nové-Mesto in Czechoslovak territory and that, in these circumstances, the question arose whether it was intended that the consignment should leave Hungarian territory or not.

In their letters, the three Governments referred to the Treaty of Trianon and to the decisions of the Council governing the exercise of the right of investigation provided for under the military clauses of the Peace Treaties, and requested that the question should be placed on the agenda of the March session of the Council (document C.25.1928.IX).

In the interval before the Council's session, the Hungarian authorities announced in the Press that, in pursuance of international conventions and national regulations governing international traffic, the consignment would be sold by auction after the material had been rendered unserviceable for war purposes. On February 23rd, 1928, the President

<sup>1</sup> See General Report to the Assembly, Annex 2, page 223.

of the Council, through the Secretary-General, sent the following telegram to the Hungarian Government :

“ Kindly telegraph the Hungarian Government that, since the Council has received a request from the Czechoslovak, Roumanian and Serbian Governments, I, having learnt from the Press that the Hungarian Government is about to sell the articles to which the request refers, consider that it would be prudent to suspend this action, as the matter is shortly to be considered by the Council. ”

On the same day, the Hungarian Government replied to the Secretary-General as follows :

“ The Hungarian Government was surprised by the contents of your telegram received this evening. Several weeks ago it was stated in the Press from Hungarian official sources that the competent authorities would proceed, in accordance with the rules in force, to render the stores in question unserviceable and sell them by auction if the lawful owner did not come forward. As the auction is fixed for to-morrow morning and is to be held under the supervision of the competent judicial authorities at Szent-Gotthard in accordance with the railway regulations, postponement is impossible. I would further point out that the Regulations for the Exercise of the Right of Investigation contain no clause applicable to such cases. As a matter of personal courtesy to the President of the Council, however, the Hungarian Government will ask the purchasers not to remove their purchases. ”

The Council considered the matter at its meeting on March 7th, 1928. It first discussed the question of the possible measures to be taken in the interval between the sessions of the Council. This question arose out of the telegrams exchanged between the President of the Council and the Hungarian Government. A discussion of the Szent-Gotthard incident then took place. The representatives of the Czechoslovak and Serb-Croat-Slovene Governments and of the Hungarian Government were invited by the Council to attend the meeting, to give any information that might be required. The Roumanian representative stated, on behalf of the three Governments which had submitted the matter to the Council, that these Governments did not regard it as a matter of special concern to them, but as a question of general importance which should be dealt with, taking into consideration the respect for treaties and the rights and duties of the Council of the League.

The Hungarian representative, who had previously communicated a voluminous dossier to the Council, stated that the execution of measures against Hungary under these conditions would hardly be likely to improve her relations with her neighbours. He doubted whether Article 143 of the Treaty of Trianon, which gave the Council the right to carry out investigations in Hungary, could be applied to the present case, and pointed out that the incident in question could not have arisen if the Convention on the control of the international trade in arms, concluded at Geneva in 1925, were in force.

The Council decided to appoint a Committee, composed of the representatives of the Netherlands, Chile and Finland, to study the documents and present a report. This Committee submitted a preliminary report, which was adopted by the Council on March 10th, 1928 (see General Report to the Assembly, page 25).

The measures taken by the Committee of Three to carry out the task entrusted to it are set forth in the report which it addressed to the Council at the June session (document C.199). The Committee obtained supplementary information from the Hungarian Government on certain points which still seemed to it obscure and sent two small-arms experts to Szent-Gotthard to examine the material and draw up an inventory. It caused the incident and the procedure followed by the various authorities involved in the matter to be examined by two experts in railway traffic, Customs and forwarding formalities. Finally, at a meeting held at The Hague from May 3rd to 7th, 1928, the Committee proceeded, in conjunction with all these experts, to examine all the documents. At one of the meetings, the Hungarian representative was asked to furnish additional explanations. The Committee's report, which was drawn up at the close of that session, concluded in the following terms :

“ The affair was minutely examined and discussed in every aspect by the Committee. The Committee feels bound to express its deep regret at finding itself confronted with an attempt to effect the clandestine transport of war material. Although the consignment in question may not have been of great military importance, the Committee cannot omit to point out the grave dangers to good understanding and mutual confidence between nations which are involved by any clandestine traffic in arms. The incident affords striking evidence of the immense importance, for the establishment of mutual confidence between States, and consequently for the consolidation of peace, of an early ratification of the Convention on the Control of Trade in Arms, concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations.

“ As regards the Hungarian Government in particular, the unlawful presence of war material in its territories would appear to acquire special importance from the fact that, in regard to the trade in arms, the Hungarian Government is under obligations arising from the Treaty of Trianon. It may be pointed out that the request for the insertion of this matter in the agenda of the Council was actually made with reference to the Rules in force for the Exercise of the Right of Investigation by the League of Nations, as provided in Article 143 of that Treaty.

“ The Hungarian Government has considered the incident in question exclusively from the standpoint of railway and Customs regulations. The Hungarian authorities complied with the provisions of those regulations. The Hungarian Government does not appear ever to have thought it necessary to consider the question of the final destination of this war material. It believed that it was sufficiently complying with its obligations under the Treaty of Trianon by ordering the material in question to be rendered unserviceable as war material, which was done. The final destination of the material is not apparent from the information which the Committee has been able to obtain, acting within the limits of its powers. On the other hand, that information furnishes no evidence that this material was intended to remain in Hungarian territory.”

The report was examined by the Council on June 7th, 1928.

The representative of Czechoslovakia stated that he regretted to note that the Committee had not been able to shed entire light on certain points which seemed to him of the first importance, particularly that of the final destination of the war material discovered at Szent-Gotthard. “ It is obvious”, he added, “that any first step in a new field taken by the League of Nations serves as an important example for the future work of the League in the same field. If the League of Nations were condemned to remain inactive in this field the confidence between States and their feeling of security would certainly not be increased.”

The representative of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes said that he also regretted to note that, in spite of the Committee's efforts to clear up this affair, the report threw no light on several very important points, and its conclusions did not remove the anxiety felt by Governments concerned in regard to the execution by Hungary of her obligations in the matter of disarmament.

The Roumanian representative said that he entirely agreed with the observations made by his colleagues, the representatives of Czechoslovakia and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

The French representative pointed out that it should not be argued from the insufficiency of the results of the enquiry that the right of investigation of the League of Nations had been shown to be powerless, because no investigation had taken place. He then explained the reasons why, in his opinion, the consignment of arms seized at Szent-Gotthard was of very great military value. He thought that the procedure chosen by the Council was not likely to afford the necessary guarantees and he reminded the Council of the existence of the procedure laid down in the regulations of 1926 regarding the exercise by the Council of the right of investigation, a right which could be supplemented by conservatory measures.

The Netherlands representative, Chairman of the Committee of Three, pointed out that the Committee's task was merely to compile a dossier that should be as complete as possible to enable the Council to form an opinion on the matter.

The representative of the British Empire stated that the result of the procedure which the Council had adopted in this case was not satisfactory to anyone. It was clear that, if another incident arose, the Council would have to seek means more efficacious than those which had been chosen on this occasion.

The German representative stated that the partial unsuccess of investigation proceedings in a particular case did not give ground for doubting the value and effectiveness of this procedure. He added that, in his opinion, too wide conclusions had been drawn in many quarters from the Szent-Gotthard incident and that this incident did not contain any element that might be considered as an obstacle to the beginning of general disarmament.

On the President's proposal, the Council adopted the following resolution :

“ The Council :

“ (1) Takes note of the report submitted by the Committee of Three and warmly thanks the members of that Committee for discharging the task entrusted to them ;

“ (2) Regrets that the Hungarian Government has considered the incident which occurred on January 1st, 1928, at the Szent-Gotthard railway-station exclusively from the standpoint of railway and Customs regulations, without having thought it necessary to concern itself with the question of the final destination of this war material, although its presence, under a false declaration, on Hungarian territory acquired special importance from the fact that, in regard to the trade in arms, Hungary is under obligations arising from the Treaty of Trianon ;

“ (3) Notes with regret that, in the present circumstances, it has been impossible to determine this final destination. It is, however, convinced that the discussions have sufficiently shown the Council's view of the gravity of this incident and the importance it attaches to such incidents not recurring ;

“ (4) Draws attention to the fact that every Member of the Council has the right to request an extraordinary meeting of the Council, and that the latter has authority to order immediate investigation in virtue of the Rules in force for the Exercise of the Right of Investigation, which Rules the Council maintains intact ;

“ (5) Takes this opportunity of emphasising the importance, for the establishment of mutual confidence between States and consequently for the consolidation of peace, of an early ratification of the Convention on the Control of the Trade in Arms concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations. ”

*Conservatory Measures.*

The Council also adopted, on June 7th, 1928, in accordance with another report by the same Committee of Three, the following resolution :

“ 1. The Council considers that, when a question has been submited for its examination, it is extremely desirable that the Governments concerned should take whatever steps may be necessary or useful to prevent anything occurring in their respective territories which might prejudice the examination or settlement of the question by the Council.

“ 2. When there is submitted to the Council a request for investigation or the case of a dispute which has been placed on the agenda under paragraph 2 of Article 11, or other articles of the Covenant, such as Articles 13 or 15, the Secretary-General shall immediately communicate with the interested parties, drawing their attention to the resolution under (1) above, requesting them, in the name of the Council, to forward their replies to him without delay for communication to the Council and to inform him of the steps which have been taken. ”

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5.

POLITICAL QUESTIONS.

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I. REQUEST OF THE ROUMANIAN GOVERNMENT UNDER PARAGRAPH 2 OF ARTICLE 11 OF THE COVENANT, REGARDING THE AGRARIAN QUESTIONS SUBMITTED TO THE MIXED ROUMANO-HUNGARIAN ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL.

REQUEST OF THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT FOR THE APPOINTMENT BY THE COUNCIL, IN VIRTUE OF ARTICLE 239 OF THE TREATY OF TRIANON, OF TWO DEPUTY JUDGES FOR THE MIXED ROUMANO-HUNGARIAN ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL.

In accordance with the last paragraph of the resolution adopted by the Council at its meeting on March 9th, 1928<sup>1</sup>, the Roumanian and Hungarian Governments replied to the Council in letters dated May 28th and June 6th, 1928, respectively.

The Roumanian Government stated that, after a further examination of the proposal made by the Council on March 9th, 1928, it had reached the conclusion that Roumania could not accept it. The Hungarian representative repeated, on behalf of his Government, his declaration of acceptance of the Council's resolution made at its March session.

In answer to questions addressed to them by the Rapporteur, the representative of the British Empire, the two parties confirmed their replies before the Council at its meeting on June 8th, 1928.

The Rapporteur then reminded the Council of the previous history of the question, mentioning the prolonged and patient efforts made by the Committee of Three, over which he had presided, to secure from the two parties proposals which could form the basis of a friendly agreement between them. The Committee of Three, after the failure of its efforts, then presented to the Council a report based on the opinion of eminent jurists in attendance on the Council, and recommended that the two parties should be asked to proceed in conformity with the juridical principles enunciated by those jurists. This proposal was accepted by Roumania but refused by Hungary.

The Council then confined itself to a general approval of the principles laid down by the jurists and recommended the two parties to take them as a basis on which they might negotiate a compromise settlement. This renewed attempt at conciliation failed because Hungary declared herself unable to enter into a discussion on this basis and Roumania was not prepared for discussion on any other basis.

This was the position in March 1928, when the British representative, not without great hesitation, made a further proposal to the Council.<sup>1</sup>

From the statements made by the two parties it appeared that the position had not altered : Hungary maintained her objection to the solution suggested by the Council in September 1927, and Roumania maintained her objection to the proposal made in March 1928. Neither proposal could be imposed on either party against its will.

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<sup>1</sup> See General Report to the Assembly, Annex 2, page 232.

The Rapporteur then expressed the opinion that, as the Council had declined to enforce a sanction on the refusal of Hungary to accept the first proposal, it would not, he presumed, think it proper to proceed to sanctions against Roumania for her refusal of the second proposal, and he proposed to the Council the following draft resolution :

- “ The Council :
- “ Whilst deeply regretting that the parties have hitherto failed to reach agreement on the lines of the Council’s recommendations ;
- “ Without desiring to exclude any other friendly arrangement, remains of opinion that this dispute ought to be settled by the parties upon the basis of the solutions which the Council has recommended to their acceptance ;
- “ Maintains its resolutions of September 19th, 1927, and March 9th, 1928 ;
- “ And urges the Governments of Hungary and Roumania to bring this long dispute to a close by reciprocal concessions. ”

The Roumanian representative stated that he accepted the resolution proposed by the Rapporteur.

The Hungarian representative said that it was difficult for him to take up a position immediately with regard to a proposal which he then heard for the first time. He explained the doubts and objections that came to his mind concerning the acceptance pure and simple of a proposal which left the entire question in abeyance.

After making certain reservations with regard to the first part of the resolution, the Hungarian representative said that he was only too willing to obey the recommendation contained in the last paragraph, if the Council made it possible for Hungary to do so. He considered, however, that the duty of the Council was not fulfilled. If, as he feared, all the resources of conciliation were exhausted, there still remained to be done what had been laid down in Article 239 of the Treaty of Trianon, namely, for the Council to appoint two persons belonging to neutral countries, one of whom would be chosen as a substitute judge, to enable the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal to function.

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and unanimously adopted by the Council. The Hungarian representative abstained from voting.

The Roumanian representative then read a proposal which the Roumanian Government intended to put before the Hungarian Government.

According to this proposal, “ which forms an indivisible whole ”, as soon as the Hungarian Government had notified the Roumanian Government of its acceptance, the two Governments would ask the Council to appoint one of its members from among those who had been specially interested in this question, who, on the basis of the recommendations of the Council of July 5th, 1923, September 17th, 1927, and March 9th, 1928, would enquire whether, within the limits of the Roumanian Agrarian Law for Transylvania, any liquidations prohibited by Article 250 of the Treaty of Trianon had in fact occurred, and who would fix, if necessary, *ex æquo et bono*, the amount of compensation due to those nationals whose requests had been recognised as well-founded on the basis indicated above.

The possible sums to be allotted to certain of the claimants would be paid to them by the Hungarian Government, and the deduction of those sums would be made from the reparations due to Roumania under the Treaty of Trianon.

The Hungarian representative stated that he could not give a definite and detailed reply to a proposal which would be made to his Government, and which he had no instructions to accept or refuse. Nevertheless, he would like to point out certain difficulties which it might encounter. He believed that the opposition of his Government to a proposal which connected the question of reparations with the financial obligations that might be imposed, as a result of the award, upon Roumania would be insurmountable.

The Hungarian representative then explained the reasons why he had abstained from voting when the Rapporteur’s proposal was put to the Council. These, he stated were as follows :

“ The proposal in itself, subject to the reservations and explanations which I have made, does not contain anything which is contrary to my principles or ideas. I did not vote for it, however, because I did not wish to be a party to the supposition that this proposal constitutes for the Council a final solution of the difficulty. The attitude which I feel bound to take up in this question could not be expressed by a mere negative or affirmative. In any case, negotiations with a view to a friendly understanding are about to be undertaken. The Council has been informed of them. Naturally, the positive or negative result of this effort will also be brought to the knowledge of the Council. Should the result be negative, I must state in advance that I shall maintain before the Council, to its full extent, my request that the neutral persons shall be appointed from whom the substitute judge may be chosen. ”

The President of the Council stated that, since the resolution submitted by the Rapporteur had been adopted, the question of the Hungarian optants was now closed as far as the Council was concerned. He thought he would be interpreting the feelings of all the members of the Council in welcoming the new conciliation proceedings that were to begin between the two countries.

In a letter dated June 9th, the Hungarian representative informed the President of the Council that the declaration made by the latter at the meeting on June 8th, at the end of

the debate on the question of the Hungarian optants, might lead to misunderstanding. The Hungarian representative had stated that the Council's decision would only take the question out of its hands provided that an agreement were successfully reached between the parties independently of the Council, or provided that the substitute judges were appointed. He had therefore stated that he reserved for his Government the right to bring up again its request with regard to these appointments should the negotiations not succeed. It was in this sense that the President's words were to be interpreted, in conformity both with the Council resolution itself and with the letter and the spirit of the Covenant and the Treaty of Trianon.

The Hungarian representative requested the President to be good enough to communicate this statement to the Members of the Council.

Having noted the Hungarian representative's letter the Roumanian representative sent to the President of the Council, on June 10th, a letter in which he stated that he desired to point out not merely that the declarations contained in Count Apponyi's letter were contradicted by the report, by the resolution passed on June 8th and by the whole discussion in the Council on that occasion, and could not in any way alter the Council's decision to regard the question as closed so far as it was concerned, but also that these unilateral declarations had already appeared in the Minutes.

The Roumanian representative added that :

“ These unilateral declarations made by Count Apponyi led immediately to the reply from the President, whose statement did not give rise to the least objection or observation on the part of any member of the Council. ”

The President of the Council acknowledged the receipt of the letters from the Hungarian and Roumanian representatives and communicated them to the Members of the Council.

## II. REQUEST OF THE LITHUANIAN GOVERNMENT DATED OCTOBER 15TH, 1927, SUBMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 11 OF THE COVENANT; REQUEST DATED OCTOBER 26TH, 1927, WITH REGARD TO THE EXPULSION OF ELEVEN POLISH NATIONALS ON LITHUANIAN TERRITORY.

At its March session, the Council decided to place this question on the agenda of its June session and instructed the Netherlands representative, as Rapporteur, to submit to it a report on the progress of negotiations between the Polish and Lithuanian Governments, and on the official communications made by the two parties.

At the meeting on June 6th, 1928, the Rapporteur informed the Council that, in letters dated May 21st and June 3rd, the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs had forwarded to him additional documents referring to the Polish-Lithuanian Conference at Königsberg (see documents C.279.1928.VII and C.285.1928.VII).

The Rapporteur added :

“ Although the Council can feel gratified at finding that the two countries have followed its recommendations and opened direct negotiations, I have unfortunately to state that these negotiations, recognised by the Council as indispensable for the establishment between the two countries of the ‘good understanding upon which peace depends’, have not yet succeeded, and that they are being protracted without any appreciable progress being made.

“ With regard to the return to Poland of the persons expelled last October, I was entrusted with the task of helping to settle any difficulties which might arise.

“ I am glad to be able to inform the Council that the four ecclesiastics among the eleven expelled persons have taken advantage of the arrangements made by the Polish Government for the return of those expelled and have been able to go back to Poland without meeting with any difficulties. The Council will doubtless note with appreciation this gesture of the Polish Government and will thank it for the goodwill it has shown in carrying out the Council's recommendations.

“ I am sure that, when the other expelled persons wish to return to Poland, the Polish authorities will raise no difficulties with regard to their admission.

“ The resolution of December 10th last marks a starting-point in the League's work for peace and concord in this part of the world. The Council, conscious of the practical difficulties which have to be overcome in accomplishing this work, for that reason considers it to be its duty to state that, when declaring in its December resolution that that resolution in no way affected questions on which the two Governments had differences of opinion, it did not mean to say that one of the parties was free to take any measure likely to prejudice the progress of the negotiations, for the party which takes such measures is putting itself in the wrong not only at the Council table but in the eyes of international opinion. ”

After the Council had heard the statements of the representatives of both Governments, the President of the Council submitted to his colleagues the following draft resolution :

“ The Council :

“ Notes the information contained in the report of the representative of the Netherlands, approves the conclusions of the report and,

“ Considering that, for the negotiations between Poland and Lithuania to have the successful results indicated in its resolution of December 10th, 1927, it is important that these negotiations should, before the next session of the Council, have made appreciable progress,

“ Asks the representative of the Netherlands to submit a report at its next session in order that the Council may, if necessary, take up the question again. ”

The Lithuanian representative raised certain objections to this text and at the next meeting submitted to the Council an amended draft resolution reading as follows :

“ The Council :

“ Having heard the statement of His Excellency M. Beelaerts van Blokland, who was invited to submit a report on the information which had been received officially from the Polish and Lithuanian Governments since the December session of the Council, and the discussions which followed on that report, takes note of the report and those discussions ; and,

“ Considering that the putting into effect of its resolution of December 10th last would greatly contribute to the maintenance of peace in Eastern Europe,

“ Expresses the hope that every part of that resolution will be carried out to the full extent and as shortly as possible. ”

The two draft resolutions were successively put to the vote, the counter-proposal submitted by the Lithuanian representative being rejected unanimously except for his own vote. All the members of the Council voted in favour of the President's proposal except the Lithuanian representative, who voted against it.

The representative of the British Empire then proposed a third draft resolution, calling the attention of his colleagues to the fact that this resolution required only a majority vote for its adoption. The text was as follows :

“ The Council decides to place the question of the relations between Poland and Lithuania on the agenda of the next session of the Council, and requests its Rapporteur to present it with a report on the state of the negotiations on that date. ”

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

### III. REQUEST BY THE ALBANIAN GOVERNMENT, UNDER ARTICLE 11 OF THE COVENANT, CONCERNING THE QUESTIONS OF THE PROPERTIES OF ALBANIANS IN GREECE AND OF THE ALBANIAN MINORITY IN GREECE.

This question was examined by the Council at its June session. The representative of the Albanian Government defined the point of view of his Government, which had been developed earlier in document C.200, dated May 9th, 1928, to the effect, in particular, that Albanian nationals owning real estate in Greece were dispossessed without reasonable compensation, and stated that direct negotiations had led to no satisfactory settlement. The Albanian representative complained also of the treatment of the Albanian minority in Greece in regard to property rights as well as civil and educational rights.

The representative of the Greek Government contested the legitimacy of bringing these matters before the Council under Article 11 of the Covenant. He did not admit that any circumstances existed which might threaten the good relations between the two countries. On the question of the properties of Albanian nationals in Greece, direct negotiations were proceeding at the time that the Albanian Government sent its communication to the League. With regard to the question of the Albanian minority in Greece, he submitted that a regular procedure existed for the examination of such complaints, and that some of the complaints had been, and others still were, before the competent Committee of the Council.

The representative of Poland, as Rapporteur, assisted by the representatives of the British Empire and Japan, subsequently presented a report to the Council. In this report the view was expressed that, in regard to the question of the properties of Albanian nationals in Greece, direct negotiations, conducted in a spirit of conciliation, between the parties would seem to constitute the most suitable means of reaching an agreement. As regards the question of the Albanian minority in Greece the report stated :

“ We are unanimous in considering that the system of the protection of minorities instituted by the Treaties, while having as its principal object the protection of the



minority itself, is also intended not only to prevent that questions concerning the protection of minorities should acquire the character of a dispute between nations, but to ensure that States with a minority within their borders should be protected from the danger of interference by other Powers in their internal affairs.

“ The authors of the Minorities Treaties had this danger clearly in view. They gave to members of the Council the right to call the Council’s attention to any infraction or any danger of infraction of the provisions of the Minorities Treaties.

“ This, however, does not prevent, under the rules in force, a State not represented on the Council from presenting a petition on the subject of the treatment of a minority.

“ The protection of minorities is an international affair, but one of the essential objects of the system established by the Treaties and of the procedure laid down by the Council is that, whilst bearing this international character, a case of the protection of minorities should not become a dispute between neighbouring States. Once the matter is before the Council, it becomes an affair between the Council and the State to which the minority belongs nationally, not a question between that State and the State with which the minority is racially connected.

“ One of the main objects of the system of the protection of minorities would be frustrated and an important purpose of the Minorities Treaties themselves would be defeated if the Council consented to accept as normal an appeal based on Article 11 in lieu of the minority procedure.

“ Article 11 should only be invoked in grave cases which produce a feeling that facts exist which might effectively menace the maintenance of peace between the nations. In normal cases, on the other hand, an appeal to Article 11 would create the very dangers which the Minorities Treaties were intended to avert.

“ For the reasons given above, it would seem that the Council should abstain from taking into consideration the question raised by the Albanian Government concerning the situation of the Albanian minority in Greece. It should also be pointed out that some of the complaints which have been made are at present in course of being examined under the ordinary procedure as the result of petitions addressed to the League of Nations.”

The report was unanimously adopted by the Council, and the Greek and Albanian representatives undertook to recommend to their respective Governments that direct negotiations should be resumed on the subject of the properties of Albanian nationals in Greece.

#### IV. THIRD REPORT OF THE STRAITS COMMISSION ADDRESSED TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TERMS OF ARTICLE 15 OF THE STRAITS CONVENTION OF JULY 24TH, 1923.

As in previous years, the Council, at its June session, noted the report of the Straits Commission on its work during 1927.

This report is divided into two parts: the first part deals with the work of the Commission in 1927; the second contains the whole of the regulations applicable to maritime and air navigation as on January 1st, 1928. These regulations are based either on the provisions of the Straits Convention or on the Turkish regulations in force.

At its meeting on June 5th, 1928, the Council authorised the Secretary-General to send future reports of the Commission not only to the Members of the Council and Powers signatory to the Convention but also to the States Members of the League and to any technical organisation of the League which might be interested in the reports.

It also decided that the Commission’s report should not be included in the Council’s agenda unless one of the Governments to which it had been communicated wished to raise a question in regard thereto.

#### V. INCIDENTS BETWEEN THE JAPANESE TROOPS AND THE CHINESE TROOPS AT TSINAN-FU.

On May 27th, 1928, the Japanese representative on the Council communicated to the Secretary-General, for the information of the Members of the League of Nations, a declaration by his Government containing a statement of the facts and circumstances which, at the beginning of May, provoked certain incidents between the Japanese troops and the Chinese troops at Tsinan-Fu.

The Japanese Government’s declaration gives a detailed statement of the incidents and the circumstances in which they occurred. It emphasises that the despatch of Japanese troops to Tsinan-fu was a measure of self-protection rendered unavoidable by the state of affairs, that it implied nothing approaching interference with the military operations of the Chinese Northern or Southern armies, and that the Japanese Government would withdraw its troops as soon as the necessity for their continued presence ceased to exist, as announced at the time they were despatched. It was to be sincerely regretted that the outrages committed by the Chinese soldiers should have compelled the Japanese troops to resort to force for the protection of Japanese residents.

The Secretary-General had already received a telegram from Nanking, on the same subject, from M. Tan Yen-kai, President of the Nationalist Government of the Chinese Republic. This telegram drew attention to the grave situation caused by the despatch of a considerable number of Japanese troops to the province of Shantung and by the incidents which had occurred at Tsinan, the capital of that province. This telegram had been immediately communicated, for information, to all the Members of the Council, including the Chinese representative, and the Secretary-General had informed M. Tan Yen-kai by telegram that this had been done.

## VI. COMMUNICATION BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OF ITS NOTES REPLYING TO THE UNITED STATES PROPOSALS FOR A TREATY FOR THE RENUNCIATION OF WAR AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY.

On August 4th, 1928, the British Government transmitted to the Secretary-General, for communication to the Members of the League, copies of two notes addressed to the United States Ambassador and the United States Chargé d'Affaires in London on May 19th and July 18th last, replying to the United States proposals for a treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy.

In its letter to the Secretary-General, the British Government states that, in considering the United States proposals, it has been at great pains, in view of the provisions of Article 20 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to assure itself that its acceptance would not involve any inconsistency with the obligations resulting from the Covenant. It points out that, as appears from its notes of May 19th and July 18th, it is satisfied that signature of the proposed treaty will not involve any conflict with the obligations resulting from membership of the League.

The British Government transmitted this communication because the question of the compatibility of the proposed treaty with the Covenant of the League of Nations is evidently one of general interest to all the Members of the League.

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## 6.

### ADMINISTRATIVE QUESTIONS.

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#### I. TERRITORY OF THE SAAR BASIN.

In accordance with the arrangement approved by the Council on May 17th, 1920, the Governing Commission has sent the League of Nations its thirty-fourth periodical report, for the second quarter of 1928.

Certain questions dealt with in this report are mentioned below.

##### 1. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION.

The procedure in connection with the allotment of quotas of goods, as provided for in the Franco-German Arrangement of February 23rd, 1928, concerning commercial exchanges was completed during the second quarter of 1928, and the lists were drawn up. The provisional allotment made by the Governing Commission, after consulting the organisations concerned, was communicated to the interested parties, who were allowed a certain time in which to appeal. The appeals were heard by a special Committee, consisting of the President of the Court of First Instance of Saarbruck and two foreign jurists of Swiss and Dutch nationality. The definite scheme of allotment for the first half of 1928 was published on June 30th, 1928. Under a provisional arrangement with the French Customs authorities, the future beneficiaries had already enjoyed facilities which had been granted them a considerable time before this list was published. No inconvenience had thereby been caused. The scheme of provisional allotment for the second half of 1928 has also been drawn up. The Governing Commission stated that some of the facilities resulting from the granting of the quotas had been rendered nugatory owing to the entry into force on April 15th, 1928, of the most-favoured-nation clause, in application of the Franco-German Commercial Treaty of August 1927, the provisions of which extend to the Saar Territory.

The Governing Commission has furnished certain statistics with regard to the production of steel, coal and coke in the Saar, the cost of living, prices, unemployment and bankruptcies declared.

The improvement in the labour market which was noted at the end of March 1928 has continued. Towards the middle of June the number of unemployed was only 2,805, as compared with 4,125 on April 4th last. A further thousand miners were dismissed. Owing to holidays, no short time was necessary. The number of persons in receipt of relief was, in March 1928, 4,199, and in May 1928, 2,585.

In March 1928, the Governing Commission decided to make use of the unemployed to carry out Government work or work for which subsidies are granted. The total number of unemployed who have been given work in the services of the Department of Public Works (railways included), or under their supervision, is at present 1,533.

As regards social insurance, further negotiations relating to mining accident insurance took place in April 1928 at Berlin between the Saar Insurance Institutes and the German Institutes. An agreement was reached between the accident, invalidity and employees' insurance institutions and the mining insurance funds concerned, and on May 30th, 1928, the Governing Commission adopted the relevant proposals. On the other hand, negotiations between the Governing Commission and the French Government relating to the question of reciprocity in regard to social insurance have not yet been completed.

## 2. POLITICAL SITUATION.

In its report, the Governing Commission states that, during 1927, its attention was drawn to the fact that considerable sums of money were being distributed in the Saar by the trade unions, not only to their own members but also to non-unionists. It was suggested by certain newspapers and speakers that the funds had been placed at the disposal of the trade unions by the German Government.

As some of the beneficiaries were dissatisfied with the manner in which the sums had been distributed, an explanation was furnished in August 1927 by a trade-union secretary. According to Press accounts of his speech, he appeared to attribute to these payments a significance which seemed to make them inadmissible in a plebiscite territory like the Saar.

The Governing Commission considered that it could not overlook such a large-scale distribution of funds, made without its knowledge in the Territory which it is its duty to govern, more especially as it was rumoured that the distribution was approved by the Commission. On October 13th, 1927, it asked the German Government whether it was the case that the latter had made the distributions in question in the Saar. In a note dated May 4th, 1928, addressed to the Governing Commission, the German Government stated that it was obliged, when the fall in the French franc occurred, to grant relief to the workmen residing in the frontier districts on German territory but employed in the Saar ("Saargänger").

At the beginning of 1927, the German Government attempted to discontinue these relief measures, but encountered serious difficulties. At this time, the Saar trade unions, through organisations in Berlin to which they are affiliated, requested the German Government to assist the general body of Saar workmen, who had been placed in a difficult position by a reduction in wages and, in the case of the miners, by a great deal of short time. The German Government was of opinion that, as the cost of living was now practically the same on both sides of the frontier, the ordinary workmen would not understand, and would even be embittered by the action of the Government in giving assistance only to workmen in the Saar who were resident in German territory. Moreover, as the question then stood, the only way to discontinue the measures of relief to the "Saargänger" appeared to be to meet the wishes of the workmen.

The German Government accordingly placed a single, but larger, sum at the disposal of all the Saar workmen at the end of May 1927 and, at the same time, discontinued the relief to the "Saargänger". The German Government states that it had no intention of interfering in the affairs of the Governing Commission. It intended to do in this sphere everything which it was permissible for it to do, that is to say, the money was not allocated to the Saar trade unions but was handed over to the central union committees in Berlin, on the understanding that the funds distributed were to appear merely as aid rendered by trade-union organisations. In the German Government's opinion, a purely charitable action should not be subjected to rules of purely formal competence. The German Government adds that the measures in question were not carried out entirely in the manner contemplated, and were, moreover, interpreted in a manner absolutely contrary to its intentions.

The Governing Commission stated in its report that it wished to bring this correspondence to the knowledge of the Council of the League of Nations, as it considered that the payments in question were abnormal and did not appear to be justified by the circumstances invoked in the German note of May 4th, 1928. It emphasised in particular the German Government's statement to the effect that the various declarations which had been made were absolutely contrary to its intentions. M. Kossmann, the Saar member of the Governing Commission, stated that he could not see that this relief action was in any way inconsistent with the situation established in the Saar Territory by the Peace Treaty. In his opinion, the German Government's object in granting this relief was a purely charitable one, as was shown by the circumstances which gave rise to this action.

### 3. ADMINISTRATIVE WORK.

As regards education, the report refers to the scholarships granted by the Education Department to teachers desirous of attending the summer holiday courses organised at Geneva. The number of applications received shows that increasing interest is being taken in these questions, especially in that of practical instruction concerning the League.

The periodical report also contains detailed information regarding various administrative questions such as finance, mines administration, public works, justice, public relief, hygiene, agriculture and forests.

## II. FREE CITY OF DANZIG.

The High Commissioner has informed the Secretary-General of the conclusion by direct negotiation of a certain number of agreements between the Free City of Danzig and Poland dealing with Polish workmen employed by the Harbour Board, railway tariffs, the Westerplatte and access to and anchorage in the port of Danzig for Polish war-vessels. The agreements concerning these last two questions will be submitted to the Council at its next session.

## III. MIXED GRECO-BULGARIAN EMIGRATION COMMISSION.

On March 10th, 1928, the Council urged the Bulgarian and Greek Governments to ratify, as soon as possible, the Agreement concluded between those two countries on December 9th, 1927, on the procedure to be followed in regard to the compensation payable to exchanged populations and the settlement of the debts of both Governments under this heading.

In its report submitted to the Council at its session in June 1928, the Financial Committee stated that the President of the Mixed Commission had informed it that there was a considerable improvement in the situation. The Agreement of December 9th, 1927, had been approved by the Bulgarian Parliament, but the Greek Government had not yet obtained its ratification. A draft Bill had, however, been deposited with the Chamber and submitted to the competent Parliamentary Committees. The Financial Committee considers that the position will not be completely satisfactory until Greece has ratified the Agreement and, on its recommendation, the Council on June 8th, 1928, again expressed the hope that the Greco-Bulgarian Agreement would be ratified by Greece as soon as possible.

## IV. MIXED COMMISSION FOR THE EXCHANGE OF GREEK AND TURKISH POPULATIONS.

### 1. RESIGNATION OF M. WIDDING ; APPOINTMENT OF M. RIVAS VICUÑA.

In March 1928, the President of the Mixed Commission informed the Council that, as M. Widding (Danish) had been appointed a member of the Memel Harbour Board, he had resigned his position as a neutral member of the Mixed Commission. The Greek Government requested the Council to place the question of M. Widding's resignation on its agenda, and the Turkish Government requested the Council to appoint a successor to M. Widding. On June 4th, 1928, the Council appointed M. Rivas Vicuña (Chilian), a member of the Mixed Commission, on the same terms as M. Widding.

### 2. REQUEST FOR AN ADVISORY OPINION FROM THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

In a letter to the Secretary-General dated February 4th, 1928, the President of the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations referred to a report to the Council by Viscount Ishii dated October 31st, 1924, and requested, on the basis of that report, an advisory opinion from the Permanent Court of International Justice on the interpretation to be given to Article IV of the Final Protocol annexed to the Greco-Turkish Agreement concluded at Athens on December 1st, 1926, the execution of which had been entrusted by the two Governments to the Mixed Commission.

On June 5th, 1928, the Council after ascertaining that the two Governments agreed to submit the matter to the Court, requested the Permanent Court of International Justice to give an advisory opinion on the question raised in the letter dated February 4th, 1928, from the President of the Mixed Commission. The Court gave its opinion on August 28th, 1928.

7.

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.

I. MINORITIES IN UPPER SILESIA.

1. APPEALS ADDRESSED TO THE COUNCIL, UNDER ARTICLES 149 AND 157 OF THE GERMANO-POLISH CONVENTION OF MAY 15TH, 1922, RELATING TO UPPER SILESIA, IN THE MATTER OF THE PRIMARY MINORITY SCHOOLS AT BIERTULTOWY, STARA-WIES AND GIERALTOWICE (POLISH UPPER SILESIA) (see document A.6.1928, page 44).

At its forty-ninth session, held in March 1928, the Council examined a petition relating to the establishment of a primary minority school at Biertultowy, in Polish Upper Silesia, and addressed directly to the Council by the Deutscher Volksbund of Polish Upper Silesia under Article 147 of the Germano-Polish Convention relating to Upper Silesia, signed at Geneva on May 15th, 1922. The Council then decided to postpone the examination of this question until the Permanent Court of International Justice had given its judgment in the proceedings instituted by a request of the German Government regarding the interpretation of certain clauses of the Geneva Convention which appeared to be applicable to the concrete case submitted to the Council.

This case, as well as those relating to the establishment of primary minority schools at Stara-Wies and Gieraltowice, had also been the subject of appeals lodged by the Deutscher Volksbund under Articles 149 and 157 of the Geneva Convention. On May 21st, 1928, the Polish Government forwarded these three appeals to the Council and, the Permanent Court having given the judgment mentioned above on April 26th, 1928, these appeals were placed on the agenda of the fiftieth session of the Council, held in June 1928.

In a preliminary report submitted to the Council on June 5th, the Rapporteur, the representative of Colombia, set out the facts which had given rise to the appeal in the Biertultowy case. It appears from this report that, of 77 children whose admission to the minority school was applied for, the entries of 62 were rejected on the ground that the children did not belong to the minority. The Rapporteur, after pointing out that this question was closely related to those on which the Permanent Court of International Justice had pronounced in its judgment of April 26th, 1928, confined himself, in view of the seriousness of the question and the importance of the resolution to be adopted by the Council, to suggesting that he should invite two other members of the Council to assist him in the preparation of the final report. He proposed, at the same time, that the resolution to be adopted in the Biertultowy case should also be applicable to the schools of Stara-Wies and Gieraltowice.

The Committee appointed as a result of this suggestion was composed of the Rapporteur and the representatives of Italy and the Netherlands. It presented its report to the Council on June 9th, 1928. This report contained the following resolution, which was adopted by the Council at the same meeting :

“ I.

“ The Council decides that, in future, declarations concerning the language spoken by the children, made by the persons responsible for their education, in conformity with Articles 106 and 131 of the Convention of May 15th, 1922, relating to Upper Silesia, should be governed by the three following principles :

“ (1) Any person making a request, either for the establishment of a minority school or for the entry of a child into an already-existing school, must declare, according to his conscience and on his personal responsibility, what is the language of the child for whose education he is legally responsible ; this declaration must set out what its author regards as the true position in regard to the point in question. It should, however, be understood that this right freely to declare what is the language of a child, though comprising, when necessary, the exercise of some discretion in the appreciation of circumstances does not constitute an unrestricted right to choose the language in which instruction is to be imparted, or the corresponding school.

“ (2) The Polish Government is justified in not admitting to the minority schools children whose language, according to the declaration of the persons responsible, is only Polish, or for whom there is no declaration concerning the child's language.

“ (3) The declarations concerning the language of children made by persons responsible for the education of these children may not be made subject to any verification, dispute, pressure or hindrance whatever on the part of the Polish authorities.

“ II.

“ The Council invites the Polish Government to inform the persons who have made the 62 declarations that have not been admitted because, according to the Polish Government's statement, the children concerned did not belong to the minority, that these persons may submit new requests for the establishment of the minority school at Biertuktowy. The three principles laid down above should apply to the new declarations, concerning the language of the children, which accompany the request for the establishment of the school.

“ III.

“ The Council would point out that the difficulties which have arisen in this matter (difficulties common to several questions latterly considered by the Council) are due to the fact that many persons responsible for the education of children who do not speak the language of the minority have, nevertheless, requested that these children be admitted as pupils in minority schools. In this connection, the Council would refer to the opinion expressed in its resolution of March 12th, 1927, to the effect that it is not desirable to admit into minority schools children who only speak Polish. The Council is confident that, once the Polish Government has prepared the forms for the oral or written declarations regarding the language of the children in such a way as to avoid all possible misunderstanding with regard to the objective nature of these declarations — as demonstrated in paragraph (1) above — difficulties of the kind which have hitherto arisen will no longer occur; also that the normal working of the minority schools from a scholastic point of view, which is the particular responsibility of the Polish authorities, will thus be ensured.

“ IV.

“ The Council is also called upon to consider two other appeals from the Deutscher Volksbund concerning the closing of minority schools at Stara-Wies and Gieraltowice respectively (see documents C.231.1928.I and C.229.1928.I). The establishment of the school at Stara-Wies was requested for 52 children by the persons responsible for their education; according to the Government, in the case of 22 of these children, the persons responsible for their education declared that the ‘language for imparting instruction’ of these children was Polish. As regards the school at Gieraltowice, the same declaration was made, according to the Government, for 38 children out of the 44 for whom the establishment of the school was requested.

“ The Council decides that the present resolution also applies to the question of the schools at Stara-Wies and Gieraltowice. ”

Whilst accepting the report, the representative of Poland expressed his regret that the Committee of Three had not thought fit to recommend to the Council the application of the expedient already employed, namely, linguistic examinations by a neutral pedagogic expert. He further stated that the Polish Government would in no case admit that, in consequence of declarations not in accordance with the actual facts, the good working of the school from a pedagogic point of view should be rendered impossible.

The representative of Germany drew attention to the fact that the decision of the Permanent Court recognised, without any restriction, the principle — also admitted by the representative of Poland — that Article 131 of the Geneva Convention implies that the Polish school authorities are not at liberty to verify or dispute the declarations made in order to obtain entry into minority schools.

2. PETITIONS ADDRESSED TO THE COUNCIL UNDER ARTICLE 147 OF THE GERMANO-POLISH CONVENTION OF MAY 15TH, 1922, RELATING TO UPPER SILESIA.

(a) *Petition from the Deutscher Volksbund of Polish Upper Silesia regarding the Establishment of a Primary German Minority School at Brzezinka.*

This petition, presented on April 26th, 1928, complained that the German minority school which in October 1925 was to have been opened in the commune of Brzezinka had been located at Morgi — one of the three villages which compose this commune — where actually none of the children destined to attend this school were living. The children, of whom the greater number lived in Brzezinka and the remainder in the other village of the commune, Larysz, were therefore obliged to spend two hours a day on the way to and from the village of Morgi, where the school had been opened. As a result of this difficulty, the parents refused to send their children to Morgi, and, owing to insufficient attendance, the Polish authorities suppressed the school in virtue of Article 108, Section 1, paragraph 2, of the Geneva Convention.

In examining this question, the Council had at its disposal certain observations of the Polish Government contained in a note dated May 21st, 1928, and an opinion given by the President of the Upper Silesian Mixed Commission on December 14th, 1927. Taking into account the various elements of the question, the Rapporteur, the representative

of Colombia, reached the following conclusions, which were approved by the Council at its meeting on June 8th, 1928 :

..... 3. . . . .

“ I am sure that the Council will agree in considering that the reason for which the children failed to attend the minority school was that this school was located in the village of Morgi, instead of in that of Brzezinka, where the majority of the children for whom the school was established are living. On this point the Council will doubtless share the fears expressed by the President of the Mixed Commission in his opinion regarding the hardship caused to children from 6 to 10 years of age by their being forced to spend two hours a day in going to and coming from school. Strictly speaking, the question with which the Council has to deal is purely one of fact, namely, whether it is materially possible to install the minority school in the school-buildings at Brzezinka. The Council cannot examine in detail the different suggestions put forward on this point by the President of the Mixed Commission in his opinion, or the objections raised by the Polish Government. I would nevertheless propose that the Council should express its desire that the Polish Government will find it possible to reopen the minority school under conditions that will avoid any further fear of the drawbacks which have given rise to the present question and that will at the same time in no way interfere with the normal operation of the Polish school.”

(b) *Petition from the Deutscher Volksbund of Polish Upper Silesia regarding the Secondary Minority School at Krolewska Huta.*

This petition, submitted on April 26th, 1928, complained : (1) that the teaching staff of the secondary minority school at Krolewska Huta was constituted in a way which did not take due account of Article 123 of the Geneva Convention, which runs as follows :

“ In public minority schools and classes of the secondary and higher grades, instruction shall only be given as a rule by teachers belonging to the minority and thoroughly acquainted with the minority language ” ;

and (2) that, as regards professional qualifications, the teaching staff did not conform to the requirements of the provisions actually in force for secondary schools.

These two points were examined in detail both in certain observations submitted by the Polish Government in a note dated May 21st, 1928, and in an opinion on this case given on October 10th, 1927, by the President of the Mixed Commission for Upper Silesia. As regards the first of these points, the Polish Government was unable to accept the opinion of the President of the Mixed Commission that the appointment of three of the teachers should be regarded as contrary to the provisions of Article 123 of the Convention, since that article allowed exceptions to the rule that teachers in minority schools should belong to the minority and be thoroughly acquainted with the minority language. As regards the second point, the Polish Government was unable to admit the contention of the President of the Mixed Commission that the teaching staff of the Krolewska Huta secondary school should conform to the Prussian regulations of August 18th, 1908. The Government was of opinion that the Polish Laws of September 26th, 1922, and July 16th, 1924, should also be taken into consideration.

The conclusions reached by the Rapporteur in this case were submitted to the Council in a report presented on June 9th, 1928. These conclusions, which were adopted by the Council, were as follows :

“ 1. It follows, in my opinion, from the statement I have just read, that Article 123 of the Geneva Convention, to which the Polish Government refers in its observations, and the President of the Mixed Commission in his opinion, does not exclude exceptions to the rule that, in public minority schools and classes of the secondary and higher grades, instruction shall only be given by teachers belonging to the minority, and thoroughly acquainted with the minority language. The Convention contains no precise provision which would allow a decision to be reached as to the exceptions that may be admitted to this rule ; but it is evident that, in allowing these exceptions, due regard should be paid to the spirit of the minority provisions of the Convention, and in particular of Articles 123 and 124.

“ The Council is not in a position, in my opinion, to decide in what measure the exceptions in the case of the secondary minority school at Krolewska Huta are justified, but on this point it relies with complete confidence on the discretion of the Polish Government.

“ 2. The articles of the Convention relating to the protection of minorities do not contain, in my opinion, any stipulations which would enable the Council to take a decision regarding the legal provisions on which the composition of the teaching staff of the Krolewska Huta secondary school should be based.

“ In these circumstances, I have the honour to propose that the Council should refrain from taking any action in this matter. ”

The German representative, whilst accepting the report, expressed the opinion that, in so far as the Convention itself contained provisions on secondary education, among which is also Article 117, the Council would be entitled to consider the application of these latter provisions.

The representative of Poland was unable to share this view of the representative of Germany, and associated himself entirely with the conclusions of the Rapporteur.

(c) *Petition from the Deutscher Volksbund of Polish Upper Silesia regarding the Use of the German Language together with the Official Language in the Registers and other Documents of the Minority Schools.*

This petition, dated April 26th, 1928, complained that, in virtue of certain instructions given by the Polish authorities, all accounts, school registers, nominal rolls and other forms used in the public minority schools must be kept exclusively in Polish. Thus, even teachers belonging to the minority, and imperfectly acquainted with the Polish language, were obliged to make these entries in Polish. The petition asked that the headings and letterpress in registers and other forms concerning school management in minority schools should be accompanied by a text in German, and that teachers in such schools should be entitled to make the necessary entries and statements in the German language.

In considering this case, the Council had before it certain observations of the Polish Government submitted in a note dated May 21st, 1928, and an opinion given by the President of the Mixed Commission for Upper Silesia on October 10th, 1927. It appeared from the Government's observations and from the opinion of the President of the Mixed Commission that the Geneva Convention contained no provisions expressly relating to the matter raised by the petition. The President of the Mixed Commission, however, basing his opinion on practical considerations and on the analogy of certain articles of the Convention, had concluded that the request of the petitioner should be granted. The Polish Government was unable to agree with this opinion, holding the view that, since the Convention itself contained no clear stipulations on this point, it was inadmissible that obligations should be laid on the Polish Government by way of a mere interpretation.

The conclusions of the Rapporteur on this case were submitted to and adopted by the Council at its meeting held on June 9th, 1928. These conclusions were as follows :

“ As the President of the Mixed Commission himself points out, there is no provision in the Upper Silesian Convention expressly relating to the question which is before the Council.

“ Cases will doubtless arise in which, in spite of the absence of any precise provision, the Polish Government will find it desirable, acting in a spirit of equity and in the interest of its subjects and its schools, to take measures which have not been provided for in the Convention, since the latter could not foresee all possible practical difficulties that might arise in its application. Since, however, there is no definite provision applicable to the present case, I feel that I should propose that the Council should refrain from taking any action in this matter, and rely upon the goodwill of the Polish Government to find a practical solution of the question. ”

The representative of Poland, in expressing his entire agreement with these conclusions, further stated that the Council might rely upon the complete goodwill of the Polish Government in the matter of the practical measures that might give satisfaction to the German minority in this question.

(d) *Telegram dated April 2nd and Letter dated April 3rd, 1928, from the Silesian Section of the Association of Poles in Germany.*

This petition referred to a number of incidents in German Upper Silesia which, according to the petitioners, indicated the existence of a system of terror and persecution under which the Polish minority in German Upper Silesia was suffering. The Polish minority at Miechowitz (district of Beuthen), at Kempa (district of Oppeln), at Malino (district of Oppeln), at Schoffschütz (district of Rosenberg), at Solornia (district of Ratibor), and at Poppelau (district of Oppeln) were said to have been attacked and insulted. The petition contained details concerning each of these cases, but stated that the most characteristic was that of the aggression committed at Beuthen-Rossberg on March 25th, 1928, against a children's fête organised by the Polish and Catholic Association of Upper Silesian schools of Oppeln.

The observations of the German Government on this case dispute the statement regarding the unfavourable position of the Polish minority and the system of terror alleged to reign in German Upper Silesia. Apart from a general affirmation regarding the satisfactory state of security of the Polish minority in German Upper Silesia, the Government supplied information regarding the concrete instances of aggression set out in the petition. In particular, details were supplied of the sentences inflicted by the Beuthen Court on twenty-three persons implicated in the Beuthen-Rossberg incident. As regards the



other incidents mentioned, the German Government stated that enquiries had been undertaken by the authorities and were still in progress. A communal employee whose name was mentioned in connection with the incidents at Kempa had been dismissed, and a schoolmaster also involved had been transferred to a post outside the plebiscite area. In one case only, dating from May 22nd, 1927, had the enquiry been dropped, since the offender could not be discovered.

The Rapporteur, the representative of Colombia, proposed, and the Council agreed at its meeting of June 8th, 1928, that the Council should take note of the observations forwarded by the German Government, showing that suitable punitive measures had been taken against the parties guilty of the aggression of March 25th at Beuthen-Rossberg, and against two officials implicated in the incidents at Kempa, and that enquiries had been instituted in regard to the other cases mentioned in the petition. The Council expressed its confidence that equally suitable measures would be taken against the guilty persons should the enquiries instituted and now proceeding show such measures to be necessary.

- (e) *Telegram dated May 25th, 1928, from Senator Pant and Deputy Rosumek on behalf of the German Deputies of Polish Upper Silesia, regarding the Position of the German Minority at Godula on the Occasion of the Entry of Children for the Minority School.*

This petition alleged that, on the occasion of the entry of children for the minority school at Godula, in Polish Upper Silesia, acts of violence had been committed against the houses of nine parents and guardians, and a proclamation posted up at fifty or sixty places at Godula containing insults directed against the parents who had entered their children for the minority school. The petition also stated that No. 120 of the *Oberschlesischer Kurier* was seized by the authorities for giving a faithful description of the situation. The Polish Government explained, in its observations, that the houses attacked belonged to nine Polish families who wished to send their children to the minority school. Those responsible for this breach of public order were stated to have been immediately arrested by the police and handed over to the Courts. The proclamations, which gave the names and addresses of Polish parents who were entering their children for the minority school, were at once removed by the police. As regards the newspaper *Oberschlesischer Kurier*, the Government stated that the number seized reported the facts relating to the incidents in a tendentious and inexact manner which was calculated to cause unrest.

On the proposal of the Rapporteur, the representative of Colombia, the Council, on June 8th, 1928, decided to express its confidence that suitable punitive measures would be taken against the responsible persons, and to regard the incident as closed.

- (f) *Petition dated May 19th, 1928, from the Deutscher Volksbund of Polish Upper Silesia concerning the Conditions of Public Security in Polish Upper Silesia.*

On the proposal of the Rapporteur, the representative of Colombia, the examination of this petition, which had arrived very late on the eve of the session, was adjourned to the September session of the Council.

## II. COMPLAINTS OF THE LITHUANIAN GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE TREATMENT OF PERSONS OF LITHUANIAN RACE OR SPEECH IN THE VILNA AREA.

The report called for by the Council resolution of December 10th, 1927 (see document A.6.1928, page 45), having been prepared by the Committee of Three, this question was placed on the agenda of the fiftieth session of the Council. The representative of Lithuania having raised the question of his right to sit on the Council during the consideration of this report, this point was submitted, on the proposal of the President of the Council, to a Committee of three jurists. The jurists reported that in their opinion the representative of Lithuania should have the right to hear and discuss the report when it was examined by the Council. The Council decided to accept this conclusion the exceptional character of which was emphasised by the representatives of Poland, the British Empire and France, but, owing to the absence of the Lithuanian representative, the consideration of the report of the Committee of Three was postponed until the September session.

## III. RECEIVABILITY OF MINORITIES' PETITIONS : QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE LITHUANIAN GOVERNMENT.

On November 14th, 1927, the Secretary-General received a petition dated November 2nd, 1927, signed by twenty-one persons of Ukrainian origin living in Lithuania. The signatories of this petition stated that they were Ukrainians from Kieff who had been living since 1910 and 1912 in the Suwalki district in Lithuania, where they had purchased land. When Lithuania became independent, they stated that they agreed to the request of the local police that they should become Lithuanian citizens, and since then they had considered themselves as such. The Lithuanian Government, however, declared shortly afterwards that they were foreigners, and that the Lithuanian Republic was going to take possession of their land. This was done, in spite of repeated protests of the interested

parties. The petitioners affirmed that Lithuanians who purchased land under the same conditions as themselves met with no difficulties from the Lithuanian Government. They added that the measures of which they complained had been applied to them because they were Ukrainians.

On December 3rd, 1927, the Secretary-General, who considered that this petition fulfilled the conditions of receivability laid down in the Council resolution of September 5th, 1923, concerning minorities petitions, forwarded it to the Lithuanian Government for observations. The Lithuanian Government contested the receivability of the petition, and the Secretary-General, in conformity with the provisions of Section 1, paragraph 2, of the resolution of September 5th, 1923, submitted the question of receivability to the Acting President of the Council. After examining the documents on this question, the President of the Council, who at that time was the representative of Colombia, came to the conclusion that the petition should not be considered as non-receivable for the reasons given by the Lithuanian Government. Having been informed by the Secretary-General of this decision, the Lithuanian Government, in a letter dated April 25th, 1928, relying upon Section 1, paragraph 2, of the resolution of September 5th, 1923, requested the inclusion in the Council agenda of "the question of the receivability of petitions concerning persons resident in a State but not belonging to a minority of race, language or religion".

The Rapporteur, the representative of Colombia, pointed out, in a report submitted to the Council on June 6th, 1928, that the immediate question before the Council was the limited one of deciding whether the petition of November 2nd, 1927, was receivable. He recalled that a decision regarding receivability was purely one of procedure, and in no way prejudged the further consideration of the validity of the complaints in the petition. After recalling the conditions of receivability laid down by the resolution of September 5th, 1923, the Rapporteur stated that the Lithuanian Government's objections seemed to be based on a belief that the first condition of receivability was not satisfied, namely, that the petition did not raise a question of the protection of minorities. He felt obliged once more to express his view that the petition was receivable.

In particular, he found himself unable to agree with the definition of a minority given by the Lithuanian Government, namely, that a minority must (1) belong to the country permanently, that is, by origin; and (2) must be sufficiently numerous to constitute an appreciable percentage of the country's population. He pointed out that, in the Lithuanian declaration of May 1922, which was applicable in this case, the condition of origin was not laid down. The declaration did not distinguish between citizens by origin and persons who had become citizens, for example, by marriage or naturalisation. Further, the declaration laid down no rule regarding the number of those concerned. Minority protection was expressly granted to "all Lithuanian nationals" (Article 4, paragraph 1) and to "any Lithuanian nationals" (Article 4, paragraph 3). It was also stipulated (Article 4, paragraph 2) that "difference of religion, creed or confession will not prejudice any Lithuanian national". Further, when importance was attached in the declaration to the number of the beneficiaries, this was formally stated, as in Articles 6 and 7, which dealt with the allotment of public funds for educational purposes.

The representative of Lithuania gave certain further explanations regarding his Government's point of view. He said that the petitioners, who now alleged that they were Ukrainians, had formerly stated that they were of Russian nationality. The question therefore for him was whether it was possible to change one's nationality as easily as one's religion and convictions, etc. Further, there arose the question of the number of persons necessary to constitute a minority. He was convinced that protection as a minority could not be given to the petitioners, who, according to Lithuanian law, were not Lithuanian citizens; but since the case had given rise to a question of principle, he had no objection to the appointment of a Committee of Jurists to determine what, in the future, should constitute a minority.

After further discussion, in which the Rapporteur and the representatives of Lithuania, Finland, France, Cuba, Italy, and Chile took part, the President recalled that the question before the Council contained two elements. The first was the concrete question of the receivability of the present petition. According to the existing rules, it seemed that the petition was receivable, which implied that it would be referred to a Committee of Three — the President and two members of the Council — who would study the substance of the question. There was the further question of constituting a Committee of Jurists to examine the points of procedure raised by the representative of Lithuania.

On the proposal of the President, the Council thereupon agreed that the petition itself was receivable, and further decided to constitute a Committee of Jurists to examine the concrete points of procedure raised by the representative of Lithuania.

At its meeting on June 9th, 1928, the Council authorised the President to request the representatives of France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Roumania each to appoint a jurist to be a member of this Committee, for which the Secretary-General would appoint a member of the Secretariat to act as secretary. The Council further considered that it would be desirable that the jurists' report should be presented during its session in September 1928.

8.

MANDATES.

I. WORK OF THE THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION.

At its thirteenth session, held at Geneva from June 12th to 29th, 1928, the Permanent Mandates Commission examined, in the presence of the accredited representatives of the mandatory Powers, the following annual reports: New Guinea, 1926-27; Nauru, 1927; Palestine, 1927; Camerouns under French mandate, 1927; Togoland under French mandate, 1927; Tanganyika, 1927; Syria and the Lebanon, 1927.

The Commission also studied the report of the Royal Commission of Enquiry on the events which took place in the Islands of Western Samoa in 1926-27, communicated to it by the New Zealand Government, and other documents concerning the same question. It undertook this examination in the presence of the accredited representative of the New Zealand Government, Sir James Parr, K.C.M.G., High Commissioner of New Zealand in London, and of Major-General Sir George S. Richardson, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., late Administrator of Western Samoa.

The Commission also examined a certain number of petitions, together with the observations or particulars relating thereto forwarded by the mandatory Powers in writing, or communicated verbally by the accredited representatives.

Lastly, the Commission dealt with two questions of a more general character:

1. LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

The Commission noted two memoranda on this subject drawn up by the Secretariat in pursuance of the wish expressed by the Commission at its twelfth session.

It also took cognisance of the Council's resolution of December 6th, 1927, which reads as follows:

"The Council requests the Permanent Mandates Commission, in collaboration with the mandatory Powers, to continue to give serious consideration to the causes of the increased importation of spirituous liquors into those territories under B mandate where such an increase is taking place, and to take steps to remedy this situation."

In pursuance of this resolution, the Commission decided to recommend that the Council should request the mandatory Powers to undertake, as soon as possible, the revision of the memorandum (document C.P.M. 723) drafted by the Secretariat and containing statistics of importation and information concerning Customs tariffs, licences, etc., for each territory under B and C mandates. It also expressed the wish that the mandatory Powers should inform the Commission to which parts of the territories under their mandate Article 4, paragraph 2, of the St. Germain Convention concerning the liquor traffic in Africa had been applied.

2. ECONOMIC EQUALITY: PURCHASE OF SUPPLIES BY ADMINISTRATIONS OF MANDATED TERRITORIES.

At its twelfth session, the Commission had considered a certain number of questions connected with economic equality, such as postal tariffs, various concessions in Iraq, and the purchase of supplies by administrations of mandated territories.

The Commission did not think it advisable to go fully into this question during its thirteenth session, owing to the absence of its Rapporteur on the subject. In order, however, to provide itself in the meantime with the necessary documentation, it decided to recommend the Council to ask the mandatory Powers entrusted with the administration of territories under A and B mandates to furnish information regarding the regulations which had been adopted or were generally followed by them when supplies were purchased by the public authorities of the mandated territories.

3. TREATMENT EXTENDED IN COUNTRIES MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE TO PERSONS BELONGING TO MANDATED TERRITORIES AND TO PRODUCTS AND GOODS COMING THEREFROM.

The Commission considered the position in which nationals of the mandated territories, and products and goods coming therefrom, are placed in certain countries

Members of the League of Nations, as a result of measures adopted by those countries. In particular, it took note of a letter dated May 7th, 1928, from the French Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Liberian Minister in Paris<sup>1</sup>, protesting against certain measures taken by the Liberian Government forbidding foreign traders belonging to countries not bound to the Liberian Republic by any commercial agreement to trade in the hinterland of Liberia, and pointing out the drawbacks entailed by these measures on the Syrians and Lebanese resident in the hinterland of Liberia.

Recalling the Council's resolution of September 15th, 1925, relative to the extension of special international conventions to territories under mandate, and the resolution of the Assembly on the same subject adopted on September 22nd, 1925, the Commission has called the Council's attention to the situation above described, in the hope that it would be possible to arrive at a satisfactory solution without prejudicing the principle of economic equality stipulated in the mandate.

OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMISSION CONCERNING CERTAIN TERRITORIES  
UNDER A, B and C MANDATES.

**Territories under A Mandate.**

1. PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDAN.

The Commission gave its full attention to the difficulties which have been encountered in the efforts to make the Jewish settlement in Palestine economically self-supporting, and which have led to a restriction of Jewish immigration in order to make it proportionate to the economic capacity of the territory. It noted with satisfaction that the profits which resulted from the introduction of a Palestinian currency would accrue to the Palestine Treasury as soon as sufficient reserves had been accumulated by the Currency Board.

The Commission received from the mandatory Power a copy of an agreement between the United Kingdom and Transjordan signed on February 20th, 1928, which recognises the existence of an independent Government in Transjordan and limits its powers. It noted that the accredited representative considered that, in the view of his Government, the Council, by the decision of September 16th, 1922, which implemented Article 25 of the mandate, had approved this step, and also that the mandate would still remain in force after the agreement came into effect.

The Commission recognised that it was in accordance with the spirit of the Covenant and of the mandate for the mandatory Power to further the development of self-government, especially in the territories under A mandate. It expressed the conviction that the Council would take into consideration, especially under Article 27 of the mandate, whether its formal assent was necessary for putting into force the agreement in question. At the same time, since the Commission is charged with the duty of seeing that the mandate is fully and literally carried out, it considered it necessary to point out that, in particular, Article 2 of the Agreement, which reads as follows :

“ The powers of legislation and of administration entrusted to His Britannic Majesty as Mandatory for Palestine shall be exercised in that part of the area under mandate known as Transjordan by His Highness the Amir . . . ”,

did not seem to be compatible with the stipulations of the mandate, Article 1 of which provided that :

“ The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate.”

2. SYRIA AND THE LEBANON.

The Commission noted the difficulties which, as stated in the mandatory Power's report for 1927, had arisen in regard to the final determination of the frontier between the territories under French mandate and Turkey. It thought it advisable to draw the Council's attention to these difficulties, while expressing the hope that a satisfactory solution for this important question would soon be found, in accordance with the treaties.

The Commission learnt with satisfaction that calm prevailed in Syria and the Lebanon and that the High Commissioner had taken measures to ensure a peaceful atmosphere during the preparation for the local elections. It appreciated the liberality of the policy which was being pursued, and hoped that this policy would lead, in the near future, to the adoption of the Organic Law provided for in the mandate.

While recognising that the country must be prepared for the emancipation which was the aim of the mandate by a policy that would gradually accustom it to self-government,

<sup>1</sup> This letter was communicated, at the French Government's request, to the members of the Commission at the same time as to the Council of the League of Nations (letter of May 14th, 1928, document C.230.1928.VI/C.P.M.717). On August 6th, 1928, the Liberian Minister in Paris forwarded to the Secretariat a communication replying to that from the French Government (document C.388.1928.VI/C.P.M.770).

the Commission expressed the hope that, until that moment had arrived, the mandatory Power would retain such a measure of authority as would fully enable it to continue to direct and superintend this evolution and to fulfil all its obligations to the League of Nations.

As regards economic equality, the Commission expressed the desire to receive information on the principles followed in respect of transactions connected with public works, on the conditions under which concessions dating from the Ottoman regime had been renewed or modified, on the question whether the coasting trade was open to vessels of all countries, and on the principles followed in drawing up the official lists of prices (*mercuriales*) used for assessing values for *ad valorem* duties.

Lastly, it expressed the hope that it would be possible to make more rapid progress in the sphere of labour legislation, particularly as regards the inspection and protection of the labour of women and children.

### Territories under B Mandate.

#### 1. TOGOLAND AND THE CAMEROONS UNDER FRENCH MANDATE.

The Commission noted the information furnished by the accredited representative concerning grants made by the mandated territories to institutions in the home country and certain international organisations. It expressed the conviction that, in fixing the amount and the objects for which such grants were made, the mandatory Power would always see that the charges under this head were in fair proportion to the direct and indirect benefits which these territories might derive from the said institutions. As regards education, the Commission expressed the desire to know the approximate number of children of school age and the average percentage of school attendance in the two territories.

Furthermore, the Commission asked that the next report on the administration of *Togoland* should contain, under a separate heading, details of the yield of the various direct and indirect taxes. It also expressed the desire that as detailed particulars as possible should be inserted in the next report regarding the mortality in the prisons of the territory.

As regards the *Cameroons*, the Commission drew attention to the exemptions from Customs duties granted exclusively to books in French, which would seem to be inconsistent with the principle of economic equality. It also expressed the desire to find in the next report a comparative table of the estimated and actual receipts and expenditure for the past financial year. As regards education, the Commission suggested that the mandatory Power should consider the possibility of securing the help of the missions in educational work, if necessary, by granting them subsidies. Lastly, the Commission noted with satisfaction the good results obtained by rationing the import of spirits, and asked that the next report should include a table indicating the quantity of the various categories of intoxicating beverages imported, and the Customs duties imposed on these imports.

#### 2. TANGANYIKA.

The Commission noted with great interest the account given in the report of the results of the policy of indirect rule and the consolidation of tribal units into homogeneous organisations. As regards the defence of the territory, it noted that the mandatory Power would resist any attempt to increase the proportion of the military expenditure of the British dependencies in East Africa at present borne by the mandated territory<sup>1</sup>.

The Commission appreciated the action of the Administration in further limiting the occasions upon which forced labour might be requisitioned and in taking steps for the gradual abolition of unpaid compulsory labour for village sanitation work. It asked for details of the measures taken to combat leprosy and for particulars regarding the number of the existing subordinate medical staff and their qualifications.

Lastly, the Commission welcomed the enactment of legislation with the object of assuring to the natives legal title to the lands they occupy.

### Territories under C Mandate.

#### 1. NAURU.

The Commission again noted that the mandatory Power was giving serious consideration to the question of the application of general international conventions to the territory. It expressed the hope that information would be given in the next report as to the situation in this respect. It noted the appointment of a new Advisory Council for native affairs and hoped to find in the next report some information as to this body's methods of work.

As regards labour conditions, the Commission welcomed the measures of protection that had been taken for Chinese workers. Lastly, it noted the information given as to the situation in regard to leprosy.

<sup>1</sup> The accredited representative of the British Government, commenting on this observation (document A.25. 1928. VI), expressed the view that the word "Administration" (the local Government of the territory) should be substituted for the words "mandatory Power".

## 2. NEW GUINEA.

The Commission asked the mandatory Power to supply it with more detailed information as to the action taken under the existing legislation, since information had reached the Commission of such a nature as to arouse certain apprehensions. As regards general administration, the Commission asked for full information as to the method adopted for the selection of native district chiefs (Luluais), who were appointed by the Administration.

The Commission expressed the desire to learn in what way the financial interests of the mandated territory were represented in the settlement by the mandatory Power of the liabilities incurred by the territory to the Australian Department of Defence before and after the inception of civil administration, and also the principles on which the settlement of this question was to be based.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, it asked for detailed information as to the substitution of the system of "free labour" for the present system of contracts, and as to the measures taken to ensure the efficacy of the inspection of labour conditions.

The Commission noted the shortage of doctors of British nationality in the territory, and asked the mandatory Power whether it would be disposed to consider the advisability of appointing to the service of the territory medical officers of other nationalities or of subsidising the missions in order to enable them to increase their medical staff. Lastly, the Commission asked for information concerning the decrease of the population.

## 3. WESTERN SAMOA.

### *Examination of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Administration of Western Samoa.*

The Commission made a detailed study of the report of the Royal Commission of Enquiry regarding the events which occurred in the Samoan Islands in 1926 and 1927, and of the various documents annexed thereto. It also considered certain petitions addressed to it on the subject of the administration of Western Samoa.<sup>2</sup>

During the numerous meetings which it devoted to this task, the Commission obtained additional information from Sir James Parr, the accredited representative of the mandatory Power, and Major-General Sir George Richardson, former Administrator of Western Samoa.

In its conclusions, the Commission emphasised the fact that it was essential, for the proper understanding of this part of its report in particular, to refer to the Minutes of its discussions.

The Commission considered that none of the charges of any importance against the Administration which had been made in the various petitions had been substantiated, and that none contained any evidence of policy or action contrary to the mandate. On the contrary, it pointed out that the local Administration would appear to have made every effort to improve the conditions of life of the native population, notably in regard to public health and education, as well as in regard to agriculture and commerce.

The Commission thought it necessary to condemn most strongly the attitude of Mr. Nelson and those associated with him, who seemed to have been inspired less by a desire for the public welfare than by personal ambition and interest. By unworthy means, they worked upon the minds of an impressionable people who, prior to their propaganda, had shown no disquieting signs of discontent. It was satisfied that the Administrator had acted with great patience and had treated the population with a forbearance and confidence which were possibly misinterpreted, and which may thus, to a certain extent, have undermined his authority. The regrettable absence of sufficient means to enforce the law, which it was his duty to uphold, placed the Administrator in an extremely difficult situation. This situation was made all the more delicate by the uncertain attitude of the Government.

The Commission appreciated the setting-up of an impartial Commission of Enquiry by the mandatory Power and the communication of its report to the League of Nations. This report, with the evidence on which its conclusions are based, appreciably helped the Permanent Mandates Commission to form its own judgment.

Moreover, as the Commission had been informed that the unrest in Samoa would probably continue until the League of Nations had taken a decision, it desired to point out that it should be clearly understood that the mandatory Power alone was responsible for maintaining law and order in accordance with the mandate. The Commission was assured that Major-General Richardson's successor now had at his disposal all the means required for this essential object.

<sup>1</sup> The Commission made an identical observation in regard to the Island of Nauru.

<sup>2</sup> See page 354.

Finally, the Commission expressed the hope that, when the Samoans realised that they had been misled, they would resume their former attitude of confidence in the Administration and that the mandatory Power would soon be able, by pursuing a firm and liberal policy, to re-establish peace and prosperity in Western Samoa.

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#### OBSERVATIONS OF THE ACCREDITED REPRESENTATIVES.

The accredited representative of the British Government for Tanganyika made a comment on the observation of the Commission concerning the defence of the territory. He pointed out that, while making the statement of which the Commission took note during the examination of the annual report, he had not spoken on behalf of the mandatory Power but only on behalf of the Government of the territory of Tanganyika. On the other hand, Sir Granville Ryrie, for Nauru and New Guinea, Sir Stewart Symes, for Palestine, and Sir James Parr, for Western Samoa, have stated that they had no observations to make on the report of the Commission.

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#### OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMISSION ON PETITIONS.

The Commission considered various petitions relating to Palestine, Syria and the Lebanon, Togoland under French mandate, Tanganyika and Western Samoa. The conclusions adopted by the Commission may be summarised as follows :

##### 1. PALESTINE.

The Commission received a letter from the Zionist Organisation, dated April 30th, 1928, enclosing a memorandum on the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine in 1927-28, together with the observations of the mandatory Power thereon.

In paragraphs 6 and 7 of the covering letter, the Zionist Organisation makes certain complaints in regard to the system of taxation at present in force and the question of the leasing of Government lands, particularly in the Beisan area. The Commission, while considering that, generally speaking, the observations of the mandatory Power, supplemented by the oral explanations of its accredited representative, were satisfactory, deemed it advisable to express, as it had already done at its ninth session, the hope that every effort would be made to hasten the survey, and that means might soon be found to utilise to the full the possibilities of the land in the Beisan area.

##### 2. SYRIA AND THE LEBANON.

(a) The Lebanese Committee in Paris again sent in a petition regarding the acquisition of nationality by the exercise of option in Syria and the Lebanon. As this question had already been considered by the Commission at its tenth session, the Commission held that it was not necessary to submit to the Council any observations other than those then formulated.<sup>1</sup>

(b) M. Louis Yusuf Ghaleb, of Lebanese origin and domiciled in Serbia for some twenty years, complained that he had suffered war losses in Serbia and the Lebanon for which he had received no compensation.

The Commission, having noted the observations of the French Government on this case, was of opinion that it had no power to consider the claim.

(c) Two petitions from Messrs. Chekib Arslan, Ihsan el Djabri and Riad el Souh, making numerous criticisms of the mandatory Power's administration, were also examined conjointly with the French Government's observations. The Commission considered that the report of the mandatory Power for 1927 constituted a complete reply to these petitions, and it therefore recommended that the Minutes of the session should be communicated to the petitioners, together with its conclusions on the matter.

##### 3. TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH MANDATE.

The various grievances against the mandatory Power's administration expressed in the petition from the Bund der Deutsch-Togoländer had already been considered by the Commission at its eleventh session.<sup>2</sup>

The Commission had found the allegations of the petitioners to be, in all essentials, without foundation. It had, however, asked the mandatory Power for further particulars. Having considered this information, the Commission confirmed its previous conclusion.

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<sup>1</sup> See report to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 54, page 272.

<sup>2</sup> See supplementary report to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 54, page 334.

#### 4. TANGANYIKA.

The Commission considered a petition from Mr. Thawer, dated February 17th, 1927, relating to losses sustained by the inhabitants of Tanganyika territory on account of the failure to settle claims arising out of the withdrawal of German currency from circulation in the territory. After noting the observations of the mandatory Power, the Commission decided that it must abstain from expressing any opinion whatever on the merits of the case, which was outside its immediate competence, but it expressed the hope that a favourable settlement might be found in the matter of withdrawing former German currency from circulation.

#### 5. WESTERN SAMOA.

The Commission had before it several petitions from different sources, all concerned with the administration of the territory generally. These were borne in mind when the report of the Royal Commission of Enquiry was considered.<sup>1</sup>

As regards, in particular, the petition from Mr. Newton Rowe, dated June 1st, 1927, the Commission was of opinion that none of the allegations made therein was worthy of special consideration, and that the questions as a whole were covered by those which the Commission had considered in its report to the Council on the administration of Samoa. It arrived at the same conclusions in regard to a petition from the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, dated July 19th, 1927. With regard to the petition from certain natives of Western Samoa, dated March 9th, 1928, and the petition from Mr. Olaf Frederick Nelson, dated March 29th, 1928, the Commission considered that none of the charges made in these petitions against the Administration had been substantiated.

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## II. NEW MEMBER OF THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION.

At a meeting held on June 9th, 1928, the Council appointed Mlle. Valentine DANNEVIG a member of the Permanent Mandates Commission.

Mlle. Dannevig, who is a Norwegian and Principal of the Vestheim Ladies' College, Oslo, has thus been selected to replace on the Commission Mme. Wicksell, who died in February 1928.

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## 8.

### SLAVERY.

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At its meeting on June 4th, 1928, the Council was informed that, since the last ordinary session of the Assembly, no document had, at that time, been received by the Secretary-General in accordance with Article 7 of the Slavery Convention and the Assembly resolution adopted on September 25th, 1926. Under this resolution, the Assembly requested the Council to communicate to it every year a document mentioning the laws and regulations which the parties to the Convention, in accordance with Article 7, had communicated to the Secretary-General, and to include therein any supplementary information which the Members of the League might be disposed spontaneously to furnish with regard to the measures taken by them to ensure the progressive abolition of slavery and conditions analogous thereto.

The Council authorised the Secretary-General, should such documents be forwarded to him in the interval, to communicate to the Assembly, as well as to the Council, three weeks before the opening of the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly, a list of such laws and regulations as might be forwarded to him in accordance with Article 7 of the Slavery Convention, together with any supplementary information furnished by the different Governments.

Acting in conformity with the above Council resolution, the Secretary-General communicated to the Assembly document A.24.1928.VI,<sup>2</sup> containing:

1. A letter from the Sudan Government, dated May 29th, 1928,
2. A letter from the Italian Government, dated July 9th, 1928,
3. A letter from the British Government, dated July 30th, 1928, transmitting a memorandum with annexes regarding measures taken in Sierra Leone, Jamaica, North Borneo, Northern Rhodesia and the Tanganyika Territory to ensure the effective suppression of slavery in those territories.

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<sup>1</sup> See page 352.

<sup>2</sup> Since the communication of document A.24.1928.VI, the Secretary-General has received from the India Office a letter dated August 10th, 1928, forwarding a memorandum on measures for the abolition of slavery in Burma. This document has been distributed to the Assembly under No. A.24(a).1928.VI.



10.

WORK OF THE TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS. ,

I. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ORGANISATION.

A. Work in the Economic Field.

I. WORK OF THE ECONOMIC CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE.

The Council, at its meeting on June 9th, 1928, adopted the following resolution concerning the report of the Economic Consultative Committee on the work of its first session, held in May 1928 :

“ The Council :

“ 1. Takes note of the report of the Economic Consultative Committee on the results of its first session ;

“ Notes that, according to the report, the application of the recommendations of the Economic Conference has already made some headway during the past year ;

“ Observes the influence of these recommendations on the independent action of Governments in their commercial policy ;

“ Observes, however, that it is evident from the report that, while the rising movement of tariffs seems to have been checked, the general inverse movement so strongly urged by the Conference has not yet set in ;

“ Accordingly again begs both Governments and countries to give their whole attention and active support to carrying out the recommendations of the Conference, and calls their attention to the Consultative Committee's report ;

“ 2. Approves the report of the Economic Consultative Committee, especially its recommendations and the proposal for entrusting to the Financial and Economic Organisation the carrying out of the new tasks recommended by the Committee ;

“ Refers to the Economic Committee, for gradual study and action, the Consultative Committee's recommendations as to commerce, agriculture and industry, including those relating to the examination of the coal and sugar questions ;

“ Reserves the right, however, to take a decision subsequently on the Committee's recommendations for establishing close relations, the importance of which it realises, between the various organisations that devote themselves to the study of agricultural questions ;

“ Requests the Economic Committee to place these recommendations on the agenda of the session which it is to hold this month, so that it can at once go forward to consider them as far as it may think advisable and practicable ;

“ 3. Instructs the Economic and Financial Committees to undertake, as soon as circumstances allow and on the lines suggested by the Consultative Committee, the study which that Committee demands ‘ of some of the more important principles and tendencies in financial and economic policy and practice which tend to create or to destroy conditions favourable to peace ’ . ”

II. WORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE.

The Economic Committee held its twenty-fifth session in June 1928, and submitted the following report to the Council on the work accomplished during this session :

1. COMMERCIAL POLICY.

In the interval between the last three sessions of the Committee, several of its members had drawn up a large number of reports on the tariff and contractual problems which form the basis of commercial policy. Its meetings were chiefly devoted to the examination and discussion of these memoranda.

The Committee is now in a position to submit to the Council a provisional report on the results of its work, and on the procedure which it advocates for the future.

For the study of the central problem of commercial policy the Committee has endeavoured to find a method capable of ensuring at one and the same time a detailed study of all the factors involved and their co-ordination in a coherent system. As stated in its report, the various aspects of commercial policy were referred to groups of rapporteurs for examination. A Committee of Rapporteurs was then formed in order to compare and harmonise the conclusions reached, which were subsequently submitted to the whole Economic Committee for approval.

#### A. *Tariff Systems and Contractual Methods.*

The study of existing tariff systems and their respective merits has revealed a uniformity of tendencies within the Committee, which has been obliged to recognise that, for the moment, it is practically impossible to put an end to the disparity of systems prevailing in this matter.

On the one hand, the Committee unanimously recognised that it is no longer possible to proceed to establish or to recast national tariffs without taking account of the repercussions that the rates or conditions of these tariffs may exercise on international trade, and that the various States, however anxious they may be to adapt their tariffs, in an autonomous fashion, to their financial or economic needs, cannot, however, establish them without taking account of the obstacles to trade in general which may result from them. But while some of its members considered that the procedure for this purpose ought to be that of negotiations resulting in an exchange of tariff guarantees, the opposite opinion has been expressed that tariff treaties were incompatible with the ideas and the practice of certain States which claim the right to legislate at their will in these matters, on condition that they apply their tariff laws without discrimination in any way to the detriment of any country.

In short, the Committee, in its study of this question, and other aspects of commercial policy, has found itself faced with the conflict of the two conceptions and the two methods which co-exist in Europe of which the one, that of Central Europe, is that of negotiable tariffs reducible by agreement, and the other, which is that chiefly of the Anglo-Saxon countries, regards tariffs as measures of internal order which are not susceptible of adaptation by agreement.

It is in favour of the first system that the two Rapporteurs on Contractual Methods have deliberately pronounced themselves, in putting on the same footing autonomous tariffs reducible by agreement and double-column tariffs, on condition, however, that their minimum rates are susceptible of contractual adaptation. They declare, moreover, that, as concerted action by States in tariff matters is necessary in order that tariffs may be modified or stabilised by agreement, the system of "intangible" tariffs is contrary to the common action which was recommended by the Economic Conference of 1927.

The two Rapporteurs, having declared themselves in favour of the systems which can alone, in principle, make it possible for States to negotiate regarding the amount of and to seek the reduction and conventional consolidation of Customs duties, proposed in addition :

(a) That States should refrain from putting into force tariffs included in this system before having proceeded to negotiations in virtue of which they might be brought into harmony with the interests of other countries ;

(b) That they undertake to revise their tariff rates on the termination of the negotiations in order to proceed with the modifications necessary to harmonise them with the reductions effected by means of the agreements.

The discussion which has taken place in the Committee has brought out the fact that, although the choice that these two Rapporteurs had made between the tariff methods in force to-day and the guarantees with which they proposed to surround them were in every way consistent with their mandate, there was nevertheless no possibility of getting support for their conclusions from a certain number of countries which practise the doctrine of "intangible" tariffs and which, by this fact, exclude both the reduction and the stabilisation of their rates.

On the whole, the Committee was of the opinion that the doctrine and practice of these countries was not opposed to the resolutions of the Geneva Conference, as long at least as their tariffs were established with the moderation recommended by this Conference and as long as they accordingly offered to other countries advantages which were a matter of congratulation rather than obstacles of which they would have reason to complain.

The Committee was, however, of opinion that the policy of those States which, having established tariffs intolerable for other countries, refuse to contemplate their reduction through negotiations or otherwise, or impose repeated variations of duty in relation to the trade of other countries, is incompatible with the resolutions of the Geneva Conference and with the commercial policy which it has proclaimed.

The Committee was therefore of opinion that it need not consider the case of tariffs so equitable that they do not justify any demand for negotiations, but that some assurances should be sought from the countries which take advantage of their Customs autonomy and of their tariff liberty to raise or modify their tariffs, when international trade is considered to suffer thereby. For this purpose, without wishing to suggest that those countries which practise the doctrine of "intangible" tariffs by means of negotiations

and which are continuously modifiable by means of autonomous measures, should abandon their principles or their procedure, the Committee was nevertheless of opinion :

- (1) That they should be ready to examine the representations of States which might consider they were harmed by the measures taken by them ;
- (2) That, so far as they find it possible, they should introduce their tariffs for substantial periods since they declare that it is impossible for them to fix their tariffs by agreement.

The Committee next directed its attention to the conditions of application of so-called "tariffs of negotiation", that is to say, autonomous tariffs reducible by agreement or double-column tariffs which do not exclude conventional adaptation.

In this respect, it was unanimous in recognising :

- (1) That the margin for negotiation which, by reason of peculiar post-war conditions and, in consequence, of the necessity in which certain States find themselves of opposing their autonomous tariffs to the general tariffs of certain other States, has remained unduly exaggerated, should be reduced, so far as possible, to a more moderate proportion so that, while leaving to commercial negotiations a necessary freedom of movement, it does not cause them to degenerate into an intolerable bargaining at once dangerous for those who practise it and for those against whom it is directed.

- (2) That tariff negotiations should, as a general proposition, precede the application of the tariffs in order that tariffs increased with a view to negotiation may not encumber international trade before having been moderated by the negotiations.

- (3) That tariffs should be widely consolidated ; that agreements should be concluded for a sufficiently long term so that those States contracting on the basis of negotiable tariffs do not find themselves suddenly submitted to a regime different from that on which they had concluded their agreements by reason of modifications arising in consequence of the expiration or the denunciation of agreements concluded with third parties.

- (4) That the practice of negotiable tariffs should not exclude the adoption of long-period tariffs and that, when a contractual statute has been established on the basis of a tariff submitted to negotiation before being applied, it is necessary to avoid incessant changes being made in this statute by the variation of the tariff on which it is founded.

- (5) The proposal of the Rapporteurs, to require from States an undertaking that tariffs modified by negotiations should be in addition submitted to the modifications necessary to render them a co-ordinated and harmonious whole, has not been maintained by the Committee as realisable in practice.

It has seemed in fact that, the requirements of international trade having been satisfied, the States must remain sole judges of measures which should be dictated only by their national economy.

#### B. *Most-Favoured-Nation Treatment.*

It goes without saying that the conclusions reached by the Committee as regards the form, the scope and application of the most-favoured-nation clause, as well as of the *de facto* and *de jure* exceptions to which it might be subject, must be carefully co-ordinated with the system it has adopted regarding tariffs and contractual methods.

1. In fact, different conceptions regarding tariffs and contractual methods appear to be generally associated with different ideas regarding most-favoured-nation treatment. While the States which refuse to negotiate in tariff matters claim most-favoured-nation treatment as a preliminary condition of any treaty and as a right which is beyond discussion, on the other hand, those States which have conceived their tariffs with a view to negotiation and who attach more value to tariff agreements than to the juridical guarantee constituted by the most-favoured-nation clause when it is not accompanied by tariff advantages, consider the grant of the most-favoured-nation clause as subordinate to agreement on tariffs.

The Committee was of opinion that the Economic Conference of 1927 had not embraced the doctrine which considers equality of treatment as a right above question. It has borne in mind that the resolutions of the Conference declare "that each State must judge in what cases and to what extent this fundamental guarantee should be embodied in any particular Treaty". But it has taken care, on the other hand, not to misunderstand that the doctrine clearly affirmed by the Conference was in favour of the reciprocal grant of most-favoured-nation treatment and in favour of the widest possible extension of its scope and of a liberalism as enlightened as possible in its application.

In this matter, as in that of tariff and contractual systems, the Committee has inclined towards a compromise of fact rather than to a choice between opposing doctrines. It is convinced that, whereas those States which claim most-favoured-nation treatment by right before any negotiation nevertheless reserve the power to revise it if they run against prohibition duties or unjust discrimination, the States which regard most-favoured-nation treatment as the price of a favourable tariff agreement nevertheless admit, in general

theory, that this agreement could not be arrived at without the grant of most-favoured-nation treatment.

The Committee has noted, therefore, that unanimity could undoubtedly be reached on a doctrine which declared that the grant of most-favoured-nation treatment ought to be the normal, and that the refusal of this guarantee or the corresponding establishment of a differential regime ought not to arise unless in the case of States which refuse an equitable tariff policy or have recourse to discriminatory practices.

2. One question to which the 1927 Conference attached particular importance was that of the drafting of the most-favoured-nation clause, the interpretation and application of which frequently gives rise to controversies or disputes. Upon a report submitted by three of its members, the Committee decided on the view it must adopt in regard to the field of application of the most-favoured-nation clause in tariff and commercial matters and requested the same Rapporteurs to prepare, together with a statement of reasons, a model draft of the clause which could be recommended to the various States. It has also requested its Chairman to submit a report on other matters to which the clause is applicable, and to propose an appropriate method for their examination.

3. The second question which has received the attention of the Committee is that of exceptions to the most-favoured-nation clause.

(a) As regards Customs Unions, the Committee has limited itself to declaring that these constitute derogations, admitted by tradition, from the principle of most-favoured-nation treatment without, however, giving any opinion on the more controversial question of their function.

(b) As regards the question of colonial and imperial preference, which is mentioned in several treaties, the Committee abstained from considering it owing to its political aspects.

(c) As regards the regime of preference authorised by custom or the jurisprudence of previous treaties in the case of States between which exist ethnographical, historical or geographical ties, the Committee was of opinion that these exceptions should not be admitted without question and that they should be specifically agreed to and limited in each Treaty.

(d) The Committee was of opinion that the special case of trade between frontier zones constitutes an exception under international law the legitimacy of which cannot be contested.

4. After having examined the special favours which, in derogation from the equality of treatment guaranteed by the most-favoured-nation clause, may be accorded to third States, the Committee considered the question of the penalties which, contrary to this principle of equality, a contracting State sometimes believes itself entitled to apply to another contracting party. The compatibility of such practices with the loyal application of the most-favoured-nation clause will be discussed at the Committee's next session. The Committee decided first of all to study merely the incidence of the penalties against dumping in relation to the most-favoured-nation clause. In this connection it has drawn a necessary distinction between the off-setting of bounties or exemptions granted by a State to its exports, or to certain branches of its export trade, and the penalisation of measures which, by means of artificially lowered prices, are directed by firms or private organisations against the producers of the importing country.

Recognising the difficulty of apportioning in an equitable manner any measures for the repression of an offence against fair competition in relation to the resultant damage, the Committee has provisionally examined the question and considered as preventive measures, on the one hand, an undertaking by States to abstain from the practice of bounties and exemption and, on the other hand, action with a view to organisation and mutual understandings between the competing producers of the different countries, which would result in more healthy competition.

Since the Consultative Committee particularly urged the study of all the various practices covered by the term dumping, the laws enacted for their prevention, as well as the application and effectiveness of these laws, the Economic Committee requested its Chairman to make a preparatory study of this subject, and it does not propose to take up again the examination of the relation between anti-dumping measures and the most-favoured-nation clause until it has acquired more detailed information on the nature and legitimacy of these measures.

5. Finally, in a more discursive fashion, the Committee has begun to study certain practices which derogate from the obligation resulting from the most-favoured-nation clause and which are put into effect by means of export duties, "l'exonération à l'importation compensatoire de certaines exportations, etc."

It decided to consider lastly the discussion of certain exceptions by means of which certain countries tend to abstract from the most-favoured-nation guarantee certain facilities of a commercial order or certain particular questions of a tariff nature such as finishing trade, temporary admission, etc.

These practices, which have been dealt with in a report by three members of the Committee, will be subjected to detailed discussion at the next session.

6. The relation between concessions made by States under the terms of the most-favoured-nation clause in bilateral treaties, and the obligations assumed by them under plurilateral treaties has been referred for examination to three Rapporteurs. The Committee, after having discussed the problem in a circumstantial fashion, has asked

one of the Rapporteurs to draw up a report the discussion of which will be continued at the next session, since this is a particularly important question for the policy of States in regard to plurilateral agreements.

### C. *Collective Action with a View to the Reduction of Tariffs.*

The International Economic Conference's resolutions lay particular stress upon the necessity of achieving a reduction in tariffs, not only by means of bilateral agreements, but also by collective action of all the States. Various systems have been proposed, which would permit of a progressive reduction of all tariffs by a fixed percentage, but upon examination it appeared that the time was not yet ripe for their realisation, and that the most that could be done for the moment was to propose classes of measures arising out of particular situations or particular cases which might form the subject of partial arrangements.

The Committee was of opinion that, without abandoning the study of methods of general tariff reduction, it would be preferable to proceed by way of particular cases and to attempt a series of progressive experiments, in the course of which the value of methods and ideas would be put to the test.

Taking note of the results obtained in the course of the recent Conference on the regime regarding skins and bones, the Committee noted that, for the settlement of certain questions, different methods had been chosen and sometimes combined. It was of opinion that, while the recommendation of the Geneva Conference aiming at concerted action by States with a view to a general and simultaneous reduction of Customs barriers should not be lost sight of, it was indispensable to proceed, in this case, with prudence, so as to obtain by virtue of well-conducted experiments the progressive adhesion of the nations to a generalisation of the system.

The Committee referred the proposed method to the Consultative Committee for discussion, and the latter gave its whole-hearted approval.

During the present session, the Committee decided upon the choice of a certain number of basic products necessary to industry and even certain foodstuffs in respect of which proposals had been submitted by certain members. In respect of these products, the Committee is proceeding, in close touch with the Sub-Committee for Customs Nomenclature, to preliminary enquiries and the study of a concerted reduction of tariffs. These enquiries, which will be carried on with the assistance of the Secretariat, have been entrusted to a special Rapporteur for each product.

The Committee, as regards the whole of the questions concerned in the vast problem of commercial policy, has sought rather to find compromise on which immediate action might be based and subjects of which a precise study might be made than the elements of a definitive doctrine or of a complete system. It considered that it is by way of certain limited experiments which will put methods to the test and by means of certain studies bearing on the cardinal questions of a comprehensive policy that the Economic Committee will be best enabled to carry out the mandate which it has received from the Council in consequence of the resolutions of the International Economic Conference of 1927.

## 2. DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE ON STATISTICS.

In its last report, the Economic Committee stated that it proposed to consider at its next session the expediency of framing a preliminary draft Convention incorporating in contractual form the questions dealt with in the document that has already been circulated to States in connection with the proposed Conference on Statistics. The draft, which, on the whole, corresponds to the results arrived at by the investigations and discussions of the Joint Committee of the League of Nations and the Hague Institute, was drafted by the Secretariat with the assistance of a Sub-Committee appointed by the Economic Committee, and has had to be examined somewhat hurriedly, but the Committee nevertheless considers that it can be communicated to the Governments in its present form, together with the relevant documents.

The communication of this draft Convention now makes it possible to contemplate the convening of a Diplomatic Conference, for which the Economic Committee would suggest a date towards the end of this year.

The Committee further recommends that the International Institute of Agriculture and the International Chamber of Commerce should be invited to appoint delegations to take part in the Conference in a consultative capacity.

## 3. UNIFICATION OF CUSTOMS NOMENCLATURE.

At its June session, the Sub-Committee of Experts on the Unification of Customs Nomenclature made a careful and detailed examination of the observations which had reached it from qualified persons of different countries whose opinions had been asked on the draft framework for a Customs nomenclature drawn up by the experts.

The Sub-Committee of Experts took into account the suggestions submitted to it, in so far as it considered that the modifications or transfers asked for or proposed might have the

effect of making the nomenclature clearer and more accessible to all those having to consult Customs tariffs.

In the report in which it submitted to the Economic Committee the draft framework in its new form, the Sub-Committee of Experts was careful to point out that, "by endeavouring to accept all the proposals which were not irreconcilable or in direct opposition with the principles laid down at the outset, it had wished to show that it desired the new nomenclature to be the work of the greatest possible number of authorities, and therefore to have a *truly international character*".

The Sub-Committee of Experts is further of the opinion that the new draft framework, which involves somewhat important changes in the original draft, must be regarded as final, and that it would be inexpedient to proceed to further consultations or enquiries in this connection, since any fresh changes would only destroy the harmony of a work in which the experts have endeavoured to reconcile respect for principles with the requirements of practice.

The Economic Committee agrees in principle with the opinion of the experts as stated above, and requests the Council to be good enough to cause the draft framework drawn up by the experts to be sent to the Governments in its new form, with an indication of the principles observed by the experts and a notification to the effect that the Sub-Committee of Experts will now embark on the second stage of the task entrusted to it, namely, the preparation of a draft standard nomenclature.

As regards this second portion of its work, that of drawing up the nomenclature itself on the basis of the final framework, there is no doubt that this is the most difficult part of the work.

The experts have already pointed out to the Economic Committee that, when they undertook the examination of different methods of classification, they were unable to reach entire agreement on one very important point, namely, whether, in the different chapters of the nomenclature, commodities which may be obtained from different raw materials should appear in the nomenclature under each of the materials from which they could be manufactured, or whether they should be combined in a single chapter and under a single item irrespective of the material of which they are made.

The Economic Committee expresses the opinion that the experts should endeavour to adhere, as far as possible, to the principle of classifying commodities or goods under the heading of the raw material of which they are composed.

When, however, the raw material has been converted into a finished product which is closely connected with other finished products used in a particular industry and having the same purpose — provided that the purpose in question is readily recognisable and can be determined by the characteristics of the object — then classification according to the use or purpose of the objects or goods seems more suitable than classification according to the raw materials composing them, particularly from the point of view of the consultation of Customs tariffs and their practical use.

Another problem of no less importance engaged the attention of the Economic Committee. The experts propose to draw up a fairly small basic nomenclature, the items of which would be regarded as an irreducible minimum. They would be supplemented by annexed items, the number of which could not in principle be exceeded, but might, if necessary, be reduced by countries whose stage of industrial development makes so elaborate a nomenclature unnecessary.

The Economic Committee, after an exhaustive discussion on this point, found itself in agreement with the above ideas, except as to whether and how far a supplementary subdivision would be desirable or permissible. In regard to this point, the Committee did not see its way to take a decision until it knew the form in which the nomenclature would be presented by the experts.

#### 4. VETERINARY CONVENTIONS.

At its June session, the Sub-Committee of Experts on Veterinary Questions examined the replies to the questionnaire which had been sent to a large number of countries interested in this matter with a view to collecting information on the organisation of veterinary services and the publication of veterinary health bulletins.

The Sub-Committee of Experts, after examining the information collected, considered that it was in a position to offer conclusive replies on the essential points concerning the organisation of veterinary services and the method of publishing health bulletins.

As regards the first object, the Sub-Committee reaffirmed its view that it is essential that in every country a veterinary service should be organised under the authority of a veterinary expert directly responsible to the competent Minister; it observed that, even in Europe, there are certain countries which have not yet entirely satisfied this necessary condition.

The experts further emphasised the importance they attach to the duties performed by Government veterinary officials and by veterinary surgeons in private practice officially employed as veterinary inspectors, and to their professional training, more especially in connection with the veterinary inspection of live-stock intended for export. In the view of the experts, the performance of health duties in certain cases of special and essential importance should be entrusted solely to veterinary officials.

As regards the second question, relating to the publication of health bulletins and the preparation of a standard model health bulletin, the experts accepted the rules laid down by the International Office for Contagious Diseases in Animals at Paris.

The Sub-Committee of Experts' concluded that the first condition requisite for the accomplishment of its task — namely, to discover the most effective means of concerted action against diseases in animals, while at the same time showing due regard to the sovereign rights of States and the interests of international trade — would be that the States concerned should agree to organise their veterinary health services and to arrange for the publication of their health bulletins in conformity with the rules laid down by the experts. The Sub-Committee regards it as not inconceivable that these principles might be taken as the basis of an international convention.

Furthermore, the experts propose to continue their researches. They think it necessary to investigate the measures in force in different countries in regard to the import, transit and export of animals and raw products of animal origin.

An investigation on these lines would provide the experts not only with necessary additional information, in amplification of that already collected on the organisation of health services, but also with a very valuable basis for studying the facilities which might be obtainable in return for adequate guarantees in the sense of their recommendations.

The Sub-Committee was further of the opinion that, if the question of the inspection of meat for export — a question of very special importance — is to be dealt with thoroughly, special information must be obtained from technical specialists in some of the principal meat-exporting countries.

The Economic Committee requests the Council to authorise the Secretary-General to transmit the report of the Sub-Committee of Experts on the work of its second session — a report which, in the unanimous opinion of the Committee, is deserving of the most careful study — to the Governments concerned. The latter should be asked to state their opinions in regard to the principles recommended by the experts concerning the organisation of health services and the publication of bulletins; and they should also be requested to reply to the questionnaire which the experts have drawn up with a view to obtaining additional information regarding special measures in connection with the importation and exportation of cattle and animal products.

With these replies in its possession, the Sub-Committee of Experts would be in a position, at a later session, to continue its work and at the same time to begin studying the question of the inspection of meat intended for export.

In connection with the examination of the latter question, the Economic Committee has decided to invite an Argentine expert to take part in the work of the Sub-Committee.

#### 5. BILLS OF EXCHANGE.

The Economic Committee has received from the legal experts on the subject the report with which they brought their work to a close.

The Committee wishes first of all to say how very highly it appreciates the important and practical work accomplished by the experts under the able chairmanship of Professor Percerou.

Acting on the authorisation given by the Council at its session of March 6th, 1928, the Committee requested the Secretary-General to communicate the experts' report to all Governments of Members of the League and non-member States, asking them to formulate, before the end of the year, any observations and proposals which they might desire to make, and at the same time to state whether in their opinion the drafts thus submitted to them could be used as the basis of discussion for a conference.

The Committee proposes to refer the Governments' replies to the experts for subsequent consideration and will thereafter submit proposals to the Council.

#### 6. INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MINES.

As already stated in the report on its session of December 1927, the Committee was asked by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to deal with a proposal from Professor Krahmann for the creation of an International Institute of Mines.

Through the agency of its members, the Committee has obtained qualified opinions, and accordingly feels in a position to state its attitude to this proposal as follows:

So far as the proposal affects problems of an economic nature, the Committee feels that it is neither practical nor possible on international lines, but that those aspects which are more particularly scientific are of considerable importance, even from the economic point of view.

The Committee therefore hopes that the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will remain in touch with the Economic Committee while it continues its study of the scientific aspects.

The Committee considers, however, that it would be advantageous to defer any more thorough consideration of the proposal until the International Geological Congress to be held at Pretoria in 1929, which will deal with similar problems, has revealed the view taken by those qualified to judge as to the possibility of international co-operation in this field and the results that might be expected.

#### 7. EXPLOITATION OF THE RICHES OF THE SEA.

At the request of the Committee, one of its members attended the annual meeting of the Copenhagen Council, and had various conversations regarding the exploitation

of the riches of the sea, which question has been referred to the Economic Committee by the Council. The Committee is now in possession of the report made by its delegate, and is considering the best method of co-operation with the Copenhagen Council. The Committee will give further consideration to this matter at its next session.

8. NEW DUTIES DEVOLVING UPON THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE AS THE RESULT OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE.

In its resolution of June 9th, 1928, the Council, acting on the Consultative Committee's report, assigned to the Economic Committee certain new duties, but left it "to the Economic Committee itself to decide in what order each branch of the work should be taken".

The Economic Committee considered at its present session how it could best give effect to the Council's request.

1. *Coal.*

The Committee proposes, at its next session, to consider in all its aspects the question of what action is desirable, in view of the recommendation of the Economic Consultative Committee, with regard to coal, which has been referred to it by the Council. In the meantime, it has asked its members to obtain certain information which will help it in the consideration of this problem, and has asked the Secretariat and the International Labour Office to collect statistics in order to bring their earlier publications on the coal industry up to date.

2. *Sugar.*

The Committee proposes, at its next session, to consider in all its aspects the question of what action is desirable, in view of the recommendation of the Economic Consultative Committee with regard to sugar which has been referred to it by the Council. In the meantime, it has asked its members to obtain certain information and statistics which will help it in the consideration of this problem, while the Secretariat will collect similar information concerning certain countries which have no nationals on the Economic Committee. With the help of all the information thus collected, it will be possible to prepare a memorandum on sugar setting out the main facts concerning production, consumption trade, and the fiscal regime.

3. *Other Tasks.*

One of the duties referred to above is the compilation and publication at more or less regular intervals of *indices of tariff levels*. The Economic Committee considered that the importance and urgency of the other work already devolving on it did not, for the moment, permit it to devote to tariff indices the time and attention which their preparation would require, and it therefore decided to postpone consideration of this question.

So far as *dumping* is concerned, the Economic Committee, guided by the work of the Economic Conference, considered that its first task must be to give an exact definition of dumping, or at least to draw up a full list of the practices which might be included under this term, and it instructed its Chairman to submit a report on which the Committee would decide whether it was advisable for it to contemplate any further action.

With regard to *administrative protectionism*, the Committee fully realised the importance of this question and, in particular, of the fact that such protectionism develops under very different forms and even, it might be said, on parallel lines with the efforts made to moderate tariff protectionism.

With a view to preparing for the enquiry which is to be undertaken, the Committee instructed its Vice-Chairman to submit a report, at the same time requesting the other members of the Committee to communicate to the Rapporteur any observations suggested to them by the perusal of a recent work on this subject.

In order to give effect to the Economic Conference's resolution concerning *industrial agreements*, to which attention was again drawn in the Council's resolution of June 9th, 1928, the Committee instructed the Secretariat to undertake, with the co-operation of all the members of the Economic Committee, a preliminary investigation on the lines indicated in the Consultative Committee's report. The first need was to establish some kind of systematic classification of different types of industrial agreements in order to form an estimate of their relative importance, and of the operation of the different forms of machinery on which they are based.

With regard to *agricultural problems*, the Committee was informed that the Secretariat had been authorised to enter into negotiations with the International Agricultural Institute at Rome in order to establish a closer co-operation between that organisation and the League of Nations. The Committee, therefore, thought it advisable to adjourn the discussion of this subject until the results of such negotiations should be known.

The Economic Committee postponed to a later date the more detailed consideration of the means to be adopted in order to give effect to the Consultative Committee's



recommendation that a preliminary study should be made of the *tendencies in economic policy which might influence international peace*.<sup>1</sup> It nevertheless requested three of its members to collect certain preliminary data in order that it might subsequently draw up a systematic plan for the study of this question.

### III. SECOND CONFERENCE FOR THE ABOLITION OF IMPORT AND EXPORT PROHIBITIONS AND RESTRICTIONS.

The second Conference for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions took place from July 3rd to 11th, 1928, under the presidency of M. Colijn, former Prime Minister of the Netherlands, who was invited by the Council to preside also over this Conference.

The object of the Conference, as laid down in Article 17 of the Convention of November 8th, 1927, for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, was to take a decision as to the claims for exceptions which the States signatory to the Convention of November 8th, 1927, were entitled to put forward in accordance with Article 6 of the Convention, and, secondly, to determine the conditions required for the coming into force of the Convention.

The second Conference included representatives of the twenty-eight States signatories to the Convention, namely, Austria, Belgium, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States. The International Chamber of Commerce was represented in an advisory capacity.

Several States had made requests for exceptions from the principle of the general abolition of prohibitions. A certain number of these requests were withdrawn spontaneously or after discussion. Those maintained and authorised by the Conference are embodied in the Supplementary Agreement to the Convention of November 8th, 1927, concluded and signed on July 11th, 1928 (document C.350.M.106.1928.II). This Supplementary Agreement provides that the Convention of November 8th, 1927, in order to be brought into force, must have been ratified by at least eighteen States. Ratifications must be deposited before September 30th, 1929, an exception being made for special reasons as regards the United States. The contracting parties might individually make the entry into force of the Convention dependent upon the ratification of one or more of the following States: Austria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Poland, Roumania, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Switzerland, Turkey, United States.

The Supplementary Agreement has been signed up to the present by Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Chile, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxemburg, Norway, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and the United States of America.

If on September 30th, 1929, all the requisite conditions have been fulfilled, the Convention will come into force on January 1st, 1930.

The significance of the conclusion of the Supplementary Agreement was summarised by the President of the Conference in his closing speech as follows:

“The Convention which we are signing to-day is, I think, the first multilateral agreement of importance which *directly* affects the economic relations between nations, and is a definite step towards the greater freedom in the flow of goods which was so strongly recommended by the Economic Conference last year.

“The fact of this Convention having been signed to-day is therefore of some importance; but it is not yet, of course, what we really want, and in this connection I should like to draw your attention to one short sentence from the speech of the Chairman of the Economic Consultative Committee in May of this year: ‘Conventions signed at Geneva are useful only in so far as they are ratified.’”

### IV. SECOND CONFERENCE CONCERNING THE EXPORTATION OF HIDES, SKINS AND BONES.

In conformity with paragraph 3 of the Final Act of the Convention of November 8th, 1927, for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, the Council convened two diplomatic Conferences, which met at Geneva from March 14th to 16th and on June 29th and 30th, 1928, with a view to inducing the participating countries to consent to a joint renunciation of prohibitions on hides, skins and bones, thus abandoning any reservation they might have made in this connection under Article 6 of the above-mentioned Convention.

<sup>1</sup> See also page 367.

To the second Conference were invited all the countries which had already been represented at the first Conference, and certain other countries signatories to the Convention of November 8th, 1927, and interested in the question of hides, skins and bones.

The agreement desired by the Prohibitions Conference of October-November 1927 and by the Council has been secured, and the abolition of all prohibitions on hides, skins and bones has been jointly decided upon by the following eighteen States: Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Roumania, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Switzerland.

The renunciation by the above States of any reservation they might have made as regards hides, skins and bones under Article 6 of the Convention of November 8th, 1927, was only secured by an agreement concerning the export duties which are or may be applied by some of them. The text of the two international Arrangements on the export of hides, skins and bones (documents C.348.M.104.1928.II and C.349.M.105.1928.II) will give an idea of the proposed conditions of application, which are only agreed to by the signatory States as a whole on the express condition that the Arrangement will be ratified by all, a procedure being nevertheless provided in case this condition should not be fulfilled.

It should, however, be remarked that the Arrangement regarding the export of bones expressly allows Italy to maintain the present regime in this connection until the conclusion of certain negotiations relating to her export duties on bones.

July 1st, 1929, has been fixed as the last date for the deposit of the instruments of ratification of the two Arrangements, so that the States concerned may know the situation in regard to the trade in hides, skins and bones before finally committing themselves as regards the Convention for the Abolition of Prohibitions. It was also agreed that the ratifications of the Convention might be declared void if the Arrangements were not ratified by all the contracting parties, and that in this case each State would once more be free to claim the right to maintain an export prohibition on hides, skins and bones.

## B. Work of the Financial Committee.

### I. BULGARIAN RECONSTRUCTION SCHEME.

It will be recalled that £1,250,000<sup>1</sup> of the proposed reconstruction loan to the Bulgarian Government of £4,500,000 sterling, provided for by the Protocol of March 10th, 1928, was set aside for the improvement of roads and railways, and that M. Regnoul, Chief Engineer of the Paris-Lyons-Mediterranean Railways, was requested, in accordance with Article VII of the Protocol, to make a report on the manner in which this sum should be employed.

At its session of May 30th to June 4th, 1928, the Financial Committee examined M. Regnoul's report (document C.232.1928.II (F.526)). The proposals under examination were as follows:

Railways:	Leva	Leva
Upkeep. . . . .	239,233,000	
Improvements. . . . .	329,255,000	
Construction of new lines	<u>72,312,000</u>	640,800,000
Ports. . . . .		31,500,000
Roads. . . . .		<u>172,700,000</u>
Total. . . . .		845,000,000

For each of these five purposes M. Regnoul proposed a detailed programme of expenditure. These programmes have been approved by the Bulgarian Government.

M. Regnoul's report further pointed out that certain reforms were desirable in order to achieve greater elasticity of railway administration. Among those mentioned were the reorganisation of accounts with a view to including in them all charges properly chargeable to the railways, and the reorganisation of the general administration by the introduction of an administrative council with considerable autonomous powers. The Committee stated that in its opinion there were certain other matters with regard to the financial relations of the railway administration and the Treasury which called for further discussion in detail between the Bulgarian Government and the present League Commissioner in charge of the refugee settlement work (M. René Charron).

<sup>1</sup> £1,250,000 is equivalent to approximately 845 million leva.

Upon the recommendation of the Financial Committee, the Council, on June 8th, gave its general approval to the proposed programme of expenditure on communications and authorised the Commissioner for refugees to liberate moneys for such expenditure in accordance with Article VII of the Protocol, provided that he was satisfied, after consultation (if necessary) with the Financial Committee of the League, that the Bulgarian Government had sufficiently effected the necessary reorganisation of the railway administration.

On June 9th, 1928, the Council passed a resolution authorising the issue of the reconstruction loan under the auspices of the League of Nations as soon as the Chairman of the Financial Committee, after such consultation with his colleagues on the Committee as should be necessary, should be satisfied that the conditions requisite for the issue of the loan were in existence. The resolution further authorised the modification of the Protocol so as to allow an increase in the total of the loan to such an extent and under such conditions, as to control and expenditure, as the Financial Committee should determine. (It was agreed during the Council's discussion that such an increase could be made only in connection with the recent earthquakes.)

## II. GREEK STABILISATION SCHEME.

### (a) *Stabilisation.*

The Financial Committee, at its session of May 30th to June 4th, congratulated the Greek Government on the effective manner in which the drachma had been stabilised, and noted that, since May 14th, 1928, the Greek currency had been stabilised on a gold basis. On this same date, the Committee observed, the new Bank of Issue — the Bank of Greece — began operations, and its obligation to exchange its banknotes against foreign gold exchange, in accordance with its Statutes, came into force. M. Alexander Diomede has been appointed Governor of the Bank of Greece for a period of five years, and M. E. J. Tsouderos, Vice-Governor, in accordance with Article 29 of the Statutes of the Bank of Greece.

In accordance with Article VII of the Protocol, the Chairman of the Financial Committee has allocated £3,000,000 from the loan proceeds for the repayment of the State debts to the Bank. The Committee noted that the Bank of Greece was able to show, on its opening balance-sheet, a gold and foreign exchange reserve of over 53 per cent of its note circulation and other sight liabilities.

### (b) *Issue of Loan.*

Whereas the Protocol provided for a loan of £9,000,000 to the Greek Government — £3,000,000 to be employed in the creation of the new Bank of Issue, and similar sums for liquidating budget arrears and establishing refugees — a loan has in fact been issued for £6,500,000 only. This was due to the fact that the Greek Government had concluded an agreement with the State and Treasury Departments of the United States of America for a loan of \$12,167,000 (approximately £2,500,000), redeemable in twenty years, to be employed exclusively for the settlement of refugees. The United States Congress adjourned in May without having ratified this agreement, and the latter cannot, therefore, now be approved before the next meeting of Congress in December.

As the money at the disposal of the Refugee Settlement Commission— including £500,000 from the new loan — would enable this body to continue its work until September only, a serious obstacle to efficient work in connection with refugees arose.

The Financial Committee suggested and the Council agreed that after September it would be necessary to finance the work provisionally, pending the ratification by the United States of the loan agreement, in the way provided for in Article VII, paragraph 1, of the Protocol.

### (c) *The Budgetary Situation.*

An examination of the quarterly report of the Greek Government on the budgetary situation (document C.239.1928.II (F.230)) convinced the Committee that the financial year 1927-28 had been a most satisfactory one. The Committee noted with pleasure that a surplus of 274 million drachmæ would probably result. As several new

important burdens had been added to the expenditure side, however, and as there appeared to be a prospect of increased debt charges in respect of further loans, the Committee thought that Greek State finances would require exceedingly careful management in the years 1928-29, 1929-30, and in later years.

### III. FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF PORTUGAL.

On November 24th, 1927, the Finance Minister of the Portuguese Republic informed the Council that the Portuguese Government desired to carry out a scheme of financial reconstruction, currency stabilisation and economic development, and asked that the Financial Committee should examine the question. The Council decided on December 5th, 1927, to request the Financial Committee and the Secretariat to study the financial situation of Portugal.

A delegation accordingly visited Lisbon, and the whole situation was carefully examined both there and at Geneva, with the help of representatives of the Government and the Government Departments, the National Bank and others.

During its session in March 1928, the Financial Committee endeavoured to draw up a reconstruction scheme, in agreement with the Government, and reported as follows :

“ The technical problem presented is in principle similar to that presented by some of the other schemes which have been recently before the Council. The currency of Portugal has seriously depreciated since the war. An effort to arrest depreciation was made, which maintained a *de facto* stability for some years ; but the general financial position has made this stability precarious and prevented a legal stabilisation. In these circumstances, the Portuguese Government, anxious to achieve permanent reform by means of a comprehensive scheme, including an external loan, has applied for the assistance of the League.

“ The first results of the Committee’s study involve the establishment of budget equilibrium, the legal stabilisation of the currency, the consolidation of the floating debt and the reduction of the State debt to the Bank of Portugal, and, finally, the issue of an external loan, a portion of which could be devoted to public works which are economically essential. With the aid of these measures, and under the other conditions discussed with the Government, the Committee consider that the finances of Portugal and its currency could be placed on a sound basis.

“ It has not yet been possible to complete the scheme, and the Committee is still in discussion with the Government on some features in it.”

On June 5th, the Portuguese Government sent a letter to the Council containing the following passage :

“ The present Government of the Portuguese Republic, after most carefully examining the clauses relating to League of Nations control, which at that time alone prevented the successful conclusion of the negotiations, is also forced to recognise that these clauses are still unacceptable and compel it, to its great regret, not to take any further steps with regard to the loan, in connection with whose issue they had been proposed.

“ My Government particularly requests me, however, once more to express its most sincere thanks to the Council of the League and to the Financial Committee for the goodwill and sympathetic interest which they have shown to Portugal. The fact that the negotiations initiated by the preceding Government do not, in the opinion of the present Government, appear likely to lead to satisfactory results does not in any way detract from the sentiments of cordial esteem and wholehearted loyalty felt by the Government of the Republic towards the League of Nations, of which sentiments it will always be happy to offer fresh proofs.”

### IV. MIXED GRECO-BULGARIAN EMIGRATION COMMISSION.

The Financial Committee received in June 1928 a further report from the Mixed Greco-Bulgarian Emigration Commission, and was glad to note a considerable improvement in the situation.

Of the compensation owed by the two Governments to the exchanged populations for property left behind, the Committee observed that the 10 per cent cash payments were being made regularly. The December Agreement, which had provided for the payment of 90 per cent in bonds, had been ratified by the Bulgarian Government, the necessary credits had been voted, and all was declared ready for the distribution of the *titres définitifs*.

The position as regards Greece was not so completely satisfactory, the Greek Government not having obtained ratification of the December Agreement. A draft Bill, however, had been deposited with the Chamber and submitted to the competent Parliamentary Committees. The Financial Committee was informed by the Greek representative that the ratification of the Agreement was one of the measures which the Greek Government proposed to ask the Chamber to pass forthwith, and that, in fact, it was expected that the report of the Parliamentary Committees to the Chamber would be presented on June 4th.

The Committee again expressed the hope that the Greek ratification would be procured speedily. It emphasised the importance of this in view of the fact that, without ratification by Greece, the Bulgarian Government could hardly be expected to continue indefinitely to issue bonds for which the ultimate responsibility under the Agreement rested on Greece.

The Council, at its June session, expressed the hope that the Greek ratification would be effected without delay.

#### V. MEETING OF CENTRAL BANK STATISTICIANS.

At the suggestion of the Financial Committee, a meeting of information and statistical officers of twenty-four Banks of Issue was held at the Bank of France from April 11th to April 17th, 1928, with the object of improving monetary statistics. The meeting was arranged by the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League.

Discussions at this meeting were held on the following subjects: the characteristic features of the different money markets, the volume of money and of credit, clearing statistics, the velocity of circulation, indices of economic activity, the definition of the different rates of money and the manner in which these rates are quoted.

The delegates expressed the view that the personal relations which had been initiated would be found to prove of permanent utility and that their future development could not fail to be of advantage for the observation of monetary phenomena.

#### VI. PURCHASING POWER OF GOLD.

The Economic Consultative Committee, which met in May 1928, discussed the question of the purchasing power of gold (for its report on this question see the General Report to the Assembly, document A.6.1928, page 65). The Committee recommended that the question should be examined by the Financial and Economic Organisation of the League.

The Financial Committee, during its June session, also discussed the question and reported to the Council as follows:

“The attention of the Financial Committee has been called to the recommendation of the Economic Consultative Committee of May 19th last with regard to the detrimental effect upon industry, agriculture and conditions of employment of undue fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold. The Financial Committee recognises the great importance and interest of this subject. The financial resolutions of the Conference of Genoa were referred in 1922 to the Financial Committee by the Council, which invited the Committee to consider the methods best suited to foster monetary stability. These resolutions dealt not only with problems arising from currency fluctuations in relation to gold but also with undue fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold itself. They contemplated, as a first stage, the stabilisation of currencies in relation to gold.

“Very great progress has been made in this direction in the last few years, some countries stabilising by independent effort, others with the aid of international co-operation, whether through the League or not; and this first stage may now be regarded as nearing its conclusion. This gives special interest to the problems connected with undue fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold, and makes the moment opportune for a study of it. The Committee would be glad, therefore, if the Council so desires, to consider to what extent and in what way the League, whose efforts have necessarily been concentrated hitherto on a contribution to the first stage of the world's post-war monetary problem, could now most usefully assist in the study and solution of the problem in this second stage.”

The Council on June 8th, 1928, requested the Financial Committee to consider to what extent and in what way the League of Nations could most usefully assist in the study and solution of the problem of undue fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold.

#### VII. ECONOMIC TENDENCIES AFFECTING THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.

The Economic Consultative Committee, at its session held in May 1928, considered this question (for its report, see the General Report to the Assembly, document A.6.1928, page 65).

The Council on June 9th, 1928, decided to refer the matter to the Economic and Financial Committees and adopted the following resolution:

“The Council instructs the Economic and Financial Committees to undertake, as soon as circumstances allow, and on the lines suggested by the Consultative Committee, the study which that Committee demands ‘of some of the more important principles and tendencies in financial and economic policy and practice which tend to create or to destroy conditions favourable to peace.’”

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## II. ORGANISATION FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT.

The following work has been done since the publication of the General Report to the Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly on the Work of the Council and on the Work of the Secretariat.

### 1. ROAD TRAFFIC.

The enquiry with regard to the standardisation of road signals has been continued. The proposals of the Permanent Committee on Road Traffic have met with an extremely favourable reception from almost all Governments. It appears certain that very considerable progress will shortly be made towards standardisation on the basis of the proposals of the Committee on Road Traffic. This Committee will meet later to consider the observations submitted by certain Governments.

### 2. INLAND NAVIGATION.

The session of the Committee for the Unification of Private Law in Inland Navigation, which was announced in the previous report, was held at Vienna from June 8th to 14th last. A preliminary draft Convention, settling a number of the questions raised, including that of registration, was adopted at the first reading. There would seem to be no doubt that it will be possible for the first European Conference for the Unification of Private Law in Inland Navigation to meet in 1929 or 1930.

### 3. MARITIME NAVIGATION.

As a result of the enquiry made by the Rapporteurs to the Committee for the Unification of Buoyage and Lighting of Coasts which was mentioned in the previous report and which was carried out in the United States and Canada with the full co-operation of the authorities of those two countries, fresh proposals have been drawn up which make it possible to contemplate standardisation practically throughout the world. Since the general principles which had previously been established by the Committee on Buoyage and the Lighting of Coasts have been modified as a result of these new proposals, the Committee will be called upon to reconsider the question. It would seem possible for a final report to be submitted to the Committee for Ports and Maritime Navigation and to the Transit Committee in 1929, and the proposed International Conference could be convened should it appear from the further discussions that its success was assured.

### 4. TRANSPORT BY RAIL.

The Permanent Committee for Transport by Rail has several times considered the question of the unification of the nomenclature of railway tariffs, since the lack of such unification makes it difficult to conclude international tariffs and is liable in many cases to hamper international trade. Since the International Railway Union has undertaken an investigation of certain aspects of this question, the Committee for Transport by Rail had waited until it could examine the first results of the enquiry carried out by the Union. Those results have recently been received from the Union. Enquiries are at present in progress which will make it possible for the Committee for Transport by Rail at its next session, which is fixed for the beginning of 1929, to consider what progress might be made immediately in view of the work already done by the International Railway Union.

### 5. GENERAL QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH VARIOUS MEANS OF TRANSPORT.

#### (a) *Reform of the Calendar.*

As a result of the enquiries made concerning the reform of the calendar, the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit, in a report which has been communicated to all Governments, put forward certain recommendations relating to the fixing of Easter and also to the general question of the simplification of the calendar and the adoption of a perpetual calendar better calculated than the present one to meet the requirements of economic life. Having considered the schemes proposed, the Committee divided them into two or three categories and requested that, in most countries, National Committees should be established to consider the reform of the calendar, such Committees to be really representative of the administrations and circles concerned, and to report to the League of Nations on the subject and make it possible once more to consider whether it would be advisable to convene an International Conference. The information received would seem to show that such National Committees are being formed. The National Committee of the United States of America has already been officially established and has begun its work. It includes representatives both of the Ministries concerned and of the competent commercial, statistical, banking, labour and other interests.

(b) *Collection and Exchange of Information on Communications and Transit.*

The Advisory and Technical Committee has already received from a certain number of Governments the publications and information for which it had applied. From an examination of the categories of information which can be supplied, it seems probable that this service can be in full working order in 1929.

6. COMMUNICATIONS OF IMPORTANCE TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT TIMES OF CRISIS.

(a) *General Measures.*

The only questions still pending are certain problems concerning air navigation which have been examined in collaboration with the International Commission for Air Navigation, namely, the question of the identification of aircraft engaged in transport for the League of Nations and that of facilities for flying over various territories to be granted to such aircraft. The first of these questions is in a fair way to be settled. The second would appear to be somewhat more delicate, but a solution will certainly be found, for it is evident from the resolutions already adopted by the Assembly that the States Members of the League will consider it advisable to take the necessary measures to ensure that aircraft engaged in transport essential to the performance of the League's duties at times of crisis should enjoy all the necessary facilities.

(b) *Landing-Ground for Aircraft.*

New proposals are expected this autumn as a result of additional technical investigations carried out by the Swiss authorities concerned. As soon as the result of these investigations is known, and if they should necessitate solutions other than those which have already been considered by the Committee of Experts, that Committee will again be convened for the purpose of examining them. In all probability, it will be possible to submit a final report on this matter to the Assembly of 1929.

(c) *Wireless Station for the League of Nations.*

The Assembly will have before it not only the general report of the Advisory and Technical Committee (document A.22.1928.VIII) which was announced in the previous report, but also a supplementary report which, in general, confirms the conclusions of the first report regarding the establishment of a wireless station owned by the League of Nations. Furthermore, at the Council's request, the report also deals in detail with another solution, to the effect that the Swiss authorities should establish a wireless station at Geneva, in co-operation with the League, that station to come under the exclusive authority of the League of Nations at times of crisis. It would not seem necessary to summarise here the conclusions which are embodied in a separate document (document A.23.1928.VIII).

7. JURISDICTION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION OF THE DANUBE.

The negotiations relating to the jurisdiction of the European Commission of the Danube made it necessary to hold a further session at Vienna at the end of June. The negotiations are pursuing their normal course and it is intended to hold another session in September. The time-limit for the negotiations has been extended till November 30th, 1928, by unanimous agreement between the Governments represented on the European Commission of the Danube.

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III. HEALTH ORGANISATION.

The Council of the League of Nations, at its fiftieth session held in June 1928, approved the recommendations adopted by the Health Committee at its twelfth session held at Geneva from April 30th to May 5th, 1928.

The Council, at the same session, accepted with thanks an increase from \$50,000 to \$60,335 in the grant of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation for the Epidemiological Intelligence Service. The object of the increased grant is to ensure the systematic development of the epidemiological and public health intelligence service, particularly as regards documentation.

1. EPIDEMIOLOGICAL INFORMATION.

In accordance with arrangements made between the Office international d'hygiène publique and the Health Organisation of the League of Nations, the Office has, since May 18th, 1928, forwarded each week a summary of the epidemiological information it has

received, for inclusion in the *Weekly Record* of the Health Section. Official notifications, as required by the International Sanitary Convention, have also been received from the Office international d'hygiène publique for publication, and have appeared on the first page of the *Weekly Record*.

An arrangement has been made for telegraphic exchange of information with the Conseil sanitaire maritime et quarantenaire d'Égypte, which is acting as the regional bureau, under the International Sanitary Convention, for the administrations within its sphere of activity.

Detailed telegraphic reports regarding yellow fever in Brazil have been received each week since the reappearance of that disease.

In view of the increased amount of important information now being received in the Secretariat, a daily mimeographed report is being prepared whenever the importance of this information so demands, and is being sent by mail to all European health administrations. From four to five of these daily reports have been issued each week since June 1st, in addition to the *Weekly Record*, which is now published each Thursday.

## 2. LIAISON BETWEEN THE HEALTH SERVICES OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

### (a) *Interchange for the Study of Problems of Rural Hygiene.*

An interchange for the study of problems of rural hygiene began on May 28th at Ljubljana and ended with a final Conference at Geneva on July 25th. The participants, numbering twenty from eighteen countries,<sup>1</sup> visited in order rural districts in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Hungary, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and France. Opportunity was given for a detailed comparative study of rural housing, water and milk supplies, sewerage and sewage disposal, public health and medical organisation and the work of existing semi-public and private health agencies. Among the participants were six engineers whose work was connected with rural hygiene, so that engineering as well as technical medical opinion was brought to bear on the health problems of rural districts.

During the final Conference held at Geneva, the participants prepared a series of reports on the subjects included in the study tour, which were summarised in a general report giving the views of the group as a whole in regard to the various methods of solving problems of rural hygiene which they had been privileged to study during the interchange (document C.H./E.P.S./146). The participants noted with satisfaction that the Health Organisation of the League had undertaken the study of certain subjects related to rural hygiene, and agreed that it would be useful for that Organisation to take up the study of certain aspects of housing, the protection of the milk supply and physical education. They also recommended that further interchanges for the study of rural hygiene should be organised, in view of the interest of this subject to nearly all countries.

### (b) *Interchange of Health Officers in Italy.*

An interchange of Health Officers will commence in Italy on September 16th, 1928, and will continue until November 6th, when a final Conference will be held at Geneva. Members of the health administrations of twenty-one countries<sup>2</sup> have been invited to take part in this study tour. The programme has been very carefully drawn up in close co-operation with the Italian authorities, and participants will have an opportunity of studying nearly all aspects of public health enterprise in Italy. Visits will be paid to the following towns: Turin, Genoa, Marina di Massa, Rome, Naples, Florence, Montecatini, Bologna, Ferrara, Venice, Brescia, Parma, Salsomaggiore, Milan and the chief towns of Sicily and Sardinia.

In each of the more important towns visited, special attention will be paid to a particular health activity. In two large urban centres — Turin and Naples — a comprehensive study will be made of municipal and provincial health organisation and administration. In other centres, rural health measures, industrial hygiene and sanitary engineering will receive particular attention. Medical education, the training of health personnel, including sanitary inspectors and visiting nurses, will be studied. In short, a very exhaustive study will be made of all activities directly and indirectly connected

<sup>1</sup> Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Germany, Guatemala, Hungary, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

<sup>2</sup> Argentine, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Irish Free State, Japan, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United States of America, Uruguay.



with public health. Résumés of the lectures that will be given, as well as a description of the health organisation and the economic, industrial and agricultural conditions of the districts and towns to be visited, have been printed and sent to participants.

A special feature of this study tour will be the extensive use of the cinematograph. The valued co-operation of the organisation L.U.C.E. will make it possible for cinematograph films to be shown of the various institutions, etc., to be visited. In this way, participants will have their attention directed to the chief features of interest, and relatively short visits of inspection will be made much more profitable.

### 3. WORK OF THE COMMISSIONS.

#### *Malaria Commission.*

In order to review the experience gained by the Malaria Commission and to discuss the principles set out in its second general report (document C.H./Malaria/73), as well as other reports on the various countries visited by its members, a general Conference was held at Geneva from June 25th to 29th, 1928, at which were present the members and corresponding members of the Malaria Commission, together with certain specially invited malariologists from the United States of America and other countries. The Conference discussed the principles and methods of dealing with malaria in the light of present knowledge, with special reference to the conditions, economic and political, obtaining in Europe at the present time.

The Conference emphasised the fact that all campaigns against malaria must be based on a specialised and systematic local study of this disease. For this reason, it was important that each country in which malaria was a serious cause of sickness should have an organisation specially devoted to this work. No anti-malarial measures were of constant and unchanging value; methods must be adapted to the exigencies of the particular region, and emphasis was laid on the value of anti-malarial work as a factor in social progress and general hygiene, more especially in the case of rural populations.

The recommendations adopted by the Conference have been published as a special report (document C.H./Malaria/121).

The Conference enumerated a list of subjects the study of which was considered desirable. Certain of these have been selected as specially suitable for international study. Among these are: (1) housing in relation to malaria, and (2) a systematic and biological study in Europe and in the United States of America of the two species of mosquito which are specially and respectively concerned in the transmission of malaria in these continents. This study is to be entrusted, in the first place, to a group of laboratories in the United States designated by the United States Public Health Services and the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, and to two laboratories in Europe, one in England and the other in the Netherlands. When sufficient progress has been made, the collaboration of other laboratories will be invited, on the basis of the first provisional report.

The Conference recommended that a study of the value of plasmochin and quiniostovarsol in the treatment of malaria should be carried out in the following countries: Central America, Germany, India, Italy, Madagascar, Netherlands East Indies, Roumania, Spain, United States of America.

Certain other experimental studies designed to increase our knowledge of the treatment of the disease will be entrusted to three groups of laboratories, the first in Germany and Italy, the second in British India and the Federated Malay States and the third in Spain and Algeria. The other studies will be undertaken directly by the Secretariat.

Reference has been made, in previous reports to the Assembly, to the malaria courses organised by the Health Organisation of the League in London, Hamburg and Paris. Still further facilities for the training of experts in anti-malarial work have been provided this year thanks to the co-operation of the Rome School of Malariology. At this school special courses in anti-malarial work for engineers and surveyors have also been organised.

Arrangements have been made for certain members of the Malaria Commission to visit India in the autumn of 1929.

#### *Commission of Health Experts on Infant Welfare.*

The Commission of Health Experts on Infant Welfare met in London at the Ministry of Health on July 3rd, 4th and 5th, 1928, to consider the results of the completed enquiries of the different countries, the form of the final report, and various proposals as to the possibility of continuing the enquiry along different lines. The Commission agreed that the first examination of the data collected yielded information coinciding with the views expressed at the session held at Vienna (September 1927), when the importance of dead birth, prematurity, respiratory and intestinal infections had been pointed out. Moreover, these causes of infant mortality were of first importance in all the districts of the countries in question, although their relative importance differed. In all countries a number of deaths

occur which cannot be accounted for; these require further investigation with the collaboration of specialists in other fields of medicine. In view of the large number of infants dying at or before birth, the necessity for further investigations was indicated, and the Commission agreed that, for this purpose, the collaboration of obstetrical experts was necessary, all the more so as maternal mortality is closely associated with infant mortality.

The Commission decided on a plan for the preparation of the final report. Each expert was entrusted with the preparation of a report on the enquiries made in his own country, and the Secretariat was asked to prepare a general report on the basis of these. The reports on each country will be prepared in accordance with a uniform plan elaborated by the Commission.

The Commission decided to present at its next session detailed proposals as to further enquiries; a plan for the study of rickets was prepared for submission to the Health Committee in accordance with decisions taken at the Geneva (September 1926) and Vienna (September 1927) sessions of the Commission.

*Commission on Permanent Standardisation of Sera, Serological Reactions  
and Biological Products.*

A laboratory Conference on the sero-diagnosis of syphilis was held at Copenhagen from May 21st to June 4th, 1928. The Health Organisation of the League of Nations commenced the study of this subject in 1921 with a view to the comparison of the methods and results of the various reactions in use. A first laboratory Conference was held in 1923. The recent Conference was convened by the Health Committee for the purpose of estimating the relative value of various tests recently applied for the diagnosis of syphilis. Thirty-eight experts assembled in the State Serum Institute, Copenhagen, after a period of preliminary study in their own laboratories, for the purpose of comparing their own methods with those used in the laboratories of the other countries represented. A series of resolutions was adopted (see extract from document C.304.M.84.1928.III). The Conference emphasised the importance of assisting the clinician as much as possible and, for this reason, recommended frequent consultation between the serologist and the clinician, and the adoption of a uniform notation of serological results bearing the same clinical interpretations from laboratories of sixteen countries<sup>1</sup>.

The Conference agreed that, as the methods for the sero-diagnosis of syphilis are constantly improving, it would be desirable for the Health Organisation of the League to continue its study and to arrange for further international comparisons, and invited the Danish State Serum Institute, acting as the central laboratory for the Health Organisation, to distribute sera for comparative tests in different national laboratories and to test samples submitted by such laboratories.

*Smallpox and Vaccination Commission.*

The Commission, with its experts, is holding a meeting on August 22nd, 1928, to consider post-vaccinal encephalitis as an international problem, in the light of recent publications, and the possibility of undertaking co-ordinated field enquiries in selected areas of certain countries on the incidence and epidemiology of this disease. The Commission is also considering information collected from numerous health administrations regarding the methods employed in the preparation and preservation of vaccine lymph and the desirability of carrying out co-ordinated international research with diluted and killed vaccine lymph.

*Cancer Commission.*

The Sub-Commission of experts charged with the study of the radiotherapy of cancer met at Geneva on June 18th and 19th, 1928. The main object of the meeting was to study the manner in which information could best be obtained regarding the methods of radiological treatment of certain forms of cancer now being used in various countries and the results obtained by these methods. It was decided to limit the enquiry in the first instance to a few clinics and institutions having an exceptionally large experience of such treatment.

The Sub-Commission considered that the following questions called for further study :

1. Propaganda among doctors and the general public in order to ensure the early discovery and early and correct treatment of cancer of the uterus.

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<sup>1</sup> Austria, Denmark, Federated Malay States, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Italy, Japan, Poland, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Sweden, Turkey, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, United States of America, Uruguay.

2. Increase in the number of consultation centres.
3. Organisation of centres for microscopic analysis in order to ensure early diagnoses.
4. Recommendations for the organisation of efficient treatment of the disease.
5. Recommendations for the radio-therapeutical equipment of clinics.
6. Disadvantages of out-patient treatment.
7. Recommendations for the compilation of reliable statistics.
8. Recommendations for special scientific research.

The Sub-Commission also noted, as subject for enquiry, the available supplies of radium and the need for an authoritative opinion as to the advantages and drawbacks of distributing radium or radium emanations to hospitals and individual practitioners.

#### 4. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL RABIES CONFERENCE, 1927.

Reference was made in the report to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly to the resolutions adopted by the Rabies Conference. It will be recalled that the Health Organisation of the League was asked to act as a co-ordinating agent for researches to be carried out in various anti-rabies institutes regarding the relative efficiency of certain modifications of the original Pasteur method of treatment and other scientific problems of practical importance in connection with that disease.

In compliance with that resolution, letters have been addressed to the various institutes represented at the Conference, asking for their observations regarding a scheme of research and whether the Health Organisation could count upon their co-operation in carrying it out.

The Conference further recommended that the Health Organisation should publish statistics of the results of anti-rabies treatment in the different institutes of the world. A schedule was accordingly drawn up and has been sent to all anti-rabies institutes, with the request that the results of the treatment given should be forwarded to the Health Section. The response to this request has been most favourable, and full statistical information regarding results of treatment carried out during 1927 has already been received from institutes in Austria, Ceylon, Finland, Hungary, India, Morocco and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

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## 11.

### HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS.

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#### I. PROTECTION AND WELFARE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE.

##### A. TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

The report on the work of the seventh session of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee, which met at Geneva from March 12th to March 17th, 1928, was submitted to the Council at its meeting held on June 5th, 1928.

The representative of the British Empire, acting as Rapporteur, proposed that the Council should approve the resolutions adopted by the Committee, and drew attention in particular to the following points :

##### *Report of the Experts on the Traffic in Women and Children.*

The Rapporteur asked the Council to approve the Committee's proposal that Governments and voluntary organisations should be invited to send to the League such additional information as they might have on the subject of the enquiry by the Body of Experts. He thought that the Council would share the Committee's opinion as to the value of the enquiry, which had thrown much light on this terrible social evil, and would wish to have a further report from the Committee on the question of the continuation of the enquiry.

##### *Licensed Houses.*

The Committee examined the desirability of recommending all Governments to abolish the system of licensed houses, and, though some difference of opinion was expressed on the question whether such a policy was immediately practicable, it unanimously passed a resolution favouring investigation of the question as soon as possible, and proposing that, in order to facilitate that investigation, the Secretariat should study the laws and regulations in force in those countries where the system has been abolished.

*Persons living on the Earnings of Prostitution.*

The Committee, in its resolution on this question, proposed that the Secretariat should make a concise study of the laws and penalties relating to the *souteneur*, that is to say, the person who lives wholly or in part upon the immoral earnings of a woman.

*Obscene Publications.*

The Traffic in Women and Children Committee recommended to the Council that the time had not yet come to call a conference for the suppression of the trade in obscene publications. In conformity with Article 16 of the International Convention of 1923, the desirability of such a Conference should be considered at the end of each period of five years dating from the entry into force of the Convention.

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Upon the proposal of the Rapporteur, the Council adopted the following resolution :

“ The Council takes note of the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee on the work of its seventh session and approves the resolutions contained therein. ”

**B. CHILD WELFARE.**

The Council of the League of Nations examined during its fiftieth session, held in June 1928, the report presented by the Child Welfare Committee on the work of its fourth session.<sup>1</sup>

The Council approved the report subject to further consideration of the Committee's suggestions regarding the draft Statutes of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute.

The Council requested the Secretary-General to forward the report to the various Governments, calling special attention to the resolutions on the legal age of marriage and on the cinematograph respectively.

**II. TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS.**

**1. ELEVENTH SESSION OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE : MEASURES TAKEN BY THE COUNCIL.**

The report of the Committee on the work of its eleventh session was dealt with by the Council at its June session. The Council instructed the Secretary-General to take the necessary action in order to give effect to the resolutions adopted by the Committee. As the result of a discussion which took place with regard to benzoylmorphine, it was decided, on the suggestion of the representative of Italy, that the Council, in recommending to Governments to place benzoylmorphine, and perhaps other similar substances, under the same control as is exercised over morphine in regard to manufacture, export and import, should draw attention to Article 14 (*d*) of the Hague Convention of 1912, by which the contracting parties are bound to apply the laws and regulations for the manufacture, import, sale and export of morphine, cocaine and their respective salts to any new derivative of morphine, of cocaine or of their respective salts or to any new alkaloid of opium which may be shown by scientific research, generally recognised, to be liable to similar abuse and productive of like ill-effects.

**2. RATIFICATION OF THE GENEVA CONVENTION : APPOINTMENT OF THE PERMANENT CENTRAL BOARD.**

During the discussion which took place at the June session of the Council with regard to the ratification of the Geneva Opium Convention of February 19th, 1925, further ratifications by Members of the Council were announced, and the British representative observed that, when the pending ratification of Canada was deposited, the Convention would come into force.

The deposit of the Canadian ratification, which took place on June 27th, 1928, was announced by the Secretary-General in a letter dated August 8th, 1928. In this letter, attention was drawn to Article 36 of the Convention, which provides that the Convention shall not come into force until it has been ratified by ten Powers including

<sup>1</sup> See General Report to the Assembly, Annex 2, pages 301-303.

seven of the States by which the Central Board is to be appointed, of which at least two must be permanent Members of the Council of the League, and to the fact that seven Members represented on the Council have definitively accepted the obligations of the Convention — Canada, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Poland, by ratification, Finland and Roumania having definitely acceded thereto.

The question of the appointment of the Permanent Central Board contemplated by Article 19 of the Geneva Convention of 1925 and that of the consideration of the action to be taken by the Council have been placed on the provisional agenda of the fifty-first session of the Council.

### 3. GENEVA OPIUM AGREEMENT OF 1925 : CONTROL OF OPIUM-SMOKING IN THE FAR EAST.

A proposal by the British Government for the appointment by the Council of a Commission of Enquiry to consider the present situation as regards the control of opium-smoking in the Far East has been placed upon the provisional agenda of the fifty-first session of the Council. In accordance with Article 12 of the Geneva Opium Agreement of 1925, a further Conference of the Powers concerned is to take place not later than 1929. The object of the proposed Commission of Enquiry would be to prepare the way for the Conference by a comprehensive and impartial study of the problems on the spot.

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## 12.

### ARMENIAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENT SCHEME.

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Seventeen Governments have replied definitely to the appeal made by the Council and communicated by a letter from the Secretary-General, dated October 31st, 1927. Certain other Governments have informed the Secretary-General that the matter has been referred to the competent authorities of their countries or that they are giving the question sympathetic consideration. The countries which have replied definitely are the following :

Australia	Greece	New Zealand
Austria	Hungary	Norway
Czechoslovakia	India	Roumania
Denmark	Japan	Switzerland
Germany	Luxemburg	Union of South Africa
Great Britain	Netherlands	

The Norwegian Government, in addition to the Governments of Germany, Greece, Roumania and Switzerland, has declared itself willing to contribute to the realisation of the plan and has stated the manner in which it is prepared to do so.

The reply of the Netherlands Government was indicated in the General Report to the Assembly (document A. 6. 1928, page 107). The Government of Luxemburg has declared that it is not in a position to decide how much to contribute, as the documents communicated to it do not indicate the share to be borne by other countries nor the share which the Grand-Duchy would be asked to undertake. The replies of the other Governments mentioned above have been to the effect that they are unable to assist in the furtherance of the scheme.

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### 13.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELIEF UNION.

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The Permanent Committee of the International Relief Union met on June 11th, 1928, at Cologne, to discuss the measures to be taken to hasten the entry into force of the Geneva Convention of July 12th, 1927.

At this meeting, the Committee took note of the fact that the Convention had been signed by twenty-nine States and adhered to by one, the Sudan. It asked the Secretary-General to make a provisional estimate of the amount of contributions to be paid by signatory States not Members of the League, as provided for in Article 16 of the Convention.

The Committee paid special attention to the preparation of three sets of Regulations necessary for the proper working of the Union. After discussion, a member of the Committee was asked to draw up three drafts: (a) Regulations for the Council; (b) Regulations for the Executive Committee; and (c) Administrative Regulations. These drafts will be communicated to all the members of the Committee.

Finally, the Committee discussed the best method of conducting propaganda on behalf of the International Relief Union, and asked one of its members to prepare a pamphlet on this point.

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### 14.

#### INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

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The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation held its tenth session from July 25th to 31st, 1928, preceded by meetings of its various Sub-Committees on University Relations, Intellectual Rights, Arts and Letters, Science and Bibliography.

At its first meeting the Committee appointed Professor Gilbert Murray Chairman and respectfully associated itself with his warm praise of his predecessor, Professor Lorentz. It appointed as Vice-Chairmen Mme. Curie and M. Jules Destrée.

The Committee welcomed with pleasure as one of its members M. ŠUSTA, formerly Minister of Education of Czechoslovakia, Professor at Prague University.

In the course of their meetings the Committee and its Sub-Committees passed in review all the work done during the year in the sphere of intellectual co-operation, together with the activities of the Paris International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. The resolutions of the Sub-Committees were generally approved by the full Committee.

Sitting in the capacity of Governing Body of the Institute, under the Chairmanship of M. Paul Painlevé, the Committee also examined the financial and administrative management of the Institute.

##### I. SUB-COMMITTEE ON UNIVERSITY RELATIONS.

The Sub-Committee on University Relations met from July 9th to 11th. One new member was present, namely, Baron DE KORANYI, Professor at Budapest University.

##### 1. CO-ORDINATION OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES.

The Sub-Committee examined at length the outcome of the work done by the representatives of scientific institutes of international and political studies during their meeting at Berlin last March, in order to promote an agreement between institutes of this kind. In pursuance of a recommendation of these experts, the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was directed to undertake certain tasks of documentation which will facilitate the future work of the institutes for advanced international studies. Further, it was decided that the work of the experts on a programme of collaboration should be continued at a meeting which will be held shortly in London.

## 2. NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OFFICES.

The Sub-Committee and the plenary Committee approved the resolutions adopted by the Directors of National University Offices at their annual meeting held in Paris, the objects of these resolutions being, *inter alia*, permission for foreign scientists to have access to museums, libraries and archives and to take part in excavations, etc., and an examination of the question whether it would be possible to set up regular co-operation between centres of information regarding university institutes.

## 3. INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ORGANISATIONS.

A report was presented on the annual meeting of the representatives of international student organisations, the work of which was concerned with the scheme for the establishment of an international university sanatorium at Leysin, the question of an international students' identity card, and that of a travel card for certain classes of intellectual workers.

## 4. INTERCHANGE OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS.

In this sphere the work of the International Institute was concerned with the preparation and publication of a general register of all organisations which further university interchanges in the various European countries. It has been possible to give effect to this undertaking thanks to a subsidy offered by the American National Council on Education. The publication of a second and more complete edition of this collection is contemplated as a result of the renewal of the subsidy, and also the conclusion of certain international agreements the objects of which would be to encourage interchanges of teachers and to provide for their methodical preparation.

## 5. POST-UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS.

The International Institute now having copious documentation on this question, the Sub-Committee and the plenary Committee recommended that a special committee of experts should be directed to study the problem of scholarships as a whole, with a view to reaching conclusions that would be applicable not only to scientific laboratories but also to research institutes in the field of the humanities and social sciences.

## 6. HOLIDAY COURSES.

The Sub-Committee and the Plenary Committee examined with interest a list of advanced holiday courses in Europe, published for the first time by the International Institute. This list will henceforth be published regularly each year.

## 7. INTERNATIONAL INTER-SCHOOL CORRESPONDENCE.

It was decided that the Institute would prepare for a meeting of experts to study this question.

## 8. INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY YEAR-BOOK.

The Institute has been directed to study, in collaboration with the delegates of the international student organisations and a certain number of specially qualified experts, the scheme for the publication of an international guide for students going to foreign countries. The Institute is to take as its starting-point the national guides at present existing and is to consider whether it would be possible to publish the new guide in several editions adapted to the needs of the different countries or groups of countries.

# II. SUB-COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL RIGHTS.

This Sub-Committee met on July 12th and 13th, M. GALLIÉ, Secretary-General of the International Confederation of Intellectual Workers, being present for the first time in the capacity of assistant member.

## 1. SCIENTIFIC PROPERTY.

A new preliminary draft Convention, the object of which is to assure for scientists pecuniary benefits which are justified by the profitable use of their discoveries, was approved. This preliminary draft, which was drawn up by a special Committee of Experts and is the result of studies which have continued for about six years, takes into account the observations made in this connection by the Economic Committee of the League. The Sub-Committee seeks to solve the problem by means of the intervention of mutual benefit societies or insurance companies, a method which would, it seems, remove the danger of certain economic activities being hindered by the measures taken in favour of scientists whose discoveries have been utilised for industrial purposes. The Sub-Committee considered that this preliminary draft might be submitted to the Governments for their observations.

## 2. AUTHORS' RIGHTS.

It was noted that the recent Rome Conference for the revision of the Berne Convention had adopted several amendments in accordance with the recommendations previously made by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, particularly with regard to moral right, *i.e.*, the author's right to prevent his work being altered without his approval.

## 3. LEGAL AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF INTELLECTUAL WORKERS.

The Institute was directed to continue to follow closely, in collaboration with the International Labour Office, and in liaison with the professional organisations concerned, the problems relating to the legal and social condition of intellectual workers, particularly with regard to the needs and interests of the liberal professions.

## 4. LEGAL STATUS OF INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND FOUNDATIONS.

The Institute's enquiries from a certain number of international associations not formed for profit will be continued, in collaboration with the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law. It is intended that an appeal shall be made, when the time comes, for the assistance of the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law.

## 5. INTELLECTUAL STATISTICS.

The International Statistical Conference which was held recently at Cairo passed resolutions drawing attention to the practical utility of co-ordinating intellectual statistics, since this would constitute a basis of reference capable of facilitating international relations and a summary of the intellectual resources of each country. The Council is being requested by the Committee to invite the Governments of the various countries to place their administrations in a position to give effect, as far as possible, to the recommendations made by the International Institute of Statistics at its Cairo session.

## 6. OBSTACLES TO THE INTERNATIONAL DIFFUSION OF BOOKS.

The Sub-Committee expressed the wish that the diffusion of books should no longer be hindered by Customs barriers and postal tariffs. The Institute has been invited to study the possibility of drawing up a scheme for a modification of Customs nomenclatures, under which scientific works would be exempted from Customs duties, and particularly those works which are intended for libraries or scientific institutions.

# III. SUB-COMMITTEE ON ARTS AND LETTERS.

The Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters met from July 16th to 19th. This year it included as new members Mr. Edward J. DENT, Mr. John GALSWORTHY, M. GRAUL, M. KIPPENBERG, M. Salvador DE MADARIAGA, M. Vittorio ROSSI and Sir Cecil Harcourt SMITH.

## 1. INTERNATIONAL MUSEUMS OFFICE.

Certain rules have been fixed for the organisation of this Office until it shall have received a definitive statute.

With regard to the work of the Office, the Sub-Committee and the Committee have stated that they attach particular importance to the publication of the review *Museumion* and to the continuation of the efforts thanks to which international exhibitions of engravings were organised this year at Geneva, Brussels, Liège, London, Berlin and Buenos Aires, and which were a sequel to the similar exhibitions organised in the previous year at Madrid, Paris and Rome.

An international agreement, similar to that which has been obtained for engravings, has been concluded between the casting studios, and it is the opinion of the Committee that future international exhibitions of casts might be completed by exhibitions of coins and medals.

Finally, it was decided that the study which is at present being undertaken of the question of the unification of museum catalogues and of that of the educational rôle of museums should be continued by the International Museums Office.

## 2. ORGANISATION OF THE CONGRESS OF POPULAR ART.

From an examination of the preparatory work that has been done for the International Congress of Popular Art, which is to be held at Prague next October, it appears likely that this exhibition will be a successful one.



### 3. CINEMA.

Various reports on the art of the cinema were submitted, and the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was invited to prepare a "cahier" on the possibilities of the cinema as a special form of art. It was also decided to draw the attention of the Assembly to the dangers of films conceived in a spirit which is antagonistic to that of the League.

### 4. INTERNATIONAL MUSICAL QUESTIONS.

A small committee of experts will be convened to examine the means of assuring the complete maintenance of the pitch recommended by the 1858 Conference, at which period emphasis had already been laid on the difficulties and risks to which performers and the compositions they perform are exposed by variations of pitch. The recommendation was also made that certain information of interest to the musical world should be published periodically.

### 5. TRANSLATION OF LITERARY WORKS.

The Sub-Committee noted that the Federation of P.E.N. Clubs had concluded an agreement with the Institute with the object of facilitating the translation of literary works. Each P.E.N. Club Centre would furnish, for its own country, a list of not more than twenty works published prior to 1900 which it would recommend for translation. The P.E.N. Clubs would undertake to furnish information regarding the translators available, so that good translations would be assured.

Although the plenary Committee thought the offer of the P.E.N. Clubs to be of interest, it took the view that, in order to put this plan into operation, it must pass through the National Committees, who could themselves come to an understanding, often to great advantage, with the P.E.N. Clubs. The proposed plan should make it possible for the Institute to forward the lists of books, of which the translation was recommended, to publishers and to the Press in the various countries. It should be pointed out that, under the auspices and with the assistance of the Institute, French translations were about to appear of a series of Latin-American classics.

## IV. SUB-COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.

This Sub-Committee met from July 20th to 24th, four new members attending — Dr. COWLEY, M. OTTO JESPERSEN, M. IONESCU-MIHAESTI and M. THIBAUDET.

### 1. CO-ORDINATION OF LIBRARIES.

It was decided to circulate to Governments the resolution adopted by a Committee of Library Experts which had dealt with the question of the co-ordination of libraries, and which would meet again next year.

This work of co-ordination, which was begun three years ago, and is being carried out by those concerned, namely, the librarians, is making steady progress, as is shown by the report submitted by M. Marcel Godet on behalf of the library experts who met last January. It may be hoped that, henceforth, meetings of the directors of central libraries will be held periodically.

A resolution was adopted for the creation of an international office for the scientific museums, *i.e.*, all museums other than those connected with art and history, with which the Arts Section of the Institute is concerned.

### 2. PRESERVATION OF PRINTED MATTER AND MANUSCRIPTS.

In accordance with the recommendation of a special Committee of Experts, the Committee decided to recommend to the Governments various measures of which the object was to ensure the preservation of the documents necessary to meet the needs of historians and research workers in the future, and of those which are kept in national archives and libraries.

### 3. CO-ORDINATION OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

After having examined the present state of the work on the co-ordination of the analytical bibliographies of the various sciences (biological, historical, social, economic and linguistic), the Sub-Committee and the full Committee gave the necessary instructions to enable this work to be continued.

The results, however, of this sphere of the Committee's work have not been so rapidly obtained as was hoped at the outset. The obstacles that confront the work resemble to some extent those encountered by the Sub-Committee on Intellectual Rights, and it is necessary to wait until the ideas have penetrated. Complete agreement has, however, been reached in the sphere of economics. The material means of carrying it out have now to be found.

#### 4. SCIENTIFIC WORKS PUBLISHED IN LITTLE-KNOWN LANGUAGES.

The enquiry undertaken by the Institute into works published or summarised in little-known languages will be continued, but the Sub-Committee was able forthwith to ascertain that in certain countries efforts were being made to ensure the translation of scientific works published in a little-known language. These translations are being made into one or more widely diffused languages in order to make it possible for all the savants concerned to have access to them. Recommendations are now being contemplated with a view to making such methods general.

#### 5. CENTRES OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

The Institute was instructed to encourage the development or establishment of centres of research in which a savant might take an interest and which would make it possible for him to obtain, by correspondence and as a result of co-operation between libraries and universities, information of a scientific and bibliographical character.

#### 6. METHOD OF EDITING CRITICAL TEXTS.

The Institute was instructed to assist the enquiry undertaken by the International Academic Union into the unification of methods of editing critical texts. The Institute's duty will be to encourage the co-operation of countries not represented on the Academic Union.

#### 7. UNIFICATION OF LINGUISTIC TERMS.

The Institute will continue the enquiry which it has undertaken on this subject. The summoning of a meeting of experts is contemplated in order to solve this problem and put an end to the difficulties arising from the fact that certain grammatical terms bear different meanings in different languages.

#### 8. "INDEX BIBLIOGRAPHICUS".

An exchange of views took place in the Sub-Committee concerning the usefulness of publishing a second edition of the *Index Bibliographicus* (Bibliography of Current Bibliographies). Since the International Academic Union has undertaken similar work, more particularly in regard to the historical and social sciences, the Committee thought that account should be taken of this fact, and instructed the library experts to ascertain whether a second edition of the *Index* was desirable and in what form it should appear.

#### 9. INTERNATIONAL INDEX CARDS FOR THE LINGUISTIC SCIENCES.

In fulfilment of a recommendation adopted by the International Congress of Linguists, which met recently at The Hague, the Institute was instructed to carry out an enquiry among linguists into the question of an international index card for the linguistic sciences. The results of this enquiry would be forwarded to the Standing Committee of the Congress of Linguists.

#### 10. MICROPHOTOGRAPHY OF DOCUMENTS.

The Institute submitted a scheme regarding the issue of microphotographic publications. This scheme was submitted to the library experts for examination.

#### 11. ANNUAL LIST OF REMARKABLE WORKS.

The Sub-Committee and the plenary Committee examined the list of remarkable works published by the Institute in conformity with the decisions of the Committee.

#### 12. INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MINES.

After having examined the observations of the Economic Committee on the scheme to establish an International Institute of Mines, the Sub-Committee and the plenary Committee were of the opinion that there was no necessity to take any decision on this question before the meeting of the International Geological Congress to be held in Pretoria in 1929.

### 13. FACILITIES FOR OBTAINING PUBLICATIONS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Sub-Committee and the plenary Committee took note of the observations made by the heads of various big libraries in regard to means whereby the publications of the League of Nations could be made more easily accessible to the general public.

## V. PLENARY COMMITTEE.

### 1. INSTRUCTION OF YOUTH IN THE AIMS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Committee examined the work done by the centres of information established in the Secretariat and the Institute in conformity with the recommendations of the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations. While noting the progress achieved, it expressed the hope that some of the recommendations of the Sub-Committee of Experts would be followed more closely by certain States. It considered a fresh effort necessary in order to ensure the regular transmission of periodical summaries of the work of the League to reviews and scholastic authorities. The Committee also thought it desirable that summaries should be published twice a year containing information regarding the instruction of youth in the aims of the League of Nations. Such summaries would also contain articles on this subject written by persons connected with the world of education.

### 2. INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

The plenary Committee examined and discussed a report by M. Luchaire, Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, regarding the Institute's activity during the past year. The Committee thought care should be taken to avoid throwing upon the Institute more work than it could accomplish with the resources at its disposal. With this object, it decided that the Institute should prepare for submission at its next session a complete summary of the various resolutions adopted up to the moment by the Committee. This statement would show the state of the work accomplished in connection with each of these resolutions and what still remained to be done. They could then be studied and revised with a view to co-ordinating and concentrating the work of the Institute.

The Sub-Committees and the plenary Committee expressed their general satisfaction with the manner in which the Institute was carrying out its duties and laid down a plan of action for the ensuing statutory year.

The plenary Committee, sitting as the Governing Body of the Institute, examined, under the Chairmanship of its French member, M. Paul Painlevé, the administrative and financial management of this organisation. It noted that, in addition to the large subsidy granted by the French Government, the Institute at the moment received subsidies from the following eleven countries: Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Hungary, Italy, Luxemburg, Monaco, Poland, Portugal and Switzerland.

The Governing Body's appreciation of the administrative management of the Institute was epitomised in the following terms by Dr. Krüss in the report of the Board of Directors of the Institute to the Governing Body:

“The Institute has made undeniable progress during the past year, not only as regards the attainment of certain of its specific aims but also in the organisation of its working methods and the welding of all its branches into a single harmonious whole. Even if the progress already made is nothing but a promising beginning, it is nevertheless, in view of the magnitude and difficulty of the task imposed on the Institute, a very real achievement, and the very fullest credit is due to the Director and his colleagues.”

With regard to the accounts of the Institute for the financial year 1927, these were approved by the auditor, M. Vivaldi. Finally, mention should be made, among other questions of minor importance dealt with by the Governing Body, of the question of an increase in the salaries of the Institute's officials, subject to the financial resources available.

### 3. INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL CINEMATOGRAPHIC INSTITUTE.

In view of the acceptance by the Council and Assembly in September 1927 of the offer made by the Italian Government to establish and maintain at Rome, under the guidance of the Council, an International Educational Cinematographic Institute, the Committee, in accordance with the instructions of the Council, examined the draft statutes for this new organisation. The draft, which had been drawn up by representatives of

the Italian Government and of the Secretary-General, assisted by the Director of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, was approved with some small amendments. It explained the object of this new Institute, which would be to encourage the production, circulation and exchange between the various countries of films on education, art, industry, agriculture, trade, health, social education, etc.

The draft statutes of the Institute provide that its activity shall be carried on under the guidance of the Council of the League, which would consult the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The Governing Body of the Institute will be composed of a Chairman of Italian nationality and of eleven members, to be as far as possible of different nationalities and appointed by the Council.

A permanent Executive Committee, consisting of the Chairman of the Governing Body and of five members belonging to five different nationalities, will preside over the working of the Institute, which will be entrusted to a Director appointed by the Governing Body on the nomination of its Chairman.

The draft statutes also contain an indication of the activity of the Institute and of its financial and administrative working. A report on the activity of the Institute will be forwarded each year to the Council and to the Italian Government. It will be circulated to all the Members of the League of Nations. The activity of the Institute will mainly concern the collection of an international library of films and the preparation of a general catalogue of educational films.

The draft statutes and the suggestions of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will be submitted to the Council for approval, together with the reports of the other organisations of the League consulted by the Council on this matter.

#### 4. MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES.

The Committee decided to summon a meeting in 1929 of representatives of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation. These Committees exist at the moment in more than thirty-three countries. This meeting will enable the Committees to enter into closer mutual contact and to provide each other with information on their respective organisations and methods of work. They will also be able to make suggestions to the International Committee regarding such problems as might usefully engage its attention.

#### 5. REPORT TO THE COUNCIL.

The Committee appointed M. DE REYNOLD Rapporteur to the Council. In his report, M. de Reynold analyses the results of the work of the last session and lays emphasis on the general revision of its work which the Committee desired to undertake. He states :

“ The plenary Committee considered that the time had come to take stock of its work. It therefore decided to review at its next session all schemes submitted to it and all work in hand. It desires to do only a few things but to do them thoroughly, to avoid the scattering of its energies which sometimes seems to threaten it, and to concentrate effort on essential tasks. The Committee wishes to work — and to have those associated with it and under its direction working — in a truly intellectual spirit, by reducing to a minimum the administrative or even bureaucratic element in the manner of conducting enquiries and proposing solutions.

“ The organism of intellectual co-operation has in fact developed until it has become somewhat complicated and even unwieldy. It must be informed by a single guiding spirit, which will ensure the smooth working of all its parts.”

M. de Reynold also pointed out that the Committee had wished to define its aim itself, and in this connection he expressed himself as follows :

“ Intellectual co-operation has two aspects — a limited one and a broad one. In the limited sense, intellectual co-operation aims at the joint study and practical achievement of means of co-ordinating and promoting intellectual life, as regards alike science, letters and arts. Taken in this sense, intellectual co-operation has as its object the improvement or creation of instruments of work, exactly what the Committee and its different organs have aimed at since 1922. The International Museums Office, the co-ordination of libraries, the agreement reached with regard to the economic sciences, scientific property, and also the various bulletins and annuals are, in fact, merely instruments of work. These demonstrate the value, the necessity, of intellectual co-operation far better than grandiose schemes or high-flown ideologies. But intellectual co-operation has also a wider and more lofty meaning. What is its real purpose ? To inspire writers, artists, scientists and intellectuals of the whole world with the

conviction that their interests and duties are everywhere identical, and to inform them with that spirit of universality without which, as history teaches us, there can be no great civilisation. For no reconstruction of an economic, political or social character will be solid or permanent unless it is based on spiritual and intellectual harmony.

“ It is therefore not fair to judge of intellectual co-operation by the practical and tangible results which it has obtained : account must be taken of *imponderabilia*. The most important and the most essential outcome of intellectual co-operation consists in the multitude of relationships that are constantly being established and extended between divers persons, institutions and groups which would otherwise, perhaps, never have had the opportunity of entering into contact, much less of collaborating one with another. If it were in this way only, intellectual co-operation would have justified its existence.”

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## 15.

### INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF PRESS EXPERTS.

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#### ACTION TAKEN IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS RESOLUTIONS.

As a result of the decisions taken by the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit at its session in February and March last, a special Committee of telegraphic experts and Press experts met in Paris from May 22nd to 24th, 1928, under the Chairmanship of M. ITO (Japan), member of the Advisory Committee for Communications and Transit.

High officials from the British, French, German and Italian Telegraphic Administrations, the Director of the International Telegraphic Union at Berne, a representative of the International Cable Companies Association, and the Directors of some of the important Press Agencies took part in this session.

The Committee examined the possibility of carrying out the recommendations of the Press Conference concerning priority for Press telegrams and wireless Press messages, urgent Press telegrams and wireless messages, long-distance telegraphic and wireless communications, regional telegraphic agreements, telephone rates, the authorisation to receive Press messages by wireless, wireless rates, code telegrams, and the improvement of telegraphic and wireless communications between different continents.

The Committee expressed its conclusions in a report which has been forwarded to the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit.

At the suggestion of the Advisory Committee, the International Air Traffic Association recently formed a Special Committee, on which representatives of the distributing agencies concerned as well as representatives of the Air Companies, were invited to sit, in order to study the question of the transport of newspapers by air. This Committee held its first session on June 29th and 30th, 1928, when it undertook a preliminary examination of the question.

The report of the Committee was submitted to the plenary meeting of the International Air Traffic Association which was held in London on August 1st and 2nd. It was decided at this meeting that the Special Committee should meet again in Berlin on October 12th, 1928, in order to examine the points of view of the different Companies members of the Association and to resume the discussion of the question with the transport companies concerned and with the competent international organisations.

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## 16.

### CONSTRUCTION OF AN ASSEMBLY HALL, OF NEW BUILDINGS FOR THE SECRETARIAT, AND OF A NEW LIBRARY.

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At the time of going to press no definite decision has been taken with regard to the difficulties concerning the building site to which reference was made on page 115 of the Report to the Assembly on the Work of the Council and of the Secretariat (document A.6.1928).

A report by the Special Committee appointed to examine the question will be considered by the Council at its fifty-first session, beginning on August 30th, 1928.

**17.**

PRESENT POSITION AS REGARDS INTERNATIONAL ENGAGEMENTS  
DEPOSITED WITH THE SECRETARIAT OR CONNECTED WITH THE  
WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

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A complete list of signatures and ratifications of and accessions to international engagements deposited with the Secretariat or connected with the work of the League of Nations has been prepared and will be distributed (see document A.6 (a), 1928, Annex).

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ANNEX 2b.

ANNEX TO THE SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARIAT TO THE NINTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE.

PROGRESS OF CERTAIN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND ENGAGEMENTS\*.<sup>1</sup>

The aim of this document is to give, in execution of the Council's decision of December 10th, 1923, a general survey as regards the participation of the States in Conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations. The reservations and declarations, etc., made by the Contracting Parties at the moment of signature, ratification or adhesion have not been inserted; they are indicated by footnotes showing the page of the *Treaty Series* volume where they are reproduced.

<sup>1</sup> The Annex to the Supplementary Report to the Fourth Assembly of the League on the Work of the Council and the Secretariat for 1923 (A. 10 (a). 1923. Annex) contains, moreover, complete details concerning:

- (a) PROTECTION OF RACIAL, RELIGIOUS AND LINGUISTIC MINORITIES:
1. Treaty of Peace between the Allied Powers and Austria, of September 10th, 1919.
  2. Treaty of Peace between the Allied Powers and Bulgaria, of November 27th, 1919.
  3. Treaty of Peace between the Allied Powers and Hungary, of June 4th, 1920.
  4. Treaty of Peace between the Allied Powers and Turkey, of July 24th, 1923.
  5. Treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Poland, of June 28th, 1919.
  6. Treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Czechoslovakia, of September 10th, 1919.
  7. Treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, of September 10th, 1919.
  8. Treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Roumania, of December 9th, 1919.
  9. Germano-Polish Convention relating to Upper Silesia, of May 15th, 1922.
  10. Declaration by Albania, of October 2nd, 1921.
  11. Declaration by Finland as to the Aaland Islands, of June 27th, 1921.
  12. Declaration by Latvia, of July 7th, 1923.
  13. Convention between Bulgaria and Greece respecting Reciprocal Emigration, Neuilly-sur-Seine, November 27th, 1919.
  14. Convention concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations, of January 30th, 1923.
- (b) TRAFFIC IN LIQUOR: Convention relating to the Liquor Traffic in Africa, St. Germain-en-Laye, September 10th, 1919.
- (c) AERIAL NAVIGATION: Convention relating to the Regulation of Aerial Navigation, Paris, October 13th, 1919.
- (d) HEALTH:
1. Sanitary Convention between Poland and Roumania, Warsaw, December 20th, 1922.
  2. Sanitary Convention between Poland and the Federal Soviet Republic of Russia and Soviet Republics of Ukraine and of White Russia, Warsaw, February 17th, 1923.
  3. Sanitary Convention between Germany and Poland, Dresden, December 18th, 1922.
  4. Sanitary Convention between Poland and Czechoslovakia, Warsaw, 1922.
  5. Sanitary Convention between Poland and Latvia, Warsaw, July 7th, 1922.
  6. Sanitary Convention between Estonia and the Federal Soviet Republic of Russia and Soviet Republics of Ukraine and of White Russia, Tartu, June 25th, 1922.
  7. Sanitary Convention between Latvia and the Federal Soviet Republic of Russia and Soviet Republics of Ukraine and of White Russia, Tartu, June 24th, 1922.
  8. Sanitary Convention between Bulgaria and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, April 1923.
- (e) ALAND ISLANDS: Convention relating to the Non-Fortification and Neutralisation of the Aland Islands, Geneva, October 20th, 1921.
- (f) UPPER SILESIA: Germano-Polish Convention relating to Upper Silesia, Geneva, May 15th, 1922.
- (g) FINANCIAL RESTORATION OF AUSTRIA:
1. Protocol No. I (Declaration), Geneva, October 4th, 1922.
  2. Protocol No. II and Annexes and Explanatory Note, Geneva, October 4th, 1922.
  3. Protocol No. III (Declaration), Geneva, October 4th, 1922.
- (h) SAAR: Protocol between the German Government and the Governing Commission of the Territory of the Saar Basin, Berlin, June 3rd, 1921.
- (i) DANZIG:
1. Convention between Poland and the Free City of Danzig, Paris, November 9th, 1920.
  2. Treaty between Germany and Poland concerning the Regulation of Option Questions, Danzig, November 8th, 1920.
  3. Treaty between Poland and the Free City of Danzig, Warsaw, October 24th, 1921.

The Annex to the Supplementary Report on the Work of the Council and of the Secretariat to the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations for the year 1924 (A. 8 (a). 1924. Annex) contains, moreover, complete details concerning:

- (a) MINORITIES:
1. Declaration concerning the Protection of Minorities in Lithuania, Geneva, May 12th, 1923.
  2. Convention between Poland and the Free City of Danzig, signed at Paris, November 9th, 1920.
- (b) TRAFFIC IN ARMS: Engagement undertaken by Ethiopia on signing the Protocol done at Geneva, September 27th, 1923.
- (c) REVISION OF BERLIN AND BRUSSELS ACTS RELATING TO AFRICAN TERRITORIES: Engagement undertaken by Ethiopia on signing the Protocol done at Geneva on September 27th, 1923.

\* Advantage has been taken of the opportunity of inserting in this Annex all data received since the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly up to January 1st, 1929.

PROGRESS OF CERTAIN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS  
AND ENGAGEMENTS.

- I. International Labour Conventions.
- II. Transit and Communications.
- III. Traffic in Women and Children.
- IV. Obscene Publications.
- V. Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs.
- VI. Trade in Arms.
- VII. Refugees.
- VIII. Emigration.
- IX. Slavery.
- X. The Permanent Court of International Justice.
- XI. Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.
- XII. Arbitration Clauses in Commercial Matters.
- XIII. Customs Formalities.
- XIV. Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions.
- XV. Economic Statistics.
- XVI. Currency and Banking Reform.
- XVII. International Relief Union.
- XVIII. Amendments to the Covenant of the League of Nations.
- XIX. Amendments to the Labour Part of the Treaties of Peace.

I. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONVENTIONS. <sup>1</sup>

(a)

1. Convention limiting the hours of work in industrial undertakings, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its First Session on November 28th, 1919.

This Convention has been  
ratified by and is in  
force between :

Date of Registration :

AUSTRIA <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	June 12, 1924
BELGIUM . . . . .	September 6, 1926
BULGARIA . . . . .	February 14, 1922
CHILE . . . . .	September 15, 1925
CZECHOSLOVAKIA . . . . .	August 24, 1921
FRANCE <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	June 2, 1927
GREECE . . . . .	November 19, 1920
INDIA . . . . .	July 14, 1921
ITALY <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	October 6, 1924
LATVIA <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	August 15, 1925
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
PORTUGAL . . . . .	July 3, 1928
ROUMANIA . . . . .	June 13, 1921

Note continued from page 385.

(d) REFUGEES :

1. Arrangement with regard to the issue of Certificates of Identity to Russian Refugees, Geneva, July 5th, 1922.
2. Protocol relating to the Settlement of Refugees in Greece and the creation for this purpose of a Refugees Settlement Commission, signed at Geneva, September 29th, 1923.
3. Declaration relating to the Settlement of Refugees in Greece and the creation for this purpose of a Refugees Settlement Commission, signed at Geneva, September 29th, 1923.

(e) FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF HUNGARY : Protocol on the Financial Reconstruction of Hungary, March 14th, 1924.

The Annex to the Supplementary Report for the year 1925 (A. 7 (a). 1925. Annex) contains, moreover, complete details concerning :

(a) PROTECTION OF RACIAL, RELIGIOUS AND LINGUISTIC MINORITIES :

1. Proposal relating to the Protection of Greek Minorities in Bulgaria ;
2. Proposal relating to the Protection of Bulgarian Minorities in Greece.

(Geneva, September 29, 1924.)

(Document A. 10 (a). 1923. Annex will be found in Special Supplement 13 to the *Official Journal*, pages 174-189, document A. 8 (a). 1924. Annex in the *Official Journal*, September 1924, pages 1127-1153, and document A. 7 (a). 1925. Annex in the *Official Journal* of November 1925, pages 1553-1584.)

<sup>1</sup> The Annex to the Supplementary Report for 1923 (A. 10 (a). 1923. Annex) contains, moreover, complete details concerning : The Convention on the Prohibition of the Use of White Phosphorus in the Manufacture of Matches, Berne, September 26th, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> " . . . as regards Austria, this Convention will enter into force only when it has been ratified by those European Members of the International Labour Organisation which are of the chief industrial importance (Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain and Italy) and by all the States, bordering upon Austria, with whom the latter has economic relations (the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Poland, Switzerland, the Czechoslovak Republic and Hungary)..."

<sup>3</sup> This ratification is subject to the condition that the obligations it entails for France shall not take effect until the Convention has been ratified by Germany and Great Britain.

<sup>4</sup> Subject to the condition that it shall only come into force when the ratifications, without reservations or other conditions, of the following Members of the International Labour Organisation have been registered with the Secretariat of the League of Nations : Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain and Switzerland.

<sup>5</sup> " The Convention shall come into force in Latvia, in accordance with the provisions of Article 18 of the Draft Convention, after the ratifications of three of the Powers which are of the chief industrial importance, as laid down in Article 393, paragraphs 5 and 6, of the Treaty of Peace of Versailles, shall have been registered with the Secretariat of the League of Nations."



2. Convention concerning unemployment, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its First Session on November 28th, 1919.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA . . . . .	February 20, 1924
AUSTRIA . . . . .	June 12, 1924
GREAT BRITAIN . . . . .	July 14, 1921
BULGARIA . . . . .	February 14, 1922
DENMARK . . . . .	October 13, 1921
ESTONIA . . . . .	December 20, 1922
FINLAND . . . . .	October 19, 1921
FRANCE . . . . .	August 25, 1925
GERMANY . . . . .	June 6, 1925
GREECE . . . . .	November 19, 1920
HUNGARY . . . . .	March 1, 1928
INDIA . . . . .	July 14, 1921
IRISH FREE STATE . . . . .	September 4, 1925
ITALY . . . . .	April 10, 1923
JAPAN . . . . .	November 23, 1922
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
NORWAY . . . . .	November 23, 1921
POLAND . . . . .	June 21, 1924
ROUMANIA . . . . .	June 13, 1921
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	April 1, 1927
SPAIN . . . . .	July 4, 1923
SWEDEN . . . . .	September 27, 1921
SWITZERLAND . . . . .	October 9, 1922

3. Convention concerning the employment of women before and after childbirth, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its First Session on November 29th, 1919.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
BULGARIA . . . . .	February 14, 1922
CHILE . . . . .	September 15, 1925
CUBA . . . . .	August 6, 1928
GERMANY . . . . .	October 31, 1927
GREECE . . . . .	November 19, 1920
HUNGARY . . . . .	April 19, 1928
LATVIA . . . . .	June 3, 1926
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
ROUMANIA . . . . .	June 13, 1921
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	April 1, 1927
SPAIN . . . . .	July 4, 1923

4. Convention concerning the employment of women during the night, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its First Session on November 28th, 1919.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA . . . . .	November 1, 1921
AUSTRIA . . . . .	June 12, 1924
BELGIUM . . . . .	July 12, 1924
GREAT BRITAIN . . . . .	July 14, 1921
BULGARIA . . . . .	February 14, 1922
CUBA . . . . .	August 6, 1928
CZECHOSLOVAKIA . . . . .	August 24, 1921
ESTONIA . . . . .	December 20, 1922
FRANCE . . . . .	May 14, 1925
GREECE . . . . .	November 19, 1920
HUNGARY . . . . .	April 19, 1928
INDIA . . . . .	July 14, 1921
IRISH FREE STATE . . . . .	September 4, 1925
ITALY . . . . .	April 10, 1923
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
THE NETHERLANDS . . . . .	September 4, 1922
ROUMANIA . . . . .	June 13, 1921
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	April 1, 1927
SWITZERLAND . . . . .	October 9, 1922

5. Convention fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its First Session on November 28th, 1919.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
BELGIUM . . . . .	July 12, 1924
GREAT BRITAIN . . . . .	July 14, 1921
BULGARIA . . . . .	February 14, 1922
CHILE . . . . .	September 15, 1925
CUBA . . . . .	August 6, 1928
CZECHOSLOVAKIA . . . . .	August 24, 1921
DENMARK . . . . .	January 4, 1923
ESTONIA . . . . .	December 20, 1922
GREECE . . . . .	November 19, 1920
IRISH FREE STATE . . . . .	September 4, 1925
JAPAN . . . . .	August 7, 1926
LATVIA . . . . .	June 3, 1926
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
THE NETHERLANDS . . . . .	July 21, 1928
POLAND . . . . .	June 21, 1924
ROUMANIA . . . . .	June 13, 1921
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	April 1, 1927
SWITZERLAND . . . . .	October 9, 1922

6. Convention concerning the night work of young persons employed in industry, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its First Session on November 28th, 1919.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
AUSTRIA . . . . .	June 12, 1924
BELGIUM . . . . .	July 12, 1924
GREAT BRITAIN . . . . .	July 14, 1921
BULGARIA . . . . .	February 14, 1922
CHILE . . . . .	September 15, 1925
CUBA . . . . .	August 6, 1928
DENMARK . . . . .	January 4, 1923
ESTONIA . . . . .	December 20, 1922
FRANCE . . . . .	August 25, 1925
GREECE . . . . .	November 19, 1920
HUNGARY . . . . .	April 19, 1928
INDIA . . . . .	July 14, 1921
IRISH FREE STATE . . . . .	September 4, 1925
ITALY . . . . .	April 10, 1923
LATVIA . . . . .	June 3, 1926
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
THE NETHERLANDS . . . . .	March 17, 1924
POLAND . . . . .	June 21, 1924
ROUMANIA . . . . .	June 13, 1921
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	April 1, 1927
SWITZERLAND . . . . .	October 9, 1922

(b)

7. Convention fixing the minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Second Session on July 9th, 1920.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
BELGIUM <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	February 4, 1925
GREAT BRITAIN . . . . .	July 14, 1921
BULGARIA . . . . .	March 16, 1923
CANADA . . . . .	March 31, 1926
CUBA . . . . .	August 6, 1928
DENMARK . . . . .	May 12, 1924
ESTONIA . . . . .	March 3, 1923
FINLAND . . . . .	October 10, 1925
GREECE . . . . .	December 16, 1925
HUNGARY . . . . .	March 1, 1928
IRISH FREE STATE . . . . .	September 4, 1925
JAPAN . . . . .	June 7, 1924
LATVIA . . . . .	June 3, 1926

<sup>1</sup> Subject to subsequent decisions regarding the application of the Convention to the Belgian Congo and to the territories under Belgian mandate.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :

	Date of Registration :
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
THE NETHERLANDS . . . . .	March 26, 1925
NORWAY . . . . .	October 7, 1927
POLAND . . . . .	June 21, 1924
ROUMANIA . . . . .	May 8, 1922
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	April 1, 1927
SPAIN . . . . .	June 20, 1924
SWEDEN . . . . .	September 27, 1921

8. Convention concerning unemployment indemnity in case of loss or foundering of the ship, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Second Session on July 9th, 1920.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :

	Date of Registration :
BELGIUM <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	February 4, 1925
GREAT BRITAIN . . . . .	March 12, 1926
BULGARIA . . . . .	March 16, 1923
CANADA . . . . .	March 31, 1926
CUBA . . . . .	August 6, 1928
ESTONIA . . . . .	March 3, 1923
GREECE . . . . .	December 16, 1925
ITALY . . . . .	September 8, 1924
LATVIA <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	August 5, 1926
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
POLAND . . . . .	June 21, 1924
SPAIN . . . . .	June 20, 1924

9. Convention for establishing facilities for finding employment for seamen, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Second Session on July 10th, 1920.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :

	Date of Registration :
AUSTRALIA . . . . .	August 3, 1925
BELGIUM <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	February 4, 1925
BULGARIA . . . . .	March 16, 1923
CUBA . . . . .	August 6, 1928
ESTONIA . . . . .	March 3, 1923
FINLAND . . . . .	October 7, 1922
FRANCE . . . . .	January 25, 1928
GERMANY . . . . .	June 6, 1925
GREECE . . . . .	December 16, 1925
ITALY . . . . .	September 8, 1924
JAPAN . . . . .	November 23, 1922
LATVIA . . . . .	June 3, 1926
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
NORWAY . . . . .	November 23, 1921
POLAND . . . . .	June 21, 1924
SWEDEN . . . . .	September 27, 1921

(c)

10. Convention concerning the age for admission of children to employment in agriculture, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Third Session on November 16th, 1921.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :

	Date of Registration :
AUSTRIA . . . . .	June 12, 1924
BELGIUM <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	June 13, 1928
BULGARIA . . . . .	March 6, 1925
CZECHOSLOVAKIA . . . . .	August 31, 1923
ESTONIA . . . . .	September 8, 1922
HUNGARY . . . . .	February 2, 1927
IRISH FREE STATE . . . . .	May 26, 1925
ITALY . . . . .	September 8, 1924
JAPAN . . . . .	December 19, 1923
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
POLAND . . . . .	June 21, 1924
SWEDEN . . . . .	November 27, 1923

<sup>1</sup> Subject to subsequent decisions regarding the application of the Convention to the Belgian Congo and to the territories under Belgian mandate.

<sup>2</sup> The Convention shall come into force in Latvia, according to the conditions provided in Article 7 of this Convention, after the Powers chief in importance in maritime commerce shall have registered their ratifications in the Secretariat.

11. Convention concerning the rights of association and combination of agricultural workers, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Third Session on November 12th, 1921.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
AUSTRIA . . . . .	June 12, 1924
BELGIUM <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	July 19, 1926
GREAT BRITAIN . . . . .	August 6, 1923
BULGARIA . . . . .	March 6, 1925
CHILE . . . . .	September 15, 1925
CZECHOSLOVAKIA . . . . .	August 31, 1923
ESTONIA . . . . .	September 8, 1922
FINLAND . . . . .	June 19, 1923
GERMANY . . . . .	June 6, 1925
INDIA . . . . .	May 11, 1923
IRISH FREE STATE . . . . .	June 17, 1924
ITALY . . . . .	September 8, 1924
LATVIA . . . . .	September 9, 1924
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
THE NETHERLANDS . . . . .	August 20, 1926
POLAND . . . . .	June 21, 1924
SWEDEN . . . . .	November 27, 1923

12. Convention concerning workmen's compensation in agriculture, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Third Session on November 12th, 1921.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
GREAT BRITAIN . . . . .	August 6, 1923
BULGARIA . . . . .	March 6, 1925
CHILE . . . . .	September 15, 1925
DENMARK . . . . .	February 26, 1923
ESTONIA . . . . .	September 8, 1922
FRANCE . . . . .	April 4, 1928
GERMANY . . . . .	June 6, 1925
IRISH FREE STATE . . . . .	June 17, 1924
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
THE NETHERLANDS . . . . .	August 20, 1926
POLAND . . . . .	June 21, 1924
SWEDEN . . . . .	November 27, 1923

13. Convention concerning the use of white lead in painting, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Third Session on November 19th, 1921.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
AUSTRIA . . . . .	June 12, 1924
BELGIUM <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	July 19, 1926
BULGARIA . . . . .	March 6, 1925
CHILE . . . . .	September 15, 1925
CUBA . . . . .	July 7, 1928
CZECHOSLOVAKIA . . . . .	August 31, 1923
ESTONIA . . . . .	September 8, 1922
FRANCE . . . . .	February 19, 1926
GREECE . . . . .	December 22, 1926
HUNGARY <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	January 4, 1928
LATVIA . . . . .	September 9, 1924
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
POLAND . . . . .	June 21, 1924
ROUMANIA . . . . .	December 4, 1925
SPAIN . . . . .	June 20, 1924
SWEDEN . . . . .	November 27, 1923

<sup>1</sup> Subject to subsequent decisions regarding the application of the Convention to the Belgian Congo and to the territories under Belgian mandate.

<sup>2</sup> The Convention shall not come into force as regards Hungary until it has been ratified by France, Great Britain and Germany.

14. Convention concerning the application of the weekly rest in industrial undertakings, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Third Session on November 17th, 1921.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
BELGIUM <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	July 19, 1926
BULGARIA . . . . .	March 6, 1925
CHILE . . . . .	September 15, 1925
CZECHOSLOVAKIA . . . . .	August 31, 1923
ESTONIA . . . . .	November 29, 1923
FINLAND . . . . .	June 19, 1923
FRANCE . . . . .	September 3, 1926
INDIA . . . . .	May 11, 1923
ITALY . . . . .	September 8, 1924
LATVIA . . . . .	September 9, 1924
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
POLAND . . . . .	June 21, 1924
PORTUGAL . . . . .	July 3, 1928
ROUMANIA . . . . .	August 18, 1923
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	April 1, 1927
SPAIN . . . . .	June 20, 1924

15. Convention fixing the minimum age for the admission of young persons to employment as trimmers and stokers, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Third Session on November 11th, 1921.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
BELGIUM <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	July 19, 1926
GREAT BRITAIN . . . . .	March 8, 1926
BULGARIA . . . . .	March 6, 1925
CANADA . . . . .	March 31, 1926
CUBA . . . . .	July 7, 1928
DENMARK . . . . .	May 12, 1924
ESTONIA . . . . .	September 8, 1922
FINLAND . . . . .	October 10, 1925
FRANCE . . . . .	January 16, 1928
HUNGARY . . . . .	March 1, 1928
INDIA . . . . .	November 20, 1922
ITALY . . . . .	September 8, 1924
LATVIA . . . . .	September 9, 1924
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
NORWAY . . . . .	October 7, 1927
POLAND . . . . .	June 21, 1924
ROUMANIA . . . . .	August 18, 1923
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	April 1, 1927
SPAIN . . . . .	June 20, 1924
SWEDEN . . . . .	July 14, 1925

16. Convention concerning the compulsory medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Third Session on November 11th, 1921.

This Convention has been ratified and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
BELGIUM <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	July 19, 1926
GREAT BRITAIN . . . . .	March 8, 1926
BULGARIA . . . . .	March 6, 1925
CANADA . . . . .	March 31, 1926
CUBA . . . . .	July 7, 1928
ESTONIA . . . . .	September 8, 1922
FINLAND . . . . .	October 10, 1925
FRANCE . . . . .	March 22, 1928
HUNGARY . . . . .	March 1, 1928
INDIA . . . . .	November 20, 1922
ITALY . . . . .	September 8, 1924
JAPAN . . . . .	June 7, 1924
LATVIA . . . . .	September 9, 1924
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928

<sup>1</sup> Subject to subsequent decisions regarding the application of the Convention to the Belgian Congo and to the territories under Belgian mandate.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
THE NETHERLANDS . . . . .	March 9, 1928
POLAND . . . . .	June 21, 1924
ROUMANIA . . . . .	August 18, 1923
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	April 1, 1927
SPAIN . . . . .	June 20, 1924
SWEDEN . . . . .	July 14, 1925

(d)

17. Convention concerning workmen's compensation for accidents, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Seventh Session on June 10th, 1925.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
BELGIUM <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	October 3, 1927
CUBA . . . . .	August 6, 1928
HUNGARY . . . . .	April 19, 1928
LATVIA . . . . .	May 29, 1928
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
THE NETHERLANDS . . . . .	September 13, 1927
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	April 1, 1927
SWEDEN . . . . .	September 8, 1926

18. Convention concerning workmen's compensation for occupational diseases, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Seventh Session on June 10th, 1925.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
AUSTRIA . . . . .	September 29, 1928
BELGIUM <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	October 3, 1927
GREAT BRITAIN . . . . .	October 6, 1926
CUBA . . . . .	August 6, 1928
FINLAND . . . . .	September 17, 1927
GERMANY . . . . .	September 18, 1928
HUNGARY . . . . .	April 19, 1928
INDIA <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	September 30, 1927
IRISH FREE STATE . . . . .	November 25, 1927
JAPAN <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	October 8, 1928
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
THE NETHERLANDS . . . . .	November 1, 1928
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	April 1, 1927
SWITZERLAND . . . . .	November 16, 1927

19. Convention concerning equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Seventh Session on June 5th, 1925.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA . . . . .	March 30, 1926
AUSTRIA . . . . .	September 29, 1928
BELGIUM <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	October 3, 1927
GREAT BRITAIN . . . . .	October 6, 1926
CUBA . . . . .	August 6, 1928
CZECHOSLOVAKIA . . . . .	February 8, 1927
DENMARK <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	March 31, 1928
FINLAND . . . . .	September 17, 1927
FRANCE . . . . .	April 4, 1928
GERMANY . . . . .	September 18, 1928
HUNGARY . . . . .	April 19, 1928
INDIA <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	September 30, 1927
ITALY . . . . .	March 15, 1928
JAPAN <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	October 8, 1928
LATVIA . . . . .	May 29, 1928
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
THE NETHERLANDS . . . . .	September 13, 1927
POLAND . . . . .	February 28, 1928
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	April 1, 1927
SWEDEN . . . . .	September 8, 1926

<sup>1</sup> Subject to subsequent decisions regarding the application of the Convention to the Belgian Congo and to the territories under Belgian mandate.

<sup>2</sup> The ratification by the Indian Government applies only to British India.

<sup>3</sup> This ratification does not include Chosen, Taiwan, Karafuto, the Leased Territory of Kwantung and the South Sea Islands under Japanese mandate.

<sup>4</sup> This ratification does not include Greenland.

20. Convention concerning night work in bakeries, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Seventh Session on June 8th, 1925.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
CUBA . . . . .	August 6, 1928
FINLAND . . . . .	May 26, 1928
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928

(e)

21. Convention concerning the simplification of the inspection of emigrants on board ship, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Eighth Session on June 5th, 1926.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
AUSTRIA . . . . .	December 29, 1927
BELGIUM <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	February 15, 1928
GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	September 16, 1927
CZECHOSLOVAKIA . . . . .	May 25, 1928,
INDIA . . . . .	January 14, 1928
JAPAN <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	October 8, 1928
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928
THE NETHERLANDS . . . . .	September 13, 1927

(f)

22. Convention concerning seamen's articles of agreement, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Ninth Session on June 24th, 1926.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
BELGIUM <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	October 3, 1927
CUBA . . . . .	July 7, 1928
FRANCE . . . . .	April 4, 1928
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928

23. Convention concerning the repatriation of seamen, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Ninth Session on June 23rd, 1926.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
BELGIUM <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	October 3, 1927
CUBA . . . . .	July 7, 1928
ESTONIA . . . . .	July 9, 1928
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928

(g)

24. Convention concerning sickness insurance for workers in industry and commerce and domestic servants, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Tenth Session on June 16, 1927.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
GERMANY . . . . .	January 23, 1928
HUNGARY . . . . .	April 19, 1928
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928

25. Convention concerning sickness insurance for agricultural workers, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Tenth Session on June 16, 1927.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
GERMANY . . . . .	January 23, 1928
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	April 16, 1928

(h)

26. Convention concerning the creation of minimum-wage-fixing machinery, adopted as a Draft Convention by the International Labour Conference at its Eleventh Session on June 16, 1928.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
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<sup>1</sup> Subject to subsequent decisions regarding the application of the Convention to the Belgian Congo and to the territories under Belgian mandate.

<sup>2</sup> As regards Great Britain and Northern Ireland, this Convention will enter into force only when it has been ratified without reservation by France, Germany, The Netherlands, Italy, Norway and Spain.

<sup>3</sup> This ratification does not include Chosen, Taiwan, Karafuto, the Leased Territory of Kwantung and the South Sea Islands under Japanese mandate.

II. COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT.

1. CONVENTION AND STATUTE ON FREEDOM OF TRANSIT.<sup>1</sup>  
(Barcelona, April 20, 1921.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (October 8, 1921)		
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (November 15, 1923)		
BELGIUM	BELGIUM (May 16, 1927)		
BOLIVIA			
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE, including NEWFOUNDLAND (August 2, 1922)		Federated Malay States (States of Perak, Se- langor, Negri Sembil- an and Pahang) (Au- gust 22, 1923). Non- Federated Malay States (States of Bru- nei, Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu) (August 22, 1923)
			PALESTINE (British Mandate) (January 28, 1924)
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (August 2, 1922)		
INDIA	INDIA (August 2, 1922)		
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (July 11, 1922)		
CHILE	CHILE (March 19, 1928)		
CHINA			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (October 29, 1923)		
—	—		FREE CITY OF DANZIG (April 3, 1925)
DENMARK	DENMARK (November 13, 1922)		
ESTONIA	ESTONIA (June 6, 1925)		
FINLAND	FINLAND (January 29, 1923)		
FRANCE	FRANCE (September 19, 1924)		
—	—		GERMANY (April 9, 1924)
GREECE	GREECE (February 18, 1924)		
GUATEMALA			
—	—		HUNGARY (May 18, 1928)
ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)		
JAPAN	JAPAN (February 20, 1924)		
LATVIA	LATVIA (September 29, 1923)		
LITHUANIA			
LUXEMBURG			
THE NETHER- LANDS (inclu- ding NETHER- LANDS INDIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO)	THE NETHERLANDS (April 17, 1924) (including NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO)		
NORWAY	NORWAY (September 4, 1923)		
PANAMA			
PERSIA			
—	—		PERU (September 15, 1924)
POLAND	POLAND (October 8, 1924)		
PORTUGAL			
ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)		
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
—	—		SIAM (November 29, 1922)
SPAIN			
SWEDEN	SWEDEN (January 19, 1925)		
SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (July 14, 1924)		
URUGUAY			

<sup>1</sup> This Convention came into force on October 31, 1922, ninety days after it had been ratified by five Powers. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. VII, p. 11 ; Vol. XI, p. 406 ; Vol. XV, p. 304 ; Vol. XIX, p. 278 ; Vol. XXIV, p. 154 ; Vol. XXXI, p. 244 ; Vol. XXV, p. 298 ; Vol. XXXIX, p. 166 ; Vol. LIX, p. 344, and Vol. LXIX, p. 70.



2. CONVENTION AND STATUTE ON THE RÉGIME OF NAVIGABLE WATERWAYS OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN.<sup>1</sup>

(Barcelona, April 20, 1921.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (October 8, 1921)		
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (November 15, 1923)		
BELGIUM			
BOLIVIA			
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE, including NEWFOUNDLAND (August 2, 1922)		Federated Malay States (States of Perak, Se- langor, Negri Sem- bilan and Pahang) (August 22, 1923). Non-Federated Ma- lay States (States of Brunei, Johore, Ke- dah, Perlis, Kelan- tan and Trengganu) (August 22, 1923) PALESTINE (British Mandate) (January 28, 1924)
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (August 2, 1922)		
INDIA	INDIA (August 2, 1922)		
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (July 11, 1922)		
CHILE	CHILE (March 19, 1928)		
CHINA			
—	—	COLOMBIA (April 7, 1923)	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (Septem- ber 8, 1924)		
DENMARK	DENMARK (November 13, 1922)		
ESTONIA			
FINLAND	FINLAND (January 29, 1923)		
FRANCE	FRANCE (December 31, 1926)		
GREECE	GREECE (January 3, 1928)		
GUATEMALA			
—	—		HUNGARY (May 18, 1928)
ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)		
LITHUANIA			
LUXEMBURG			
NORWAY	NORWAY (September 4, 1923)		
PANAMA			
—	—	PERU (September 15, 1924)	
POLAND			
PORTUGAL			
—	—	ROUMANIA (June 19, 1923)	ROUMANIA (May 9, 1924)
—	—		SIAM (November 29, 1922)
SPAIN			
SWEDEN	SWEDEN (September 15, 1927)		
URUGUAY			

<sup>1</sup> This Convention came into force on October 31, 1922, ninety days after it had been ratified by five Powers. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. VII, p. 35; Vol. XI, p. 406; Vol. XV, p. 306; Vol. XIX, p. 280; Vol. XXIV, p. 156; Vol. L, p. 160; Vol. LIX, p. 344, and Vol. LXIX, p. 71.

3. ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL TO THE CONVENTION ON THE RÉGIME OF NAVIGABLE WATERWAYS OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN.<sup>1</sup>

(Barcelona, April 20, 1921.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i> <i>Final</i>
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (October 8, 1921)	AUSTRIA (April 7, 1923)      AUSTRIA (November 15, 1923)
BELGIUM		
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE, including NEWFOUNDLAND (August 2, 1922)	Nyasaland Protectorate and Tanganyika Territory (August 2, 1922) Bahamas Barbados British Guiana Jamaica (including Turks and Caicos Islands and Cayman Islands) Leeward Islands Trinidad and Tobago Windward Islands (Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent) Gibraltar Malta Cyprus Gambia Colony and Protectorate Sierra Leone Colony and Protectorate Nigeria Colony and Protectorate Gold Coast, Ashanti and Northern Territories of the Gold Coast Kenya Territory and Protectorate Uganda Protectorate Zanzibar St. Helena Ceylon Mauritius Seychelles Hong-Kong Straits Settlements Fiji Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony British Solomon Islands Tonga Islands (August 2, 1922) Federated Malay States (States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang) (August 22, 1923) Non-Federated Malay States (States of Brunei, Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu) (August 22, 1923) PALESTINE (British Mandate) (January 28, 1924) BERMUDA (December 27, 1928)

<sup>1</sup> The Convention being in force, this Protocol became operative after it had been ratified by two Powers. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. VII, p. 65; Vol. XI, p. 406; Vol. XV, p. 308; Vol. XIX, p. 280; Vol. XXIV, p. 156; Vol. LIX, p. 345, and Vol. LXIX, p. 71.

3. ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL TO THE CONVENTION ON THE RÉGIME OF NAVIGABLE WATERWAYS OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
BRITISH EMPIRE ( <i>continued</i> )			
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (August 2, 1922)		
INDIA	INDIA (August 2, 1922)		
CHILE	CHILE (March 19, 1928)		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 8, 1924)		
DENMARK	DENMARK (November 13, 1922)		
FINLAND	FINLAND (January 29, 1923)		
GREECE	GREECE (January 3, 1928)		
—	—		HUNGARY (May 18, 1928)
NORWAY	NORWAY (September 4, 1923)		
—	—	PERU (September 15, 1924)	
PORTUGAL	—		
—	—	ROUMANIA (June 19, 1923)	ROUMANIA (May 9, 1924)
—	—		SIAM (November 29, 1922)
SPAIN			SWEDEN (September 15, 1927)

4. DECLARATION RECOGNISING THE RIGHT TO A FLAG OF STATES HAVING NO SEA-COAST<sup>1</sup>. (*Barcelona, April 20, 1921.*)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (October 8, 1921)		
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (July 10, 1924)		
BELGIUM	BELGIUM <sup>2</sup> (May 16, 1927)		
BOLIVIA			
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE, including NEWFOUNDLAND (October 9, 1922)		CANADA (October 31, 1922)
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (October 9, 1922)		AUSTRALIA (October 31, 1922)
INDIA	INDIA (October 9, 1922)		UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (October 31, 1922)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (July 11, 1922)		
CHILE	CHILE (March 19, 1928)		
CHINA			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 8, 1924)		
DENMARK	DENMARK (November 13, 1922)		
ESTONIA	—		FINLAND (September 22, 1922)
FRANCE <sup>3</sup>			
GREECE	GREECE (January 3, 1928)		
GUATEMALA	—		HUNGARY (May 18, 1928)
ITALY <sup>3</sup>			
JAPAN	JAPAN (February 20, 1924)		
LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)		
LITHUANIA			
NETHERLANDS <sup>3</sup> (including NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO)			

<sup>1</sup> See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. VII, p. 73 ; Vol. XI, p. 410 ; Vol. XV, p. 308 ; Vol. XIX, p. 280 ; Vol. XXIV, p. 158 ; Vol. XXXI, p. 244 ; Vol. LIX, p. 345 and Vol. LXIX, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> The ratification does not include the Belgian Congo or the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian Mandate.

<sup>3</sup> Accepts Declaration as binding without ratification.

4. DECLARATION RECOGNISING THE RIGHT TO A FLAG OF STATES HAVING NO SEA-COAST  
(continued).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
NORWAY	NORWAY (September 4, 1923)		
PANAMA			
PERSIA	—	PERU (September 15, 1924)	
—			
POLAND	POLAND (December 20, 1924)		
PORTUGAL	—		ROUMANIA (February 22, 1923)
—			
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	—		SIAM (November 29, 1922)
—			
SPAIN			
SWEDEN	SWEDEN (January 19, 1925)		
SWITZERLAND <sup>1</sup>			
URUGUAY			

5. CONVENTION AND STATUTE ON THE INTERNATIONAL RÉGIME OF RAILWAYS  
AND PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE<sup>2</sup>.  
(Geneva, December 9, 1923.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
—	—		ABYSSINIA (September 20, 1928)
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (January 20, 1927)		
BELGIUM	BELGIUM <sup>3</sup> (May 16, 1927)		
BRAZIL			
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (August 29, 1924)		SOUTHERN RHODESIA (April 23, 1925) NEWFOUNDLAND (April 23, 1925) Following BRITISH CO- LONIES, PROTECTO- RATES AND MANDA- TED TERRITORIES (September 22, 1925): British Guiana British Honduras Brunei Federated Malay States : Perak Selangor Negri Sembilan Pahang Gambia Gold Coast Hong-Kong Malay States (Unfed- erated) : Johore Kedah Perlis Kelantan Trengganu Nigeria Northern Rhodesia Nyasaland Palestine Sierra Leone

<sup>1</sup> Accepts Declaration as binding without ratification.

<sup>2</sup> The Convention and the Protocol came into force (Article 6) on March 23rd, 1926. See League of Nations Treaty Series, Vol. XLVII, p. 55; Vol. L, p. 180; Vol. LIX, p. 383; Vol. LXIII, p. 417 and Vol. LXIX, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> The ratification does not include the Belgian Congo or the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian Mandate.

5. CONVENTION AND STATUTE ON THE INTERNATIONAL RÉGIME OF RAILWAYS AND PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Straits Settlements Tanganyika Territory</i>
BRITISH EMPIRE ( <i>continued</i> )			
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (April 1, 1925)		
INDIA	INDIA (April 1, 1925)		
BULGARIA			
CHILE			
—	—	CHINA <sup>1</sup> (January 21, 1925)	
—	—	COLOMBIA (December 3, 1927)	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
FREE CITY OF DANZIG			
DENMARK	DENMARK (April 27, 1926)		
ESTONIA			
FINLAND			
FRANCE			
GERMANY	GERMANY (December 5, 1927)		
GREECE			
HUNGARY			
ITALY			
JAPAN	JAPAN (September 30, 1926)		
LATVIA			
LITHUANIA			
THE NETHERLANDS (for the Kingdom in Europe)	THE NETHERLANDS (February 22, 1928)		
NORWAY	NORWAY (February 24, 1926)		
—	—	PANAMA (July 31, 1925)	
POLAND	POLAND AND FREE CITY OF DANZIG (January 7, 1928)		
PORTUGAL			
ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (December 23, 1925)		
SALVADOR			
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
SIAM	SIAM (January 9, 1925)		
SPAIN			
SWEDEN	SWEDEN (September 15, 1927)		
SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (October 23, 1926)		
URUGUAY			

6. CONVENTION AND STATUTE ON THE INTERNATIONAL RÉGIME OF MARITIME PORTS AND PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE<sup>2</sup>.

(*Geneva, December 9, 1923.*)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
BELGIUM	BELGIUM <sup>3</sup> (May 16, 1927)		AUSTRIA (January 20, 1927)
BRAZIL			
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (August 29, 1924)		SOUTHERN RHODESIA (April 23, 1925) NEWFOUNDLAND (April 23, 1925) AUSTRALIA (June 29, 1925)

<sup>1</sup> This adhesion is given for the Convention only.

<sup>2</sup> The Convention and the Protocol came into force on July 26, 1926. See League of Nations *Treaty Series* Vol. LVIII, p. 285; Vol. LXIX, p. 102 and Vol. LXXII, p. 485.

<sup>3</sup> This ratification does not include the Belgian Congo or the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian Mandate.

6. CONVENTION AND STATUTE ON THE INTERNATIONAL RÉGIME OF MARITIME PORTS AND  
 PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>
		<i>Final</i>
BRITISH EMPIRE ( <i>continued</i> )		Following BRITISH COLONIES, PROTECTORATES AND MANDATED TERRITORIES (September 22, 1925): Bahamas Barbados Bermuda British Guiana British Honduras British Solomon Islands Protectorate Brunei Ceylon Cyprus Falkland Islands Federated Malay States : Perak Selangor Negri Sembilan Pahang Fiji Gambia Gibraltar Gilbert and Ellice Islands Gold Coast Grenada Hong-Kong Jamaica (excluding Turks and Caicos Islands and Cayman Islands) Kenya Leeward Island : Antigua Dominica Montserrat St. Christopher Nevis Virgin Islands Malay States (Unfederated) Johore Kedah Perlis Kelantan Trengganu Mauritius Nigeria Palestine St. Helena St. Lucia St. Vincent Seychelles Sierra Leone Somaliland Straits Settlements Tanganyika Territory Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago Zanzibar Malta (November 7, 1925)
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (April 1, 1925)	
INDIA	INDIA (April 1, 1925)	

6. CONVENTION AND STATUTE ON THE INTERNATIONAL REGIME OF MARITIME PORTS  
AND PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
BULGARIA			
CHILE			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
DENMARK	DENMARK (April 27, 1926) (excluding Greenland)		
ESTONIA	—		
		FRANCE (December 1, 1924)	
GERMANY	GERMANY (May 1, 1928)		
GREECE	GREECE (January 24, 1927)		
HUNGARY			
ITALY			
JAPAN	JAPAN (September 30, 1926)		
LITHUANIA			
THE NETHERLANDS (for the Kingdom in Europe)	THE NETHERLANDS (Febru- ary 22, 1928)		NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM AND CURA- ÇAO <sup>1</sup> (February 22, 1928)
NORWAY	NORWAY (June 21, 1928)		
		PANAMA (July 31, 1925)	
SALVADOR			
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
SIAM	SIAM (January 9, 1925)		
SPAIN			
SWEDEN	SWEDEN (September 15, 1927)		
SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (October 23, 1927)		
URUGUAY			

7. CONVENTION RELATING TO THE TRANSMISSION IN TRANSIT OF ELECTRIC POWER AND  
PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE<sup>1</sup>.

(*Geneva, December 9, 1923.*)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (January 20, 1927)		
BELGIUM			
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (April 1, 1925)		SOUTHERN RHODESIA (April 23, 1925) NEWFOUNDLAND (April 23, 1925) Following BRITISH COLONIES, PROTEC- TORATES AND MAN- DATED TERRITORIES: (September 22, 1925) British Guiana British Honduras Brunei Federated Malay States: Perak Selangor Negri Sembilan Pahang Gambia Gold Coast Hong-Kong Kenya

<sup>1</sup> The Convention and Protocol came into force on July 26, 1926. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. LVIII, p. 315.

7. CONVENTION RELATING TO THE TRANSMISSION IN TRANSIT OF ELECTRIC POWER AND  
 PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>
		<i>Final</i>
BRITISH EMPIRE ( <i>continued</i> )		Malay States (Unfederated): Johore Kedah Perlis Kelantan Trengganu Nigeria Northern Rhodesia Nyasaland Palestine Sierra Leone Straits Settlements Tanganyika Territory Uganda Protectorate (January 12, 1927)
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (April 1, 1925)	
BULGARIA		
CHILE		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (November 30, 1926)	
FREE CITY OF DANZIG		
DENMARK	DENMARK (April 27, 1926)	
FRANCE		
GREECE		
HUNGARY		
ITALY		
LITHUANIA		
POLAND		
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES		
SPAIN		
URUGUAY		

8. CONVENTION RELATING TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF HYDRAULIC POWER AFFECTING MORE THAN ONE STATE, AND PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE <sup>1</sup>.

(*Geneva, December 9, 1923.*)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>
		<i>Final</i>
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (January 20, 1927)	
BELGIUM		
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (April 1, 1925)	SOUTHERN RHODESIA (April 23, 1925) NEWFOUNDLAND (April 23, 1925) Following BRITISH COLONIES, PROTECTORATES AND MANDATED TERRITORIES. (September 22, 1925) British Guiana British Honduras Brunei Federated Malay States: Perak Selangor Negri Sembilan Pahang

<sup>1</sup>The Convention and the Protocol came into force on June 30, 1925. See League of Nations *Treaty Series* Vol. XXXVI, p. 75, Vol. XLV, p. 170 and Vol. L, p. 166.



8. CONVENTION RELATING TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF HYDRAULIC POWER AFFECTING MORE THAN ONE STATE, AND PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
BRITISH EMPIRE ( <i>continued</i> )			Gambia Gold Coast Hong-Kong Kenya Malay States (Unfederated) : Johore Kedah Perlis Kelantan Trengganu Nigeria Northern Rhodesia Nyasaland Palestine Sierra Leone Straits Settlements Tanganyika Territory Uganda Protectorate (January 12, 1927)
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (April 1, 1925)		
BULGARIA			
CHILE			
FREE CITY OF DANZIG			
DENMARK	DENMARK (April 27, 1926)		
FRANCE			
GREECE			
HUNGARY			
ITALY			
LITHUANIA			
POLAND			
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
SIAM	SIAM (January 9, 1925)		
URUGUAY			

9. CONVENTION REGARDING THE MEASUREMENT OF VESSELS EMPLOYED IN INLAND NAVIGATION<sup>1</sup>.

(Paris, November 27, 1925.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (July 4, 1927)		
BELGIUM	BELGIUM (July 2, 1927)		
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (for GREAT BRITAIN and NORTHERN IRELAND) (June 14, 1927)		
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (July 2, 1927)		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
FINLAND			
FRANCE	FRANCE (July 2, 1927)		
GERMANY	GERMANY (July 2 1927)		
GREECE			
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (January 3, 1928)		
ITALY			

<sup>1</sup> The Convention came into force on October 1st, 1927, in conformity with Article 12. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. LXVII, p. 63.

9. CONVENTION REGARDING THE MEASUREMENT OF VESSELS EMPLOYED  
IN INLAND NAVIGATION (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
THE NETHERLANDS (for the Kingdom in Europe)	THE NETHERLANDS (July 2, 1927)		
POLAND			
ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (May 18, 1928)		
UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUB- BLICS			
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
SPAIN	SPAIN (July 11, 1927)		
SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (July 2, 1927)		

PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE.

(*Paris, November 27, 1925.*)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (July 4, 1927)		
BELGIUM	BELGIUM (July 2, 1927)		
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (for GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND) (June 14, 1927)		
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (July 2, 1927)		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
FINLAND			
FRANCE	FRANCE (July 2, 1927)		
GERMANY	GERMANY (July 2, 1927)		
GREECE			
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (January 3, 1928)		
ITALY			
THE NETHERLANDS (for the Kingdom in Europe)	THE NETHERLANDS (July 2, 1927)		
POLAND			
ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (May 18, 1928)		
UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUB- BLICS			
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
SPAIN	SPAIN (July 11, 1927)		
SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (July 2, 1927)		

III. TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN<sup>1</sup>.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN<sup>2</sup>.

(Geneva, September 30, 1921.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>
		<i>Final</i>
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (October 13, 1924)	
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (August 9, 1922)	
BELGIUM	BELGIUM (June 15, 1922)	
BRAZIL		
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (June 28, 1922)	Bahamas, Trinidad, Kenya, Nyasaland, Ceylon, Hong-Kong, Straits Settlements, Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Southern Rhodesia, Barbados, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Northern Rhodesia, British Honduras (September 18, 1922) British Guiana, Fiji (October 24, 1922) Leeward Islands, Jamaica, Mauritius (March 7, 1924) Falkland Islands (May 8, 1924) Gold Coast Colony (July 3, 1924) Iraq (May 15, 1925) Sierra Leone <sup>3</sup> (November 16, 1927)
CANADA	CANADA (June 28, 1922)	
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (June 28, 1922)	
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (June 28, 1922)	
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (June 28, 1922)	
INDIA	INDIA (June 28, 1922)	
—	—	BULGARIA (April 29, 1925)
CHILE		
CHINA	CHINA (February 24, 1926)	
COLOMBIA		
COSTA RICA		
CUBA	CUBA (May 7, 1923)	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 29, 1923)	
—	—	DENMARK (March 12, 1923)
ESTONIA	—	FINLAND (August 16, 1926)
—	—	FRANCE (January 19, 1926) (This admission does not include the French Colonies and Protectorates, or the Mandated Territories.)
		FRANCE (March 1, 1926)

<sup>1</sup> The Annex to the Supplementary Report for 1923 (A. 10 (a), Annex, 1923) contains, moreover, complete details concerning:

1. The Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, Paris, May 18th, 1904.  
2. The Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, Paris, May 4th, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> "The present Convention shall come into force in respect of each Party on the date of the deposit of its ratification or act of accession" (Article 11). See *Treaty Series of the League of Nations*: Vol. IX, p. 415; Vol. XV, p. 310; Vol. XIX, p. 282; Vol. XXIV, p. 162; Vol. XXVII, p. 418; Vol. XXXV, p. 298; Vol. XXXIX, p. 167; Vol. XLV, p. 99; Vol. L, p. 160; Vol. LIV, p. 388, and Vol. LXIII, p. 378.

<sup>3</sup> This accession applies only to the Colony of Sierra Leone and not to the Protectorate as well.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN  
(continued).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
GERMANY GREECE HUNGARY ITALY	GERMANY (July 8, 1924) GREECE (April 9, 1923) HUNGARY (April 25, 1925) ITALY (June 30, 1924)		Italian Colonies (July 27, 1922)
JAPAN <sup>1</sup> LATVIA LITHUANIA THE NETHERLANDS (including NETHERLANDS IN- DIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO) NORWAY —	JAPAN (December 15, 1925) LATVIA (February 12, 1924) THE NETHERLANDS (Sep- tember 19, 1923) (includ- ing NETHERLANDS IN- DIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO) NORWAY (August 16, 1922) — —	PANAMA (September 6, 1922) PERU (September 15, 1924)	
PERSIA —	—		
POLAND AND FREE CITY OF DANZIG PORTUGAL ROUMANIA SIAM —	POLAND AND FREE CITY OF DANZIG (October 8, 1924) PORTUGAL (December 1, 1923) ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923) SIAM (July 13, 1922) —		SPAIN (May 12, 1924). (This adhesion does not include the Spa- nish possessions in Africa or the territo- ries of the Spanish Protectorate in Mo- rocco.)
SWEDEN SWITZERLAND —	SWEDEN (June 9, 1925) SWITZERLAND (January 20, 1926) —		URUGUAY (October 21, 1924)

IV. OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE CIRCULATION OF AND TRAFFIC  
IN OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS.<sup>2</sup>

(Geneva, September 12, 1923.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
ALBANIA AUSTRIA BELGIUM <sup>3</sup> BRAZIL	ALBANIA (October 13, 1924) AUSTRIA (January 12, 1925) BELGIUM (July 31, 1926)		

<sup>1</sup> The signature by Japan does not include Chosen, Taiwan and the Leased Territory of Kwantung.

<sup>2</sup> The present Convention came into force on August 7th, 1924, viz., on the thirtieth day following the one on which the deposit of the second ratification took place (Article 11). See *Treaty Series of the League of Nations*, Vol. XXVII, p. 213; Vol. XXXI, p. 260; Vol. XXXV, p. 314; Vol. XXXIX, p. 190; Vol. XLV, p. 122; Vol. LIV, p. 391, and Vol. LIX, p. 357.

<sup>3</sup> The signature by Belgium includes also the Belgian Congo and the mandated territory of Ruanda-Urundi.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE CIRCULATION  
OF AND TRAFFIC IN OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i> <i>Final</i>
BRITISH EMPIRE	GREAT BRITAIN and NORTHERN IRELAND (December 11, 1925)	CANADA (May 23, 1924) SOUTHERN RHODESIA (December 31, 1925) NEWFOUNDLAND (December 31, 1925)
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, including South-West Africa (Mandate)	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, including South-West Africa (Mandate) (December 11, 1925)	
NEW ZEALAND (including the mandated territory of Western Samoa)	NEW ZEALAND, including the mandated territory of Western Samoa (December 11, 1925)	
INDIA	INDIA (December 11, 1925)	Nigeria Seychelles British Honduras Ceylon Kenya Mauritius British Solomon Islands Protectorate Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony Fiji Uganda Trinidad Zanzibar Tanganyika Territory Leeward Islands Windward Islands Gambia Nyasaland Straits Settlements Non-Federated Malay States : Brunei Johore Kedah Kelantan Trengganu Sierra Leone Northern Rhodesia Barbados Gold Coast Cyprus Gibraltar Malta Somaliland Basutoland Bechuanaland Swaziland Hong-Kong (November 3, 1926)
IRISH FREE STATE		Bermuda Bahamas Falkland Islands St. Helena Palestine Trans-Jordan Jamaica (August 22, 1927)

May 23, 1927

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE CIRCULATION  
OF AND TRAFFIC IN OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (July 1, 1924)		
CHINA	CHINA (February 24, 1926)		
COLOMBIA			
COSTA RICA			
CUBA			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (April 11, 1927)		
FREE CITY OF DANZIG	FREE CITY OF DANZIG (March 31, 1926)		
DENMARK	—		EGYPT (October 29, 1924)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 29, 1925)		
FRANCE			
GERMANY	GERMANY (May 11, 1925)		
GREECE			
HAITI			
HONDURAS			
HUNGARY			
ITALY	ITALY (July 8, 1924)		
JAPAN			
LATVIA	LATVIA (October 7, 1925)		
LITHUANIA			
LUXEMBURG	LUXEMBURG <sup>1</sup> (August 10, 1927)		SAN MARINO (April 21, 1926)
MONACO	MONACO (May 11, 1925)		
THE NETHERLANDS (including NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO)	THE NETHERLANDS (including NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO) (September 13, 1927)		
PANAMA			
PERSIA	—		PERU (September 15, 1924)
POLAND	POLAND (March 8, 1927)		
PORTUGAL	PORTUGAL (October 4, 1927)		
ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (June 7, 1926)		
SALVADOR			
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
SIAM	SIAM (July 28, 1924)		
SPAIN	SPAIN (December 19, 1924)		
SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (January 20, 1926)		
TURKEY			
URUGUAY			

<sup>1</sup> Subject to the reservation that, in applying the provisions relating to penalties in the Convention, the Luxemburg authorities will respect the final paragraph of Article 24 of the Constitution of the Grand-Duchy, which lays down that the publisher, printer or bookseller may not be prosecuted if the author is known and is a national of Luxemburg and domiciled in the Grand-Duchy.

V. TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS.

INTERNATIONAL OPIUM CONVENTION OF JANUARY 23, 1912. <sup>1</sup>

*Schedule containing the signatures of the Convention, the signatures of the Protocol of Signature of the Powers not represented at the First Opium Conference, provided for in the penultimate paragraph of Article 22 of the Convention, the ratifications of the Convention, and the signatures of the Protocol respecting the putting into force of the Convention provided under "B" of the Final Protocol of the Third International Opium Conference.*

(The ratifications and signatures in accordance with Article 295 of the Peace Treaty of Versailles or in accordance with a similar article of other treaties of peace are marked \*.)

States	Signatures of the Convention	Signatures of the Protocol of the Powers not represented at the Opium Conference	Ratifications of the Convention	Signatures of the Protocol relative to the bringing into force of the Convention (dates of the entry into force)
ALBANIA . . . . .	—	Feb. 3, 1925	Feb. 3, 1925	Feb. 3, 1925
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA . . . . .	Jan. 23, 1912	—	Dec. 15, 1913	Feb. 11, 1915
ARGENTINE . . . . .	—	Oct. 17, 1912	—	—
AUSTRIA . . . . .	—	—	July 16, 1920*	July 16, 1920*
BELGIUM <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	—	June 18, 1912	June 16, 1914	May 14, 1919
BOLIVIA . . . . .	—	June 4, 1913	Jan. 10, 1920*	Jan. 10, 1920*
BRAZIL . . . . .	—	Oct. 16, 1912	Dec. 23, 1914	Jan. 10, 1920*
BULGARIA . . . . .	—	March 2, 1914	Aug. 9, 1920*	Aug. 9, 1920*
CHILE . . . . .	—	July 2, 1913	Jan. 16, 1923	May 18, 1923
CHINA . . . . .	Jan. 23, 1912	—	Feb. 9, 1914	Feb. 11, 1915
COLOMBIA <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	—	Jan. 15, 1913	June 26, 1924	June 30, 1924
COSTA RICA . . . . .	—	April 25, 1912	August 1, 1924	July 29, 1925
CUBA . . . . .	—	May 8, 1913	March 8, 1920*	March 8, 1920*
CZECHOSLOVAKIA . . . . .	—	—	Jan. 10, 1920*	Jan. 10, 1920*
FREE CITY OF DANZIG . . . . .	—	Nov. 8, 1921	April 18, 1922	—
DENMARK <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	—	Dec. 17, 1912	July 10, 1913	Oct. 21, 1921
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC . . . . .	—	Nov. 12, 1912	June 7, 1923	—
ECUADOR . . . . .	—	July 2, 1912	Feb. 25, 1915	August 23, 1923
ESTONIA . . . . .	—	Jan. 9, 1923	April 20, 1923	—
FINLAND . . . . .	—	April 24, 1922	May 16, 1922	Dec. 1, 1922
FRANCE <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	Jan. 23, 1912	—	Jan. 10, 1920*	Jan. 10, 1920*
GERMANY . . . . .	Jan. 23, 1912	—	Jan. 10, 1920*	Jan. 10, 1920*
GREAT BRITAIN <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	Jan. 23, 1912	—	July 15, 1914	Jan. 10, 1920*
GREECE . . . . .	—	—	March 30, 1920*	March 30, 1920*
GUATEMALA . . . . .	—	June 17, 1912	Aug. 27, 1913	Jan. 10, 1920*
HAITI . . . . .	—	Aug. 21, 1912	June 30, 1920*	June 30, 1920*
HONDURAS . . . . .	—	July 5, 1912	Aug. 29, 1913	April 3, 1915
HUNGARY . . . . .	—	—	July 26, 1921*	July 26, 1921*
ITALY . . . . .	Jan. 23, 1912	—	June 28, 1914	Jan. 10, 1920*
JAPAN . . . . .	Jan. 23, 1912	—	Jan. 10, 1920*	Jan. 10, 1920*
LATVIA . . . . .	—	Feb. 6, 1922	March 25, 1924	—
LIBERIA . . . . .	—	—	June 30, 1920*	June 30, 1920*

<sup>1</sup> See *Treaty Series* of the League of Nations: Vol. VIII, p. 187; Vol. XI, p. 414; Vol. XV, p. 310; Vol. XIX, p. 282; Vol. XXIV, p. 162; Vol. XXXI, p. 244; Vol. XXXV, p. 298; Vol. XXXIX, p. 167, and Vol. LIX, p. 346.

<sup>2</sup> Subject to adherence or denunciation as regards Belgian Congo.

<sup>3</sup> Subject to the approval of the Colombian Parliament.

<sup>4</sup> The signature of the Protocol of Signature of the Powers not represented at the Conference as well as its ratification were given by Denmark for Iceland and the Danish Antilles; the signature of the Protocol respecting the putting into force of the Convention was given separately by Denmark and Iceland.

<sup>5</sup> With the reservation that a separate and special ratification or denunciation may subsequently be obtained for the French Protectorates. France and Great Britain signed the Convention for the New Hebrides, August 21, 1924.

<sup>6</sup> In accordance with the following reservation:

The articles of the present Convention, if ratified by His Britannic Majesty's Government, shall apply to the Government of British India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong, and Wei-hai-Wei in every respect in the same way as they shall apply to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; but His Britannic Majesty's Government reserve the right of signing or denouncing separately the said Convention in the name of any Dominion, Colony, Dependency, or Protectorate of His Majesty other than those which have been specified.

In virtue of the above-mentioned reservation, Great Britain signed the Convention for the following Dominions, Colonies, Dependencies, and Protectorates:

On December 17th, 1912, for Canada, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Brunei, Cyprus, the East Africa Protectorate, Falkland Islands, Malay Protectorates, Gambia, Gibraltar, Gold Coast, Jamaica, Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Perlis, Trengganu, Malta, Northern Nigeria, Northern Borneo, Nyasaland, St. Helena, Sarawak, Seychelles, Somaliland, Southern Nigeria, Trinidad, Uganda; on February 27th, 1913, for the Colony of Fiji; on April 22nd, 1913, for the Colony of Sierra Leone, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorate and the Solomon Islands Protectorate; on June 25th, 1913, for the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia; on November 14th, 1913, for the Bahamas Islands and for the three Colonies of the Windward Islands, that is to say, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent; on January 30th, 1914, for the Leeward Islands; on February 11th, 1914, for British Guiana as well as for British Honduras; on March 11th, 1914, for the Government of the Union of South Africa; on March 28th, 1914, for Zanzibar, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland; on April 4th, 1914, for the Colony of Barbados; on April 8th, 1914, for Mauritius and its dependencies; on July 11th, 1914, for the Bermuda Islands; on August 21st, 1924, for Palestine and together with France for the New Hebrides; on October 20th, 1924, for Iraq.

States	Signatures of the Convention	Signatures of the Protocol of the Powers not represented at the Opium Conference	Ratifications of the Convention	Signatures of the Protocol relative to the bringing into force of the Convention (dates of the entry into force)
LITHUANIA . . . . .	—	April 7, 1922	—	—
LUXEMBURG . . . . .	—	June 18, 1912	Aug. 21, 1922	Aug. 21, 1922
MEXICO . . . . .	—	May 15, 1912	April 2, 1925	May 8, 1925
MONACO . . . . .	—	May 1, 1923	Feb. 20, 1925	May 26, 1925
THE NETHERLANDS . . . . .	Jan. 23, 1912	—	July 28, 1914	Feb. 11, 1915
NICARAGUA . . . . .	—	July 18, 1913	Nov. 10, 1914	Nov. 3, 1920
NORWAY . . . . .	—	Sept. 2, 1913	Nov. 12, 1914	Sept. 20, 1915
PANAMA . . . . .	—	June 19, 1912	Nov. 25, 1920*	Nov. 25, 1920*
PARAGUAY . . . . .	—	Dec. 14, 1912	—	—
PERU . . . . .	—	July 24, 1913	Jan. 10, 1920*	Jan. 10, 1920*
PERSIA <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	Jan. 23, 1912	—	—	—
POLAND . . . . .	—	—	Jan. 10, 1920*	Jan. 10, 1920*
PORTUGAL . . . . .	Jan. 23, 1912	—	Dec. 15, 1913	April 8, 1920*
ROUMANIA . . . . .	—	Dec. 27, 1913	Sept. 14, 1920*	Sept. 14, 1920*
RUSSIA . . . . .	Jan. 23, 1912	—	—	—
SALVADOR . . . . .	—	July 30, 1912	Sept. 19, 1922	—
SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES, (KINGDOM OF THE). . . . .	—	—	Feb. 10, 1920*	Feb. 10, 1920*
SIAM <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	Jan. 23, 1912	—	July 10, 1913	Jan. 10, 1920*
SPAIN . . . . .	—	Oct. 23, 1912	Jan. 25, 1919	Feb. 11, 1921
SWEDEN <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	—	Aug. 27, 1913	April 17, 1914	Jan. 13, 1921
SWITZERLAND <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	—	Dec. 29, 1913	Jan. 15, 1925	Jan. 15, 1925
URUGUAY . . . . .	—	March 9, 1914	April 3, 1916	Jan. 10, 1920*
VENEZUELA . . . . .	—	Sept. 10, 1912	Oct. 28, 1913	July 12, 1927

FIRST OPIUM CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

AGREEMENT, PROTOCOL AND FINAL ACT. <sup>5</sup>  
(Signed at Geneva, February 11, 1925.)

Signatures	Ratifications	Signatures	Ratifications
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (Feb. 17, 1926)	THE NETHERLANDS (including NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO)	THE NETHERLANDS (including NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO) (March 1, 1927)
INDIA	INDIA (Feb. 17, 1926)		
FRANCE	FRANCE (April 29, 1926)		
JAPAN	JAPAN (October 10, 1928)	PORTUGAL	PORTUGAL (September 13, 1926)
		SIAM	SIAM (May 6, 1927)

SECOND OPIUM CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

CONVENTION. <sup>6</sup>  
(Geneva, February 19, 1925.)

Signatures	Ratifications	Accessions
		Subject to ratification      Final
ALBANIA		
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (November 25, 1927)	
BELGIUM	BELGIUM <sup>7</sup> (August 24, 1927)	
—	—	BOLIVIA (January 19, 1927)
BRAZIL		
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (February 17, 1926)	STATE OF SARAWAK (March 11, 1926)
CANADA	CANADA (June 27, 1928)	
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (February 17, 1926)	BAHAMAS (October 22, 1926)

<sup>1</sup> With the reservation of Articles 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 (Persia having no treaty with China) and paragraph (a) of Article 3.

<sup>2</sup> With the reservation of Articles 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 (Siam having no treaty with China).

<sup>3</sup> Subject to the following declaration: "Opium not being manufactured in Sweden, the Swedish Government will for the moment confine themselves to prohibiting the importation of prepared opium, but they declare at the same time that they are ready to take the measures indicated in Article 8 of the Convention if experience proves their expediency."

<sup>4</sup> Subject to ratification and with the declaration that the Swiss Government will be unable to issue the necessary legal enactments within the terms fixed by the Convention.

<sup>5</sup> The Agreement and the Protocol came into force on July 28, 1926. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. LI, p. 337.

<sup>6</sup> "The present Convention shall not come into force until it has been ratified by ten Powers, including seven of the States by which the Central Board is to be appointed in pursuance of Article 19, of which at least two must be permanent Members of the Council of the League. The date of its coming into force shall be the ninetieth day after the receipt by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations of the last of the necessary ratifications." (Article 36.)

<sup>7</sup> This ratification does not include the Belgian Congo or the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi placed under Belgian Mandate.



SECOND OPIUM CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS  
CONVENTION (continued).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
<b>BRITISH EMPIRE (continued)</b>			
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (February 17, 1926)		
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (February 17, 1926)		
INDIA	INDIA (February 17, 1926)		
IRISH FREE STATE			
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (March 9, 1927)		
CHILE			
CUBA			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (April 11, 1927)		
—	—	—	FREE CITY OF DANZIG (June 16, 1927)
DENMARK			
—	—	DOMINICAN REPUBLIC (October 16, 1926)	DOMINICAN REPUBLIC (July 19, 1928)
—	—		EGYPT (March 16, 1926)
—	—	—	FINLAND (December 5, 1927)
FRANCE	FRANCE (July 2, 1927)		
GERMANY			
GREECE			
HUNGARY			
—	—	ITALY <sup>1</sup> (September 17, 1928)	
JAPAN	JAPAN (October 10, 1928)		
LATVIA	LATVIA (October 31, 1928)		
LUXEMBURG	LUXEMBURG (March 27, 1928)		
—	—		SAN MARINO (April 21, 1926)
THE NETHERLANDS (including NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO)	THE NETHERLANDS (including NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM AND CURAÇAO) (June 4, 1928)		
—	—		MONACO (February 9, 1927)
—	—		NEW HEBRIDES (December 27, 1927)
NICARAGUA			
PERSIA			
POLAND	POLAND (June 16, 1927)		
PORTUGAL	PORTUGAL (September 13, 1926)		
—	—		
—	—	ROUMANIA (March 26, 1926)	ROUMANIA (May 18, 1928)
—	—	SALVADOR (March 11, 1926)	SALVADOR (December 2, 1926)
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
SIAM			
SPAIN	SPAIN <sup>2</sup> (June 22, 1928)		

<sup>1</sup> For the Kingdom and the Colonies.

<sup>2</sup> This ratification includes also the Spanish Colonies with the exception of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco.

SECOND OPIUM CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS  
CONVENTION (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i> <i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
SUDAN SWITZERLAND URUGUAY	SUDAN (February 20, 1926)		
—	—	VENEZUELA (June 25, 1927)	
<p>PROTOCOL. (<i>Geneva, February 19, 1925.</i>)</p>			
<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i> <i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
ALBANIA			
—	—	BOLIVIA (January 19, 1927)	
BRITISH EMPIRE CANADA AUSTRALIA	BRITISH EMPIRE (February 17, 1926) CANADA (June 27, 1928) AUSTRALIA (February 17, 1926)		STATE OF SARAWAK (March 11, 1926) BAHAMAS (October 22, 1926)
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA NEW ZEALAND	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (February 17, 1926) NEW ZEALAND (February 17, 1926)		
INDIA BULGARIA CHILE CUBA CZECHOSLOVAKIA	INDIA (February 17, 1926) BULGARIA (March 9, 1927) CZECHOSLOVAKIA (April 11, 1927)		
—	—		EGYPT (March 16, 1926) FINLAND (December 5, 1927)
GERMANY GREECE JAPAN LATVIA LUXEMBURG THE NETHERLANDS (including NE- THERLANDS IN- DIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO)	JAPAN (October 10, 1928) LATVIA (October 31, 1928) LUXEMBURG (March 27, 1928) THE NETHERLANDS (includ- ing NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO) (June 4, 1928)		
NICARAGUA PERSIA PORTUGAL	PORTUGAL (September 13, 1926)		
—	—	ROUMANIA (March 26, 1926)	ROUMANIA (May 18, 1928)
—	—	SALVADOR (March 11, 1926)	SALVADOR (December 2, 1926)
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES SIAM SUDAN	SUDAN (February 20, 1926)		
—	—	VENEZUELA (June 25, 1927)	

VI. SUPERVISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN ARMS AND  
AMMUNITION AND IN IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

CONVENTION FOR THE SUPERVISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN ARMS AND AMMUNITION  
AND IN IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.<sup>1</sup>

(Geneva, June 17, 1925.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>
		<i>Final</i>
ABYSSINIA		
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA		
AUSTRIA		
BELGIUM		
BRAZIL		
—		
BRITISH EMPIRE		
CANADA		
INDIA		
BULGARIA		
CHILE		
CHINA	CHINA	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
DENMARK		
EGYPT		
ESTONIA		
FINLAND		
FRANCE	FRANCE	
GERMANY		
HUNGARY		
—		
ITALY		
JAPAN		
LATVIA		
—		
—		
—		
LUXEMBURG		
THE NETHERLANDS (including NETHERLANDS IN- DIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO)	THE NETHERLANDS (including NETHER- LANDS INDIES, SU- RINAM and CURAÇAO)	
NORWAY		
POLAND		
—		
ROUMANIA		
SALVADOR		
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES		
SIAM		
SPAIN		
SWEDEN		
SWITZERLAND		
URUGUAY		
VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA	
		LIBERIA

<sup>1</sup> "A first procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up by the Government of the French Republic as soon as the present Convention shall have been ratified by fourteen Powers.

"The Convention shall come into force four months after the date of the notification of this procès-verbal by the Government of the French Republic to all signatory Powers" (Article 41).

PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE.  
(Geneva, June 17, 1925.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
ABYSSINIA			
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA			
AUSTRIA			
BELGIUM			
BRAZIL			
BRITISH EMPIRE			
CANADA			
INDIA			
BULGARIA			
CHILE			
—			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
DENMARK			
—			
ESTONIA			
FINLAND			
FRANCE	FRANCE		
GERMANY			
GREECE			
HUNGARY			
—			
ITALY			
JAPAN			
LATVIA			
—			
LUXEMBURG			LIBERIA
—			
THE NETHERLANDS (including NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO)			
NICARAGUA			
POLAND			
—			
PORTUGAL			
ROUMANIA			
SALVADOR			
—			
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
SPAIN			
—			
SWITZERLAND			
TURKEY			
URUGUAY			
VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA		

DECLARATION REGARDING THE TERRITORY OF IFNI.  
(Geneva, June 17, 1925.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
—			
—			
—			
ABYSSINIA			
AUSTRIA			
BELGIUM			
BRAZIL			
—			
BRITISH EMPIRE			
CANADA			
INDIA			

DECLARATION REGARDING THE TERRITORY OF IFNI (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
BULGARIA			
CHILE			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
DENMARK			
EGYPT			
ESTONIA			
—			
FINLAND			
FRANCE	FRANCE		
—			
ITALY			
JAPAN			
LATVIA			
—			
LUXEMBURG			
THE NETHERLANDS (including NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO)	THE NETHERLANDS (including NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO)		
POLAND			
—			
ROUMANIA			
SALVADOR			
—			
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
SPAIN			
SWITZERLAND			
VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA		
			LIBERIA (April 2, 1927)

PROTOCOL FOR THE PROHIBITION OF THE USE IN WAR OF ASPHYXIATING, POISONOUS OR OTHER GASES, AND OF BACTERIOLOGICAL METHODS OF WARFARE.<sup>1</sup>

(Geneva, June 17, 1925.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
ABYSSINIA			
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA			
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (May 9, 1928)		
BELGIUM	BELGIUM (December 4, 1928)		
BRAZIL			
—			
BRITISH EMPIRE			
CANADA			
INDIA			
BULGARIA			
CHILE			
—			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
—			
DENMARK			
EGYPT	EGYPT (December 6, 1928)		
ESTONIA			
—			
FINLAND			
FRANCE	FRANCE (May 9, 1926)		
GERMANY			
—			
GREECE			
—			
ITALY	ITALY (April 3, 1928)		
—			

<sup>1</sup> The present Protocol will come into force for each signatory Power as from the date of deposit of its ratification and, from that moment, each Power will be bound as regards other Powers which have already deposited their ratifications.

PROTOCOL FOR THE PROHIBITION OF THE USE IN WAR OF ASPHYXIATING, POISONOUS OR OTHER GASES, AND OF BACTERIOLOGICAL METHODS OF WARFARE (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i> <i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
JAPAN			
LATVIA			LIBERIA (April 2, 1927)
—	—	—	
LITHUANIA			
LUXEMBURG			
THE NETHERLANDS (including NETHERLANDS IN- DIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO)			
—			
—			
NICARAGUA			
NORWAY			
POLAND			
PORTUGAL			
ROUMANIA			
SALVADOR			
—			
—			
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
SIAM			
SPAIN			
SWEDEN			
SWITZERLAND			
—			
TURKEY			
—	—	UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS	UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS (April 5, 1928)
URUGUAY			
VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (Febru- ary 8, 1928)		

VII. REFUGEES.<sup>1</sup>

I. ADDITIONAL ACT TO THE PROTOCOL OF SEPTEMBER 29, 1923, RELATING TO THE SETTLEMENT OF GREEK REFUGEES, SIGNED AT GENEVA, SEPTEMBER 19, 1924.<sup>2</sup>

Signed by GREECE and ratified December 4, 1924.

II. DECLARATION RELATING TO THE MODIFICATIONS MADE TO THE PROTOCOL OF SEPTEMBER 29, 1923, WITH REGARD TO THE SETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES IN GREECE, BY THE ADDITIONAL ACT OF SEPTEMBER 19, 1924. GENEVA, SEPTEMBER 25, 1924.<sup>3</sup>

Signed by GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE and ITALY.

III. PROTOCOL<sup>4</sup> CONCERNING THE SETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES IN BULGARIA, SIGNED AT GENEVA, SEPTEMBER 8, 1926.

Ratified by BULGARIA November 23, 1926.

IV. PROTOCOL<sup>5</sup> FOR THE STABILISATION OF THE CURRENCY AND LIQUIDATING THE BUDGET ARREARS OF THE HELLENIC STATE AND FOR FURTHER SETTLEMENT OF GREEK REFUGEES, SIGNED AT GENEVA, SEPTEMBER 15, 1927.

Ratified by GREECE January 12, 1928.

<sup>1</sup> The Annex to the Supplementary Report for 1924 (A. 8 (a). 1924. Annex) contains, moreover, complete details concerning :

(1) Arrangement with regard to the Issue of Certificates of Identity to Russian Refugees ;  
(2) Protocol relating to the Settlement of Refugees in Greece and the Creation for this purpose of a Refugee Settlement Commission, signed at Geneva, September 29, 1923 ;  
(3) Declaration relating to the Settlement of Refugees in Greece and the Creation for this purpose of a Refugee Settlement Commission, signed at Geneva, September 29, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. XXX, p. 413.

<sup>3</sup> See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. XXX, p. 421.

<sup>4</sup> Came into force November 23, 1926, according to its Article X, paragraph 3.

<sup>5</sup> See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. LXX.

DECLARATION<sup>1</sup> CONCERNING THE ABOVE PROTOCOL ON BEHALF OF FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN AND ITALY, SIGNED AT GENEVA, DECEMBER 8, 1927.

*Signatures*  
GREAT BRITAIN  
FRANCE  
ITALY

VIII. EMIGRATION.

GRECO-BULGARIAN AGREEMENT, SIGNED AT GENEVA, DECEMBER 9, 1927.

(*Greco-Bulgarian Emigration.*)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
BULGARIA	—
GREECE	—

IX. SLAVERY.

SLAVERY CONVENTION.<sup>2</sup>

(*Geneva, September 25, 1926.*)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
ABYSSINIA			
ALBANIA			
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (August 19, 1927)		
BELGIUM	BELGIUM (September 23, 1927)		
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (June 18, 1927)		
CANADA	CANADA (August 6, 1928)		
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (June 18, 1927)		
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (June 18, 1927)		
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (June 18, 1927)		
INDIA	INDIA (June 18, 1927)		
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (March 9, 1927)		
CHINA			
COLOMBIA			
CUBA			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
DENMARK	DENMARK (May 17, 1927)		
—	—	DOMINICAN REPUBLIC (July 16, 1928)	
—	—		ECUADOR (March 26, 1928)
—	—		EGYPT (January 25, 1928)
ESTONIA			
FINLAND	FINLAND (September 29, 1927)		
FRANCE			
GERMANY			
GREECE			
			HAITI (September 3, 1927)
			HUNGARY <sup>3</sup> (April 16, 1927)
ITALY	ITALY (August 25, 1928)		
LATVIA	LATVIA (July 9, 1927)		
LIBERIA			
LITHUANIA			

<sup>1</sup> See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. LXX.

<sup>2</sup> This Convention came into force March 9, 1927, according to its Article 12. See League of Nations *Treaty Series* Vol. LX, p. 253; LXIX, p. 114, and Vol. LXXII, p. 485.

<sup>3</sup> "The Royal Hungarian Government expresses, with respect to point (2) of paragraph 2 of Article 5, the opinion that the application of measures of coercion by public authorities against persons who without legal justification refuse to fulfil undertakings (duties as domestic servants, agricultural labourers, or harvest labourers), entered into by them freely under the civil law, cannot be considered as a measure conducing to conditions analogous to slavery which is prohibited by the present Convention, since in such cases the sole object is to ensure the proper observance of the period of notice which the law requires to be given to the employer or to secure the completion of a task of short duration freely accepted by the workman."

SLAVERY CONVENTION (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Accessions</i> <i>Final</i>
—	—	—	MONACO (January 17, 1928)
THE NETHERLANDS (including NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO)	THE NETHERLANDS (including NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO) (January 7, 1928)	—	NICARAGUA (October 3, 1927)
NORWAY	NORWAY (September 10, 1927)	—	
PANAMA			
PERSIA			
POLAND			
PORTUGAL	PORTUGAL (October 4, 1927)		
ROUMANIA			
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
SPAIN	SPAIN (September 12, 1927)	—	SUDAN (September 15, 1927)
—	—	—	—
SWEDEN	SWEDEN (December 17, 1927)		
URUGUAY			

X. PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.<sup>1</sup>

1. PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE, DATED DECEMBER 16, 1920.

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
ABYSSINIA	ABYSSINIA (July 16, 1926)	INDIA	INDIA (August 4, 1921)
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (August 4, 1921)	IRISH FREE STATE	IRISH FREE STATE
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (July 13, 1921)	ITALY	ITALY (June 20, 1921)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (August 4, 1921)	JAPAN	JAPAN (November 16, 1921)
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (July 23, 1921)	LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)
BELGIUM	BELGIUM (August 29, 1921)	LIBERIA	—
BOLIVIA	—	LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (May 16, 1922)
BRAZIL	BRAZIL (November 1, 1921)	LUXEMBURG	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (August 4, 1921)	THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (August 6, 1921)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (August 12, 1921)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (August 4, 1921)
CANADA	CANADA (August 4, 1921)	NORWAY	NORWAY (August 20, 1921)
CHILE	CHILE (July 20, 1928)	PANAMA	—
CHINA	CHINA (May 13, 1922)	PARAGUAY	—
COLOMBIA	—	PERSIA	—
COSTA RICA	—	POLAND	POLAND (August 26, 1921)
CUBA	CUBA (January 12, 1922)	PORTUGAL	PORTUGAL (October 8, 1921)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 2, 1921)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (August 8, 1921)
DENMARK	DENMARK (June 13, 1921)	SALVADOR	—
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	—	KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES (August 12, 1921)
ESTONIA	ESTONIA (May 2, 1923)	SIAM	SIAM (February 27, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (April 6, 1922)	SPAIN	SPAIN (August 30, 1921)
FRANCE	FRANCE (August 7, 1921)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (February 21, 1921)
GERMANY	GERMANY (March 11, 1927)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (July 25, 1921)
GREECE	GREECE (October 3, 1921)	URUGUAY	URUGUAY (September 27, 1921)
GUATEMALA	—	VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (December 2, 1921)
HAITI	HAITI (September 7, 1921)		
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (November 20, 1925)		

<sup>1</sup> See *Treaty Series of the League of Nations*, Vol. VI, p. 379; Vol. XI, p. 404; Vol. XV, p. 304; Vol. XXIV, p. 152; Vol. XXVII, p. 416; Vol. XXXIX, p. 165; Vol. XLV, p. 96; Vol. L, p. 159; Vol. LIV, p. 387; Vol. LXIX, p. 70 and Vol. LXXII, p. 452.



2. OPTIONAL CLAUSE RECOGNISING THE COURT'S JURISDICTION AS DESCRIBED  
IN ARTICLE 36 OF THE STATUTE.

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
ABYSSINIA	ABYSSINIA (July 16, 1926, for 5 years)	HUNGARY* (for 5 years)	—
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (March 14, 1922, for 5 years; renewed for 10 years from March 13, 1927)	LATVIA* (for 5 years)	—
BELGIUM	BELGIUM (March 10, 1926, for 15 years)	LIBERIA <sup>2</sup> *	—
BRAZIL	BRAZIL <sup>1</sup> (November 1, 1921, for 5 years)	LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (May 16, 1922, for 5 years)
BULGARIA <sup>2</sup>	BULGARIA (August 12, 1921)	LUXEMBURG* (for 5 years)	—
CHINA	CHINA (May 13, 1922, for 5 years)	NETHERLANDS <sup>3</sup> (from August 6, 1926, for 10 years)	NETHERLANDS (August 6, 1921, for 5 years)
COSTA RICA <sup>2</sup> *	—	NORWAY <sup>3</sup> (from Oc- tober 3, 1926, for 10 years)	NORWAY (October 3, 1921, for 5 years)
DENMARK	DENMARK (June 13, 1921, for 5 years; renewed for 10 years from June 13, 1926)	PANAMA <sup>2</sup> *	—
DOMINICAN REPUB- LIC <sup>2</sup> *	—	PORTUGAL <sup>2</sup>	PORTUGAL (October 8, 1921)
—	ESTONIA (May 2, 1923, for 5 years, renewed for 10 years as from May 2, 1928)	SALVADOR <sup>2</sup> *	—
FINLAND <sup>3</sup> (from April 6, 1927, for 10 years)	FINLAND (April 6, 1922, for 5 years)	SPAIN <sup>3</sup> (from Sep- tember 21, 1928, for 10 years)	—
FRANCE* for 15 years)	—	SWEDEN <sup>3</sup> (August 16, 1921, for 5 years and March 18, 1926, for 10 years)	—
GERMANY for 5 years)	GERMANY (February 29, 1928)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (July 26, 1921, for 5 years; re- newed for 10 years from July 24, 1926)
GUATEMALA <sup>2</sup> *	—	URUGUAY <sup>2</sup>	URUGUAY (September 27, 1921)
HAITI <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup>	—		

CONFERENCE OF STATES SIGNATORIES OF THE PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE  
OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE.

(Geneva, September 23, 1926.)

*Signatures*  
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA  
ALBANIA  
AUSTRALIA  
AUSTRIA  
BELGIUM  
BRITISH EMPIRE  
BULGARIA  
CANADA  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
DENMARK  
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC  
ESTONIA  
FINLAND  
FRANCE  
GREECE  
HUNGARY  
INDIA  
IRISH FREE STATE  
ITALY  
JAPAN  
LITHUANIA

<sup>1</sup> Subject to acceptance also by at least two of the Powers permanently represented on the Council.

<sup>2</sup> Without limitation as to the length of validity.

<sup>3</sup> Declaration not subject to ratification.

\* Subject to the ratification of the Declaration or of the Protocol.

FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE (*continued*).

*Signatures*

LUXEMBURG  
THE NETHERLANDS  
NEW ZEALAND  
NORWAY  
PANAMA  
PERSIA  
POLAND  
PORTUGAL  
ROUMANIA  
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS,  
CROATS AND SLOVENES  
SIAM  
SPAIN  
SWEDEN  
SWITZERLAND  
VENEZUELA

XI. PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

1. PROTOCOL FOR THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES,<sup>1</sup>

annexed to the Resolution adopted by the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations on October 2, 1924.

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
ALBANIA		HAITI	
—		—	
BELGIUM		LATVIA	
—		LIBERIA	
BRAZIL		PARAGUAY	
BULGARIA		—	
—		POLAND	
CHILE		PORTUGAL	
—		—	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		KINGDOM OF THE	
ESTONIA		SERBS, CROATS	
—		AND SLOVENES	
FINLAND		—	
FRANCE		SPAIN	
GREECE		URUGUAY	

2. GENERAL ACT.

(Geneva, September 26, 1928.)

<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Conciliation</i>	<i>Judicial Settlement</i>	<i>Arbitration</i>
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XII. ARBITRATION CLAUSES IN COMMERCIAL MATTERS.

1. PROTOCOL ON ARBITRATION CLAUSES.<sup>2</sup>

(Geneva, September 24, 1923.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
—	ALBANIA (August 29, 1924)		
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (January 25, 1928)		
BELGIUM	BELGIUM (September 23, 1924)		
BRAZIL			

<sup>1</sup> "So soon as the majority of the permanent Members of the Council and ten other Members of the League have deposited or effected their ratifications, a procès-verbal to that effect shall be drawn up by the Secretariat. After the said procès-verbal has been drawn up, the Protocol shall come into force as soon as the plan for the reduction of armaments has been adopted by the Conference provided for in Article 17." (Article 21).

<sup>2</sup> The present Protocol came into force on July 28, 1924, date of the second deposit of ratification (Article 6). See *Treaty Series of the League of Nations*: Vol. XXVII, p. 157; Vol. XXXI, p. 260; Vol. XXXV, p. 314; Vol. XXXIX, p. 190; Vol. XLV, p. 116; Vol. L, p. 161; Vol. LIV, p. 355; Vol. LXIX, p. 79, and Vol. LXXII, p. 452.

1. PROTOCOL ON ARBITRATION CLAUSES (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (September 27, 1924)	Southern Rhodesia (December 18, 1924)	(March 12, 1926)
		Newfoundland (June 22, 1925)	
		British Guiana	
		British Honduras	
		Jamaica	
		Leeward Islands	
		Grenada	
		St. Lucia	
		St. Vincent	
		Gambia	
		Gold Coast	
		Kenya	
		Zanzibar	
		Northern Rhodesia	
		Ceylon	
		Mauritius	
		Gibraltar	
		Malta	
		Falkland Islands	
		IRAQ and PALESTINE	
		Tanganyika (June 17, 1926)	
		St. Helena (July 29, 1926)	
CHILE			
FREE CITY OF DANZIG			
DENMARK	DENMARK (April 6, 1925)		
ESTONIA			
FINLAND	FINLAND (July 10, 1924)		
FRANCE	FRANCE (June 7, 1928)		
GERMANY	GERMANY (November 5, 1924)		
GREECE	GREECE (May 26, 1926)		
ITALY	ITALY (July 28, 1924)		
JAPAN	JAPAN (June 4, 1928)		
LATVIA			
LITHUANIA			
MONACO	MONACO (February 8, 1927)		
THE NETHERLANDS (including NETHERLANDS IN- DIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO)	THE NETHERLANDS (includ- ing NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO) (August 6, 1925)		
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (June 9, 1926)		
NICARAGUA			
NORWAY	NORWAY (September 2, 1927)		
PANAMA			
PARAGUAY			
POLAND			
ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (March 12, 1925)		
SALVADOR			
SIAM			
SPAIN	SPAIN (July 29, 1926)		
SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (May 14, 1928)		
URUGUAY			

2. CONVENTION ON THE EXECUTION OF FOREIGN ARBITRAL AWARDS.  
(Geneva, September 26, 1927.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
AUSTRIA	
BELGIUM	
GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND	
DENMARK	
ESTONIA	
FRANCE	
GERMANY	
ITALY	
THE NETHERLANDS	
NEW ZEALAND (WEST- ERN SAMOA (included)	
NICARAGUA	
ROUMANIA	

XIII. CUSTOMS FORMALITIES.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION RELATING TO THE SIMPLIFICATION OF CUSTOMS FORMALITIES<sup>1</sup>  
AND PROTOCOL RELATING THERETO.<sup>1</sup>  
(Geneva, November 3, 1923.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (September 11, 1924)		
BELGIUM	BELGIUM (October 4, 1924)		
BRAZIL			
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (August 29, 1924)		
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (March 13, 1925)		
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (August 29, 1924)		
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (August 29, 1924)		
INDIA	INDIA (March 13, 1925)		
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (December 10, 1926)		
CHILE			
CHINA	CHINA (February 23, 1926)		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (February 10, 1927)		
DENMARK	DENMARK (May 17, 1924)		
EGYPT	EGYPT (March 23, 1925)		
FINLAND	FINLAND (May 23, 1928)		
FRANCE	FRANCE <sup>2</sup> (September 13, 1926)		
GERMANY	GERMANY (August 1, 1925)		
GREECE	GREECE (July 6, 1927)		
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (February 23, 1926)		
ITALY	ITALY (June 13, 1924)		
JAPAN			
LITHUANIA			
LUXEMBURG	LUXEMBURG (June 10, 1927)		
FRENCH PROTEC- TORATE OF MO- ROCCO	FRENCH PROTECTORATE OF MOROCCO (November 8, 1926)		
THE NETHERLANDS (including NE- THERLANDS IN- DIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO)	THE NETHERLANDS (includ- ing NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM and CURAÇAO) (May 30, 1925)		
NORWAY	NORWAY (September 7, 1926)		
PARAGUAY			
			PERSIA (May 8, 1925)
POLAND			
PORTUGAL			

<sup>1</sup> The present Convention came into force on November 27, 1924, ninety days after the deposit of the fifth ratification (Article 26). The Protocol came into force on the same conditions as the Convention to which it relates. See *Treaty Series* of the League of Nations, Vol. XXX, p. 371; Vol. XXXV, p. 324; Vol. XXXIX, p. 208; Vol. XLV, p. 140; Vol. L, p. 161; Vol. LIV, p. 398; Vol. LIX, p. 365; and Vol. LXIX, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> The French Government has specified in its Bill approving the above Convention that, in accordance with Article 29, the provisions contained in this Act should not apply to the Colonies under its sovereignty.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION RELATING TO THE SIMPLIFICATION OF CUSTOMS FORMALITIES AND PROTOCOL RELATING THERETO (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (December 23, 1925)	<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
SIAM	SIAM (May 19, 1925)		
SPAIN			
SWEDEN	SWEDEN (February 12, 1926)		
SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (January 3, 1927)		
REGENCE OF TUNIS (FRENCH PROTECTORATE)	REGENCE OF TUNIS (FRENCH PROTECTORATE) (November 8, 1926)		
URUGUAY			

XIV. ABOLITION OF IMPORT AND EXPORT PROHIBITIONS AND RESTRICTIONS. \*

1. INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE ABOLITION OF IMPORT AND EXPORT PROHIBITIONS AND RESTRICTIONS.

(Geneva, November 8, 1927.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA <sup>1</sup>			
AUSTRIA			
BELGIUM			
GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND and those parts of the BRITISH EMPIRE which are not separate Members of the League of Nations <sup>2</sup>			
INDIA <sup>3</sup>			
BULGARIA			
CHILE			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
DENMARK <sup>4</sup>			
EGYPT			
ESTONIA			
FINLAND			
FRANCE <sup>5</sup>			
GERMANY			
HUNGARY			
ITALY			
JAPAN			
LATVIA			
LUXEMBURG			
THE NETHERLANDS			
NORWAY			
POLAND			

\* In order to be brought into force, the Convention must have secured either ratification as provided for in Article 15 or accession as provided for in Article 16 of the Convention on behalf of at least eighteen Members of the League of Nations or non-Member States.

<sup>1</sup> The United States, in accordance with Article 10 of the Convention, does not assume any obligation in respect of the Philippine Islands.

<sup>2</sup> The signature by Great Britain does not include any of His Britannic Majesty's colonies, protectorates or territories under suzerainty or mandate.

<sup>3</sup> Under the terms of Article 10, this signature does not include the Territories in India of any Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty.

<sup>4</sup> Excluding Greenland.

<sup>5</sup> The signature by France does not include its colonies, protectorates or territories under its suzerainty or mandate.

1. INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE ABOLITION OF IMPORT AND EXPORT PROHIBITIONS AND RESTRICTIONS (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i> <i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
PORTUGAL ROUMANIA KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES SIAM SWEDEN SWITZERLAND TURKEY			

PROTOCOL TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION.

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i> <i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
UNITED STATES AMERICA <sup>1</sup> AUSTRIA BELGIUM GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND and those parts of the BRITISH EM- PIRE which are not separate Members of the League of Nations. <sup>2</sup> INDIA <sup>3</sup> BULGARIA CHILE CZECHOSLOVAKIA DENMARK <sup>4</sup> EGYPT ESTONIA FINLAND FRANCE <sup>5</sup> GERMANY HUNGARY ITALY JAPAN LATVIA LUXEMBURG THE NETHER- LANDS NORWAY POLAND PORTUGAL ROUMANIA KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES SIAM SWEDEN SWITZERLAND TURKEY			

<sup>1</sup> The United States, in accordance with Article 10 of the Convention, does not assume any obligation in respect of the Philippine Islands.

<sup>2</sup> The signature by Great Britain does not include any of His Britannic Majesty's colonies, protectorates or territories under suzerainty or mandate.

<sup>3</sup> Under the terms of Article 10, this signature does not include the Territories in India of any Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty.

<sup>4</sup> Excluding Greenland.

<sup>5</sup> The signature by France does not include its colonies, protectorates or territories under its suzerainty or mandate.

ANNEXED DECLARATION.

*Signatures*

CHILE  
FRANCE  
GREECE  
HUNGARY  
ITALY  
PORTUGAL  
KINGDOM OF THE  
SERBS, CROATS  
AND SLOVENES  
SWITZERLAND

2. SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT TO THE CONVENTION OF NOVEMBER 8, 1927, FOR THE  
ABOLITION OF IMPORT AND EXPORT PROHIBITIONS AND RESTRICTIONS.

(Geneva, July 11, 1928.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA			
AUSTRIA			
BELGIUM			
GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND and those parts of the BRITISH EMPIRE which are not separate Members of the League of Nations <sup>1</sup>			
INDIA			
BULGARIA			
CHILE			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
DENMARK			
EGYPT			
ESTONIA			
FINLAND			
FRANCE <sup>2</sup>			
GERMANY			
HUNGARY			
ITALY			
JAPAN			
LATVIA			
LUXEMBURG			
THE NETHER- LANDS			
NORWAY			
POLAND			
PORTUGAL			
ROUMANIA			
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
SIAM			
SWEDEN			
SWITZERLAND			
TURKEY <sup>3</sup>			

<sup>1</sup> This signature does not include any of His Britannic Majesty's colonies, protectorates or territories under suzerainty or mandate.

<sup>2</sup> By its acceptance it does not intend to assume any obligation in regard to any of its colonies, protectorates and territories under its suzerainty or mandate.

<sup>3</sup> Subject to reservation as regards Article B.

PROTOCOL.

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA			
AUSTRIA			
BELGIUM			
GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND and those parts of the BRITISH EMPIRE which are not sepa- rate Members of the League of Nations <sup>1</sup>			
INDIA			
BULGARIA			
CHILE			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
DENMARK			
EGYPT			
ESTONIA			
FINLAND			
FRANCE <sup>2</sup>			
GERMANY			
HUNGARY			
ITALY			
JAPAN			
LATVIA			
LUXEMBURG			
THE NETHER- LANDS			
NORWAY			
POLAND			
PORTUGAL			
ROUMANIA			
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
SIAM			
SWEDEN			
SWITZERLAND			
TURKEY <sup>3</sup>			

ANNEXED DECLARATION.

AUSTRIA  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
GERMANY  
HUNGARY

3. INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT RELATING TO THE EXPORTATION OF HIDES AND SKINS.

(Geneva, July 11, 1928.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
AUSTRIA			
BELGIUM			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			

<sup>1</sup> This signature does not include any of His Britannic Majesty's colonies, protectorates or territories under suzerainty or mandate.

<sup>2</sup> Subject to the reservations made on signing the Supplementary Agreement.

<sup>3</sup> Subject to reservation as regards Article B.



3. INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT RELATING TO THE EXPORTATION OF HIDES AND SKINS  
(continued).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratification</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND and those parts of the BRITISH EMPIRE which are not sepa- rate Members of the League of Nations <sup>1</sup>			
BULGARIA			
DENMARK			
FINLAND			
FRANCE <sup>2</sup>			
GERMANY			
HUNGARY			
ITALY			
LUXEMBURG			
THE NETHERLANDS			
NORWAY			
POLAND			
ROUMANIA			
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
SWEDEN			
SWITZERLAND			
TURKEY			

PROTOCOL.

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
AUSTRIA			
BELGIUM			
GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND and those parts of the BRITISH EMPIRE which are not sepa- rate Members of the League of Nations <sup>1</sup>			
BULGARIA			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
DENMARK			
FINLAND			
FRANCE <sup>2</sup>			
GERMANY			
HUNGARY			
ITALY			
LUXEMBURG			
THE NETHERLANDS			
NORWAY			
POLAND			

<sup>1</sup> This signature does not include any of His Britannic Majesty's colonies, protectorates or territories under suzerainty or mandate.

<sup>2</sup> On signing the present Agreement, France declares that by its acceptance it does not intend to assume any obligation in regard to any of its colonies, protectorates and territories under its suzerainty or mandate.

<sup>3</sup> Subject to the reservations made on signing the Agreement.

3. INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT RELATING TO THE EXPORTATION OF HIDES AND SKINS.  
 PROTOCOL (continued).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
ROUMANIA.			
KINGDOM OF THE			
SERBS, CROATS			
AND SLOVENES			
SWEDEN			
SWITZERLAND			
TURKEY			

4. INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT RELATING TO THE EXPORTATION OF BONES.  
 (Geneva, July 11, 1928.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
AUSTRIA			
BELGIUM			
GREAT BRITAIN			
AND NORTHERN			
IRELAND and			
those parts of			
the BRITISH			
EMPIRE which			
are not sepa-			
rate Members			
of the League			
of Nations <sup>1</sup>			
BULGARIA			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
DENMARK			
FINLAND			
FRANCE <sup>2</sup>			
GERMANY			
HUNGARY			
ITALY			
LUXEMBURG			
THE NETHERLANDS			
NORWAY			
POLAND			
ROUMANIA			
KINGDOM OF THE			
SERBS, CROATS			
AND SLOVENES			
SWEDEN			
SWITZERLAND			
TURKEY			

PROTOCOL.

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
AUSTRIA			
BELGIUM			
GREAT BRITAIN			
AND NORTHERN			
IRELAND and			
those parts of			
the BRITISH			
EMPIRE which			
are not sepa-			
rate Members			
of the League			
of Nations <sup>1</sup>			

<sup>1</sup> This signature does not include any of His Britannic Majesty's colonies, protectorates or territories under suzerainty or mandate.

<sup>2</sup> On signing the present Agreement, France declares that by its acceptance it does not intend to assume any obligation in regard to any of its colonies, protectorates and territories under its suzerainty or mandate.

4. INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT RELATING TO THE EXPORTATION OF BONES.

PROTOCOL (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
BULGARIA			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
DENMARK			
FINLAND			
FRANCE <sup>1</sup>			
GERMANY			
HUNGARY			
ITALY			
LUXEMBURG			
THE NETHERLANDS			
NORWAY			
POLAND			
ROUMANIA			
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES			
SWEDEN			
SWITZERLAND			
TURKEY			

XV. ECONOMIC STATISTICS.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION RELATING TO ECONOMIC STATISTICS.

(*Geneva, December 14, 1928.*)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Final</i>
AUSTRIA			
BELGIUM <sup>2</sup>			
BRAZIL			
GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND and those parts of the BRITISH EMPIRE which are not sepa- rate Members of the League of Nations <sup>3</sup>			
BULGARIA			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
FREE CITY OF DANZIG			
DENMARK <sup>4</sup>			
EGYPT			
ESTONIA			
FINLAND			
FRANCE <sup>5</sup>			
GERMANY			
GREECE			
HUNGARY			
ITALY <sup>6</sup>			
JAPAN <sup>7</sup>			
LATVIA			
LUXEMBURG			

<sup>1</sup> Subject to the reservations made on signing the Agreement.

<sup>2</sup> Does not apply to the Belgian Congo.

<sup>3</sup> Does not include any of His Britannic Majesty's colonies, protectorates or territories under suzerainty or mandate.

<sup>4</sup> Greenland is excepted from the provisions of the Convention as well as the Faroe Islands.

<sup>5</sup> Does not apply to the colonies, protectorates and territories under French suzerainty or mandate.

<sup>6</sup> Does not apply to the colonies, protectorates and other territories referred to in the first paragraph of Article 11.

<sup>7</sup> Does not apply to Chosen, Taiwan, Karafuto, the leased territory of Kwantung and the territories under Japanese mandate.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION RELATING TO ECONOMIC STATISTICS (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
THE NETHERLANDS <sup>1</sup>				
NORWAY				
POLAND				
PORTUGAL <sup>2</sup>				
ROUMANIA				
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES				

PROTOCOL.

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Subject to ratification</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i>
AUSTRIA				
BELGIUM				
BRAZIL				
GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND and those parts of the BRITISH EMPIRE which are not sepa- rate Members of the League of Nations				
BULGARIA				
CZECHOSLOVAKIA				
FREE CITY OF DANZIG				
DENMARK				
EGYPT				
ESTONIA				
FINLAND				
FRANCE				
GERMANY				
GREECE				
HUNGARY				
ITALY				
JAPAN				
LATVIA				
LUXEMBURG				
THE NETHERLANDS				
NORWAY				
POLAND				
PORTUGAL				
ROUMANIA				
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES				

<sup>1</sup> Does not apply to Dutch East Indies, Surinam and Curaçao.

<sup>2</sup> Does not apply to the Portuguese colonies.

XVI. CURRENCY AND BANKING REFORM.

1. PROTOCOL<sup>1</sup> REGARDING CURRENCY AND BANKING REFORM IN ESTONIA, SIGNED AT GENEVA, DECEMBER 10, 1926.

Ratified by ESTONIA, May 10, 1927.

2. PROTOCOL REGARDING THE BULGARIAN STABILISATION LOAN, SIGNED AT GENEVA, MARCH 10, 1928.

Signed by BULGARIA, March 10, 1928. Ratified, June 4, 1928.

3. ADDITIONAL ACT TO THE PROTOCOL OF MARCH 10, 1928.

Signed by BULGARIA, September 8, 1928. Ratified, November 3, 1928.

XVII. INTERNATIONAL RELIEF UNION.

CONVENTION AND STATUTE ESTABLISHING AN INTERNATIONAL RELIEF UNION, SIGNED AT GENEVA, JULY 12, 1927.<sup>2</sup>

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Accessions</i>	<i>Final</i> •
		<i>Subject to ratification</i>	
ALBANIA			
BELGIUM			
BRAZIL			
BULGARIA			
COLOMBIA			
CUBA			
CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
FREE CITY OF DANZIG			
ECUADOR	ECUADOR (July 30, 1928)		
EGYPT	EGYPT (August 7, 1928)		
FINLAND			
FRANCE			
GERMANY			
GREECE			
GUATEMALA			
HUNGARY			
INDIA			
ITALY	ITALY (August 2, 1928) <sup>3</sup>		
LATVIA			
MONACO			
—	—		
			NEW ZEALAND (December 22, 1928)
NICARAGUA			
PERU			
POLAND			
PORTUGAL			
ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 11, 1928)		
SAN MARINO			
SPAIN			
—	—		
TURKEY			SUDAN (May 11, 1928)
URUGUAY			
VENEZUELA			

<sup>1</sup> Came into force May 10, 1927, according to its final provisions. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*: Vol. LXII, p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> The present Convention shall not come into force until ratifications or accessions shall have been deposited in the name of at least twelve Members of the League of Nations or non-Member States of which the combined contributions amount to six hundred shares. The date of its entry into force will be the ninetieth day after the receipt by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations of the last of such ratifications or accessions.

<sup>3</sup> This ratification applies also to the Italian Colonies.

XVIII. AMENDMENTS TO THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE. <sup>1</sup>

(Geneva, October 5, 1921.)

1. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 4. <sup>2</sup>

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (February 3, 1923)	LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (January 3, 1924)	LIBERIA	LIBERIA (May 1, 1924)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (Feb. 3, 1923)	LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (February 3, 1923)
—	BRAZIL (July 7, 1923)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (February 3, 1923)	PANAMA	—
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	PARAGUAY	—
CANADA	CANADA (February 3, 1923)	PERSIA	—
CHILE	CHILE (August 1, 1928)	POLAND	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
COLOMBIA	—	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
COSTA RICA	—	—	SALVADOR (September 3, 1924)
CUBA	CUBA (May 7, 1923)	—	SIAM (December 4, 1922)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	SIAM	—
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	—	SPAIN (July 29, 1926)
ESTONIA	ESTONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
FRANCE	FRANCE (May 19, 1926)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
GREECE	GREECE (April 9, 1923)	VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)	—	—
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)	—	—
INDIA	INDIA (February 3, 1923)	—	—
ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)	—	—
JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)	—	—

2. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 6 (*addition to the Annex to the Covenant*). <sup>3</sup>

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	—	ITALY	—
AUSTRALIA	—	JAPAN	—
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	LATVIA	—
BOLIVIA	—	LIBERIA	—
—	BRAZIL (August 13, 1924)	NEW ZEALAND	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	—	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	PANAMA	—
CANADA	—	PARAGUAY	—
CHINA	—	—	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
COLOMBIA	—	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
COSTA RICA	—	SIAM	SIAM (December 4, 1922)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	—	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	—	—
FRANCE	—	VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)
GREECE	—	—	—
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)	—	—

<sup>1</sup> Article 26 of the Covenant provides: "Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose representatives compose the Assembly." See League of Nations *Treaty Series*: Vol. LI, p. 361; Vol. LIX, p. 401, and Vol. LXXII, p. 480.

<sup>2</sup> This amendment came into force on July 29, 1926, according to Article 26 of the Covenant.

<sup>3</sup> At the request of the Third Assembly, the Council has notified the Members of the League that it is no longer necessary to ratify this amendment.

3. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 6 (*last paragraph*).<sup>1</sup>

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (November 23, 1922)	LATVIA	LATVIA (September 29, 1923)
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (January 3, 1924)	LIBERIA	LIBERIA (May 1, 1924)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (November 23, 1922)	LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (November 23, 1922)
—	BRAZIL (August 13, 1924)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (November 23, 1922)	PANAMA	—
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	PARAGUAY	—
CANADA	CANADA (Nov. 23, 1922)	PERSIA	—
CHILE	CHILE (August 1, 1928)	POLAND	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
COLOMBIA	—	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
COSTA RICA	—	—	SALVADOR (September 3, 1924)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SPAIN	SPAIN (January 31, 1924)
ESTONIA	ESTONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
FRANCE	FRANCE (August 2, 1923)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
GREECE	GREECE (April 9, 1923)	VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)	—	—
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)	—	—
INDIA	INDIA (November 23, 1922)	—	—
ITALY	ITALY (June 13, 1924)	—	—
JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)	—	—

4. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 6 (*adding a new paragraph*)<sup>2</sup>.

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
ALBANIA	—	ITALY	—
AUSTRALIA	—	JAPAN	—
—	BELGIUM (September 28, 1923)	LATVIA	—
BOLIVIA	—	LIBERIA	—
—	BRAZIL (July 7, 1923)	LITHUANIA	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	—	THE NETHERLANDS	—
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	NEW ZEALAND	—
CANADA	—	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CHINA	—	PANAMA	—
COLOMBIA	—	PARAGUAY	—
COSTA RICA	—	PERSIA	—
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	—	POLAND	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
ESTONIA	—	SIAM	SIAM (December 4, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FRANCE	—	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
GREECE	—	—	—
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)	VENEZUELA	—

<sup>1</sup> This amendment came into force August 13, 1924, in accordance with Article 26 of the Covenant. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*: Vol. XXVII, p. 349; Vol. XXXI, p. 260; Vol. XXXIX, p. 191; Vol. LIX, p. 358, and Vol. LXXII, p. 453.

<sup>2</sup> At the request of the Third Assembly, the Council has notified the Members of the League that it is no longer necessary to ratify this amendment.

5. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 12. <sup>1</sup>

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (July 5, 1923)	INDIA	INDIA (July 5, 1923)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (July 5, 1923)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (July 5, 1923)	LIBERIA	—
—	BRAZIL (July 7, 1923)	—	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	—	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (July 5, 1923)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (July 5, 1923)
CHILE	CHILE (August 1, 1928)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	PANAMA	—
COLOMBIA	—	PARAGUAY	—
COSTA RICA	—	—	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
CUBA	CUBA (May 7, 1923)	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
—	ESTONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SPAIN	SPAIN (September 26, 1924)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FRANCE	FRANCE (August 2, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
GREECE	GREECE (August 20, 1923)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)	VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)		

6. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 13. <sup>2</sup>

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (February 3, 1923)	HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)
ALBANIA	—	INDIA	INDIA (February 3, 1923)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (Feb. 3, 1923)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
—	BELGIUM (September 28, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)
—	BRAZIL (July 7, 1923)	LIBERIA	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (Feb. 3, 1923)	LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (February 3, 1923)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (February 3, 1923)
CHILE	CHILE (August 1, 1928)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	PANAMA	—
COLOMBIA	—	PARAGUAY	—
COSTA RICA	—	PERSIA	—
CUBA	CUBA (May 7, 1923)	POLAND	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
ESTONIA	ESTONIA (September 7, 1923)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SPAIN	SPAIN (September 26, 1924)
FRANCE	FRANCE (August 2, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
GREECE	GREECE (August 20, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
		VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)

<sup>1</sup> This amendment came into force September 26, 1924, in accordance with Article 26 of the Covenant. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*: Vol. XXIX, p. 67; Vol. XXXI, p. 262; Vol. XXXIX, p. 199; Vol. LIX, p. 360, and Vol. LXXII, p. 453.

<sup>2</sup> This amendment came into force September 26, 1924, in accordance with Article 26 of the Covenant. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*: Vol. XXIX, p. 73; Vol. XXXI, p. 262; Vol. XXXIX, p. 199; Vol. LIX, p. 361, and Vol. LXXII, p. 453.



7. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 15. <sup>1</sup>

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (February 3, 1923)	INDIA	INDIA (February 3, 1923)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (Feb. 3, 1923)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)
—	BRAZIL (July 7, 1923)	LIBERIA	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (February 3, 1923)	—	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	—	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (February 3, 1923)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (February 3, 1923)
CHILE	CHILE (August 1, 1923)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	PANAMA	—
COLOMBIA	—	PARAGUAY	—
COSTA RICA	—	—	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
CUBA	CUBA (May 7, 1923)	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
ESTONIA	ESTONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SPAIN	SPAIN (September 26, 1924)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FRANCE	FRANCE (August 2, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
GREECE	GREECE (August 20, 1923)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)	VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)		

8. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 16.

(Sentence to be substituted for the latter part of the first paragraph of Article 16 of the Covenant.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (August 12, 1924)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
ALBANIA	—	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (August 12, 1924)	LATVIA	—
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	LIBERIA	—
BOLIVIA	—	LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
—	BRAZIL (August 13, 1924)	THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (August 12, 1924)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (August 12, 1924)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CANADA	CANADA (August 12, 1924)	PANAMA	—
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	PARAGUAY	—
COLOMBIA	—	PERSIA	—
COSTA RICA	—	POLAND	—
CUBA	—	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SIAM	SIAM (December 4, 1922)
ESTONIA	ESTONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
GREECE	—	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
HAITI	—	VENEZUELA	—
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)		
INDIA	INDIA (August 12, 1924)		

<sup>1</sup> This amendment came into force September 26, 1924, in accordance with Article 26 of the Covenant. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*: Vol. XXIX, p. 79; Vol. XXXI, p. 262; Vol. XXXIX, p. 199; Vol. LIX, p. 360, and Vol. LXXII, p. 454.

9. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 16.

(First paragraph to be inserted after the first amended paragraph of Article 16.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (August 12, 1924)	HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (August 12, 1924)	INDIA	INDIA (August 12, 1924)
—	AUSTRIA (August 29, 1927)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)
—	BRAZIL (August 13, 1924)	LIBERIA	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (August 12, 1924)	—	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	NEW ZEALAND	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (August 12, 1924)	—	NEW ZEALAND (August 12, 1924)
CHILE	CHILE (August 1, 1928)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	PANAMA	—
COLOMBIA	—	PARAGUAY	—
COSTA RICA	—	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
CUBA	—	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
—	ESTONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
GREECE	GREECE (January 20, 1925)	VENEZUELA	—
HAITI	—	—	—

10. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 16.

(Second paragraph to be inserted after the first amended paragraph of Article 16.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (August 12, 1924)	HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (August 12, 1924)	INDIA	INDIA (August 12, 1924)
—	AUSTRIA (August 29, 1927)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)
—	BRAZIL (August 13, 1924)	LIBERIA	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (August 12, 1924)	—	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	NEW ZEALAND	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (August 12, 1924)	—	NEW ZEALAND (August 12, 1924)
CHILE	CHILE (August 1, 1928)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	PANAMA	—
COLOMBIA	—	PARAGUAY	—
COSTA RICA	—	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
CUBA	—	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
—	ESTONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
GREECE	GREECE (January 20, 1925)	VENEZUELA	—
HAITI	—	—	—

11. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 16.

(Paragraph to be inserted between the new third paragraph and the original second paragraph of Article 16.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (August 12, 1924)	HAITI	—
ALBANIA	—	HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (August 12, 1924)	INDIA	INDIA (August 12, 1924)
—	AUSTRIA (August 29, 1927)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	LATVIA	—
—	BRAZIL (July 7, 1923)	LIBERIA	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (August 12, 1924)	—	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	—	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (August 12, 1924)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (August 12, 1924)
CHILE	CHILE (August 1, 1928)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	PANAMA	—
COLOMBIA	—	PARAGUAY	—
COSTA RICA	—	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
CUBA	—	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
—	ESTONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
GREECE	GREECE (January 20, 1925)	VENEZUELA	—

12. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 26.

(First paragraph.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (February 3, 1923)	HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)
ALBANIA	—	INDIA	INDIA (February 3, 1923)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (Feb. 3, 1923)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
—	AUSTRIA (August 29, 1927)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	LATVIA	LATVIA (December 10, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	LIBERIA	—
—	BRAZIL (August 13, 1924)	LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (February 3, 1923)	THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (February 3, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (February 3, 1923)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CHILE	CHILE (August 1, 1928)	PANAMA	—
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	PARAGUAY	—
COLOMBIA	—	PERSIA	—
COSTA RICA	—	POLAND	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
CUBA	CUBA (May 7, 1923)	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
ESTONIA	ESTONIA (September 7, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
FRANCE	FRANCE (August 2, 1923)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
GREECE	GREECE (August 20, 1923)	VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)		

13. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 26.

(Adding a new paragraph after the first paragraph.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (February 3, 1923)	INDIA	INDIA (February 3, 1923)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (Feb. 3, 1923)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
—	AUSTRIA (August 29, 1927)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	LATVIA	LATVIA (December 10, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	LIBERIA	—
—	BRAZIL (August 13, 1924)	LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (February 3, 1923)	THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (February 3, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (February 3, 1923)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CHILE	CHILE (August 1, 1928)	PANAMA	—
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	PARAGUAY	—
COLOMBIA	—	PERSIA	—
COSTA RICA	—	POLAND	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
CUBA	CUBA (May 7, 1923)	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
ESTONIA	ESTONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
FRANCE	FRANCE (August 2, 1923)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
GREECE	GREECE (August 20, 1923)	VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)		
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)		

14. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 26.

(Second paragraph.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (February 3, 1923)	INDIA	INDIA (February 3, 1923)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (Feb. 3, 1923)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
—	AUSTRIA (August 29, 1927)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	LATVIA	LATVIA (December 10, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	LIBERIA	—
—	BRAZIL (July 7, 1923)	LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (February 3, 1923)	THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (February 3, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (February 3, 1923)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CHILE	CHILE (August 1, 1928)	PANAMA	—
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	PARAGUAY	—
COLOMBIA	—	PERSIA	—
COSTA RICA	—	—	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
CUBA	CUBA (May 7, 1923)	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 31, 1922)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
ESTONIA	ESTONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
FRANCE	FRANCE (August 2, 1923)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
GREECE	GREECE (August 20, 1923)	VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)		
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)		

15. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 16.

(Latter part of first paragraph of Article 16.)

(Geneva, September 27, 1924.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	—	GREECE	—
ALBANIA	—	THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (February 8, 1926)
BRAZIL	—	NEW ZEALAND	—
BULGARIA	—	—	ROUMANIA (March 12, 1925)
CANADA	—	POLAND	—
CHILE	—	SALVADOR	SALVADOR (June 4, 1925)
CUBA	—	SIAM	SIAM (September 30, 1925)
ESTONIA	ESTONIA (September 18, 1926)	URUGUAY	—

16. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 16.

(Second paragraph of the original text.)

(Geneva, September 21, 1925.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	
ALBANIA	
BRAZIL	
BULGARIA	
CANADA	
CHILE	CHILE (August 1, 1928)
DENMARK	DENMARK (March 28, 1926)
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	
ESTONIA	ESTONIA (September 18, 1926)
JAPAN	
THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (August 20, 1926)
NEW ZEALAND	
NORWAY	
PORTUGAL	
SALVADOR	
SIAM	
URUGUAY	

XIX. AMENDMENTS TO THE LABOUR PART OF THE TREATIES OF PEACE.

(a) AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 393 OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES AND TO THE CORRESPONDING ARTICLES OF THE OTHER TREATIES OF PEACE.

(Adopted at the Fourth Session of the International Labour Conference, Geneva, November 2, 1922.)<sup>1</sup>

*Has been ratified by :*

ALBANIA (November 26, 1924)  
AUSTRIA (October 9, 1924)  
BELGIUM (October 29, 1924)  
BULGARIA (March 6, 1925)  
CHILE (August 23, 1928)  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 30, 1924)  
DENMARK (June 20, 1924)  
ESTONIA (April 12, 1926)  
FINLAND (March 25, 1924)  
GERMANY (June 6, 1925)  
HAITI (November 2, 1925)  
HUNGARY (May 14, 1925)  
IRISH FREE STATE (June 26, 1925)

*Has been ratified by :*

LATVIA (March 16, 1925)  
LITHUANIA (May 25, 1928)  
LUXEMBURG (April 5, 1928)  
THE NETHERLANDS (August 14, 1924)  
PERSIA (August 14, 1928)  
PORTUGAL (September 13, 1926)  
ROUMANIA (July 19, 1923)  
SALVADOR (May 4, 1928)  
SPAIN (July 5, 1924)  
SWEDEN (May 15, 1924)  
SWITZERLAND (November 1, 1924)  
URUGUAY (April 28, 1928)

<sup>1</sup> The amendment shall take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Council of the League of Nations and by three-quarters of the Members (Article 422 of the Treaty of Versailles).

(b) PROTOCOL RELATIVE TO THIS AMENDMENT OPENED FOR SIGNATURE AT GENEVA ON JUNE 14, 1923.

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (October 20, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (May 11, 1925)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (October 20, 1923)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (October 20, 1923)
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (October 20, 1923)	NORWAY	NORWAY (April 8, 1924)
CANADA	CANADA (October 20, 1923)	PARAGUAY	—
CHINA	CHINA (June 3, 1926)	POLAND	POLAND (February 10, 1925)
CUBA	CUBA (September 7, 1925)	KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES (March 11, 1927).
FRANCE	FRANCE (June 2, 1925)	SIAM	SIAM (March 18, 1924)
GREECE	GREECE (June 8, 1927)		
INDIA	INDIA (October 20, 1923)		

ANNEX 3.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO STATES VICTIMS OF AGGRESSION.

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur* : Baron ROLIN JAEQUEMYS (Belgium).

The Third Committee has noted the recommendation submitted to the Assembly by the Committee on Arbitration and Security with regard to the scheme for financial assistance.

The text of the recommendation reads as follows :

- “ The Committee on Arbitration and Security :
- “ Having taken note of the report by the Joint Committee on questions relating to financial assistance ;
- “ Thanks the Joint Committee for its valuable collaboration ;
- “ Adopts the attached report submitted by its Rapporteur (document A.20.1928.IX, page 55) ;
- “ Invites the Financial Committee to continue its technical enquiries on the basis of the results obtained after the meeting of the Assembly ;
- “ Recommends that the Assembly should give its opinion upon the questions raised ;
- “ For this purpose, requests the Secretary-General to forward the report and the minutes of the Joint Committee to Governments in order that they may give instructions to their delegates at the Assembly. ”

In accordance with this recommendation, the Assembly is called upon to give its opinion concerning the various questions which have arisen, in order to allow the Financial Committee to continue its preparatory work.

As His Excellency M. Veverka pointed out in the report submitted by him to the Committee on Arbitration and Security (document A.20.1928.IX, page 55), and in conformity with the conclusions reached by a Joint Committee consisting of delegates appointed by the Committee on Arbitration and Security and by the Financial Committee, it is the intention of the Financial Committee to prepare a plan of financial assistance on the following lines :

- (1) The financial scheme should be embodied in a *special Convention*.
- (2) This Convention should be open to all Members of the League.
- (3) States non-Members of the League might be allowed to participate by a decision of the Council.
- (4) The machinery of the Convention should be so elastic that it would be possible for a State not signing the Convention to participate in the guarantees in general, or in the guarantee of a specific loan.
- (5) Instead of fixing the maximum for the rate of interest and amortisation of any loans, the maximum annual liability in respect of the service of loans would be fixed for each guarantor State.

As regards the terms of the loans, these could be approved before the issue ; *e.g.*, by the Chairman for the time being and the two preceding Chairmen of the Financial Committee, acting by a majority vote if unanimity could not be secured.

(6) The issue of loans could take place on the strength of the undertakings subscribed to in the Convention and represented by the general bonds, without waiting for the specific guarantee bonds to be deposited.

(7) The Convention would provide that financial assistance could be given in the *case of war or threat of war* if such action were deemed wise and effectual to safeguard or re-establish the peace of nations.

(8) Financial assistance would be brought into operation by a unanimous vote of the Council (minus the parties to the dispute).

The exchange of views in the Third Committee, and particularly the very precise information furnished by Count de Chalendar, Chairman of the Financial Committee, showed that, apart from the technical questions referred to in points 5 and 6 above, the other points raised various questions of a political and legal nature which may be summarised as follows :

- (a) Should the scheme for financial assistance be embodied in a special convention or incorporated in the body of the agreements to be reached in connection with the reduction of armaments ? (See 1 to 4 above.)
- (b) Should it be held that the scheme for financial assistance would apply not only in case of war in the strict sense of the term, but also in the case of threat of war referred to in Article 11 of the Covenant ? (See 7 above.)
- (c) In order that the financial assistance should become operative, would a Council decision be sufficient or would the approval of each signatory be necessary in each case, including signatories not represented on the Council ? (See 8 above.)

With regard to point (a), the Third Committee agreed that the scheme for financial assistance should be drafted in the juridical form of a special convention, it being understood that the future agreement would come within the framework of the League's general programme for the limitation and reduction of armaments.

With regard to point (b), apart from certain reservations made concerning the possible exclusion of the case of a mere threat of war, the Committee has agreed that, in the text of the Convention, to be prepared by the Financial Committee, financial assistance should be provided for, not only in the case of war in violation of the provisions of the Covenant, as mentioned in Article 16 of the Covenant, but also in the case of war or threat of war referred to in Article 11. It should, moreover, be noted that if, subsequently, after it had received the draft Convention on Financial Assistance, the Assembly decided that only the case of war should be taken into account, it would be sufficient merely to change a sentence in one article, without altering the scheme as a whole.

With regard to point (c), the Third Committee agrees with the Financial Committee that the question of intervention should be decided solely by the Council without the collaboration of the other signatories of the Convention not represented on the Council. As for the right under Article 4, paragraph 5, of the Covenant of every Member of the League not represented on the Council to "send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting that Member of the League," the Third Committee thought that there would be no objection to drafting the proposed Convention in such a manner that the signatories would, by the mere fact of their accession, or even explicitly, renounce this right.

The outstanding questions of principle having thus been settled, several delegates thought that it might be desirable to take formal note of the principle accepted under paragraph 5 above by the Financial Committee to the effect that, instead of fixing the maximum rate of interest or amortisation for any loans that might be granted, the *maximum annual liability* in respect of the service of loans would be fixed for each guarantor State up to which it might have to guarantee the service of the loans. The advantage of this system would be that no doubt could subsist concerning the extent of the financial obligations undertaken by each signatory to the Convention.

In these circumstances, the Third Committee has the honour to submit to the Assembly the following draft resolution :

" The Assembly :

" (1) Expresses its satisfaction with the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security and the Financial Committee in connection with the scheme for financial assistance ;

" (2) Requests the Council to invite the Financial Committee to continue the preparation of this scheme in the form of a draft Convention, bearing in mind the directions given in the report submitted to the Assembly at its ninth ordinary session on behalf of its Third Committee ;

" (3) Expresses the hope that a full draft Convention, complete in all its details, may be submitted to the Assembly at its tenth ordinary session ;

" (4) Invites the Secretary-General to submit the draft Convention as soon as it is prepared to the Governments in order that they may give instructions to their delegates at the tenth ordinary session of the Assembly."

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#### ANNEX 4.

A. 54. 1928. IV.

#### CHILD WELFARE.

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#### REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur* : The Hon. R. DANDURAND (Canada).

The Fifth Committee having taken note of the report of the Child Welfare Committee on the work of its fourth session, expresses to that Committee their appreciation of the work it has accomplished.

The Child Welfare Committee resumed its enquiry into the effects of the cinematograph on children and confirmed the recommendations it had adopted in 1926 and recommended that the attention of every country should be drawn to the advisability, from the point of view of the moral and physical welfare of the young, of showing films in diffused light and in daylight.

The Council of the League asked the Secretary-General to call the attention of the Governments to these recommendations when forwarding to them the report of the Child Welfare Committee on its fourth session.

In the course of its discussions, the Fifth Committee decided to ask the Child Welfare Committee to consider at its next session the possibility of establishing supervision over posters and other forms of publicity for cinematograph performances.



The Committee, to whom the Council had referred a scheme for setting up an International Educational Cinematographic Institute at Rome, examined the draft statutes submitted to it.

When discussing the report of the Child Welfare Committee, the Fifth Committee evinced particular interest in the enquiry into the relation of the cinematograph to child welfare. In view of the influence exerted by the film on the development of the young, several delegates considered that women should be represented on the Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, and that care should be taken to secure representation for the views of Asiatic countries on that body.

The examination of the report on the enquiry into juvenile courts conducted by the International Prison Commission was placed on the agenda of the fourth session of the Child Welfare Committee, and the Committee eventually appointed three Rapporteurs to submit proposals, after consulting the International Prison Commission, regarding the form in which an enquiry into the different auxiliary services of juvenile courts could be pursued.

The Committee also decided to keep the question of illegitimate children on its agenda and requested the Secretariat to complete its report on the legislation on that subject in the different countries. It also considered various other questions, such as blind children, recreation, family allowances, alcoholism and feeble-minded children, with a view to subsequent investigations or studies.

The Child Welfare Committee formed from among its members a Legal Sub-Committee, which, at the fourth session, arranged the order of its future work. The questions entrusted to this Sub-Committee seem most important and the Fifth Committee wishes to place on record its hope that the Legal Sub-Committee may diligently go forward with the work allotted to it.

Lastly, the Committee considered the best way of using the gift of \$5,000 so generously offered in 1925 by the American Social Hygiene Association and decided that the money could be most usefully employed in studying the problem of the child whose environment is bad or who is exposed to moral and social danger, having regard mainly to the possibilities of preventive action.

It decided to conduct a preliminary enquiry in seven or eight countries.

Together with the Committee of the Traffic in Women and Children, it formed a Joint Committee to enquire into the legal age of marriage; the Joint Committee's recommendation on this question was forwarded to the various Governments after receiving the approval of the Council.

The Fifth Committee wishes to place on record the fact that the Child Welfare Committee has commendably endeavoured to narrow its field of action and concentrate on a small number of important questions, and is of the opinion that it should be definitely encouraged to persevere in this direction.

In closing this report, the Fifth Committee proposes the following resolutions to the Assembly :

“ The Assembly notes the report submitted by the Child Welfare Committee, thanks it for the work it has accomplished and requests it to go forward along the lines described in the report on its fourth session.

“ The Assembly, remembering that, at its first meeting in 1925, and at all its later meetings, the Child Welfare Committee has made a study of the various factors involved in the question of the cinematograph in relation to children, is glad to see that at least one member of the Committee will be represented on the Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute. It requests the Child Welfare Committee to keep in close touch with the Institute.

“ The Assembly attaches particular importance to the work of the Child Welfare Committee's Legal Sub-Committee on the drawing-up of :

“ (1) A preliminary draft convention for the repatriation of minors who have escaped from the authority of their parents or guardians ;

“ (2) A preliminary draft convention on the relief of minors of foreign nationality. This draft would be in the nature of a model to facilitate subsequent work on the question for application between interested countries.

“ (3) A preliminary draft convention on the execution of judgments relating to maintenance payable on behalf of children by persons responsible for their support who have deserted them and gone abroad.

“ The Assembly invites the Child Welfare Committee diligently to pursue its efforts in this direction. ”

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ANNEX 5.

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur* : Mme. T. HAINARI (Finland).

The Fifth Committee has considered the report of the work on the seventh session of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee. It takes note of the fact that the Council, during its June session, approved the resolutions contained in this report and instructed the Secretary-General to take the necessary action arising therefrom.

The Traffic in Women and Children Committee devoted considerable time during its seventh session to the consideration of Part II of the Report of the Special Body of Experts. It proposed that the Governments and voluntary organisations should be invited to send to the League such additional information as they might have on the subject of the enquiry. The question of continuing the enquiry was also discussed ; the Committee was unanimously of the opinion that the enquiry of the Experts should be continued, and the Fifth Committee agrees with this view.

The Assembly at its eighth ordinary session adopted a resolution requesting the Traffic in Women and Children Committee to examine as soon as possible the desirability of recommending to all Governments the abolition of the system of licensed houses. During its last session, the Committee discussed this question and passed a resolution expressing the hope that the Governments of those countries which still retain the system of licensed houses should examine the question in the light of the report made by the Body of Experts. In order to facilitate this examination, the Secretariat was asked to make a study of the laws and regulations in force in those countries where the system has been abolished. Various delegates from such countries on the Fifth Committee informed their colleagues of the experiences gained in this respect ; they were unanimous in stating that experience had shown that the policy of abolition had been attended with nothing but good results.

The Fifth Committee agrees with the Advisory Committee as to the necessity of adopting stricter measures against *souteneurs* in order to put a stop to their operations, which are among the main causes of the traffic in women. The Fifth Committee therefore noted with satisfaction that the Secretariat has been requested to prepare a concise study of the laws and penalties relating to the *souteneur*.

The Fifth Committee also expresses its satisfaction with the fact that the Advisory Committee has taken up the question of the dangers to which music-hall and similar artistes are exposed when travelling abroad.

Note was taken of the decision relating to the subject of obscene publications, namely, that the question of calling a further conference to deal with the matter will be considered at the next session of the Advisory Committee.

The Fifth Committee once more draws attention to the necessity of the employment of women police in order to combat the traffic, and to the good work women police can perform in protecting the morals of young people. A resolution was adopted on this subject.

The Fifth Committee has the honour to submit the following resolutions to the Assembly :

“ I. The Assembly takes note of the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee, thanks the Committee for the good work it has accomplished, and expresses the hope that this work will be continued along the same lines.

“ II. The Assembly takes note of the second part of the Experts' Report published in November 1927, and expresses its appreciation of the splendid work done by the Special Body of Experts and their co-workers. It expresses the hope that it will be possible to extend the investigations to countries where no investigation has taken place before.

“ III. The Assembly notes with satisfaction that the Advisory Committee has examined the resolution passed by the Assembly at its eighth ordinary session as to ‘ the desirability of recommending to all Governments the abolition of licensed houses ’, and it supports the Advisory Committee's request that ‘ the Governments of all those countries which still retain the licensed-house system will investigate the question as soon as possible in the light of the report made by the Body of Experts ’.

“ IV. The Assembly desires to call attention to the great importance of the employment of women police as a preventive measure. ”

ANNEX 6.

A. 57 (1). 1928. III.

WORK OF THE HEALTH ORGANISATION.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur* : Professor John M. O'SULLIVAN (Irish Free State).

The work of the Health Organisation, its Committees and activities, is characterised by the same principle of continuity that is found in the work of the League in general. Hence the present report is but a fragment with jagged ends, and must be read in conjunction with those of previous years. It looks back on the past and forward to the future.

As will be apparent from even a hasty reading of the various reports, the work of the Organisations is already quite extensive. Though at first there was some doubt of the wisdom of the League developing along this line, now the demands made are such that there is no prospect of satisfying them all. For here, as elsewhere, a somewhat rigid limitation of effort is a condition of producing work of real value, and the Health Organisation has shown its wisdom in recognising this. Its success has been due, among other things, to the fact that its programmes have been carefully thought out and often even confined to one aspect of a big subject, to a sphere of investigation comparatively small, no doubt, but one in which, owing to its very circumscription, results might be expected in a reasonable time. Yet this wise self-restraint does not hinder the progressive extension of the field of investigation.

The various conferences and sessions of Commissions which were held in the past twelve months were by no means instances of isolated activity ; they represented successive stages in the logical solution of international health problems, the preliminary steps in connection with which had been taken at an earlier period in the life of the Health Organisation. Thus at a conference held at Frankfort in May agreement was reached on a series of international standards which will serve as units of measure for the activity of sera and biological preparations, notably antidiphtheritic, anti-tetanic and anti-dysenteric sera, and for the arsenobenzines, insulin, pituitary extract, digitalis, etc. That these results were achieved is due to previous conferences and to long and minute researches in the principal institutes concerned.

This work on sera and vaccines is not a bad illustration of the Organisation's manner of working and attaining its ends.

It is a technical organisation of the League, remains international and operates through existing national and international bodies. It stimulates, not supersedes, them. There is no encroachment on the activities of the different national administrations and research institutions. Success has been achieved not by the assertion of any claim to be, as it were, a central authority on medical service or a public health administration, exercising quasi-legislative powers, but by appealing to those who are responsible for the actual work in the different countries, getting them to co-operate and come to agreement, and by providing opportunity to public health officers, for example, of availing themselves, if they are willing, of the pooled wisdom of their colleagues in other countries.

Persuasion is sometimes necessary, for, though science may claim to know no national boundaries, we often find that in its application it is unduly hampered by differences of local idiosyncrasy, which cause much unnecessary waste. These difficulties may be overcome sometimes by goodwill, sometimes by active personal touch, but the goodwill has often awaited stimulation from the Health Organisation before it became effective, and the opportunity for collaboration has come more than once from the same quarter.

The increasing efficacy of the Organisation's activities is due to its success in bringing various institutions, and even individuals, into closer contact with one another and with the League. The reports show that every year witnesses new demands from the nations and offers of co-operation. It is natural to suppose that the condition of advancement in the future is that the Organisation should continue to be guided by this principle, which indeed is fundamental to the League.

The matters with which the Health Organisation deals are both international and worldwide. It binds together not merely countries but quarters of the globe. The link with the Far East is furnished by the Eastern Bureau of the Health Organisation at Singapore. In addition, there has been this year an "interchange" or study tour, of health officers in India. The Government of that country has invited the Malaria Commission to study the

problem of malaria there — an invitation that the Health Committee, with the approval of the Council, has gladly accepted. Furthermore, two experts have been appointed to investigate the health conditions in certain islands in the Pacific, in accordance with the suggestion of the International Pacific Conference held in Melbourne in 1926 — a suggestion considered and approved by the Assembly in 1927. As usual a number of Far Eastern public health officers and experts, notably from Japan, have been given facilities by the Organisation to study Western experience in the prevention of disease and the protection of the public health.

The assembly at its last session noted with satisfaction the steps taken by the Health Organisation to extend its activities to various Latin-American countries and welcomed the practical suggestions for continued co-operation presented by the health authorities and experts of the Argentine, Brazil and Uruguay. During the last twelve months this collaboration has been actively pursued and the important investigation on infant mortality being carried on in seven European countries is being pursued along similar lines by experts nominated by the health administrations in the Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay. The work on the two continents is co-ordinated by the Health Organisation at Geneva. The investigation in Europe is now completed and in a year or so the results of the enquiry in the Latin-American countries will be available. It will thus be possible to utilise the experience acquired and compare the results of the measures employed to cope with infant mortality in various rural and urban districts of two widely separated parts of the globe.

A distinguished health expert from Uruguay has been sent to Europe by his Government to study under the auspices of the Health Organisation and the International Labour Office the experience of some of the older countries in regard to the problems of medical assistance and social insurance. This fruitful collaboration with the health authorities and experts of Latin America will, we hope, be amplified and extended to other countries of the New World in the near future.

I do not propose to describe in detail these or other activities of the Health Organisation ; I shall merely catalogue a few of the more important of them which justify the statement that its work has extended to practically every country in the world, and then refer for a moment to two other matters : the work of the Eastern Bureau at Singapore and the system of liaison with public health administrations established by means of the collective and individual interchanges of public health and medical officers.

A general conference on the prevention of malaria held in Geneva in June was attended by malariologists from all the countries having an important malaria problem. The principles and methods of malaria control were discussed in the light of reports prepared by the Malaria Commission of the Health Committee on the basis of its study tours in the Old and New Worlds. A report was issued which is a consensus of the views of the most qualified malariologists and, as such, will be invaluable to any Government faced with a malaria problem.

One of the best methods of securing agreement among scientists is to undertake joint studies of the method or subject under discussion, and on a number of points on which the opinion of malariologists is still divided, on account of a lack of sufficient information, such common studies are being undertaken, the Health Organisation acting as the mechanism of co-ordination. In connection with malaria, mention must be made of the courses for the training of experts organised for the third successive year in London, Hamburg and Paris under the auspices of the Health Organisation. A fourth course was added this year in Rome, and the theoretical courses were followed by practical work in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Italy and Spain.

I have already mentioned the important work in connection with the standardisation of sera.

The Conference of Health Experts on Infant Welfare met in London in July, and was received hospitably by the Minister of Health and the Chief and Senior Medical Officers of his Ministry. Decisions were taken in regard to the preparation of the reports on the enquiries concluded in twenty-nine urban and rural districts of seven European countries — enquiries which have been described in detail in previous reports to the Assembly.

The Cancer Commission continued its work along lines already indicated in previous reports, special attention being paid to occupational cancer (with the collaboration of the International Labour Office), a form which appears to be more susceptible to preventive measures than other forms. The Commission is also studying the methods and results of the radiological treatment of cancer, which in certain cases has proved of so much value. These subjects were discussed at sessions held in Geneva in April, in London in July and in Paris in August.

The Smallpox and Vaccination Commission held two sessions in Geneva this year (April and August), and was able to reach conclusions on a number of important points. At the last session, experts from many of the important vaccine establishments of the world were present, and proposals for co-ordinated studies will be presented to the Health Committee. In addition to the above, the Commissions on Opium, Education in Hygiene and Preventive

Medicine, Leprosy and Fumigation of Ships met during the year, and progress was made with the work of the Commission of Expert Statisticians and the Joint Commission for the Study of the Relationship between Public Health Services and Health Insurance Organisations.

Effective help is given to sanitary police organisation by the epidemiological information supplied by the Health Organisation in ever-increasing completeness, reliability and quickness. Information received, if sufficiently important, is cabled, broadcast by wireless, and mailed daily to the different health administrations.

The work of the Eastern Bureau at Singapore, so fequently praised by delegates to previous sessions of the Assembly, continues to develop satisfactorily, thanks to the support it receives from the health administrations of Governments in that area.

Having succeeded in the rapid collection and transmission of information concerning epidemic diseases from the majority of ports in its area, the Bureau is now being furnished with intelligence of the same character relating to the hinterland of ports and of countries as a whole. The Bureau communicates this information to the health authorities concerned by means of an increasingly efficient network of wireless placed at the disposal of the Bureau by the generosity of the administrations of French Indo-China, Germany, the Netherlands East Indies, India, Japan, British North Borneo, Madagascar and Shanghai. The fact that this service is appreciated is evidenced by the action of the Governments concerned, which send yearly delegates to the Advisory Council; the majority of them contribute to the support of the Bureau, and place their wireless equipment at its disposal, in addition to supplying it with the accurate and immediate epidemic disease reports upon which depends its proper functioning. It is not too much to say that the work of the Eastern Bureau of the Health Organisation at Singapore furnishes to health administrations in that area the information needed to organise effective action against epidemic disease.

The Bureau also acts as a centre of co-ordination for the investigation of problems relating to plague and cholera, and on the suggestion of the Advisory Council, is collecting detailed information in regard to the quarantine stations of the East.

One division of the work of the Eastern Bureau to which I would call your special attention is that relating to infected ships. In the first eleven months of 1927 the Bureau received and distributed information in regard to 162 vessels having on board persons suffering from epidemic diseases. The reports which the Bureau is able to make to health administrations are becoming more timely and complete, and therefore more useful, from month to month.

In recent years, the Health Organisation has extended its efforts and investigations to the rather complicated questions of social and rural hygiene.

The "interchanges" or study tours of public health and medical personnel which provide a system of liaison with the various health administrations have been commented on favourably from year to year by successive sessions of the Assembly, and I should like to call your special attention to the record of the past twelve months in this regard. Groups of public health officers have studied the multiple aspects of hygiene and preventive medicine in Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, India, the Netherlands and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and before the present session of the Assembly closes an interchange will have begun in Italy. Two important results are attained by these interchanges: first, the promotion of collaboration between the various health administrations themselves as well as between them and the Health Organisation; and second, the diffusion of information concerning public health principles and practice, for something worthy of imitation will be found in the public health work of every country.

This year for the first time an "interchange" restricted to the study of problems of rural hygiene was organised. As a representative of a State that is predominantly agricultural in character, I should like to pay a special tribute to the Health Organisation in this connection. The health administrations of the different countries concerned welcomed this innovation so warmly that this type of activity will probably be continued in the future. Typical rural areas in six countries of Central and Western Europe were visited by a group of twenty-two health officers and sanitary engineers from different countries. In each area a complete study was made of the system of public health organisation and administration, and, in addition, opportunity was given to examine the work of all other organisations, whether governmental, semi-public or private, which exert any influence on the public health. For example, questions of public instruction were studied in the public schools, the activities of co-operative organisations were reviewed, schools of agriculture were visited, problems of medical education and assistance were discussed, so that every participant in the interchange was afforded an opportunity of studying rural hygiene as a whole in the light of information concerning every agency exerting any favourable influence. A detailed comparative study was possible of rural housing, water and milk supplies, sewage and its disposal, etc. At the final conference, held in Geneva, nearly all the participants declared their intention of applying in their own districts some of the practices or methods they had studied in other countries.

A study tour such as this should serve to stimulate the development of rural hygiene by the interchange of ideas and suggestions, for which it furnishes a unique opportunity, and the accumulation of a mass of common knowledge in regard to principles which should govern the application of public health measures in general.

We should, I think, congratulate the Health Organisation on its study of rural hygiene, which is so important in nearly every country.

If the Health Organisation has been able to accomplish as much in this and other fields, it is due to the collaboration of the health administrations and experts of the various States within and without the League, for which the Health Organisation acts as a co-ordinating mechanism. If the work on standards, malaria, infant mortality, rural hygiene and all the other subjects mentioned in the reports submitted to the Assembly has been successful, it is due to the generosity and collaboration of the Governments concerned, which have spared no pains to ensure the success of this international work.

I do not make any comparison between the work which is the object of our deliberations to-day and the other, what some might consider the more obviously legitimate, work of the League. But it is clear that here we have work in the accomplishment of which no national rivalries need be aroused — co-operation, not rivalry, is what is most natural — we have aims in the pursuit of which all can unite. Even from the point of view of international peace, is there not something to be gained by this? Working together for a common aim, without any of the *arrière-pensées* that may sometimes influence us in the political and economic spheres, may bring the nations closer together. There is also this factor to be borne in mind — the work that is here being accomplished is so obviously useful to humanity, to the different countries, that it is not likely to encounter the facile cynicism that the League sometimes meets in its other endeavours.

The solidity and utility of the work of the League in other spheres cannot be called in question by anyone who has a real appreciation of the present conditions of the world, but the work of this Organisation is perhaps more readily appreciated by the ordinary citizen, and well worthy of the continued support of the League.

I have the honour to propose the adoption of the following draft resolution :

“ The Assembly :

“ Having taken note of the reports (documents A.6.1928 and A.6(a).1928) dealing with the work of the Health Organisation of the League during the past year,

“ Is gratified at these evidences of its increasing utility as an agency for the promotion of international collaboration in matters affecting the public health ;

“ Expresses its appreciation to all the health administrations of the various Governments which have generously collaborated with the Health Organisation in the different branches of its work ;

“ Records its gratitude for the services rendered by the members and experts of all the commissions and conferences of the Health Organisation, as well as the specialists and experts who have carried out individual missions ;

“ Approves the work accomplished by the Health Organisation since the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, and congratulates it on the increasing success of its far-sighted policy of practical collaboration with extra-European countries. ”

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#### ANNEX 7.

A. 58. 1928. II.

#### GREEK REFUGEE SETTLEMENT AND GREEK STABILISATION LOAN.

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#### REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur* : M. FRANÇOIS (Netherlands).

The League's financial work for Greece falls under two heads :

- (1) Refugee settlement ;
- (2) Financial stabilisation.

As regards the former, it is hard to imagine what would have happened in 1923 if Greece had not been able to obtain, through the League, the means of settling the mass of refugees just added to her population in numbers estimated at over one million souls, mostly hailing from Asia Minor. The magnitude of the work accomplished by the Refugee Settlement Commission, which had been mainly responsible for settling the refugees, is not generally

realised. I should like to quote in this connection a few figures from the Commission's nineteenth report (document C. 406. M. 128. 1928. II), which gives a very full account of the results achieved up to the present.

On agricultural and urban settlement, the Commission has spent altogether, not including general expenses, a total of over nine million pounds sterling, of which nearly eight millions went towards agricultural settlement and a little more than a million towards urban settlement. It has settled more than 143,000 families in the country, while 28,000 families are living in urban dwellings built by it. It has apportioned over 8,000,000 stremmas of land. As regards rural settlement, it has built more than 58,000 houses and 4,000 more are still under construction. As regards urban settlement, the Commission has built almost 18,000 houses and 3,000 more are now under construction or will soon be begun.

The impetus which the settlement of refugees has given to the general prosperity of the country is extraordinary. To take a few instances : the area under cultivation in all Greece increased from 1.4 million stremmas in 1923-24 to nearly 2.5 millions in 1926-27. The total wheat crop rose from an average of about 600,000 tons in the years 1922-24 to over 900,000 tons in the last two harvests. The output of tobacco has doubled, having risen from 25,000,000 kilos in 1922 to an average of 60,000,000 kilos in the last year or two. Half of this tobacco crop is the produce of refugee growers.

Another result of refugee settlement is that Greek Macedonia has now a far more homogeneous population than for centuries past.

Now, after four years of hard toil, the bulk of the work of settlement is finished. To quote the Commission's report, " the main part of the undertaking has been accomplished ; the large majority of refugees are settled and at work, some being engaged in production and others in trade ". Nevertheless, much still remains to be done, both for the urban population, whose settlement is a problem not yet completely solved, and for the agricultural population, whose equipment could in some cases be supplemented so as to enable it to become self-supporting.

I am sure that the Assembly will desire to congratulate the Commission on the work accomplished, and to express the wish that the work that still lies before it will be carried out in the same satisfactory manner.

As regards financial stabilisation, the outstanding event has been the issue of the Stabilisation Loan.

The scheme of stabilisation was embodied in the Protocol signed on September 15th, 1927, in time to come before the Assembly at its eighth ordinary session. This Protocol provided for the issue of a loan of £9,000,000 sterling, of which one-third was to be applied to assisting the refugees, one-third to paying off the budget arrears and one-third to setting up the new bank of issue. Actually, the loan was issued for a net sum of £6,500,000 sterling only, as the Greek Government has concluded an arrangement with the State and Treasury Departments of the United States for raising a loan of £12,167,000 (approximately £2,500,000 sterling), repayable in twenty years and to be applied solely to refugee settlement. The United States Congress adjourned in May without ratifying this arrangement, which cannot therefore be approved until Congress next meets in December.

The loan, which produced a net amount of £6,500,000, was successfully floated in London and New York in January 1928. The rate of interest was 6 per cent and the rate of issue 91. This was an exceedingly good price for the Greek Government and shows the financial advantages a Government obtains by the issue of a loan under the auspices of the League of Nations.

The new bank of issue, the Bank of Greece, opened in May with a gold and foreign exchange reserve amounting to over 53 per cent of its note circulation and other sight liabilities. The drachma was legally stabilised at 375 drachmæ to the pound. The Government's budget balances, though at a rather high level, so that, to assure the economic future of the country, drastic economy in public expenditure will have to be observed.

The financial stabilisation in Greece has been a great success and marks one more triumph to add to the remarkable achievements of the Financial Committee in Austria, Hungary and other countries.

I have the honour to propose to the Assembly, in the name of the Second Committee, the adoption of the following resolution :

" The Assembly :

" Congratulates the Refugee Settlement Commission on the excellent results so far obtained, and trusts that the work which remains to be done may be carried out in the same satisfactory manner ;

" Expresses its satisfaction at the success of financial stabilisation in Greece and the work of the Financial Committee in this connection. "

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ANNEX 8.

A. 62. 1928. VI.

SLAVERY CONVENTION — ANNUAL REPORT BY THE COUNCIL.

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REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur* : The Rt. Hon. G. LOCKER-LAMPSON, M.P. (British Empire).

The Sixth Committee had under consideration information communicated to the League of Nations by certain Governments respecting the progressive abolition of slavery and conditions analogous thereto. This information was forwarded in response to a resolution adopted by the Assembly at its seventh ordinary session on September 25th, 1926, and consisted of communications from the Governments of Great Britain, Italy, India and the Sudan. During the course of the discussion in the Sixth Committee, the Abyssinian delegation handed to the Secretariat a list of certain persons freed from slavery and of persons convicted of offences under the slavery laws of Abyssinia. This list forms an annex to a statement made by the Abyssinian representative to the Committee.

Since the Sixth Committee of the Eighth Assembly considered the question of slavery in 1927, the number of ratifications or final accessions to the Slavery Convention of 1926 has increased from 14 to 26. The following States have ratified or acceded to the Convention during the past year : Belgium, Canada, Republic of San Domingo, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, Italy, Monaco, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway and Sweden. Nevertheless, there are still several States whose ratification or accession is most important to ensure the universal application of the Convention, and who have not yet taken this step.

Apart from the communication of laws and regulations enacted to cope with the problem of slavery and conditions analogous thereto, the transmission of information to the League is not obligatory upon the States signatories of the Convention of 1926. Nevertheless, the Sixth Committee considers that the various Governments should spare no effort to furnish such general information on this subject in order to provide other States with the benefit of their experience.

The Committee submits the following resolution for adoption by the Assembly :

“ The Assembly notes the report of the Council regarding slavery (documents A.24.1928.VI and A.24(a).1928.VI) containing communications from the Governments of Great Britain, India, Italy and the Sudan and also notes a list submitted by the Abyssinian delegation. The Assembly hopes that no effort will be spared to furnish similar information in the future, as it is of considerable interest and utility to the States Members of the League.

“ The Assembly notes with satisfaction that the number of ratifications and accessions to the Convention of September 25th, 1926, has appreciably increased since its last session, and expresses the hope that all countries affected by this question will ratify or accede to the Convention in the immediate future. ”

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ANNEX 9.

A. 61. 1928. VI.

MANDATES.

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REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur* : Count de PENHA GARCIA (Portugal).

The Sixth Committee has examined the Reports and Minutes concerning the execution of the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant in the mandated territories during the period which has elapsed since the last meeting of the Assembly.

Through several of its members, it has paid a deserved tribute to the work of the Council, the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Mandates Section of the Secretariat. It greatly appreciated the competence, impartiality and common sense with which this work was carried out.

The good judgment of the Mandates Commission and the wisdom displayed by the Council have been instrumental in removing many of the difficulties presented by the application of the mandates system, which constitutes an innovation and which relates exclusively



to certain territories specified in the Covenant, whose political, social and economic situations differ greatly from one another. At the same time, the Committee recognises the spirit of co-operation which inspires the various mandatory Powers, and which is evidenced by the assistance given to the Commission by past or present administrators of the mandated territories. The Committee notes with satisfaction this state of affairs, which is greatly to the credit of the League of Nations.

The Sixth Committee has noted the growing interest displayed by public opinion in the mandates system, and views with satisfaction the growth of the literature concerning mandates which has recently been enriched by two important works by members of the Mandates Commission.

Among the general questions discussed, three deserve the Assembly's special attention, namely, economic equality, the liquor traffic and the systematic and scientific organisation of the work of the Mandates Commission and of the Mandates Section of the Secretariat.

Economic equality is indeed one of the fundamental principles of the mandates system. The Covenant and the Mandates desired to place the territories subject to A and B Mandates under a regime of complete economic equality. The Mandates Commission is pursuing a detailed study of the application of this principle, and to this end the Council, at the Commission's suggestion, has requested the mandatory Powers to supply it with certain information.

The question of the increase in the liquor traffic in certain territories under mandate has from the outset engaged the Commission's attention, and it has already carried out important technical and statistical work in connection with this serious problem. The Council has requested it to pursue its enquiry, and has forwarded to the mandatory Powers requests for data with a view to revising the statistics, obtaining information on Customs tariffs, and determining the territories or parts of territories under mandate to which Article 4, paragraph 2, of the St. Germain Convention on the Liquor Traffic is applicable.

As regards the systematic and scientific organisation of the work of the Mandates Commission, great progress has already been achieved; but more remains to be done before perfection can be attained. Thanks to the efforts made by the Secretariat in pursuance of the resolution adopted at the fifth ordinary session of the Assembly, the documents concerning the administration of the mandated territories are published each year, and constitute excellent material for study and for making the system more widely known. An analytical index kept up to date would facilitate the study of these numerous and bulky reports, and the Sixth Committee considers that such an index could without great difficulty be compiled by the authors of the reports themselves.

The Mandates Commission's reports contain a considerable number of requests for information, observations or conclusions concerning the annual reports it has examined. The Council has instructed the Secretary-General to forward them to the Governments of each of the mandatory Powers concerned. The same has been done as regards certain petitions examined by the Commission. The mandatory Powers will no doubt make a ready response to these observations and requests for information, so as to permit of the gradual solution of the difficulties noted, and the elucidation of the questions which occupy the Commission's attention.

Thanks to the spirit of co-operation which inspires the activities of the various agents of the mandates system, a great work of peace and progress is in process of achievement for the benefit of the inhabitants of the territories under mandate and of the community of nations in general.

*Draft Resolution.*

“ The Assembly,

“ Having taken note of the work accomplished by the mandatory Powers, the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council in execution of Article 22 of the Covenant ;

“ Desires to convey to them its admiration for their continued efforts and for the spirit of co-operation which has characterised their work ; and

“ Trusts that this will always continue to be the case.

“ The Assembly :

“ (a) Expresses the hope that the Permanent Mandates Commission's work on the question of the application of the principle of economic equality will be actively pursued, and that the mandatory Powers will supply all the information requested ;

“ (b) Hopes that the study of the question of the liquor traffic will, with the help of the mandatory Powers, lead to effective results ;

“ (c) Expresses the opinion that it is desirable that the mandatory Powers should furnish and keep up to date all the particulars necessary to complete the statistical tables already compiled by the Secretariat. ”

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QUESTION OF THE REVISION OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT  
COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur* : M. René CASSIN (France).

The First Committee has examined the draft resolution concerning the revision of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice which was submitted by the French delegation on behalf of a number of delegations (document A.48.1928.V). The Committee proposes that the Assembly should adopt the resolution in the following form :

*Draft Resolution.*

“ The Assembly :

“ Considering the ever-growing number of matters referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice ;

“ Deeming it advisable that, before the renewal of the terms of office of the members of the Court in 1930, the present provisions of the Statute of the Court should be examined with a view to the introduction of any amendments which experience may show to be necessary ;

“ Draws the Council's attention to the advisability of proceeding, before the renewal of the terms of office of the members of the Permanent Court of International Justice, to the examination of the Statute of the Court with a view to the introduction of such amendments as may be judged desirable, and to submitting the necessary proposals to the next ordinary session of the Assembly. ”

ANNEX 11.

WORK OF THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur* : M. SUVICH (Italy).

Two of the principal questions in the sphere of finance in which the League has been active, namely, the settlement of refugees and stabilisation in Greece and Bulgaria, have been dealt with in separate reports ; but the Financial Committee and the Secretariat of the League have also concerned themselves with other questions to which it seems desirable to draw the Assembly's attention.

They have had to make a thorough study of the problem of financial assistance in case of war or threat of war ; before the projected plan can be continued and completed on the technical side, the Assembly will be called upon to reach decisions on certain legal and political points which are laid before it by the Third Committee.

Of the other activities of the Financial Organisation I shall merely give a brief summary, since these are either matters on which the Assembly has already expressed its views and which are developing regularly, or questions which are still in the initial stage of enquiry and will be able to be dealt with separately at subsequent Assembly sessions.

1. GRECO-BULGARIAN EMIGRATION.

In September 1927, the Council had requested the Financial Committee, if necessary, to give advice to the President of the Mixed Commission for Greco-Bulgarian emigration on the subject of the settlement of the financial obligations incurred by the Bulgarian and Greek Governments through the emigration. In December, the Financial Committee helped the two Governments to draft an Agreement, which was approved by the Council and signed by these Governments. This Agreement lays down the procedure for the award of compensation by each Government to the exchanged populations for the property abandoned by them, and it also contains provisions for the settlement of the debts incumbent on each Government in that respect. The Agreement was ratified by Bulgaria in April, but has not yet been ratified by Greece.

## 2. FINANCIAL RESTORATION OF PORTUGAL.

At the request of the Portuguese Government, the Council, in December 1927, asked the Financial Committee and the Secretariat to study the financial situation of Portugal. A delegation from the Committee and the Secretariat went to Lisbon to investigate the situation, and at the March session the Financial Committee endeavoured to prepare, in agreement with the Portuguese Government, a programme of restoration including the flotation of a loan.

As regards that part of the scheme which concerns the loan, the Portuguese Government did not see its way to accept the measures of control contemplated in the plan proposed by the Financial Committee, and therefore informed the Council that, to its great regret, it had decided not to take any further steps with regard to the loan which was to have been issued under the auspices of the League.

## 3. PURCHASING POWER OF GOLD.

The Council invited the Financial Committee to examine to what extent and by what means the League could most usefully assist in the study and solution of the problem of undue fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold.

At its session of September 1928, the Committee held a first exchange of views as to the best method of arranging for a study of the various questions involved, and requested the Secretariat to compile certain information which, in its opinion, might form a useful basis for such further study.

## 4. VARIOUS.

With reference to the questions connected with the loans to the Municipality and State of Danzig and the currency and banking reform in Estonia, I have much pleasure in stating that, thanks largely to the goodwill displayed by the authorities of the countries concerned, the schemes are developing on perfectly sound lines and call for no special remark.

Lastly, with regard to the employment of the balances of the Hungarian and Austrian loans, we have reached the termination of this work, which — as has already been pointed out several times at previous sessions of the Assembly — represents a definite and genuine success and a clear demonstration of the benefits that can be derived from the co-operation of States Members of the League in this field.

A mere list of the Financial Committee's operations cannot give a proper idea of its activity; the importance of the Committee's quarterly meetings is also to be seen in the close contact which membership of the Committee provides with the leaders of financial policy in many countries. Experience has demonstrated the value of these periodical exchanges of opinion.

On behalf of the Second Committee, I have the honour to propose the following resolution:

“ The Assembly takes note of and expresses its satisfaction with the work of the Financial Committee. ”

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## ANNEX 12.

A. 70. 1928. II.

## BULGARIAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENT AND BULGARIAN STABILISATION LOAN.

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### REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur* : M. Philippe Roy (Canada).

#### I. BULGARIAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENT.

Thanks to a loan of £2,250,000 issued under the auspices of the League of Nations in the winter of 1926, the plan for the settlement of Bulgarian refugees has now been in operation for two years.

We may say without hesitation that the results achieved during these two years are highly satisfactory, and the experience that has been gained justifies the hope that this admirable humanitarian work, which is moreover such an important contribution to the pacification of the Balkans, will be brought to a successful conclusion under the conditions contemplated in the Protocol signed at Geneva in September 1926.

At the outset there were grave difficulties, particularly in procuring land for the refugees. Such difficulties were probably unavoidable in a country where the land survey is extremely defective and titles to land are often disputed; your rapporteur last year alluded to this position. The League of Nations Commissioner thinks, however — and M. S. Sarafov, Director-General of Refugee Settlement, agrees — that, at the present rate of progress, approximately 90 per cent of the refugees will have been furnished with land by the end of this year. That means that these refugees will have been finally given the plots of land on which they are to settle, and that their title can never more be disputed, for they will be in possession of plans and title-deeds establishing their rights.

The remaining families — between 3,000 and 4,000, if we hold to the total number of families to be settled (33,000) as originally specified in the settlement plan — will be established on lands reclaimed for cultivation by marsh drainage and flood protection works.

It is obvious enough that the distribution of land forms the essential basis of the settlement, and must precede other forms of assistance such as the erection of houses and the provision of equipment, cattle, etc.

The League Commissioner states, in his eighth report, dated August 1st, that more than 2,000 houses have already been, or will shortly be, completed, and that large quantities of equipment and draught animals have been distributed.

In his quarterly reports, the League Commissioner rightly devotes a section to health, making special reference to the malaria campaign which he has undertaken with the help of the Bulgarian health authorities.

In December 1926, the Council was seriously alarmed by the risks attendant upon the settlement of refugees in those parts of Bulgaria where malaria was specially prevalent. The information given by the Commissioner in his last report, and the figures he supplies, are most reassuring. He states that "not the least valuable result is the disappearance of the fear, at first very widespread among the refugees, of being established in areas which they regarded as hardly fit to live in owing to the acute prevalence of malaria. This fear has now given way to increasing confidence in the methods of palliating, if not completely eradicating, the disease."

The progress that has been made is due to the methods suggested by the experts whom the Health Section has on several occasions sent to Bulgaria. Here we have a valuable example of the results of co-operation between technical organs of the League.

Another factor, the importance of which cannot be too greatly emphasised, is the assistance given by the Rockefeller Foundation in this field. This admirable institution, which has already in several fields earned the League's gratitude, has this year set up an anti-malaria demonstration centre in Bulgaria. As you are aware, it has acquired considerable experience in this direction through its untiring activity in various countries, and we may be sure that its aid in the work already undertaken will be of inestimable value.

The League Commissioner, M. Charron, has given the Second Committee a very vivid and detailed description of his work. Considerable difficulties have yet to be overcome, some of them inherent in the nature of the work and some arising out of local circumstances; but it has given us great satisfaction to hear that co-operation on the part of the Bulgarian authorities has always been forthcoming. M. Charron has described to us in very striking terms the state of mind of these thousands of families who have been in Bulgaria for years and have never been able to settle down in permanent homes. This work of international co-operation has given them the longed-for plot of ground, the house, and the means of earning a living. Bitterness and regret have given place to happiness and confidence in the future.

Hearing the statement made by M. Charron, the League's Commissioner, and reading his reports, the Committee has realised to how great an extent the success and the lasting character of the work accomplished are due to our Commissioner and to M. Sarafov, Head of the Bulgarian Refugee Settlement Department, and to their staff. I should like to express in this report our high appreciation of the ability and devotion with which they have carried on their work during the year that has elapsed since our last meeting.

## II. STABILISATION LOAN.

It is interesting to note that, in the case of Bulgaria as in the case of Greece, the Government, having sought the help of League organisations in attacking a special problem such as that of refugees, has gone on from this to seek further collaboration for a wider scheme of financial reconstruction and currency stabilisation. The details of the scheme for Bulgaria are described in the annual report to the Assembly. It follows in the main the principles applied successfully in previous schemes. The provisions made include the liquidation of budget arrears from past years, the reduction of the State debt to the National Bank in order to make possible the stabilisation of the currency, the reorganisation of the National Bank and the nomination of a technical adviser by the Council of the League of Nations, and the construction of certain roads and railways on a carefully prepared plan by the Bulgarian Government, with the assistance of an expert recommended by the Transit Organisation of the League. A part of the loan is also devoted to strengthening the position of the Agricultural Bank and of the Central Co-operative Bank. The most interesting point in the scheme has been the provision regarding the Bank of Issue, which is at present a State Bank. This matter gave rise to some difficulties at one time, but arrangements have now been made whereby a technical adviser to the National Bank, who is to be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations, will continue in office for not less than two years after the transformation of the bank into a share company.

The amount required for all these purposes is £4.5 millions sterling, allocated as follows

	£
National Bank .....	1,500,000
Agricultural Bank .....	500,000
Central Co-operative Bank.....	150,000
Budget Arrears .....	1,100,000
Roads and Railways .....	1,250,000
	£4,500,000

The service of the loan is secured upon the Customs which have been freed for this purpose to the extent required from prior Treaty charges (reparations, etc.). If the assigned revenues fall below 150 per cent of the annual sum required, further revenues shall be called for. Trustees are to be appointed by the Council of the League.

The whole scheme has been approved by the Council, embodied in a Protocol and signed by the Bulgarian Government, and it is to be expected that the loan will shortly be issued. Since the annual reports to the Assembly were issued, a meeting of the Financial Committee has been held which recommended the Council to increase the above amount to £5 million sterling, the additional sum to be employed in connection with the earthquakes which ravaged parts of Bulgaria during the spring of 1928.

The preparation of the present scheme has been the main achievement of the Financial Committee during the past year, and the Committee and the Bulgarian Government are to be congratulated on having made one more valuable contribution to the progressive financial and economic stabilisation of Europe, with all its important consequences in promoting a sense of political security and pacification.

On behalf of the Second Committee, I have the honour to propose that the Assembly should adopt the following resolution :

“ The Assembly :

“ (a) Notes with satisfaction the progress during the past year of the refugee work under the able direction of the Commissioner of the League and the Bulgarian authorities, to whom it expresses its appreciation of their work. The progress thus made confirms the Assembly’s appreciation of the social and political importance of this work ;

“ (b) Takes note of the stabilisation scheme involving the issue of a loan of £5 million sterling to be devoted to the repayment of the State debt to the National Bank in connection with the stabilisation of the currency, to strengthening the position of the Agricultural Bank and the Central Co-operative Bank, the liquidation of budget arrears, the construction of certain roads and railways, and work in connection with the damage caused by the earthquakes which ravaged parts of Bulgaria during the spring of 1928 ;

“ (c) Congratulates the Financial Committee and the Bulgarian Government for having, in the preparation of this scheme, made one more valuable contribution to the progressive financial and economic stabilisation of Europe, and expresses the hope that the issue of the loan necessary for the execution of the scheme may meet with complete success. ”

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### ANNEX 13.

A. 71. 1928. XII.

## RELATIONS BETWEEN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND INSTITUTES OR BODIES SET UP UNDER ITS AUTHORITY.

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### REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur* : Dr. Rudolf BREITSCHIED (Germany).

The Second Committee has considered the questions connected with the relations between the League and the institutes and bodies set up under its authority.

The Committee noted with satisfaction that the Council, at its meeting on June 7th, 1928, approved a report submitted by the Chinese representative, defining in precise terms what should be the nature of the relations between the League and the institutes and bodies set up under its authority. The Committee is of opinion that the Assembly may congratulate the Council on having thus cleared up in a satisfactory manner a question which, in the development of international life, has come to play an increasingly important part in the accomplishment of the League’s work.

The report adopted by the Council treats exhaustively of both aspects of the question. It deals first with the application of the general principles to be followed in placing international bureaux under the direction of the League — that is, with the application of Article 24 of the Covenant — and, secondly, with the general rules which might in the future govern the acceptance of international institutes by the League.

The Committee considers it superfluous to summarise in its report to the Assembly the principles laid down in the first part of the Council’s report, on the application of Article 24 of the Covenant. They are set forth in great detail, and any abbreviation might distort the

meaning of the original text, which all the Members of the Assembly have before them. The Committee desires, however, to state that it is in full agreement with the principles indicated by the Council for the application of the Article in question. These principles provide a solid foundation for fruitful co-operation between the League and the international bureaux, as contemplated in the Covenant. While retaining their constitutional autonomy, these bodies would function more or less as extensions of the League itself within limited specialised fields. It would be for the League to see that these organisations preserved their international character and that their work was carried on efficiently and did not overlap the work of other institutions. If conceived and carried through on these lines, the placing of an international bureau under the direction of the League can do nothing but good to both parties.

The second part of the report aims at defining the rules which might govern in future the acceptance of international institutes offered to the League of Nations. The Assembly will recall the generous offers made by the French and Italian Governments, which have led to the creation of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, the Institute for the Unification of Private Law and the Educational Cinematographic Institute. It is probable that further similar offers will be made to the League with the object of providing for the accomplishment of other work of general concern through international co-operation.

It has therefore been thought desirable to establish here and now certain general rules which would apply in such contingencies. The rules proposed to us by the Council are based upon a fundamental principle: "The object of the institute must come within the sphere of activity of the League of Nations, the institute serving as a working instrument." The Council's report continues: "The adoption of the principle suggested at the beginning of this clause must obviously have a restrictive effect on offers of institutes to the League, but this restriction appears to be not only in keeping with the intention of the Assembly resolution but even desirable in itself, in that it affords a definite solution of the question and precludes all danger of ambiguity." The Second Committee cannot but adopt these views. Like the Council, it is particularly anxious that any institute that may be established should be attached to an advisory technical League organisation — this being fully justified by analogy with the procedure adopted by the League for all technical activities. Moreover, it is supported by all the available precedents, as may be seen from the statutes and regulations of the three institutes of this kind already in existence.

The Second Committee therefore feels that it is able to agree to the report adopted by the Council. It would, however, prefer that, when an institute of this kind is created, its financial status should also be examined, with a view to ascertaining whether the institute possesses sufficient funds to allow of the effective fulfilment of the international duties entrusted to it. Moreover, to meet two special points raised by its members, the Committee suggests that the following additions should be made to the report:

(1) After the words "provision should be made for a governing body" insert the words "which will meet at regular intervals"; (2) insert the following sentence at the end of paragraph (c): "care should be taken that the nomination of members, both to the governing body and the superior staff, be made without distinction of sex and to correspond with the international character of the institute."

In view of the foregoing observations, the Second Committee feels justified in proposing the following resolution:

*Draft Resolution.*

"The Assembly,

"Having taken note of the report adopted by the Council on the question of the relations between the League of Nations and institutes or bodies set up under its authority:

"Approves the rules embodied in that report for the application of Article 24 of the Covenant and for the acceptance of international institutes offered to the League by Governments. The modifications made in that report by the Second Committee of the Assembly are also approved."

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ANNEX 14.

ARTICLES 10, 11 AND 16 OF THE COVENANT.

A. 63. 1928. IX.

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REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur*: His Excellency M. N. POLITIS (Greece).

Among the tasks assigned to the Committee on Arbitration and Security by the Assembly resolution of September 26th, 1927, which provided for the Committee's appointment, was "the systematic preparation of the machinery to be employed by the organs of the League of Nations with a view to enabling the Members of the League to perform their obligations under the various articles of the Covenant (Resolution V, No. 3, paragraph 5)".

The Committee on Arbitration and Security decided to begin with the study of Articles 10, 11 and 16, keeping in mind the possibility of co-ordinating them with other articles later.

It selected these articles as being the ones which have most engaged the attention of the organs of the League hitherto. But the Committee had no intention of restricting its future field of action. On the contrary, it resolved to devote its attention later to other clauses of the Covenant, especially the provision of Article 13, paragraph 4, which lays down that, in the event of failure to carry out arbitral or judicial awards, "the Council shall propose what steps shall be taken to give effect thereto". In the course of its work the Committee more than once had occasion to appreciate the peculiar importance of this provision. It realised that, in the absence of a complete system of sanctions, the development of compulsory arbitration would be greatly assisted by Article 13, paragraph 4, a thorough study of which should be embarked upon as soon as possible.

Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant were first discussed in an *important memorandum* by M. Rutgers, who endeavoured to determine their meaning and practical bearings.

It was forcibly demonstrated by the author that, first and foremost, in order to fulfil its essential mission for the maintenance of peace, the League must prevent war; that the application of measures of repression should only be contemplated in extreme cases when preventive measures had failed; that, as an effective means of ensuring the peace of the world, Article 10 was of greater significance than Article 16, the more so as, if applied conscientiously and fully, Article 11 would facilitate any application that might be made of Article 16, inasmuch as the procedure of Article 11 enabled the Council to follow the development of the dispute, and so obtain grounds for the decisions which it might be called upon to take under Article 16 — in particular, as regards the determination of the aggressor, the Council would be guided very largely by the degree and manner in which the conflicting parties had lent themselves to the action previously taken by it under the Covenant, and especially under Article 11, for the purpose of maintaining peace.

It was argued further that a hard-and-fast definition of the terms "aggression" (Article 10) and "resort to war" (Article 16) would be dangerous, for it might oblige the Council and Members of the League to decide that there had been a breach of the Covenant, and thus bring sanctions into play at a time when it would be better not to take measures of coercion. Moreover, there would be the risk of setting up criteria which, in unforeseen circumstances, might lead to the designation of a State which, in actual fact, was not responsible for the hostilities.

The memorandum considered further that it would be helpful, in the case of resort to war, if the Council delivered an opinion as to whether there was or was not a breach of the Covenant and declared which of the two conflicting parties had broken the Covenant; and lastly, that the preparation of the military sanctions provided for in Article 16 did not seem likely to promote the growth of mutual confidence between the States Members of the League, unless, at the same time, pacific procedures were organised for the settlement of all international differences and a general understanding was reached for the reduction and limitation of armaments.

The above ideas, together with those embodied in the memoranda on arbitration and security, were summarised in the introduction which the three Rapporteurs, in agreement with the Chairman of the Committee, placed at the beginning of their report.

They gave rise to a detailed discussion, in the course of which two currents of opinion came to light, one emphasising the degree of security provided by the Covenant and the other laying stress on its inadequacy. Eventually the Committee adopted a resolution in the following terms:

"The Committee on Arbitration and Security:

"After studying the introduction to the memoranda on arbitration, security and the articles of the Covenant submitted by the Chairman,

"Declares its concurrence in the views therein expressed that:

"(1) The Covenant itself creates a measure of security which needs to be appreciated at its full value and that its articles are capable of being applied in such a way that in the majority of cases they can prevent war;

"(2) The common will for peace of the States Members of the Council can be exercised effectively within the framework of the Covenant, all the more so because that instrument does not provide any rigid code of procedure for the settlement of international crises and that it is, therefore, inexpedient to attempt to draw up in advance a complete list of measures for preserving international peace;

"(3) For those States which seek more effective guarantees of security, side by side with an extension of the machinery for the pacific settlement of their international disputes, the conclusion of security pacts with other States in the same geographical area constitutes one of the most practical forms of supplementary guarantee which it is at present possible to recommend."

After discussing M. Rutgers' memorandum at its second session, the Committee, at its third session, adopted in regard to Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant a resolution in which it gave its approval to the main conclusions of this document, in terms expressing the various shades of opinion which had been manifested in the course of the debates.

Subject to the observations made in the present report, the Third Committee has felt able to subscribe entirely to views expressed by the Committee on Arbitration and Security in regard to Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant.

It therefore proposes to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolution:

“ The Assembly :

“ Having noted the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security in regard to Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant,

“ Appreciates the great importance of the work done to apply the provisions in question ;

“ Considers that the information concerning the question of the criteria of aggression contained in the Committee's documents usefully summarises the studies made by the Assembly and the Council and the provisions of certain treaties ;

“ Recalls in particular that the action to be taken by the Council under Article 11 and other articles of the Covenant in the case of a conflict will provide it with important elements of appreciation likely to facilitate the determination of the aggressor in the event of war breaking out in spite of every effort ;

“ Considers that the study of Article 11 of the Covenant, which stipulates that the League ‘ shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations ’, forms the natural counterpart of the study undertaken by the Committee of the Council and approved by the Council on December 6th, 1927, on the Assembly's recommendation, and, without detracting from the value of the other articles of the Covenant, brings into prominence the fact that the League's first task is to forestall war, and that in all cases of armed conflict or of threats of armed conflict, of whatever nature, it must take action to prevent hostilities or to stop hostilities which have already begun ;

“ Takes note of the suggestions concerning Article 16 contained in the Committee's documents relative to the study of the articles of the Covenant ;

“ Recommends to the Council the studies in question as a useful piece of work which, without proposing a hard-and-fast procedure in time of emergency, and without adding to or detracting from the rights and duties of the Members of the League, provides valuable indications as to the possibilities offered by the different articles of the Covenant, and as to the way in which they may be applied, without prejudice to the different modes of procedure which the infinite variety of possible eventualities may render necessary in practice ;

“ In conclusion, recommends that a study should be undertaken of the other articles of the Covenant the conscientious and full application of which offers special guarantees of security. ”

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ANNEX 15.

A. 68. 1928. IX.

SUPERVISION OF THE PRIVATE MANUFACTURE AND PUBLICITY  
OF THE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION  
AND OF IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

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REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur* : His Excellency M. GUERRERO (Salvador).

In its resolution of September 24th, 1927, the Assembly “ requested the Council to convey its views to the Special Commission in order that the latter might agree upon a single text which would enable the Council to convene an international conference as speedily as possible ”.

At its first session, held in March-April 1927, the Special Commission drew up a preliminary draft convention.

This preliminary draft was taken as the basis of discussion at the Special Commission's second session, which was held from August 27th to 30th, 1928.

After endeavouring to reconcile the different points of view expressed in the course of the debates, the Special Commission had to acknowledge that, while the principle of publicity had been accepted for Government manufactures, differences of opinion remained as regards the extent of such publicity, and that therefore it was unable to submit the single final text requested by the Assembly.

After examining the situation thus created, the Third Committee came to the conclusion that it was essential to agree upon a single text which would permit of the convening of an international conference on the supervision of private manufacture and the publicity of Government manufactures. It was unanimous in thinking that an immediate appeal addressed by the Council to the Governments represented on the Special Commission, with a view to the removal of the differences of opinion still existing, together with a meeting of the Special Commission before the Council's next session, would make it possible, once the preparatory work had been completed, to convene an international conference on the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war either before or at the same time as the International Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments.

I therefore have the honour to propose to you the following resolution on behalf of the Third Committee :



“ The Assembly :

“ Having taken note of the report and preliminary draft convention drawn up by the Special Commission appointed to prepare a draft convention on the supervision of the private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war ;

“ Observing that the Commission has not yet found it possible to submit a single final text as desired by the Assembly, although the Committee agreed that the principle of publicity should extend to Government manufactures ;

“ Affirming the urgent necessity for drawing up a convention which, while placing non-producing and producing countries on an equal footing, would facilitate the ratification of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War signed at Geneva on June 17th, 1925 ;

“ Referring to its successive resolutions passed at each of its previous ordinary sessions, beginning with the first session in 1920, in which resolutions it has constantly urged the importance of the problem of the manufacture of arms and the necessity for convening a conference as speedily as possible ;

“ Confirming the fact that a connection exists between the general question of the reduction and limitation of armaments and the question of the international trade in arms and also of that of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war : .

“ Requests the Council to make an appeal, at its present session, to the Governments represented on the Special Commission to examine carefully the differences of view revealed during the last session of the Commission, and to consider calling another meeting of the Commission before the next Council session, in order that the work of the Commission may be completed as soon as possible and submitted to a special conference, which would meet either at the same time as the General Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments or at an earlier date.”

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ANNEX 16.

A. 67. 1928. IX.

MODEL TREATY TO STRENGTHEN THE MEANS FOR PREVENTING WAR.

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REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur* : Baron ROLIN-JAEQUEMYS (Belgium).

During the investigation undertaken in accordance with the resolution of the Assembly of September 26th, 1927, the German delegation submitted to the Committee on Arbitration and Security a body of suggestions tending to strengthen, by international agreement, the means for the prevention of war.

At its meeting on March 5th, 1928, the Committee, “ appreciating the great importance of these suggestions ”, adopted a resolution according to which it :

“ Considers that they should be thoroughly examined and that Governments should be enabled to study them in detail ; and

“ Decides to place them on the agenda of its next session and to appoint a rapporteur who will report to the Committee in the light of the Committee's discussion and of any observations which may be forwarded by Governments. ”

The rapporteur submitted his memorandum to the Committee at its third session, with the result that, after a protracted debate, the first reading of the “ Model Treaty to strengthen the Means for preventing War ” was approved and has since been referred to the Third Committee by the Assembly.

The Committee on Arbitration and Security had at the same time adopted an introductory note drawing attention to the essential points of the debate which took place during its third session. In order to make clear the various tendencies which manifested themselves within the Committee, the following brief summary of that introductory note may prove useful :

(a) The suggestion of the German delegation advocating an undertaking on the part of States to accept the recommendations of the Council for the purpose of maintaining or re-establishing the military *status quo* normally existing in time of peace has not been embodied in the model treaty, for it proved impossible to reconcile the views of the various delegations as to the usefulness and expediency of such a measure sufficiently to enable a unanimous decision to be taken by the Committee on that point.

(b) The supervision of the execution of the measures recommended by the Council, a question on which different views were expressed, has received, in Article 5, a solution which safeguards the Council's freedom of action. With regard to this, detailed explanations will be found in the introductory note.

(c) The rule in Article 5, according to which the vote of the parties concerned does not affect the question of unanimity, has only been retained for the case in which hostilities have already broken out, as provided for in Articles 3 and 4. It would appear from the discussions in the Committee that an extension of this rule to the case of ordinary disputes covered by Article 1 might conflict with the provisions of the Covenant of the League as regards the working of the Council.

(d) The Committee did not feel that it could accept the idea of a general protocol open to the signature of all States, and it only framed a model multilateral treaty which can obviously also be used as a bilateral treaty. At the same time, it further recorded its opinion that "the practical value of such a treaty would be directly proportional to the number of contracting States".

(e) The Committee indicated that, in contemplating the conclusion of special treaties, it did not wish to exclude the possibility of supplementing treaties of mutual assistance by provisions similar to those contained in the model, if certain States preferred to adopt this procedure.

Agreement having thus been reached, the Committee adopted, at the end of its third session, a resolution in the following terms :

" The Committee on Arbitration and Security :

" Having taken note of the memorandum of its rapporteur, Baron Rolin Jaequemyns, on the suggestions submitted by the German delegation with a view to strengthening the means of preventing war :

" Thanks its rapporteur for the exhaustive report which he has submitted ;

" Adopts the model treaty designed to give effect to the German delegation's suggestions and submits it to the Assembly ;

" And requests the Secretary-General to forward the said model with the introductory note, as well as Baron Rolin Jaequemyns' memorandum and the minutes of its third session, to the Governments in order that they may give the necessary instructions to their delegations at the Assembly. "

The Third Committee resumed the discussion of this model treaty and noted, as a result, that the views of Governments had remained practically the same as at the time of the discussion in the Committee on Arbitration and Security. In addition to what has been stated above, it will be enough to say that, during the discussion, reference was also made to the question of the armistice to be proposed by the Council, as contemplated in No. 3 of the German suggestions. It has been pointed out that this explicit reference to the armistice was not embodied in the text of the model treaty as it was desired to give greater freedom of action to the Council, the latter being only called upon to intervene within the terms of the Covenant, with this single difference, that the States signing the treaty will reciprocally bind themselves to carry out the recommendations of the Council.

After these exhaustive discussions, the Committee did not think that a second reading was necessary.

The Committee desires, moreover, to emphasise the fact that the draft submitted to the Assembly only constitutes a text for the use of States desiring to enter into the undertakings embodied therein, and that States retain their full freedom to decide on the attitude which they may think proper to adopt in this respect.

On concluding its discussion, the Third Committee unanimously decided to submit the model treaty in question to the Assembly and proposed that the latter should accordingly adopt the following resolution :

" The Assembly,

" Having noted the model treaty to strengthen the means for preventing war framed by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, together with the explanations contained in the introductory note drawn up by the Committee :

" Highly appreciating the value of this model treaty ;

" Being convinced that its adoption by a large number of States would serve to increase the guarantees of security :

" Recommends it for consideration by States Members or non-members of the League of Nations ;

" And hopes that it may serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude a treaty of this kind. "

ANNEX 17.

A.64.1928.XI.

TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur*: Dr. W. CHODZKO (Poland).

The Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs has held two sessions since the last meeting of the Assembly, namely, the tenth (extraordinary) session, held from September 28th to October 8th, 1927, and the eleventh session, held from April 12th to 27th, 1928.

The tenth (extraordinary) session was convened by the Chairman, then Sir John Campbell (India), in virtue of the discretion conferred upon him by the resolution of the Council, dated March 11th, 1927. The primary object of the session was to consider the question of the illicit traffic, but advantage was taken of the opportunity presented to discuss various cognate questions, and to deal with certain questions which had been referred to the Committee by the Council.

With a view to combating the illicit traffic, M. Cavazzoni, the representative of Italy on the Committee, presented to the Committee for its consideration a memorandum containing an elaborate scheme for the control of the drug traffic. The Committee felt that the moment was opportune for a general examination of the question of the best methods of ensuring administrative control over the drug traffic and for the preparation of a report on the subject.

A Sub-Committee was, therefore, appointed to consider the whole question of administrative control, including a detailed study of M. Cavazzoni's memorandum. As a result of the work of the Sub-Committee, a standard set of regulations, or code for the supervision of the traffic in narcotics, embracing certain proposals put forward by M. Cavazzoni in his memorandum, was drawn up.

The Committee discussed at great length the ways and means of combating effectively the illicit traffic. With a view to rendering any form of clandestine and illicit traffic impossible, the Committee adopted a resolution requesting the Council to urge as insistently as possible upon all Governments Members of the League and Parties to the Opium Convention that all factories manufacturing dangerous drugs should either be State-owned or placed under effective Government supervision. Under either system the Governments would at least:

- (1) Regulate and require an accurate accounting of all internal traffic, including the purchase of raw materials, manufacture, sales, distribution, storage;
- (2) Strictly control the issue and possession of licences or authorisations for the manufacture, sale, distribution and storage of drugs;
- (3) Adopt and rigidly enforce the import and export certificate system;
- (4) Strictly control the export of dangerous drugs to any country which does not enforce the import and export certificate system. Where this system is not in force in the importing country, the Government of the exporting country must satisfy itself, beyond reasonable doubt, that the demand is for legitimate purposes only. This precaution is particularly important, since the readiest route which the illicit traffic can follow is through those countries which do not enforce the import and export certificate system. It is recognised that this will present various difficulties until the Central Board has been constituted; but it is imperative that such control should be exercised, as far as that is practicable, by the exporting countries until the Central Board begins to function. Experience in certain countries has shown that, even in present circumstances, a large measure of effective control can, in fact, be exercised in such cases.

Another resolution was passed, asking Governments to give all information as to the manner in which narcotic substances which have been seized are dealt with, in order that the Committee might be in a position to form an accurate idea as to the traffic.

The report of the tenth (extraordinary) session of the Committee was examined by the Council during its meeting held in December 1927, and the Secretary-General was instructed to take the necessary action in order to give effect to the resolutions adopted by the Committee. During the discussion which took place in the Council, M. Scialoja, the representative of Italy, called attention to the establishment of the Central Board, as provided for in the Geneva Convention of 1925. He suggested that the Secretariat of the Central Board ought to form part of the Social Section of the League of Nations Secretariat. This question was referred to the Advisory Committee for examination, and was dealt with at the eleventh session of the Committee, which was held in April of this year and presided over by Dr. Carrière (Switzerland).

Two opposite opinions were expressed on this point. On the one hand, M. Cavazzoni held that, in virtue of Article 23 of the Covenant, which entrusts the League with the supervision over

the traffic in opium and dangerous drugs, it is not permissible to create an organisation independent of the League of Nations and the Secretariat. On the other hand, it was pointed out that M. Scialoja's proposal was not in conformity with Article 20 of the Geneva Convention, and that, while Article 23 of the Covenant entrusts the League with the supervision over the traffic in opium, this supervision should be exercised in accordance with the stipulations of the Conventions in force.

The Committee adopted by a majority a resolution stating that the Italian delegate's proposal that the Secretariat of the Central Board should form an integral part of the Secretariat of the League was in complete agreement with the stipulations of Article 20 of the Opium Convention of 1925, whereby the Secretary-General of the League of Nations is requested to provide for the control of the staff in administrative matters. The resolution further contained a statement that the proposal did not in any way affect the right, which is conferred on the Central Board, to nominate the members of its staff, who will be appointed by the Secretary-General, subject to the approval of the Council.

The Committee noted with satisfaction the steps taken by the Persian Government to limit opium-poppy cultivation in Persia, and particularly the new law published in July 1928, which constitutes an opium monopoly. This marks an important step forward on the road recommended by the League of Nations.

It appears from the documents submitted to the Committee that the position with regard to the illicit traffic is still highly unsatisfactory; that the manufacture of harmful drugs continues greatly in excess of the legitimate requirements, and that new methods of manufacture are rendering the supervision of the international traffic increasingly difficult. The situation is therefore extremely serious, if not alarming. The Committee thought that the attention of Governments should again be drawn to the various measures which the Committee had most earnestly recommended.

In order to facilitate the efforts of each individual Government to stamp out the illicit traffic, the Committee once more insisted upon the necessity of full co-operation; Governments were recommended to supply each other with all particulars necessary for enquiries with regard to persons implicated in smuggling offences, and to communicate to each other, whenever this was recognised as essential, copies of telegrams relating to the transactions of smugglers.

As regards the situation in China, attention must be called to the fact that the British Government has decided to withdraw its protection, and withhold the right to fly the British flag from any vessel proved to have been engaged in smuggling in the navigable waterways of China. The British Government should be congratulated on its important decision.

The Committee was very much concerned at the efforts of certain manufacturers to find substitutes for morphine since this alkaloid was made subject to control. One of these substitutes is benzoyl-morphine, which is already manufactured in comparatively large quantities and has been shown to possess all the properties of a drug of addiction. Moreover, the morphine contained in the benzoyl-morphine can readily be recovered, and hence quantities of morphine which will escape supervision can be put on the market. In addition to benzoyl-morphine there is a whole series of other morphine "esters", *i.e.*, combinations of morphine with an organic acid having the same properties. The danger of this situation is obvious. The Committee therefore thought it necessary to consider the possibility of applying Article 10 of the Geneva Convention to all these products. As, however, the procedure laid down under this article would still require a certain amount of time, the Committee adopted a resolution requesting the Council to draw the attention of Governments to the necessity of placing benzoyl-morphine, and possibly other similar substances, under control forthwith. In answer to a question asked by the representative of New Zealand, a statement was made to the effect that twenty-seven Governments had accepted the request made to them for the inclusion of eucodal and dicodide under the Convention.

The efforts made by a number of the signatory countries are wanting in vigour, intermittent and not sufficiently drastic to meet the present situation.

The Fifth Committee urges the delegates to devote their attention to this question, and impress upon their respective Governments the necessity for dealing immediately with the situation with which we are faced, in view of the constant efforts of the persons concerned to circumvent all laws and regulations promulgated by countries which have signed the Conventions.

Paragraph 14 (*d*) of the Hague Convention stipulates that the laws and regulations respecting the manufacture and sale of morphine shall apply also to all new derivatives of morphine or its salts and to every other opium alkaloid liable to similar abuse and productive of like ill-effects.

But it is mainly to Article 9 of the 1912 Convention and Article 5 of the 1925 Convention, concerning the limitation of manufactures, that the attention of the various Governments should be drawn.

The Committee has noted with keen interest a communication stating that the Spanish Government had decided to institute a monopoly system for the trade in drugs. We may further note, with great satisfaction, that this question was settled by a law passed on May 5th last.

A further scheme for the limitation of the manufacture of drugs was transmitted by the Government of the United States of America to the League of Nations through the Netherlands Government, and was circulated to the members of the Committee. It will be examined at its next meeting.

However, in view of the enormous difficulties which are met with in the really effective fight against the illicit traffic, the limitation of the manufacture of these drugs aimed at by the various systems and schemes examined by the Advisory Committee in the course of last year must be

taken into consideration. The Committee will no doubt follow with the greatest interest the experience gained by the Spanish Government since the coming into force of its new Drug Act.

The report on the work of the eleventh session of the Advisory Committee was examined by the Council at its June session, and the Secretary-General was instructed to take action on the resolutions contained therein.

At the present moment it seems to the Fifth Committee that the most important new fact is the coming into force of the Convention of February 19th, 1925. There are now twenty-nine parties to this Convention. It appeared also, according to statements made by the delegates of Estonia, Hungary, Italy, Norway and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, that additional ratifications may shortly be expected. It is thought that this Convention, if strictly applied, should prove a powerful instrument in the suppression of the traffic. Then, again, the Fifth Committee draws attention to the Code previously mentioned, which is based on the experiences of the manufacturing countries.

The Fifth Committee proposes the adoption of the following resolution:

“ The Assembly notes with approval the reports of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs on the work of its tenth and eleventh sessions, together with the resolutions contained therein.”

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ANNEX 18.

A.66.1928.II.

WORK OF THE ECONOMIC ORGANISATION.

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REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur*: M. LOUCHEUR (France).

Before summarising the actual results and the programme of the economic work of the League of Nations, I should like to make a general remark on its scope and importance. The World Economic Conference of 1927 marked not merely a stage but an epoch in the development of this work. In the first years following the war, the exceptional circumstances and special necessities of the war period continued to dominate the economic policy of the nations; no rapid or immediate change was possible. If international action was required during this first period, it was not in the economic but in the financial sphere. The disorganisation of the monetary systems constituted a more serious obstacle to the work of reconstruction than any of the hindrances to be encountered in the sphere of economic policy.

During these first few years the League of Nations therefore paved the way for financial reconstruction; to-day the success of this work is manifest to us. As regards its economic work, this had perforce a more modest character, and consisted rather in preparatory investigations and work. But, in 1927, this initial period was nearly closed; the depreciation of currencies had ceased to be the most serious difficulty; it was becoming evident that the sphere of economic policy was the one in which progress was now called for. It was also recognised that in many countries the feeling was growing that action in this domain was becoming essential and urgent.

The World Economic Conference was convened in response to this feeling; the nature of the report which it drew up and the unanimous adoption of this report, as well as the approval with which its principles were greeted both by Governments and by representative industrial and economic organisations like the International Chamber of Commerce, showed that this Conference had come at the right moment, and that there really existed a powerful current of opinion calling for action in the economic sphere. The Conference did not, properly speaking, create a new force. Its main function was to reveal, display and mobilise existing forces. It was under the impulsion of a vast movement of public opinion which already existed before the Conference, but was reinforced by the latter, that the programme which is before you was drawn up. Thus the effect of the Conference has been a transformation rather than an ordinary normal development of the tasks devolving upon the Economic Organisation. It is now for us to decide whether we desire to promote or restrain this movement.

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Do not expect from me a systematic and detailed summary of all the questions dealt with in the past year by the Economic Organisation. You are familiar with them, having certainly perused the parts of the report on the work of the Council which deal with this subject and the two or three other essential documents which have been circulated. I shall therefore confine myself to a rapid survey of the most important points.

1. A year ago, the Assembly recognised that it was necessary to make certain modifications in the *Economic Organisation* of the League so as to provide satisfactorily for the application of the World Economic Conference's recommendations. You then laid down certain definite guiding principles, which have since been followed by the Council.

The composition of the Economic Committee was made subject to certain rules, and was reinforced by the addition of a member from the United States of America and the creation of corresponding members.

The Consultative Committee was set up in due course according to your indications. The Council decided, however, to enlarge it rather more than you had contemplated, so as to provide for an adequate representation of the different economic forces.

These two Committees have recourse, for the study of particular technical questions, to the help of experts whose duties cease once their task has been performed.

I may add that we can always rely on the help of the Financial Committee, whose work there is no need for me to praise.

Last year has shown us that, far from overlapping, the Economic Committee and the Consultative Committee perform in the same sphere two distinct and equally necessary functions.

The first-named Committee, consisting almost entirely of high officials, who come to Geneva, it is true, in a personal capacity, but exercise a direct influence on the evolution of economic policy in their respective countries, is thus admirably qualified to go into all the details of international economic problems, to work out the solutions required, to judge how far these solutions are practicable at a particular moment and, if necessary, to induce the different Governments to give them sanction by means of international agreements.

The Consultative Committee, on the other hand, which consists of eminent personalities representing the most varied — and often even conflicting — economic tendencies and interests, and coming from twenty-six different countries, establishes direct touch with the most competent section of public opinion, and constitutes a centre whence each year new ideas may emerge which are likely to be of particular value as representing the views of the most varied economic circles.

Without this direct contact with "the open air", the Economic Committee might to some extent run the risk, despite the progressive spirit of its members, of marking time. On the other hand, without the prudent and experienced guidance of the Economic Committee, the Consultative Committee might sometimes run the risk of trying to go too fast. Together, however, they are like the combination of engine and steering-wheel which alone can ensure constant progress at a reasonable pace.

2. You will remember that last year you expressly asked for the preparation of a *statement of the different replies given by the Governments* in regard to their attitude to the recommendations of the Conference and of the measures taken to apply these recommendations in the different countries. You will find full particulars in document C.E.I.45(1) containing declarations of goodwill from a large number of Governments, and in document C.C.E.7, prepared by the Secretariat for the Consultative Committee. The latter gives a *summary of the principal events* which occurred between May 1927 and May 1928 in the sphere of commercial policy. It enables an idea to be formed of the influence exercised in this sphere by the World Economic Conference. The same document also contains a short description of the developments which took place *in the economic situation in 1927*.

It would be an excellent thing if each year, when the Consultative Committee meets, the Secretariat could prepare a summary similar to that which it drew up this year. We should thus have, in the first place, an impartial and succinct review of the economic situation during the year and, in the second place, an equally impartial and succinct description of the measures taken by the Governments to meet this situation and to improve it.

3. This was also the object of the first part of the report of the *Consultative Committee*, which met for the first time last May (document C.217.M. 73.1928.II).

As regards *international trade*, this Committee found that the work was already well advanced, thanks to the Economic Committee. Its task, therefore, was light; it had merely to give its approval and encouragement to the various activities that had been undertaken. In one particular domain, however, it exercised a decisive influence, by encouraging the Economic Committee to make partial efforts towards the conclusion of collective agreements for the reduction of the Customs duties applicable to certain very important categories of goods. I shall revert later to this question.

With regard to *industry*, the Consultative Committee, having found that it was impossible to give effect to certain of the resolutions of the Economic Conference, laid down definite lines on which studies regarding international industrial understandings and the various forms of rationalisation should be conducted.

With regard to *agriculture*, the Consultative Committee preferred to await the outcome of the negotiations proceeding between the Secretary-General of the League and the President of the International Institute of Agriculture with a view to establishing closer contact between the two bodies.

Lastly, two important questions, namely, the position of *the coal and sugar industries*, were referred to the Committee itself by one of its members. At first this new departure aroused a few apprehensions, but the fact that the examination of the Consultative Committee's recommendations has been entrusted to the Economic Committee is, I think, calculated to allay these.

The Committee has often enough given evidence of its prudence, and we may be sure that it will not allow itself to be drawn into hasty conclusions or in any way fail to take into account the legitimate interests at stake, whether of producers or consumers, countries or persons.

Moreover, we know to-day that several producer and consumer countries are convinced that it is in their joint interest to have these two problems, in all their aspects, investigated without delay.

4. Last year, at this season, you expressed the wish that the *International Conference for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions*, which was to meet a few weeks later, should put an end, by means of a collective agreement, to a regime regarded by all as one of the greatest handicaps to international trade.

Your wish was fulfilled by the Convention of November 8th, 1927, completed by the Supplementary Agreement of July 11th, 1928. At the present time, it has been signed by twenty-seven countries. This large number shows how greatly the Governments appreciate this first effort to secure greater freedom in international trade.

The first Conference, held in October 1927, while recognising the principle of the abolition of prohibitions, encountered serious obstacles, and it was only by allowing some important, but fortunately temporary, exceptions in favour of specifically mentioned countries that agreement could be reached.

This state of things, however, necessitated the calling of a second Conference in July last, to deal with the claims for exceptions which the other signatory Governments had been authorised to present in the interval, and to determine the conditions under which the Convention could come into force. In particular, it was necessary to ascertain the number and names of the countries whose ratification or accession was considered indispensable if the Convention was really to be effective. I am glad to say that, at this second Conference, agreement was reached on both points, and that most of the claims for exceptions were withdrawn.

This result was greatly assisted by the meeting, in the interval between the two Conferences, of representatives of the Governments interested in the *importation and exportation of hides, skins and bones*, commodities which it seemed must inevitably form the subject of reservations in the general Convention. Not only did these representatives agree to abolish prohibitions but they went further, and concluded a collective agreement abolishing export duties in the case of hides and skins, and restricting the level of such duties in the case of bones.

We have before us an agreement—signed by sixteen States—the importance of which exceeds that of its actual contents, inasmuch as it represents the first stage on the way to those collective agreements on Customs duties so strongly recommended by the Economic Conference. Of course, partial experiments of this kind do not in the least mean that we must relinquish the hope of arriving one day at general agreements for the lowering of Customs barriers.

After this successful experiment, the Economic Committee, encouraged by the Consultative Committee, has now embarked on further studies regarding the Customs regime now ruling for products like aluminium, iron (semi-finished products), leather, cement, timber (unhewn and sawn), cellulose and paper, fresh fruits and vegetables, rice, to see whether collective agreements can be arrived at for these commodities.

5. It is clear, however, that all efforts tending to that object are closely related to the establishment of a *simplified and standardised Customs nomenclature*.

The Economic Conference expressly recognised the close connection existing between the unification of nomenclature and the reduction of duties.

I am glad to inform you that an admirable committee of experts has succeeded, in less than a year, in drawing up the complete framework of a Customs nomenclature. This framework has been put to a practical test and has proved equal to including in its various subdivisions the different tariff items of five countries with a varied industrial production.

The experts and the Economic Committee agree with the organisations concerned to which the framework has been communicated in thinking that it may henceforward be considered as final. The Council has just communicated it to all the Governments, and we are here in presence of a concrete result of the highest importance.

The experts now propose to undertake the second part of their task, which consists in filling a few of the more important sections of their framework by means of a veritable Customs classification, so devised that it can be utilised both by countries of simple economic structure and by countries with a highly developed industry.

6. The task devolving upon the Economic Committee in regard to *commercial policy* was, in broad outline, as follows:

- (a) Comparative examination of the various contractual methods;
- (b) Study of the most-favoured nation clause;
- (c) Possibility of collective agreements in the matter of Customs tariffs.

Interesting conclusions have been submitted to the Council by the Economic Committee on all these questions. These conclusions will, we hope, shortly be embodied in one coherent doctrine, which can be communicated to the different countries.

The Economic Committee, finding itself confronted with two different methods — that of the *hard-and-fast tariff* on the one hand and of the *negotiable tariff* on the other — agreed that it would be a mistake to condemn or approve in too absolute a manner either of these methods. It holds that the point of real importance is the spirit in which they are applied. The Economic Committee's reports already show a tendency to reconcile these two systems. The Committee is unanimously of opinion that, while the supporters of the theory of the hard-and-fast tariff must now admit the necessity of taking into consideration the representations of other countries, the supporters of the negotiable tariff must understand in their turn the necessity of refraining from tariffs

established solely for use as offensive weapons; their tariffs should be adapted as closely as possible to the real needs of the country and merely include a reasonable margin for negotiation.

As regard *the most-favoured-nation clause*, the Economic Committee may be regarded as having made good progress toward the completion of the task assigned to it by the World Economic Conference, for it has illustrated in a concrete manner the full meaning and nature of that clause, as well as defined all admissible exceptions.

Finally, in regard to the hitherto unexplored territory of *collective tariff agreements*, I told you just now that the Committee, without giving up hope of general agreements, has preferred to adopt a practical method consisting in a series of experiments with certain groups of commodities of particular importance in international trade. It is to be hoped that the Economic Committee's efforts in this direction will shortly lead to a definite result.

7. During the past year, the Economic Committee has put the finishing touches to the preparation of three draft conventions: one of them deals with the unification of statistical methods, the second is intended to secure equitable treatment for foreigners and foreign enterprises, and the third aims at the unification on a large scale of laws relating to bills of exchange, promissory notes and cheques.

(a) The *Diplomatic Conference on Statistics* has been convened for November 26th next. In accordance with a practice which has hitherto given excellent results, the Conference will open on the basis of a draft convention carefully studied by the Economic Committee, assisted by competent experts (document C.340.1928.II). We therefore have every reason to hope that the States will agree, according to the provisions of the draft, to publish at regular intervals certain categories of statistics of special importance, and to adopt common rules for their compilation.

Studies are likewise in progress, in co-operation with the International Chamber of Commerce, for the unification of the terminology of *industrial statistics* in certain branches of production. These various measures will at a later stage give the Economic Organisation of the League the benefit of data which are genuinely comparable, thanks to which it will be able each year to follow, more satisfactorily than has hitherto been possible, the course of economic evolution, whether in connection with the production or the circulation of goods.

(b) You know that for some years past the Economic Committee, being desirous of ensuring equitable treatment for commerce in all spheres, has given its most careful attention to the *treatment of foreigners and of foreign concerns*. Its work led to the adoption of two series of recommendations which were, by decision of the Council, communicated to the different countries, but the World Economic Conference considered that the moment had come to make a fresh step forward and to prepare a collective agreement. This was one of the tasks to which the Economic Committee, in co-operation with the International Chamber of Commerce, devoted its energy during the past year. Its effort led to the preparation of a draft convention which is now before the Governments with a view to the convening of a diplomatic conference within the course of next year (document C.174.1928.II).

The chief aim of this draft is to guarantee foreigners, allowed to establish themselves in the territory of any one of the contracting countries, treatment as far as possible equal to that granted to nationals. Its adoption would indubitably constitute a considerable step forward in international economic relations.

(c) The question of the *unification of legislation on bills of exchange, promissory notes and cheques* has long engaged the attention of the business world, and it was to some extent under the impulsion of public opinion that the Economic Committee resumed the study of this very complex question.

With the help of two different committees of experts, it was able to draw up draft conventions tending to bring at least partially into line the legislative systems of the Continental type. But where national legislative systems still diverge, the Economic Committee's draft supplies a remedy by means of the original conception of uniform rules for solving conflicts of laws. Moreover, these rules may be accepted by countries acceding to the agreement as well as by those remaining outside it.

8. During the Conference on the Abolition of Prohibitions and Restrictions, it was found that countries which exported animals and plants experienced a certain amount of difficulty in acceding to a general agreement which gave them no guarantee against the rigorous and — as it often appeared to them — unjustified application of certain import prohibitions or restrictions imposed for the *protection of animals and plants against disease*.

On the other hand, certain States emphasise with reason the necessity for improving and multiplying defensive measures against diseases. Keeping both these points of view in mind, the Economic Committee submitted the first of the two questions to a committee of experts which has already published a striking report on the organisation of veterinary services, and which is now making a critical study of the veterinary frontier measures in force. The completion of these investigations would be a definite step towards the greater freedom of trade recommended by the Economic Conference.

9. You will remember that the last session of the Assembly opened for the signature of all States a Convention for securing the execution of foreign *arbitral awards*. As you know, this Convention is closely connected with the Protocol on Arbitration Clauses which was also opened for signature by the Assembly in 1923.



This Protocol has been ratified by nineteen States, without counting the accession of Great Britain on behalf of most of her Colonies. The 1927 Convention has already been signed by eleven States.

In order that the position in this connection may be really satisfactory, it is to be hoped that the States which, in ratifying the 1923 Protocol, showed their interest in the question will proceed without delay to ratify the 1927 Convention, since the latter is intended to ensure the execution of arbitral awards, while the 1923 Protocol only establishes their validity.

10. In accordance with a resolution adopted by the last ordinary session of the Assembly, the Secretariat has distributed to the various Governments a pamphlet giving an outline of the *direct or indirect methods* by which a *foreign buyer* can satisfy himself of the quality of goods bought by him in the various countries.

The particulars contained in this pamphlet are, it is true, incomplete, but its aim was mainly to direct the attention of Governments to the utility of a publication of this kind, both in importing and exporting countries.

There is reason to hope that it will soon be possible, with the co-operation of the Governments, to publish a fuller and more correct account of these measures.

11. In one of its general resolutions the Economic Conference emphasised the relation which exists between economic policy and peace. The Consultative Committee, in its turn, recommended that a preliminary study should be made of the economic tendencies affecting the peace of the world.

The importance of this question, which is directly related to the first of the Conference's two objects — that of bringing about conditions favourable to peace — is obvious, and it seems desirable that, apart from the practical work already discussed and decided upon by the Economic Committee, a preliminary study of this question of principle should be undertaken by the Economic and Financial Organisation.

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As you see, we have before us a large body of definite results which give evidence both of the effectiveness of the methods followed by the Economic Organisation of the League of Nations and the care it bestows on the execution of these tasks. I am sure that the Assembly will desire to express its high appreciation, and this will constitute the best encouragement for the Organisation to continue its work.

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The Second Committee has the honour to submit to the Assembly the following draft resolutions:

“ The Assembly:

“ (1) Having noted the work of the Economic Organisation of the League of Nations during the past year, observes with satisfaction the progress achieved, particularly in regard to the undertakings resulting from the resolutions of the World Economic Conference which were recommended to the favourable attention of all Governments by the Assembly at its eighth ordinary session;

“ Is confident that the Economic Organisation will successfully carry through the important tasks still assigned to it, and that it will, if necessary, deal with them in an order corresponding to their respective importance and urgency and the possibility of reaching practical results, regard being had to the manifold and occasionally divergent interests involved;

“ (2) Notes with satisfaction that the Convention for the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards, which was opened for the signature of States by the Assembly on September 26th, 1927, has been signed by eleven States, and that there have been five new ratifications of the 1923 Protocol on Arbitration Clauses;

“ Trusts that at least those States which signed the Protocol will accede to the Convention, and thus enable traders in these States to resort to arbitration with full security;

“ (3) Welcomes the conclusions of the Convention of November 8th, 1927, and the Supplementary Agreement of July 11th, 1928, for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, and also the two International Agreements, dated July 11th, 1928;

“ Earnestly hopes that the Governments of the signatory States, and especially the Governments of the States enumerated in Article C of the Supplementary Agreement of July 11th, 1928, whose abstention might jeopardise the future of the Agreements concluded, will speedily ratify these Agreements and thus contribute towards achieving real progress in the economic situation of the world.

“ (4) Trusts that the Diplomatic Conference on Statistics convened for November 26th next and the conferences contemplated for 1929 in regard to the treatment of foreign nationals and the partial assimilation of legislation on bills of exchange, promissory notes and cheques will lead to valuable results;

“ (5) Hopes that the preparatory work for the establishment of a simplified uniform Customs nomenclature, of which it recognises the high importance as facilitating tariff agreements and increasing the efficacy of the most-favoured-nation clause will soon be successfully concluded.

" (6) Considering that the Economic Committee has already arrived at interesting conclusions as to the possibility of reconciling the two tariff systems (hard-and-fast tariff and negotiable tariff);

" Requests the Economic Committee to pursue its work with a view to framing a doctrine in regard to commercial policy and preparing collective agreements to facilitate, by bringing about a milder Customs regime, the movement of certain products which are of special importance or which lend themselves more particularly to treatment of this kind;

" (7) Follows with interest the investigations undertaken in regard to veterinary measures, and approves their objective character and the desire to take into account the legitimate and occasionally conflicting preoccupations of countries which export and import cattle;

" Considers that their completion is essential to enable regulations to be cleared from all suspicion of veiled protectionism, and promote the greater freedom of trade advocated by the Economic Conference;

" And is confident that they will be pursued as rapidly as is consistent with the complexity of their character;

" (8) Expresses its confidence that the Economic Committee, to which the investigation of the problems relating to coal and sugar were submitted at the instance of the Consultative Committee, will carry through its work with all desirable energy, while not neglecting any of the interests involved, whether of producers or consumers—countries or persons—or the workers;

" (9) Hopes that the Economic Organisation will be able to expedite, along the lines of the recommendations of the World Economic Conference and the Consultative Committee, the study of various aspects of the problem of international industrial understandings—in particular, the status of such understandings, their juridical forms, the legislation controlling them and the publicity concerning them;

" (10) Believes that the successful attainment of the objects contemplated by the World Economic Conference will largely depend upon the measure in which it will prove possible to harmonise the interests of agriculture and industry, account being taken, *inter alia*, of the particular position of countries which are mainly agricultural or in the early stages of industrial development;

" Approves the view expressed by the Economic Consultative Committee that the systematic study of the problems of agriculture will be an important factor in the encouragement of economic co-operation between peoples."

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ANNEX 19.

A.74.1928.XII.

WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL  
CO-OPERATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE  
OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

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REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur*: M. G. GALLAVRESI (Italy).

It would be impossible to enter upon a discussion on intellectual co-operation without paying a respectful tribute to the memory of the great scientist who, at this time last year, held the Committee of the Assembly under the sway of his personality. Professor Lorentz presided over this difficult and varied work with striking success. The same success will certainly attend the efforts of his distinguished successors, Professor Gilbert Murray, the new Chairman of the Committee, and Madame Curie and M. Destrée, the Vice-Chairmen.

The leading idea of the League of Nations when it began its work in connection with intellectual co-operation was to achieve, in a field where the special tendencies and traditions of the various peoples are of dominant importance, a co-ordination of effort which would ensure a better Commutual comprehension on the part of these nations.

Inasmuch as an active intellectual life in the different countries is the essential condition of any fruitful co-operation, the development of local bodies designed to promote this object must be hailed with the greatest satisfaction. We must therefore see a decisive step in this direction in the formal establishment of national committees on intellectual co-operation in Germany, Spain and Great Britain, and the almost entire reorganisation of the Italian and certain other national committees. The assistance of the permanent League organisations, such as the Economic Committee and the International Labour Office, has not failed the Committee. This is especially true in the case of the Sub-Committee for Intellectual Rights, whose work is one of enormous difficulty, since it is striving to define the legal status of international associations and foundations and to draw up a model contract of publication; it has studied the problem of the international circulation of books, and, having recognised the importance of that problem, expresses the wish that all obstacles to the circulation of scientific and technical publications should be removed. The same Sub-Committee also endeavours to embody in the practice of the future the principle of scientific property postulated by Professor Ruffini as long ago as 1922.

The Assembly of the League of Nations cannot but await with confidence the result of the enquiry which is being conducted among Governments in regard to the preliminary draft International Convention, which the Secretary-General has been authorised to transmit to the Governments for their opinion. The Sub-Committee took note, with a satisfaction in which the Assembly will share, of the results of the Rome Conference on Copyright, at which the moral right of an author over his work at length obtained recognition, thus crowning the protracted efforts of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, as M. Paul-Boncour lately observed, at the last session of the Council of the League. The Congress of Statisticians at Cairo likewise gave an impetus, and we should like to think a decisive impetus, to the negotiations which the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation is conducting with the object of securing the adoption by Governments of identical rules in the matter of intellectual statistics.

Referring now to the activities under the supervision of the Sub-Committee for University Relations, grateful mention should be made here of the generous contribution by the National Council on Education of the United States of America, with the help of which it has been possible to compile a Handbook of University Exchanges in Europe — an innovation which is to be repeated next year.

The organisation of holiday courses and of study tours, as well as the possibility of extending these advantages to secondary schools, has been considered by the Sub-Committee for University Relations and by certain Governments, among others by the Polish Government.

The Artistic Relations Section of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has displayed its activity principally through the International Museums Office, a particularly successful creation of the International Committee which will render great services. It is accordingly desirable that the Advisory Committee of the Office, which has not yet been convened, should enter on its duties. The question of the educational value of museums was exhaustively discussed at the last session of the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, but no definite conclusions were reached. As in all educational problems, special difficulties are encountered as soon as an attempt is made to arrive at an international solution.

The subject of improving the conditions under which translations of literary works are carried out is one of the most complex and interesting questions that have come before the distinguished men whose assistance in the field of intellectual co-operation the League has secured. An agreement has been brought about between the Paris Institute and the Federation of "P.E.N." Clubs. The resumption of the former International Publishers' Congresses, as proposed by the Director of the Insel-Verlag of Leipzig, seems eminently calculated to lead to satisfactory results in the direction desired by the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters. The Sub-Committee has made careful preparation for the Popular Arts Congress to be held at Prague. Although this seems certain to prove successful, it is rather doubtful whether the Committee will be able in future to assume new responsibilities of the same kind.

The Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, bearing in mind the profound artistic and educational importance of the development of the cinematograph, has also drawn the attention of the Assembly to the danger of cinematograph performances inspired by a spirit at variance with that of the League.

Reference should also be made to the suggestion submitted by the Polish delegate to the Assembly at its sixth ordinary session for the international diffusion of literary and artistic works in harmony with the principles of the League of Nations.

The Sub-Committee on Science and Bibliography is still confronted with problems which do not readily lend themselves to any immediately successful solution, though it is precisely these problems the solution of which would lead to true co-operation among men of science throughout the world. While we must await the results of the enquiry into the resources available for scientific research, meetings of experts convened by the Paris Institute, whose work was carefully prepared beforehand, have drawn up draft resolutions concerning the co-ordination of the work of libraries and scientific museums, the best inks and papers for the preservation of documents, the question of dying languages, and the unification of the current bibliographies of the various sciences. The Committee's programme has now been extended to include the science of languages.

All this work, as has been pointed out on several occasions, has been carried out with a remarkable measure of success by the Paris International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. An examination of the reports by the Director of the Institute and by Dr. Krüss, who spoke on behalf of the Governing Body, the experience acquired by the members of the Committee of Directors, and the detailed discussion which recently took place at the plenary session of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, can but confirm the opinion, expressed last year by Dr. Breitscheid in his report to the Second Committee. The distinguished Rapporteur emphasised the great utility of such an executive organ placed at the disposal and under the authority of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The international character of the Institute is accentuated by the grants now being accorded by various countries in addition to the basic and original financial support given by the Government of the French Republic.

By a decision of the Assembly, the Sub-Committee of Experts convened two years ago to draw up definite suggestions regarding the instruction of youth in the existence and aims of the League of Nations was also included in the programme of work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The title given to the Sub-Committee seemed likely to confine its work within limits which have happily been enlarged in the course of its various sessions. The work itself has been summarised in an excellent report by M. Destrée, which the last Assembly approved. As a result, an Educational Information Centre has now been established, and the effects which its work has produced on public opinion, particularly in quarters devoted to propagating the ideals of the League of Nations, might warrant the convening next year, if not of the whole •

Sub-Committee of Experts, at least of the smaller Sub-Committee—chosen from among members of the plenary Sub-Committee. The text prepared by M. Destrée with the assistance of the Committee in question has become a sort of handbook for friends of the League.

It has also been suggested that a Survey should be published on the responsibility and under the supervision of the Secretary-General of the League. This Survey would be prepared by an Advisory Committee consisting of one representative each of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the Paris Institute. The Survey, which would be intended primarily for teachers, would be prepared in the same spirit as that which has governed the work of the Sub-Committee of Experts.

The Sixth Committee requests the Assembly to adopt the report on the work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and to approve the following resolution:

“ The Assembly has taken cognisance of the reports submitted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Governing Body of the Institute. It is pleased with the results obtained by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation as well as with the work of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation during the past year.

“ The Assembly notes that its recommendations in preceding years in regard to eventual contributions from other States to the budget of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation have been acted on, that additional countries have granted subsidies, while France itself has increased its contribution by 500,000 French francs, so that the budget of the Institute for the year 1929 now amounts to 2,896,000 French francs.

“ It takes note of the progress made in regard to certain important questions:

“ Scientific property, co-ordination of bibliography for several sciences, co-ordination of institutes of higher political and social studies;

“ The work of the International Museums Office and the contemplated extension of its work in favour of scientific museums and similar establishments;

“ The part played by the representatives of the Committee and of the Institute at the recent Rome Conference for the revision of the Berne Copyright Conventions, and especially in the discussions which culminated in the recognition of the moral rights of authors, recommended by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation;

“ The action taken by several States in pursuance of the recommendations of the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Young People in the Aims of the League, the beginning of the work of the Educational Information Centre in Geneva and Paris, and the contemplated publication of a Survey devoted to these questions.

“ The Assembly recognises the importance of the problem of the international circulation of books and hopes that the obstacles in the way of the circulation of scientific and technical publications may, as far as possible, be removed.

“ The Assembly, in view of the general identity of principles between the Convention of Berne, as revised first in Berlin and then in Rome, and the Copyright Convention signed in 1910 at Buenos Ayres by the American States, and revised in Havana in 1928, requests the Council to have its competent organs make all the necessary investigations and consultations regarding the desirability of a general agreement having for its object the unification, on an international basis, and in full conformity with the wish expressed at the Rome Conference for the revision of the Berne Copyright Conventions, of all laws and measures for the protection of intellectual property.

“ The Assembly notes with satisfaction the readiness with which teachers in secondary and elementary schools have answered the appeal for co-operation addressed to them, and welcomes the organisation of courses of study with a view to their special requirements, not only on a national basis by various committees, but also on an international basis at Geneva and elsewhere. It is glad of the support received from Governments by which, following the recommendations by the Sub-Committee of Experts of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, facilities have been offered to teachers for following these courses of instruction, and, convinced of the paramount importance of the training of teachers for such teaching, it expresses the hope that similar facilities will be offered by the other States Members of the League.

“ The Assembly requests the States Members to take into consideration the need for the systematic organisation of the exchange of children in secondary schools during the summer holidays with a view to developing the spirit of peace and international co-operation, for which purpose the existing University offices should be utilised or special organisations created.

“ Convinced that this international exchange of school-children would greatly promote mutual understanding among peoples, the Assembly recommends that arrangements be made between different countries on this subject, and it begs the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to instruct the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the Secretariat of the League to facilitate the execution of such arrangements.

“ It draws the special notice of Governments and requests them to give the greatest possible effect to the resolutions of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in regard to:

“ (1) The creation in the national or central library of every State of an information bureau;

“ (2) The preservation of prints and manuscripts;

“ (3) The suppression of Customs duties on prints sent to libraries and recognised institutes;

“ (4) The adoption of the necessary measures for the preservation and the study of primitive languages which are dying out.

“ Finally, it calls the attention of Governments to the danger of cinematographic performances and of broadcasting characterised by a spirit antagonistic to that of the League.”

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ANNEX 20.

A.72.1928.

QUESTION OF ALCOHOLISM.

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REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur*: M. DE PORTO-SEGURO (Chile).

Since 1926, the Finnish, Polish and Swedish delegations have recommended that the question of alcoholism should be included in the League's programme of work. Owing to its complexity, this problem was referred for enquiry to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly in 1927.

Following on a detailed discussion in the Second Committee in 1927, the Finnish, Polish and Swedish delegations withdrew the detailed proposal which they had submitted previously, and which had not been received with entire approbation by all delegations. The Assembly, at its eighth ordinary session, decided to include in the agenda of its ninth ordinary session a new proposal to the effect that the work of the League on the subject of alcoholism should be co-ordinated.

In a spirit of conciliation and international concord, the delegations to which this delicate question is of particular interest have reached a unanimous agreement as a result of active negotiations, in which account has been taken of all the factors of the problem and of all interests, moral and material.

On behalf of the Second Committee, I have the honour to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolution:

“ The Assembly:

“ Having had a draft resolution on the subject of alcoholism submitted to it by the Finnish, Swedish and Polish delegations;

“ Decides to ask the Council to request the Health Organisation of the League of Nations to collect full statistical information regarding alcoholism, considered as a consequence of the abuse of alcohol, giving prominence, *inter alia*, according to the data available, to the deleterious effects of the bad quality of the alcohols consumed;

“ And, considering that, while it is for the Governments to put a stop to the contraband trade carried on in violation of the conventions in force between them, it may nevertheless be useful to examine the terms in which such conventions or agreements might be drawn up, for the prevention of smuggling in general and that of alcohol in particular:

“ Decides to ask the Council to request the Economic Committee to carry out this investigations and to submit any proposals to the Council arising out of its conclusions.

“ It is understood that this resolution does not refer to wine, beer or cider.”

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ANNEX 21.

A.73.1928.VIII.

ORGANISATION FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT.

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REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur*: M. NAGAI (Japan).

The report submitted by the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit on the work of the Organisation between the eighth and ninth ordinary sessions of the Assembly shows that during this period the Organisation has pursued the normal and progressive development of its work in the various spheres of its activity.

After the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit, the results of which were pronounced on by the Assembly at its last ordinary session, the new Advisory and Technical Committee proceeded to reorganise the different special committees set up by it. The Assembly is aware that one of the characteristics of the methods employed by the Advisory and Technical Committee is the holding of regular meetings of specialists interested in the various problems of transport. The reorganisation in question made it possible to enlist assistance from a great variety of quarters,

and to show that to an increasing degree the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit concerns not only Europe but also the other continents. Thus the Permanent Committee for Transport by Rail now includes distinguished new members, particularly well qualified to represent the development of railway transport on the American continent.

In the sphere of maritime navigation, where the work of the Transit Organisation is necessarily of this worldwide character, the study of the unification of tonnage measurement in maritime navigation and of the unification of buoyage and the lighting of coasts is being pursued with the help of a large number of technical experts. The purely technical work connected with maritime tonnage measurement has, for the moment, been concluded. The report of the competent Technical Sub-Committee will soon be available for consideration by experts belonging to all the circles concerned. The work in connection with buoyage and the lighting of coasts already seems to have brought closer into line the views of the services concerned in Continental Europe, and those of the corresponding services in North America. A study of the conditions and ideas peculiar to North America was carried out on the spot by a number of members of the Technical Committee who are heads of the services concerned in certain European countries, with the assistance of the technical authorities of the countries of North America.

Air navigation is another mode of transport which necessarily involves conceptions exceeding the limits of a single continent. Various organisations, among them the International Air Navigation Commission placed under the authority of the League and the International Technical Committee of Legal Experts for Air Navigation, have dealt continuously with various international problems affecting this kind of transport. The Third Conference on Communications and Transit noted, however, that it would be a great advantage to endeavour to ensure wider co-ordination of international activities connected with air navigation, in order to permit of the co-operation of the greatest possible number of countries throughout the world. At the same time the Assembly at its last ordinary session referred to the Advisory and Technical Committee the question of the effect to be given to a resolution of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission which, on the report of its Civil Aviation Committee, had asked that an enquiry should be undertaken into the means of facilitating co-operation between civil air navigation undertakings in different countries. For these reasons the Advisory and Technical Committee decided to set up a committee to consider as a whole the problem of international organisation in air navigation, as raised by the above-mentioned resolution and by the discussions of the Third Transit Conference. It is greatly to be hoped that these new investigations will lead to an agreement which, without affecting the close relations already existing between different countries through the medium of the present organisations, will permit of the continuous co-operation of all the countries of the world which are particularly interested in air navigation and will result in the establishment, if possible, of at least a few principles of public international law in the sphere of air navigation and the interchange of the essential technical services.

The Assembly is aware that for some years past, in liaison with the River Commissions, the Advisory and Technical Committee has been endeavouring to draw up draft conventions for the unification of certain sections of river law. This question concerns Europe more particularly, although, if it appeared necessary, similar problems might be studied in regard to other continents; previously, the Transit Organisation succeeded on the same lines in drawing up a convention on the tonnage measurement of vessels employed in inland navigation, which met with complete success. The drafts for submission to a Conference are now so far advanced that there is reason to believe that the Conference can be held in 1929 or 1930.

Since the last ordinary session of the Assembly the Permanent Committee for Road Traffic has been able to make considerable progress in the question of the unification of road signals. A draft in this connection has been sent to all the Governments, a large number of which have declared themselves ready to adopt it or have even put it into force already. The observations received from other Governments only relate to certain points of detail. It thus appears practically certain that an important step will soon have been made in the work of unifying the codes of road signals, which is a matter of concern to so large a public. The Road Traffic Committee also has a task of particular importance to perform, that relating to the international conditions of commercial motor transport. The recent development of heavy commercial motor traffic seems to make it necessary to draw up international rules, which, although they have been fixed for a long time past in regard to other modes of transport, are completely lacking in the case of motor transport. The freedom of communications mentioned in the Covenant applies to all modes of transport, and it is a matter for satisfaction that the Committee's organs have given their attention to the problem, which has now become of pressing importance, of the introduction of a kind of international jurisprudence of commercial motor transport.

While the Advisory and Technical Committee has thus continued its work in the various specialised branches of transport, it has not neglected one of its main tasks, that of considering the more general problem of co-ordination between different modes of transport, or of all transports whatever means they employ. In response to a request by the Third Conference of Communications and Transit, it has elaborated a procedure for the study of the obstacles which might hamper the freedom of transit, and has begun the examination of the question of the re-establishment of communications when the latter are affected by grave events of a general character. It will be sufficient to mention here the work done this year by the Organisation for Communications and Transit concerning communications affecting the League of Nations at times of emergency. This work affects extremely varied means of communication. The same applies to another kind of enquiry which the Advisory and Technical Committee has had to undertake in consequence of the resolutions adopted by the Conference of Press Experts, the Council having asked it to examine the questions raised by this Conference relating to communications and transport. A

Committee of Experts belonging to telegraphic administrations has already met and has drafted, with the help of representatives of the Press and of the cable and wireless companies, a certain number of recommendations to which practical effect will probably be given at the next Conference of the Telegraphic Union. The problem of newspaper distribution is also being carefully examined with the help of the International Railway Union and the International Air Traffic Association; and the simplification of Customs formalities in connection with the carriage of newspapers will be dealt with by special meetings of experts. Necessitating as it does the same co-ordination between different means of transport, but in a much more general sphere, the delicate question of combined transport has been retained on the Committee's agenda, concrete proposals having already been put forward in regard to combined transport by rail and air. Since the other problems of combined transport raise difficulties of an economic or legal nature, they still require careful analysis.

In this connection, however, special mention should be made of a question which, in certain of its aspects, had already been examined previously by the Transit Committee, but which, by a decision of the last Conference, was taken up again by the Committee in more general terms, and in regard to which preliminary studies have already been made with important results, namely, the question of the unification of transport statistics. The Advisory and Technical Committee had already examined, in conjunction with the work done by the Navigation Congresses and by the Central Commission for Rhine Navigation, the problem of the unification of inland navigation statistics and had succeeded in drawing up a preliminary draft for a uniform nomenclature and for the distribution by districts of the statistical data collected by the various Governments; but it very rightly considered after the last Conference that it would be inadvisable to deal separately with the unification of statistics for one means of transport only; that in any case the problem of the unification of statistics should as far as possible be considered simultaneously and jointly for inland navigation and maritime navigation; and that it ought to be considered whether the conclusion reached in regard to navigation could not, when the time came, and if necessary with certain adjustments, be applied also to railway transport. The Committee for the unification of inland navigation statistics has been enlarged so as to make it competent for the unification of statistics in general. The initial conclusions in regard to inland navigation have already been revised in such a way that satisfactory proposals may shortly be expected applying to navigation as a whole, both inland and maritime. This work is necessarily being carried on in liaison with that of the Economic Organisation in regard to the unification of Customs nomenclature and every effort will be made on both sides to provide for this essential co-ordination. The Assembly at its last ordinary session, in associating itself with the resolution of the Third Conference on Communications and Transit on the Transit Organisation's work concerning the collection and exchange of information on communications, indicated that it was for the Transit Organisation to facilitate, as far as might appear necessary, the collection and diffusion of statistical information concerning transport. The Assembly will no doubt desire the Organisation to be given the opportunity to pursue this work progressively according to the methods which it considers most suitable and in the light of the experience it has acquired in the practical study of the principal problems of transport.

No review of the Transit Organisation's work during this period would be complete without a reference to the progress achieved as a result of past activities which have already been brought to the Assembly's knowledge and which have aroused considerable interest in many countries. The question of the reform of the calendar deserves special mention. In conclusions with which the Assembly associated itself, the Advisory and Technical Committee asked that national committees for the reform of the calendar competent to study the report drawn up by the Committee and to outline the state of national opinion on this subject should be formed in as many countries as possible. The question to which this enquiry related was that of the general reform of the calendar, independently of the fixing of the date of Easter, regarding which more definite conclusions had already been adopted by the Transit Committee. Since the last ordinary session of the Assembly a strong current of opinion has made itself felt in certain countries in favour of a detailed study of this question of the reform of the calendar. Special attention has been given to it by commercial and industrial circles. National committees are in process of formation. The National Committee of the United States of America has already been formed and consists of highly representative persons.

The Committee for Communications and Transit states in its report that it was informed in the course of its work of difficulties which have occurred owing to the fact that certain forms of propaganda regarded as inadmissible from the international point of view have been carried on by means of broadcasting. The attention of the Second Committee has been drawn to this point. As the political side of the question has been dealt with by the Sixth Committee, the Second Committee does not consider it necessary to submit a resolution on this subject. It notes, however, that, as a result of the measures of defence which might be adopted in these cases by the Governments concerned, such action, apart from all disadvantages of a political nature, tends to disturb international wireless communications. Viewing the question from a general standpoint, the Second Committee thinks it would be desirable that the Committee for Communications and Transit should try to discover some means of establishing international agreements to ensure an equitable distribution of wireless wave-lengths among the various countries, in order to diminish the probability of disturbances in wireless broadcasting.

It does not appear necessary to add any further observations and particulars concerning the varied aspects of the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit. If the Assembly will express its satisfaction with this work by associating itself with the few considerations and

particulars which have been presented above, I should like to propose the following draft resolution for submission to the Assembly:

“ The Assembly, noting the report of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit on the work of the Organisation between the eighth and ninth ordinary sessions of the Assembly, expresses its satisfaction with the normal progress of the Organisation’s work.”

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ANNEX 22.

A.75.1928.IX.

WIRELESS STATION TO BE CREATED WITH A VIEW TO PROVIDING  
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS WITH INDEPENDENT COMMUNICATIONS  
IN TIME OF EMERGENCY.

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REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur*: His Excellency M. GUERRERO (Salvador).

The Committee, after examining the question of the wireless station to be created with a view to providing the League of Nations with independent communications in time of emergency, is of opinion that it is not advisable to recommend an immediate decision to the Assembly on this subject.

Two proposals were laid before the Assembly, one providing for a station belonging permanently to the League and the other a station consisting of a short-wave and a medium-wave post to be equipped and operated in ordinary times by the Swiss Administration, and to be handed over in time of emergency to the exclusive control of the League of Nations. Both these proposals were submitted to the Members of the League in the Supplementary Report of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit, dated August 8th, and in the Swiss Federal Government’s note and memorandum, dated August 21st. It has not been possible for the majority of the Governments, and particularly for those of States Members of the League situated at a distance, to give these proposals full consideration.

We also considered that supplementary studies might with advantage be undertaken to determine, in the case of each proposal, the cost of installing the short-wave post, the amount of revenue to be anticipated therefrom, and the communications which could be regularly established with other stations. It would also be desirable, before adopting a decision whether it is necessary for the League to have, in time of emergency, a short-wave station at its disposal, to obtain more definite information as to the facilities and guarantees which the Governments might offer for the safe retransmission of communications emitted by a medium-wave post.

A study, in the interval between this session and the next, of the legal questions to which the use in time of emergency of a wireless station might give rise also appears desirable.

The Committee has noted that, pending the final settlement of the question, the Swiss Government proposes to establish near Geneva the medium-wave post contemplated in its offer. The Swiss Government does not, however, see its way to applying to this medium-wave post alone, which it intends to set up in any case, the terms of its offer relating both to this medium-wave post and the short-wave post, the costs and profits of which were to be taken over by the League of Nations. It should, however, be added that the Swiss delegation expressed the intention of recommending the Swiss Federal Council to agree with the League of Nations as to the terms of a *modus vivendi* which, in the Swiss delegation’s opinion, would effectively ensure the full freedom of communications of the League of Nations both in time of peace and in time of emergency.

The Committee proposes to the Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution:

“ The Assembly:

“ With a view to enabling Members of the League of Nations to proceed to a full examination of the proposals submitted with regard to the creation of the wireless station for the purpose of providing the League with independent communications in time of emergency, and also with a view to allowing time for the additional technical, financial and legal studies considered desirable;

“ Decides to place this question on the agenda of its tenth session;

“ And requests the Council to take all necessary measures for a further study of these questions.”

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TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS: CONTROL OF  
OPIUM-SMOKING IN THE FAR EAST.

PROPOSAL BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR A COMMISSION  
OF ENQUIRY.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur*: Dame Edith LYTTELTON (British Empire).

The Fifth Committee has considered the proposal of the British Government which was referred to the Assembly by the Council (see document A.40.1928.XI) that the League should send a small commission to the Far East to study on the spot the problem of the control of the practice of opium-smoking under the conditions existing at the present time. The proposal has arisen out of the difficulties with which the British Government finds itself confronted in the attempt to carry out the undertaking into which it has entered in the Hague Convention "to take measures for the gradual and effective suppression of the use of prepared opium with due regard to the varying circumstances of each country concerned".

The British memorandum explains in detail the nature of these difficulties which arise from the existence of a large illicit traffic in opium in the Far East, and hamper or even nullify the efforts of the Governments concerned to control and restrict the consumption.

These difficulties existed already in 1924-25, when the first Geneva Conference was held. Since that Conference they have not diminished, but have actually increased. The memorandum refers specially to the difficulties experienced in Hong-Kong, where the Government of the Colony estimates the consumption of illicit opium to be many times that of the Government monopoly opium, but the difficulties are considerable also in Malaya, and it would appear from the proceedings of the Opium Advisory Committee of the League that other Governments experience similar difficulties.

The British Government states that it has proceeded with the measures agreed upon by the Conference of 1924-25, but the present situation appears to them to be such as to call for a fresh examination and review on the spot, especially in view of the fact that under the terms of the agreement of the first Geneva Conference a further conference is due to be held not later than next year.

In view of the many controversies in the past which have surrounded this subject, the British Government suggests that it is most desirable that an unbiassed statement of the actual position made by a perfectly independent commission appointed by the League, to which is entrusted by the Covenant the supervision of the traffic, should be laid before the world. Such a commission might, further, be able, as the result of its enquiries, to make valuable suggestions as to the measures to be adopted in the present circumstances. The enquiry would thus provide the material on which the next Conference would be able to base its work.

The British Government's request had reference primarily to the situation in the British Possessions, but the principle of such an enquiry has been accepted also by the other Governments which are parties to Part II of the Hague Convention and the Geneva Agreement of 1925.

A suggestion was made in the course of the discussion that the enquiry should be extended to the opium situation in China, but this proposal was only assented to by the representative of China on the condition that the enquiry should be extended to all the countries in the world which manufacture dangerous drugs or which produce the raw material for such manufacture. He called attention to the great danger to the Chinese people which is caused by the smuggling of such drugs into China on a large scale. The Fifth Committee, while appreciating and sympathising with the point of view of the Chinese Government, felt that it would be impossible to propose to the Assembly such an extension of the enquiry, for two main reasons. In the first place, an enquiry into production and manufacture would enormously extend the scope of the enquiry, and would in fact necessitate the appointment of a special commission or commissions of a different character. In the second place, the control of the manufacture of and trade in dangerous drugs has been dealt with in the Geneva Convention of 1925, which comes into force on the 25th of this month and which contains new and much stricter provisions designed to strengthen that control. It seemed to the Fifth Committee desirable to await the results of these new provisions before taking up the question of a further enquiry as regards dangerous drugs.

It should be added that a number of delegations, while not opposing the principle of the enquiry proposed by the British Government, felt considerable difficulty in voting for it in view of the present financial situation, and abstained on this ground from recording their vote.

The following resolution was adopted by thirteen votes, with one vote against and seventeen abstentions:

"That the Assembly recommend the Council to appoint a Commission of three persons to enquire into and report upon the situation in the Far-Eastern territories of the Governments

which agree to such an enquiry as regards the use of opium prepared for smoking; the measures taken by the Governments concerned to give effect to the obligations undertaken in Chapter II of the Hague Opium Convention of 1912 and in the Geneva Opium Agreement of February 1925; the nature and extent of the illicit traffic in opium in the Far East and the difficulties which it causes to the fulfilment of those obligations; and to suggest what action should in the circumstances be taken by the Governments concerned and by the League of Nations.

"That the Assembly also expresses the hope that the Government of the United States will permit the Commission to visit the Philippines and inform itself of the experience of the system of prohibition in operation there."

The Fifth Committee further recommended that the Fourth Committee should make provision in the Budget for the cost of the Commission to the Far East. The probable cost of the Commission was therefore examined by a Sub-Committee of the Fourth Committee, which, after consultation with the Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, and, taking into consideration the assistance offered by certain Governments towards the enquiry, recommended that the sum of 100,000 francs should be included in the Budget of the League. The British Government undertook to consult with the other Governments concerned as to the arrangements for the enquiry and to prepare a report for the consideration of the Council at its fifty-third session. This report will be forwarded to the Secretary-General in time for its examination by the Supervisory Commission, which will submit its observations to the Council, with whom will lie the final decision.

The Fifth Committee agrees that this course should be adopted.

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ANNEX 24.

A.76.1928.IV.

RUSSIAN, ARMENIAN, ASSYRIAN, ASSYRO-CHALDEAN AND TURKISH  
REFUGEES.

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REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur*: M. P. BASTID (France).

As their title indicates, the reports on the refugee question submitted this year to the Assembly do not, as in the past, concern Russian and Armenian refugees alone; they also refer to other categories of refugees (Turkish, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and refugees assimilated to them) to which the Council, at its fiftieth session, decided to extend the measures previously adopted on behalf of Russian and Armenian refugees.

The extension of these measures to these new categories of refugees, who, in all, can hardly number more than 29,000, does not appreciably affect the general policy of the work undertaken by the High Commissioner for Refugees.

Looking at this work as a whole, the Assembly cannot but be satisfied with the progress achieved in 1928. In spite of difficulties due to the general economic situation, over 7,000 refugees have this year been transferred to countries in which they have found work. Moreover, the settlement in the country and towns of over 7,000 Armenian refugees from the Aleppo, Alexandretta, and Beirut camps is proceeding smoothly. It should also be pointed out that these figures do not in any way represent the full results of official activity, since the competent services may claim credit for a large number of "invisible placings".

This does not mean, however, that the League's task is at an end. Though it is a long way from the originally estimated figure of 1,300,000 refugees, most of whom were indigent, there nevertheless remain no fewer than 200,000 refugees unemployed, though capable of work. In certain countries, particularly in Bulgaria, China, Greece, Syria and Czechoslovakia, very many refugees are in a most precarious situation. In some cases, indeed, the problem is an urgent one; for instance, in Turkey, from which about 2,000 refugees will be obliged to emigrate before February 6th, 1929.

Apart from the problem of finding work for refugees, the progress achieved in the administrative and legal sphere should be mentioned. This very progress makes it desirable to organise the refugee service on more rational lines.

Each of these various aspects of the problem calls for the Assembly's consideration.

I. PROGRAMME OF REFUGEE SETTLEMENT.

The most urgent problem in 1929 will be the evacuation of the refugees from Constantinople; these refugees are living under the threat of a decree of expulsion, in virtue of which the Turkish Government calls upon them to leave Turkish territory before February 6th, 1929. Thanks to

a subsidy of \$100,000, granted by American philanthropic organisations, preparations are already being made to transfer the refugees still left in this town to countries where they will be able to obtain work. The refugees in question numbered, at the beginning of 1928, 2,500, of which 800 have already been evacuated. In view of the gravity of their situation, an appeal is made to the various Governments to authorise their consuls in Constantinople to waive the usual procedure and issue immigration visas without requiring refugees to prove that they will obtain immediate employment.

Considerable progress was made last year with the settlement of Armenian refugees in Syria; 7,660 were taken from the Aleppo, Beirut and Alexandretta camps and settled elsewhere. The Armenian Advisory Committee attached to the League of Nations High Commission for Refugees has expressed its gratification at these results, and has tendered its thanks to the mandatory Power. The work will be proceeded with during the coming year. The work that still remains to be accomplished is very considerable, since at least 40,000 refugees had to be settled. It may be hoped that the solutions contemplated by the Armenian Advisory Committee will help to expedite the conclusion of this task.

The Report of the High Commissioner for Refugees gives very detailed and interesting information on this subject. The High Commissioner lays special stress on the progress due to methodical and regular agricultural colonisation in which the main idea is that the refugees should be settled definitely on land which will eventually, through their own efforts, become theirs. The results are all the more remarkable in that the experiment was a very difficult one to carry through, and this without prejudice to the work accomplished in the matter of urban settlement; 1,533 families are now in process of being settled (375 in the country and 1,158 in the towns), at the relatively low cost of £51,850.

The High Commissioner's report also mentions other tasks, such as the establishment in certain countries of readaptation centres and agricultural colonies intended to facilitate the assimilation of refugees who cannot find employment in their own trade or profession. The execution of these plans, which during the next five years would affect 63,000 refugees, including 32,000 Armenian refugees in Syria, depends, however, on the funds that the High Commissioner will have at his disposal. In his report, Dr. Nansen estimates the necessary expenditure at £203,000. The working fund in his possession amounts at present to £130,000, from which must be deducted the cost of evacuating refugees from Constantinople. It is hoped that the revenue derived from the Nansen stamp and gifts from philanthropic societies will enable the Refugees Service to continue this work unremittingly.

## II. INTER-GOVERNMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH REFUGEES.

In the administrative and legal sphere, the progress achieved this year may be summarised under two headings: a wider adoption of existing passport rules and the establishment of new rules for the unification of the legal status of refugees.

The Inter-Governmental Arrangements of July 5th, 1922, and May 31st, 1924, concerning passports for Russian and Armenian refugees have now been recognised by 51 and 38 Governments respectively. The important Arrangement adopted by the Inter-Governmental Conference in May 1926, endorsing the previous Arrangements and creating a working capital fund to which refugees themselves contributed (Nansen stamp system), has been accepted by twenty Governments. Over 200,000 Swiss francs have already been collected by this method. Large credits have also, in response to the recommendation contained in this Arrangement, been granted by the Czechoslovak and German Governments for the settlement of unemployed refugees from their territories. It may be hoped that a wider application of this system will enable the High Commission to expedite the solution of the problem of ensuring the refugees' material welfare.

The Inter-Governmental Conference, which met on June 28th to 30th last, endorsed the conclusions of the previous Conferences and also considered the possibility of regularising the personal status of refugees, which is at present very insecure, owing to the inadequacy and variety of the relevant provisions. It adopted an Arrangement which, on behalf of the refugees, confers certain powers on the High Commissioner's delegates, such as that of certifying civil status. These powers can only be exercised under the supervision of the Government of the country in which the delegates are established. Indeed, the representatives themselves will not be appointed without the full approval of the Government concerned. These stipulations provide Governments with every safeguard as regards the choice of persons.

The fresh duties thus entrusted to the League of Nations High Commission will not involve the League in any expenditure, since the Arrangement lays down that the working costs will be covered out of the proceeds levied on non-indigent refugees.

In conformity with the resolution adopted by the Council at its fiftieth session, the above Conference also extended previous Arrangements to Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish refugees, who were held by the Council to be "in a condition analogous" to that of the Russian and Armenian refugees, *i.e.*, that they had lost their nationality of origin as a result of the world war. The Council formally stated that the refugee Arrangements should only apply to these categories of refugees.

## III. REORGANISATION OF THE REFUGEES SERVICE.

The complexity of the problems arising in connection with refugees proves the necessity of organising the refugee services on a more rational and uniform basis. The International Labour

Office itself recognised at its last session — at which were represented twelve of the Governments most by closely concerned in the refugee problem — that it was hardly qualified to deal with refugee problems, and that the work for which it had hitherto been responsible might profitably be entrusted to the High Commission. The authority of the High Commission, which already deals with passports, legal protection and financial problems, would be enhanced by the fact of its undertaking to assist the 200,000 refugees still unemployed; such a solution would, in all probability, be of advantage to all concerned.

In order to lighten the inordinately heavy responsibility thus laid upon the High Commissioner, it will be necessary to afford him assistance in the shape of a Mixed Commission, consisting of representatives appointed one-half by the League of Nations and the other by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office. In this connection, the High Commissioner has suggested that the members of the Mixed Commission should be chosen from among the representatives of the countries most directly interested in the refugee questions, and that the Secretary-General of the League and the Director of the International Labour Office should be authorised to be present, in an advisory capacity, at the meetings of the Mixed Commission, or to send their representatives for the purpose.

#### IV. CONCLUSION.

Neither the reorganisation of the Refugees Service on more rational lines nor the establishment of rules to govern the legal status of refugees must be taken to imply that the question as it at present stands is a matter capable of final solution.

The very expression "refugees" shows that the League is dealing with a transitional situation which can only be terminated by the return of the refugees to their country of origin, or by naturalisation in their adoptive countries. Clearly these are the two solutions to which all the efforts of the services dealing with refugees should be directed.

At the present time, however, general political conditions make it impossible, in most cases, to contemplate the former solution; the second is only practicable if the naturalisation of refugees is preceded by a settled sojourn long enough to establish a real bond of interest between the refugees and their adopted country. We think, therefore, that it will be necessary, without losing sight of these final solutions, which must continue to be the League's ultimate goal, to maintain the present system for some time to come.

As the Arrangements adopted by the various inter-Governmental Conferences come to be applied on a more effective and general scale, the work of refugee settlement should become financially more independent, thanks to the revenue derived from Nansen stamps and the taxes levied on refugees for the regularisation of their legal and personal status. It would seem very desirable, however, that the League should continue to supervise these activities until the above-mentioned final solution can be attained.

The Fifth Committee accordingly submits the following resolutions to the approval of the Assembly:

" The Assembly:

" (1) After examining the reports submitted by the High Commissioner for Refugees and by the Director of the International Labour Office on questions connected with Russian, Armenian, Turkish, Assyrian and Assyro-Chaldean refugees;

" (2) Recognises the progress achieved in the course of the year;

" (3) Notes that a complete solution of the problem can only be provided by the return of the refugees to their country of origin or their assimilation by the countries at present giving them shelter;

" (4) Earnestly invites the Governments concerned to provide the refugees with all possible facilities for acquiring the nationality of the countries in which they at present reside;

" (5) Whereas, however, in present circumstances, international action is still necessary for some time to come;

" (6) In conformity with the resolution of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, invites the Council to take urgently all necessary steps to appoint an Advisory Commission to be attached to the High Commissioner;

" (7) Recommends the Council to invite this Advisory Commission to submit to it, before the next session of the Assembly, a general report on the possibility of reaching a final solution as soon as possible and on the means by which this object might be attained;

" (8) Earnestly invites States Members to adopt and apply, on as wide a scale as possible, the Inter-Governmental Arrangements concluded on July 5th, 1922, May 31st, 1924, May 12th, 1926, and June 30th, 1928, which provide the refugee services with means by which they may gradually become financially independent;

" (9) Points out, however, that the respective Governments must be left free to decide whether and how far they are prepared to give force of law to the recommendations adopted by the Inter-Governmental Conference of June 30th, 1928;

" (10) Notes that the taxes to be levied will be fixed in consultation with the respective Governments, that only the representatives of the High Commissioner will be entitled to levy them, and that the employment of the proceeds will be subject to the control of the High Commissioner;

"(11) Declares that the Council's resolution of June 27th, 1921, shall be applied in regard to all categories of refugees;

"(12) Recalls with gratitude the endeavours of the High Commission and of the International Labour Office by which about 800 Russian refugees in Constantinople have been successfully evacuated during recent months;

"Cognisant of the very difficult situation of some 2,000 of these refugees who still remain in Turkey and who, in accordance with a Decree of the Turkish Government, must be evacuated from Turkey before February 6th, 1929;

"Expresses the hope that the High Commission will seize every opportunity to press forward their evacuation and that the various Governments will, as an exceptional measure, and subject to the safeguarding of their own interests, authorise the issue of emergency visas to enable the refugees to leave Turkey;

"(13) Adopts the Budget for the Refugees Services for 1929, as already approved by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and by the Supervisory Commission, and

"Requests the Supervisory Commission to take into consideration the uncertainty of the position of the officials employed in that Service, to which attention has been drawn by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and to grant them the improvements asked for on their behalf."

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ANNEX 25.

A.80.1928.VII.

PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES  
IN THE REPUBLIC OF ERIVAN,

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REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur*: Dr. W. A. RIDDELL (Canada).

At the Council meeting held on September 22nd, 1927, the High Commissioner for Refugees, Dr. Nansen, asked the Council whether there was any hope that contributions towards the realisation of the scheme for the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan would be forthcoming. On the proposal of the representative of Roumania, the Council decided to make a further appeal to all the Members of the League with a view to obtaining their financial support in favour of the scheme in question.

This decision was communicated to the various Governments by a letter from the Secretary-General of October 31st, 1927. Seventeen Governments have so far replied to this appeal. Of these the Governments of Germany, Greece, Norway and Roumania have declared themselves disposed to contribute to the realisation of the plan. The German Government is prepared to give a deficiency guarantee to provide the organisation set up for carrying out the work with a long-term credit for the purchase in Germany of tools and machinery for the use of Armenian refugees settling in Erivan, up to an amount of one million Reichsmarks, or £50,000. This offer is made provided four other Governments at least take part in the work, that the Armenian organisations contribute £100,000, and that the work of settlement of the refugees is carried through under the auspices of the League. The Greek Government is prepared to contribute part of the cost of transporting the refugees from Greece to the Caucasus. The Norwegian Government is prepared to contribute a credit of £2,000 for the purchase in Norway of merchandise and materials which can be utilised for the proposed settlement.

The Roumanian Government is prepared to offer £1,000.

Further, the Governments of Luxemburg and the Netherlands have indicated that it may be possible for them to make some contribution.

The question was again considered by the Council on September 17th, 1928, when Dr. Nansen stated that he had received from the Armenians in Europe the sum of £100,000 towards the realisation of the scheme. In view of the help promised by the Governments of Germany, Greece, Norway and Roumania, and in view of the amount of money made available by the Armenians themselves, he would be willing to continue the work under the auspices of the League on two conditions:

(1) That the Council was able to meet the conditions made by Germany, and induce those Governments which have held out hopes of assistance to turn those hopes into definite assistance; and

(2) That the Council should obtain from the Assembly the necessary money for the administrative part of the work.

The Council decided to refer the whole question to the Assembly.

The Sixth Committee, to which the question was referred by the Assembly for consideration, adopted the following resolutions:

“ I. The Sixth Committee is of opinion that the work of establishment of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan should be carried on under the auspices of the League of Nations.

“ II. The Council should be requested to continue negotiations with those Governments which have offered to help, in order that the conditions attached to the German Government's offer may be fulfilled.

“ III. The Sixth Committee requests the Fourth Committee to allot 65,000 Swiss francs to meet the administrative expenses of the settlement.”

The Fourth Committee examined the question on September 21st and decided to recommend to the Assembly to approve the insertion in the 1929 budget of 50,000 Swiss francs for this purpose.

The Sixth Committee therefore has the honour to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolution:

“ The Assembly:

“ Decides that the work of establishment of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan shall be carried on under the auspices of the League of Nations;

“ Requests the Council to continue negotiations with those Governments which have offered assistance in this work, in order that the conditions under which other offers have been made may be fulfilled;

“ Approves the inclusion in the budget of the sum of 50,000 Swiss francs to meet the administrative expenses of this work.”

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ANNEX 26.

A.83.1928.IX.

WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT  
CONFERENCE.

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REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur*: His Excellency Dr. BENEŠ (Czechoslovakia).

In order to give an absolutely clear idea of the present state of the preparatory work for the Conference for the limitation and reduction of armaments, I think it may be well to recall very briefly the substance of the discussions which took place during the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly in regard to the problem of the reduction and limitation of armaments and to link it up with the discussions of the present Assembly.

It will be remembered that at the last ordinary session of the Assembly all the delegations agreed that the Preparatory Commission's work should be continued, that nothing should be neglected to bring it to a successful conclusion as soon as possible, and that the Conference itself should be convened as soon as the conclusion of the preliminary technical work permitted. But at the same time it was unanimously recognised that the great work of disarmament can only be carried out gradually and by stages, and that it will mainly depend on the progress achieved simultaneously in the matter of security.

The resolutions adopted on September 26th, 1927, were based on these two main ideas. In the first place, they led to the creation of the Committee on Arbitration and Security, which has done valuable work, dealt with in the reports submitted to the present Assembly by M. Guerrero, M. Politis and M. Rolin Jaequemyns. In the second place, as regards the Preparatory Commission itself, the 1927 Assembly, in the same resolutions, had “requested the Council to urge the Preparatory Commission to hasten the completion of its technical work and to convene the Conference on the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments immediately this work had been completed”.

Since the last ordinary session of the Assembly, the Preparatory Commission has met on two occasions. At its fourth session, which took place from November 30th to December 3rd, 1927, it set up the Committee on Arbitration and Security, which immediately set to work. At its fifth session, which was held from March 15th to 24th, 1928, it was forced to realise that the general situation necessitated a fresh adjournment. But it hoped to be able to hold a meeting soon, and therefore decided to leave its President free to fix, according to circumstances, the date at which it would be practically useful to convene a new session of the Commission, in order to proceed to the second reading of its preliminary draft Convention. It also expressed the hope that the next session would begin at the earliest suitable date and, if possible, before the present session of the Assembly.

It should be mentioned that, during these two sessions, the President of the Preparatory Commission addressed an urgent appeal to the Governments whose opinions differed most widely, asking them to endeavour to bring their views closer into line by means of diplomatic negotiations. Since then, the British and French Governments have announced that, in pursuance of this invitation of the President of the Preparatory Commission, they have entered into negotiations which have led to an agreement on the solution of certain technical problem raised by the Preparatory Commission's work. Nevertheless, considering that the situation had not yet developed sufficiently to allow of the desired result being attained, the President did not feel justified in convening the Preparatory Commission before the beginning of the Assembly.

Such was the position when the general discussion began in the plenary meetings of this year's Assembly and in the Third Committee.

This discussion showed that the delegations have remained true to their views as expressed at the last Assembly, and that there exists a unanimous desire for the work of disarmament to be carried through as rapidly as possible. Nevertheless, various delegations have drawn attention to the manifold difficulties which must inevitably attend a task of such wide scope. They pointed out, moreover, that, notwithstanding these difficulties, the general situation is tending to develop on the lines laid down in Article 8 of the Covenant, certain States having already spontaneously reduced their armaments to a considerable extent. Other delegations expressed the view that the progress of the preparatory work and the results hitherto achieved could hardly be regarded as satisfactory.

Two draft resolutions, one submitted by the French delegation and the other by the German delegation, were laid before the Third Committee. Both drafts referred to the close connection existing between international security and the reduction and limitation of armaments, and both stated that the present conditions of security were such as to allow of a first step being taken towards disarmament. In the French delegation's proposal, however, it was considered essential that the efforts of the Governments concerned to remove the technical differences which have hitherto hampered the work of the Preparatory Commission should be pursued and completed before the Commission was summoned, so as to enable the latter to meet with the best prospects of final success. Accordingly, the Council was requested in this draft to make an earnest appeal to the Governments to seek agreed solutions which would enable the work of the Preparatory Commission to be speedily resumed and brought to a successful issue. The draft concluded by proposing that the Assembly should express the hope that these solutions might be arrived at in sufficient time to enable the Commission to meet at the end of the present year or, should this not be feasible, at the beginning of 1929.

On the other hand, the German delegation's proposal, while recognising the importance and desirability of direct negotiations between the Governments concerned, expressed the opinion that, in the event of the failure of such negotiations, the Conference for the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments should itself decide any questions which had still to be settled. According to this draft, the Assembly was therefore to request the Council to fix a date in 1929 for the meeting of the Conference, while leaving it to the President of the Preparatory Commission to convene the Commission at such time as would enable the programme of the Conference to be drawn up.

The Third Committee took these two drafts together as the basis of its discussion and considered in detail every aspect of the problem. The discussion was long and difficult, but, thanks to the spirit of conciliation and co-operation animating the delegations concerned, it was found possible to reconcile the different points of view to a considerable extent, so as to enable the Committee to submit the following findings and proposals to the Assembly.

In the first place, the Committee was unanimous in thinking that the present situation was such as to allow of definite results being obtained in connection with a first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments.

In point of fact, the general political situation is continually improving. The Covenant of the League of Nations, the Treaties of Peace, particularly the reductions effected in the armaments of certain countries as the result of these treaties, and the Locarno Agreements, have created conditions of security which make it possible to contemplate the conclusion of a General Convention for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. Moreover, the situation may further improve for those countries which regard their present degree of security as insufficient, when they have put the proposals of the Committee on Arbitration and Security into effect, as it is hoped they will do.

Furthermore, the various difficulties which have hitherto held up the Preparatory Commission's work are beginning to diminish. As an instance of this, we may mention the efforts recently made by certain Governments to prepare the ground for the future work of the Commission. It seems clear that, if other efforts of this kind were made to settle current difficulties, the chances of success of the Preparatory Commission's next meeting would be considerably increased. The Assembly will doubtless, therefore, express the hope that the Governments concerned will take steps in this direction as soon as possible, and suggest to the Council that it might ask the President of the Preparatory Commission to keep in touch with the Governments concerned with a view to acquainting himself with the progress of their negotiations and to convening the Commission as soon as possible.

The Third Committee did not consider that a definite date could be given for the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission. Moreover, the Assembly is not called upon to give explicit instructions to the Preparatory Commission, which includes non-Member States, seeing that the Commission has itself instructed its President to fix the date of its next meeting. All the members of the Assembly, however, will wish this meeting to be held at the end of the present year, or, at all events, at the beginning of 1929. The President of the Preparatory Commission, expressing the Commission's view, has interpreted this desire as, in any case, imposing on him

the obligation to convene the Preparatory Commission, but at the same time as allowing him a certain discretion in fixing the actual date — which is essential if the danger of interrupting negotiations which might be in progress, with good prospects of success, is to be avoided:

With regard to the convening of the Conference for the limitation and reduction of armaments itself, the general impression in the Third Committee was that at the close of the session's work, which in these circumstances will be reached at the end of the present year or at the beginning of 1929, the Preparatory Commission will certainly think it desirable to make a general report to the Council of the possibilities of the First General Conference and the date at which it might be held.

The importance and utility of this first stage should not, however, obscure the fact that the work, for the reduction and limitation of armaments calls for arduous, protracted and continuous efforts. It should therefore be clearly emphasised here and now that the work of the Preparatory Commission and of the Committee on Arbitration and Security will have to be systematically pursued so as to render possible at later stages the gradual limitation and reduction of armaments in proportion to the growth of security.

The Third Committee therefore has the honour to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolution:

“ Whereas a close connection exists between international security and the reduction and limitation of armaments;

“ And whereas the present conditions of security set up by the Covenant of the League of Nations, by the Treaties of Peace, and in particular by the reductions in the armaments of certain countries under these Treaties, and also by the Locarno Agreements, would allow of the conclusion at the present time of a first General Convention for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments;

“ And whereas those Governments which consider that their security is not sufficiently assured are now, thanks to the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security, in possession of fresh means for strengthening their security, of which it is to be hoped that they will make use at need, by having recourse to the good offices of the Council;

“ And whereas the Convention for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments will increase international security;

“ And whereas it is desirable that the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and of the Committee on Arbitration and Security shall be pursued so that, by further steps, armaments may be progressively reduced as the increase of security allows;

“ The Assembly:

“ Urges the necessity of accomplishing the first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments with as little delay as possible;

“ Notes with satisfaction the efforts of certain Governments to prepare the ground for the future work of the Preparatory Commission;

“ Earnestly hopes that Governments among which differences of opinion still subsist as to the conditions for the reduction and limitation of armaments will seek, without delay, in the most liberal spirit of conciliation and international solidarity, agreed solutions which will enable the work of the Preparatory Commission to be brought to a successful issue;

“ Proposes to the Council that the President of the Preparatory Commission be instructed to keep in contact with the Governments concerned so that he may be apprised of the progress of their negotiations and may be able to convene the Commission at the end of the present year, or, in any case, at the beginning of 1929.”

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#### ANNEX 27.

A.79.1928.

### CONSTRUCTION OF AN ASSEMBLY HALL, OF A NEW BUILDING FOR THE SECRETARIAT, AND OF A NEW LIBRARY.

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#### REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION OF SEPTEMBER 26TH, 1927.

The Assembly, during its eighth ordinary session, adopted on September 26th, 1927, the following resolution:

“ The Assembly:

“ Approves the report (document A.93.1927) of the Special Committee of five members in regard to the new buildings;

“ Approves, in principle, that the amount to be spent on the new buildings may be increased to approximately 19,500,000 francs. The exact amount of the supplementary credit necessary will be submitted to the Assembly at the next session;

“ Empowers a Committee composed as follows: M. ADATCI, M. OSUSKY, M. POLITIS, M. URRUTIA and Sir Edward Hilton Young to study the nine plans awarded the equal prizes



of 12,000 francs in the architects' competition, and to choose, with any changes that may be necessary, a plan which, in its opinion, complies most nearly with the practical and æsthetic requirements. The decision of this Committee will be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for approval and ratification, and will be communicated to the Assembly at the next ordinary session."

It is clear from the last sentence of the above resolution that the Assembly hoped that it would be possible to settle this difficult question long before the present session. The Committee shared this hope, but, unfortunately, unforeseen difficulties have prevented this, and have even made it necessary to ask the Assembly to authorise a change of site, the property now owned by the League on the lake-side having proved to be inadequate, for reasons set out in this report.

The Committee has held eight sessions.<sup>1</sup>

At the session held on November 7th and 8th, 1927, the Committee, in accordance with its terms of reference, proceeded to examine the nine plans to which the equal prizes of 12,000 francs had been awarded in the architects' competition. As a result of this examination, the Committee found it necessary to call for supplementary reports:

- (a) From the Secretary-General, on the administrative needs of the Secretariat;
- (b) From two experts (nominated by the Committee itself), on certain strictly technical points.

It also, in accordance with the desire expressed by the Assembly, consulted the Swiss Cantonal and Federal Authorities. At the following session, held in December 1927, the Committee examined the reports presented by the Secretariat and by the two experts referred to above, as well as a report prepared by two Swiss experts for the Federal and Cantonal Authorities, which had been communicated to the Committee for its information.

After a careful study of these reports and a further examination of the plans, the Committee reached unanimously the following conclusions:

(1) That the Committee was bound, by its terms of reference, to choose one plan from among the nine submitted to it, but, being authorised by the Assembly resolution of September 26th, 1927, to propose any changes that might be necessary to the plan chosen, that it was empowered with a view to effecting such changes, to take advantage of certain features of other plans, and consequently to propose that the author or authors of the plan chosen should collaborate with the authors of other plans, not only in the preparation of a revised design, but also in the ultimate execution of the design as finally adopted.

(2) That the plan which, in its opinion, was most nearly satisfactory, both from the practical and æsthetic points of view, was that bearing No. 387, submitted to the competition jointly by M. H. P. Nénot, of Paris, and M. J. Flegenheimer, of Geneva.

(3) That this plan was open, nevertheless, to a certain number of objections and must be revised. These objections related to the following points:

- Relative positions of the Assembly Hall and the Secretariat building;
- Site of the Library;
- Situation of various Secretariat services in the building containing the Assembly Hall;
- Inadequacy of storage accommodation;
- Inadequacy of garage and parking facilities for cars;
- Dimensions of certain staircases and lifts;
- Dimensions and situations of committee-rooms and Council room;
- Alterations necessary in various cloak-rooms;
- Lighting and general equipment of the great hall;
- Simplification of galleries and lobbies round the great hall;
- Inadequate dimensions of certain offices;
- Equipment of the kitchen and offices attached to the refreshment-room;
- Simplification of the external architecture, and harmonisation of the secondary façades of the Assembly Hall and the façades of the Secretariat with the main façade seen from the Lake;
- Lighting of the rooms behind the colonnade;
- Enlargement of the entrance-hall of the Secretariat;
- Lighting of various corridors, and shape of certain offices at the corners of the Secretariat building, which were irregularly and inconveniently shaped.

(4) That the authors of plan No. 387 should be invited to revise their design on the lines indicated to them by the Committee, and to do this in collaboration with the authors of three other designs as follows:

- No. 117 — Messrs. Broggi, Vaccaro and Franzi, of Rome.
- No. 143 — M. Camille Lefèvre, of Paris.
- No. 431 — M. Joseph Vago, of Budapest.

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<sup>1</sup> The first session was held in September 1927, the second on November 7th and 8th, 1927, the third from December 19th to 22nd, 1927, the fourth on January 22nd, 1928, the fifth on March 2nd and 3rd, 1928, the sixth on March 26th and 27th, 1928, the seventh on June 13th, 1928, the eighth during September 1928.

Design No. 117 being the joint work of three architects, one of them was to be nominated as their sole representative in this collaboration, and M. Broggi was in due course chosen by his colleagues.

(5) That the architects should submit, together with the revised design for the Assembly Hall and Secretariat building, a preliminary plan for the new Library, the erection of which had been made possible by the generous gift of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jun. (accepted by the Assembly by its resolution of September 12th, 1927), and should state whether sufficient space could be found for the Library building on the ground at present owned by the League. No definite programme of requirements for the new Library had as yet been drawn up, this being reserved for the Library Planning Committee to which reference is made later in this report, but an approximate estimate of the superficial area required was given to the architects by the Secretariat.

(6) The Committee reserved entire liberty of judgment on the revised design before definitely accepting it and submitting it to the approval and ratification of the Council in conformity with the Assembly's instructions.

The revised plans were laid before the Committee at its fifth session (March 2nd and 3rd, 1928), together with an explanatory note by the architects describing the alterations which had been made to comply with the Committee's instructions, and others which had suggested themselves to the architects in the course of their joint study and consultations with the Secretariat. The architects proposed to place the new Library upon the ground already owned by the League, in a position adjoining the Secretariat and facing the rue de Lausanne, so as to be readily accessible to the public. As regards the cost of construction of the Assembly Hall and Secretariat, the Committee were informed that it was impossible for the architects in so short a space of time to draw up a detailed and accurate estimate for such extensive buildings; this could only be based on the final working plans and would need long and minute calculations. They therefore submitted a rough estimate based upon the cost per cubic metre, from which it appeared that the cost of construction of the Assembly Hall and Secretariat should not exceed the figure of 19,500,000 francs, which the Assembly had indicated, and that a sum of approximately 4,000,000 francs should suffice for the Library building.

The revised plan was considered by the Special Committee to be generally satisfactory, with the exception of the façade and the proposed form of the Assembly Hall itself. It therefore submitted a report to the Council (document C.93(1).1928), proposing the adoption of the revised plans, subject to the final approval by the Special Committee of new designs for the Assembly Hall and façade. It also proposed to the Council the acceptance, with certain modifications, of the arrangements proposed by the architects with regard to their fees and office expenses.

The Council, on March 6th, 1928, approved the following resolution:

" Having noted the report (document C.93(1).1928) submitted to it by the Special Committee appointed by the Assembly resolution of September 26th, 1927, regarding the construction of new buildings for the use of the League of Nations, the Council would tender to this Committee its warmest thanks for the excellent way in which the work has been done.

" The Council adopts and ratifies the report and the decisions which it involves. In particular, it authorises the Secretary-General to draw up the terms and to sign the text of the necessary contract between the League of Nations and the architects. "

It was understood that the contract between the League and the architects would not be signed by the Secretary-General until the Special Committee had given its full and final approval to the revised plans, including the alterations desired to the Assembly Hall and façade.

Shortly after the close of that session of the Council, however, a further difficulty arose. The first session of the Library Planning Committee (a committee of experts appointed by the Secretary-General with the authorisation of the Assembly and in agreement with the donor, to advise on the best use of the Rockefeller Fund and to draw up specifications for the new Library building) was held on March 12th, 13th and 14th, 1928.

This Committee, after an inspection of the site and a careful study of the revised plans which had just been approved by the Special Committee and the Council, made a strong and unanimous report to the Secretary-General against the adoption of the site proposed for the Library, on the ground of its exposure to noise and dust, inadequate size and the impossibility of providing for future extensions. It was also pointed out that, if all the three buildings were crowded on to the present building site, the new Library would not have the position and character worthy of its future international use and which were very desirable in view of the nature and magnitude of the gift.

The Library Planning Committee stated in its report that it had felt bound, in view of this recommendation, to explore all possible alternative solutions, but had unanimously agreed that the architects' plan was the best that could be done on the ground at present available. The Committee had therefore come to the unanimous conclusion that, in view of the obvious necessity

of the new Library being in the closest possible connection with the Secretariat building, as near as possible to the International Labour Office and to the new Assembly Hall and at the same time conveniently placed for public use and in quiet surroundings, the only way to provide a really satisfactory site was to purchase the property which lay between that now owned by the League and that of the International Labour Office. If this additional land were available, it would enable the architects to give to the new Library the superficial area which the Library Planning Committee considered essential and to provide for the possibility of future extension. It would then be possible to give the building the architectural character desired and to place it in the quiet surroundings which are so essential.

In view of the importance of this report and the decisive influence it might have upon the planning of the whole group of new buildings, the Secretary-General submitted it immediately to the Special Committee, and an emergency meeting was held in Paris on March 26th and 27th, 1928, for reconsideration of the whole question in the light of this new factor.

After a careful re-examination of the revised plans and an attentive study of the Library Planning Committee's report, the Special Committee felt bound to agree with the conclusions set forth in that report and that the acquisition of additional ground was essential if a satisfactory site were to be found for the new Library. In the event, however, of its being found possible to acquire the property in question, the Committee was of opinion that advantage should be taken of that opportunity to place the Library and the Assembly Hall, which will be used jointly by the International Labour Office and the Secretariat, as conveniently as possible between the two institutions.

The Special Committee made all possible efforts to acquire the neighbouring property, but, in face of the difficulties which were encountered, it was obliged to seek elsewhere for a solution. With this end in view, it took into consultation M. Motta and the Cantonal Authorities of Geneva, and the Committee believes that, in the course of these consultations, all possible alternatives have been examined. The only solution which appears satisfactory to the Special Committee and which it has now the honour to submit for the approval of the Assembly is the following:

It is proposed that the City of Geneva should confer on the League of Nations the "droit d'usage" (including the right to build) of all that portion of the Ariana Park situated between the railway line and the route de Pregny, with the exception of the Museum and a reasonable amount of ground for its enclosure. In exchange for this site (about 250,000 square metres), the League of Nations would confer on the City of Geneva similar rights of occupation of the three lakeside properties (Bartholoni, Perle du Lac and Moynier). These properties, being in direct continuation of the Parc de Mon-Repos, would make possible the creation of a lakeside park of such beauty and extent as would justify the local authorities in consenting, on behalf of the population of Geneva, to give up the Ariana Park, which, as the Assembly is no doubt aware, was a legacy to the people of Geneva under the will of M. Gustave Revilliod.

In the opinion of the Committee, this solution would give complete satisfaction to the needs of the League and has in addition the merit of offering equitable compensation to the people of Geneva. The Cantonal authorities have consulted the heirs and descendants of the late M. Gustave Revilliod and have obtained their consent. The proposal has also been accepted by the Conseil administratif and unanimously by the Conseil municipal of Geneva. The necessary decree will be voted by the Conseil municipal immediately if the Assembly authorises the choice of this new site. It should be mentioned that the decree will only become legally effective after the lapse of one month, during which time, in theory, a referendum may be demanded if a petition to this effect obtains the requisite number of signatures. In the case of a unanimous decision taken by the competent authorities, a demand for a referendum has, however, never occurred. Nevertheless, the Assembly may consider it necessary that the Special Committee should remain in being until the question is definitely settled and revised plans, adapted to the new site, have been prepared by the architects, approved by the Committee and ratified by the Council.

During the interval occupied by the negotiations, the architects had made the desired alterations in the plans of the Assembly Hall and the façade and had submitted these revised designs to the Special Committee with the request that, if they gave satisfaction, the necessary contract between the League and the architects should be signed without further delay in order to establish the relations between the two parties on a proper legal basis. The Special Committee examined these revised designs at its meeting in Paris on June 13th, 1928, and considered that, with the modifications which had now been effected, the plans to which the Council had given its general approval in March 1928 constituted an acceptable draft design, and reported in this sense to the Council (document C.337.1928).

The Special Committee could not close this report without taking the opportunity of expressing its warmest thanks to the Federal Authorities, and in particular to M. Motta, to the Cantonal and Municipal Authorities of Geneva, as well as to the heirs of M. Gustave Revilliod, for their invaluable assistance in solving the difficult problem with which the Committee was faced.

In the hope that the Assembly will approve the recommendations contained in this report, the Special Committee ventures to submit the following resolutions:

" The Assembly,

" Approves the report (document A.79.1928) of the Special Committee of Five Members in regard to the new buildings;

“ Approves the choice of the Ariana Park as a site for the new buildings of the League of Nations;

“ Authorises the Secretary-General to sign all the necessary legal documents concerning the exchange of rights on the properties in question between the League of Nations and the Genevese authorities, as well as to draw up and sign the necessary contract between the architects and the League of Nations on the basis of the Special Committee's report to the Council (document C.93 (I). 1928), approved by the Council on March 6th, 1928;

“ Authorises the Special Committee of Five Members (M. ADATCI, M. OSUSKY, M. POLITIS, M. URRUTIA and Sir Edward Hilton YOUNG) as soon as the legal formalities for the transfer of the land have been completed, and after having obtained all the expert advice necessary from the technical point of view, to give final approval to revised plans adapted to the new site, such approval to be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for ratification. The final plans thus approved will then be carried into execution without delay by the Secretary-General and the Building Committee already appointed in accordance with the Assembly resolution of September 25th, 1924. ”

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In order to ensure that five members of the Special Committee shall always be available, the Committee suggests that the Assembly should nominate two substitute members.

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ANNEX 27 a.

A.84.1928.X.

CONSTRUCTION OF AN ASSEMBLY HALL, OF A NEW BUILDING FOR  
THE SECRETARIAT, AND OF A NEW LIBRARY.

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NOTE BY THE FOURTH COMMITTEE ON THE REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE  
ASSEMBLY BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE (document A.79.1928).

*Rapporteur*: M. RAPPARD (Switzerland).

The Fourth Committee, having in the course of two meetings on Saturday, September 22nd, studied the report of the Special Committee appointed by the Assembly to consider the question of the new buildings (document A.79.1928), decided to recommend to the Assembly the adoption of this report with a slight amendment, proposed by the Special Committee itself, to the fourth paragraph of the draft resolution with which the Special Committee's report concludes. This amendment, which consisted in the insertion of the words: “ and after having obtained all the expert advice necessary from the technical point of view ”, is already incorporated in the printed edition of the Special Committee's report which was circulated to the delegates to the Assembly on Monday, September 24th.

If the Assembly approves the report, it will be called upon to appoint two substitute members of the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee ventures to propose that, in accordance with precedent, the Bureau of the Assembly might suggest candidates for the approval of the Assembly.

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ANNEX 28.

A.86(1).1928.IX.

PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES,  
NON-AGGRESSION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE.

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REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur*: His Excellency M. N. POLITIS (Greece).

REPORT BY M. POLITIS.

*Appendix I*. GENERAL ACT.

*Appendix II*. BILATERAL CONVENTION FOR THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF ALL INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES (CONVENTION a).

BILATERAL CONVENTION FOR JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT, ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION (CONVENTION b).

BILATERAL CONCILIATION CONVENTION (CONVENTION c).

*Appendix III*. INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE MODEL COLLECTIVE TREATIES OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND OF COLLECTIVE AND BILATERAL TREATIES OF NON-AGGRESSION.

COLLECTIVE TREATY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE (TREATY D).

COLLECTIVE TREATY OF NON-AGGRESSION (TREATY E).

BILATERAL TREATY OF NON-AGGRESSION (TREATY F).

REPORT OF HIS EXCELLENCY M. POLITIS.

Among the tasks assigned to the Committee on Arbitration and Security under the Assembly resolution of September 26th, 1927, is "Action by the League of Nations with a view to promoting, generalising and co-ordinating special or collective agreements on arbitration and security".

The Committee on Arbitration and Security prepared two groups of model treaties in this connection, one relating to arbitration and conciliation, and the other to non-aggression and mutual assistance.

Each group of model treaties was accompanied by an introductory note and two resolutions, one regarding the submission and recommendation of the model treaties in question, and the other regarding the good offices of the Council. Moreover, the Committee on Arbitration and Security adopted a resolution concerning the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

I.

As regards the model treaties of arbitration and conciliation and the draft resolution regarding the submission and recommendations of these models, the Third Committee asked the First Committee for a legal opinion. In order to facilitate liaison between the two Committees, a Sub-Committee was constituted, consisting of members appointed by each of those two Committees, and this Sub-Committee considered in detail the model treaties in question.

The Committee on Arbitration and Security had prepared six model Conventions for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, *i.e.*, three model general conventions and three model bilateral conventions.

A prior question arose in regard to the general conventions, *i.e.*, how to establish between them the indispensable connection which was lacking. Two methods were contemplated by the First Committee—a common Protocol linking up the three Conventions, and the fusion of these conventions into a single instrument. After exhaustive consideration, the Sub-Committee adopted the second method, which appeared to it to be the more practicable, and drew up a General Act (Appendix I) which was approved by the First Committee. This instrument in no way impairs the value of the three conventions; rather it increases their value as regards the simplicity of the system and the elasticity of the undertakings. The General Act consists of four chapters, the first three of which reproduce the distinctive provisions of the three Conventions C, B and A, while the fourth combines the general provisions of these conventions. The General Act is open to the accession of States, and may be accepted by them in whole or in part (Article 38).

The elasticity which the Committee on Arbitration and Security desired to give to the system of the three Conventions is maintained, and even increased, in the General Act. Not only does the latter give States a possibility of limiting their engagements (Article 38) and of making reservations (Article 39)—the regulations relating to which have been revised and made more explicit—but it also allows of the scope of the engagements already entered into being extended at any moment or of the reservations made being abandoned (Article 40). The General Act also allows of partial denunciation, which may consist in the notification of new reservations (Article 45).

Thus, while retaining the character of a law capable of becoming universal, the General Act lends itself by the diversity of its provisions to an infinite variety of situations and requirements.

It further preserves the essential character which the Committee on Arbitration and Security had finally given to the three Conventions. Like these Conventions, it is not a draft which requires to be negotiated upon, or to receive signatures, in order to become an effective instrument. It is a document which can be converted into a Convention as soon as it is accepted in its entirety or in part by two States. It will remain open indefinitely for the accession of all other States. Naturally, it is assumed that Governments will first secure the parliamentary approval necessary under their respective national constitutions, and that, in this way, the accessions will become valid.

The provisions of the General Act resulting from the fusion of the three Conventions have been modified in certain points, in view of the observations made by various delegations.

Among the most important of these changes, mention should be made of the following:

(1) The choice of the members of the Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Chapter III in the case of disagreement among the parties (Article 23). This change was effected for the purpose of ensuring still more completely the impartiality of the Tribunal;

(2) The deletion of the reservation regarding constitutional principles (Article 39). The reasons which led to this reservation being omitted are that it would have created inequality as between States possessing different constitutional systems and also that what is essential in this reservation can be safeguarded by the provisions of paragraph (c) in the same article;

(3) The addition to the above-mentioned paragraph (c) in Article 39 of a reference to disputes concerning "specific subject-matters". This would enable States which have concluded conciliation treaties with other States, and which do not desire, as regards these States, to enter into undertakings concerning judicial or arbitral settlement, to assume such undertakings with other States by acceding to the General Act.

Other amendments were proposed, but were not adopted, such as:

(1) The definition and enforcement of the term "reasonable time" in Article 31, paragraph 1. It is, indeed, impossible to indicate what a "reasonable time" might be under

the different national laws of the various countries, in view of the variety of the judicial systems and the practice of different States. Moreover Article 41, under which all disputes regarding the interpretation and application of the General Act are submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice, provides the means for dealing with any possible abuses;

(2) The addition to Article 39 of a provision whereby, should one party accede with reservations, any other party which has already acceded would be entitled, within a very short period, to indicate reservations which would be valid solely in its relations with the above-mentioned party. This addition would have seriously complicated the general structure of the system; and have led in practice to inextricable difficulties.

From another point of view the proposals of the Committee on Arbitration and Security continue unchanged. By framing three model bilateral Conventions (Appendix II) in addition to the three model general conventions, the Committee did not intend to indicate any preference as between these two classes of treaty. They were submitted simultaneously to take account of the two tendencies which had appeared in the course of the Committee's work, *i.e.*, one favourable to general engagements and the other to particular engagements. Their simultaneous presentation thus constituted, as between these two tendencies, a compromise which continued to be respected. Nevertheless, the framing of the General Act caused certain misgivings in this respect. The First Committee desired to remove them by categorical statements contained in the draft resolution accompanying these documents. Three model bilateral conventions are annexed to this draft resolution, in addition to the General Act; and it is stated in the resolution that countries which prefer particular agreements may conclude such agreements either by using the model bilateral conventions or by concluding their agreements on other bases.

The draft resolution further includes the substance of the preamble to the three general conventions and of the draft resolution relating thereto; clauses taken from the provisions of the three general conventions regarding the action of the League of Nations (No. 7) which it seemed preferable to separate from the actual text of the General Act, so as to allow of this Act meeting the case of States not Members of the League of Nations.

This paragraph was modified during the discussion in Committee so as to remove certain apprehensions and it was understood that the action of the Council was not intended to interrupt any procedure which had been begun and that it would be desirable if the details of such action were thoroughly examined at a later date. Finally, two provisions, one of which (No. 9) provided for the communication of the General Act and of the model bilateral conventions to States Members of the League of Nations and to such States non-Members of the League as may be indicated by the Council, and the other (No. 10) providing for the preparation by the Secretariat of the League of a list of the general or particular engagements contracted, to enable all of them to follow the future progress of the procedure for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

The Third Committee also examined the draft resolution for the Assembly, drawn up by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, concerning the good offices of the Council with a view to the conclusion of treaties on the pacific settlement of international disputes. It adopted this draft with a slight addition in the last paragraph to bring it into line with the corresponding draft resolution concerning the good offices of the Council with a view to the conclusion of treaties of mutual assistance and non-aggression.

The Third Committee therefore has the honour to submit to the Assembly for approval the two following draft resolutions:

I. RESOLUTION ON THE SUBMISSION AND RECOMMENDATION OF A GENERAL ACT (APPENDIX I) AND OF THREE MODEL BILATERAL CONVENTIONS IN REGARD TO CONCILIATION, ARBITRATION AND JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT (APPENDIX II).

The Assembly:

Having considered the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security;

"(1) Firmly convinced that effective machinery for ensuring the peaceful settlement of international disputes is an essential element in the cause of security and disarmament;

"(2) Considering that the faithful observance, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of methods of pacific settlement renders possible the settlement of all disputes;

"(3) Noting that respect for rights established by treaty or resulting from international law is obligatory upon international tribunals;

"(4) Recognising that the rights of the several States cannot be modified except with their consent;

"(5) Taking note of the fact that a great number of particular international conventions provide for obligatory conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement;

"(6) Being desirous of facilitating to the greatest possible degree the development of undertakings in regard to the said methods of procedure;

"(7) Declaring that such undertakings are not to be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League of Nations to take at any time whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world; or as impeding its intervention in virtue of Articles 15 and 17 of the Covenant, where a dispute cannot be submitted to arbitral or judicial procedure or cannot be settled by such procedure or where the conciliation proceedings have failed;

"(8) Invites all States whether Members of the League or not, and in so far as their existing agreements do not already achieve this end, to accept obligations in pursuance of the above purpose either by becoming parties to the annexed General Act or by concluding particular conventions with individual States in accordance with the model bilateral conventions annexed hereto or in such terms as may be deemed appropriate;

"(9) Resolves to communicate the annexed General Act and the annexed model bilateral conventions to all Members of the League of Nations and to such States not Members of the League as may be indicated by the Council.

"(10) Requests the Council to give the Secretariat of the League of Nations instructions to keep a list of the engagements contracted in accordance with the terms of the present resolution either by acceptance of the provisions of the General Act or by the conclusion of particular conventions with the same object, so as to enable Members of the League and States non-Members of the League to obtain information as soon as possible."

## 2. RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE COUNCIL.

"The Assembly:

"In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 25th, 1926, requesting the Council to offer its good offices to States Members of the League for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security;

"Recognising that the development of procedures for the pacific settlement of any disputes which may arise between States is an essential factor in the prevention of wars;

"Expresses its appreciation of the progress achieved in concluding treaties of this kind, and its desire to see the application of the principle of the pacific settlement of all disputes extended as far as possible, and

"Invites the Council, to inform all States Members of the League that, should States feel the need of reinforcing the general security conferred by the Covenant and of contracting for this purpose undertakings concerning the pacific settlement of any disputes which may arise between them, and should negotiations in connection therewith meet with difficulties, the Council would, if requested to do so by one of the Parties — after it has examined the political situation and taken account of the general interests of peace — be prepared to place at the disposal of the States concerned its good offices, which, being voluntarily accepted by them, would be calculated to bring the negotiations to a happy issue."

## II.

As regards the question of non-aggression and mutual assistance, the Committee on Arbitration and Security has drawn up three model treaties (Appendix III), namely, a model collective treaty of mutual assistance, a model collective treaty of non-aggression, and a model bilateral treaty of non-aggression. These model treaties contain, in Chapter II, stipulations concerning the peaceful settlement of disputes. These stipulations are broadly similar to the corresponding stipulations in the General Act and in the model bilateral conventions for the pacific settlement of disputes.

The principles of these model treaties concerning non-aggression and mutual assistance were explained in the introductory note drawn up by the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

It will be seen from this note that the model treaties do not provide for mutual assistance by the Contracting Parties in the case of aggression by a third State. This note indicated that it had been decided to insert in the said models only clauses of a general character likely to be accepted in a treaty of this kind. Care was taken to indicate a certain number of particular clauses which might be found useful in certain circumstances. Such are, for example, the clauses relative to flagrant aggression and to demilitarised zones.

(1) As regards the clause concerning flagrant aggression, it has been proposed to accept as a general rule in treaties of mutual assistance a clause similar to Article 4, paragraph 3, of the Rhine Pact of Locarno. This clause read as follows:

"In the case of a flagrant violation of Article 1 of the present Treaty by one of the High Contracting Parties, each of the other Contracting Parties hereby undertakes immediately to come to the help of the Party against which such a violation has been directed, as soon as the said Power has been able to satisfy itself that this violation constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression and that, by reason either of the crossing of the frontier or the outbreak of hostilities, immediate action is necessary. Nevertheless, the Council of the League of Nations, when officially informed of the question in accordance with the first paragraph of this article, will issue its findings, and the High Contracting Parties undertake to act in accordance with the recommendations of the Council, provided that they are concurred in by all the members other than the representatives of the Parties which have engaged in hostilities."

Certain States attach particular importance, in the case of a flagrant aggression, to the promise of assistance before action is taken by the Council. But it was also thought that it would be wiser

not to recommend the system adopted at Locarno and that the examination of the special circumstances of each case will allow it to be decided whether the clause in question should be inserted in a given treaty or not.

¶ (2) In the same way, as regards the establishment of demilitarised zones, it was recognised that, while they are often capable of giving the nations concerned a greater sense of security, this is not always the case. Here again, all depends on circumstances. If the contracting parties or some of them consider it useful to establish such zones on their frontiers, they may do so by means of special conventions.

During the discussion before the Third Committee, it was suggested that it might be well for the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference or the Committee on Arbitration and Security, to draw up model regulations for demilitarised zones. Such a model might no doubt greatly facilitate negotiations between States who were prepared to establish a zone or zones along their frontiers. In the proceedings of the Inter-Parliamentary Union we already possess interesting suggestions in this connection, in particular, a preliminary draft of "General Regulations" for demilitarised zones, voted by the Union at its conference at Washington in 1925.

The Third Committee decided to amend slightly the draft resolution prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security for the submission and recommendation of the treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance. To meet the wish expressed by certain delegations, the Third Committee added the reference to the explanations given in the introductory note drawn up by the aforesaid Committee.

It also completed the same Committee's draft resolution regarding the good offices of the Council with a view to the conclusion of treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance. It did this with the object of making it clearer that in such cases the Council's intervention could only be sought by one of the Parties concerned.

The Third Committee therefore has the honour to submit for the approval of the Assembly the following draft resolutions:

3. RESOLUTION ON THE SUBMISSION AND RECOMMENDATION OF MODEL TREATIES OF NON-AGGRESSION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE.

"The Assembly;

"Having noted the model treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and amended as a result of the work of the First and Third Committees of the Assembly, together with the explanations supplied in the introductory note drawn up by the first-named Committee;

"Highly appreciating the value of these model treaties;

"And convinced that their adoption by the States concerned would contribute towards strengthening the guarantees of security:

"Recommends them for consideration by States Members or non-members of the League of Nations; and

"Hopes that they may serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude treaties of this sort."

4. RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE COUNCIL.

"In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 25th, 1926, requesting the Council to offer its good offices to States Members of the League for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security,

"The Assembly,

"Convinced that the conclusion between States in the same geographical area of treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance providing for conciliation, arbitration and mutual guarantees against aggression by any one of them constitutes one of the most practical means that can now be recommended to States anxious to secure more effective guarantees of security;

"Being of opinion that the good offices of the Council if freely accepted by all the parties concerned might facilitate the conclusion of such treaties;

"Invites the Council, to inform all the States Members of the League of Nations that should States feel the need of reinforcing the general security conferred by the Covenant and of concluding a treaty of non-aggression and mutual assistance or a treaty of non-aggression for this purpose, and should the negotiations relating thereto meet with difficulties, the Council would, if requested by one of the Parties — after it has examined the political situation and taken account of the general interests of peace — be prepared to place at the disposal of the States concerned its good offices which, being voluntarily accepted, would be calculated to bring the negotiations to a happy issue."

III.

The Committee on Arbitration and Security recommends that a draft resolution concerning the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice be submitted for the approval of the Assembly. This draft was examined by the First Committee, which made a useful addition to the penultimate paragraph. The Third Committee



accepted the text thus revised. It therefore has the honour to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolution:

5. RESOLUTION REGARDING THE OPTIONAL CLAUSE OF ARTICLE 36 OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

“ The Assembly:

“ Referring to the resolution of October 2nd, 1924, in which the Assembly, considering that the terms of Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice are sufficiently wide to permit States to adhere to the special Protocol opened for signature in virtue of that article, with the reservations which they regard as indispensable, and convinced that it is in the interest of the progress of international justice that the greatest possible number of States should, to the widest possible extent, accept as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Court, recommends States to accede to the said Protocol at the earliest possible date;

“ Noting that this recommendation has not so far produced all the effect that is to be desired;

“ Being of opinion that, in order to facilitate effectively the acceptance of the clause in question, it is expedient to diminish the obstacles which prevent States from committing themselves;

“ Being convinced that the efforts now being made through progressive codification to diminish the uncertainties and supply the deficiencies of international law will greatly facilitate the acceptance of the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court, and that meanwhile attention should once more be drawn to the possibility offered by the terms of that clause to States which do not see their way to accede to it without qualification to do so subject to appropriate reservations limiting the extent of their commitments, both as regards duration and as regards scope;

“ Noting in this latter connection that the reservations conceivable may relate either generally to certain aspects of any kind of dispute, or specifically to certain classes or lists of disputes, and that these different kinds of reservation can be legitimately combined;

“ Recommends that States which have not yet acceded to the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should, failing accession pure and simple, consider, with due regard to their interests, whether they can accede on the conditions above indicated;

“ Requests the Council to communicate the text of this resolution to those States as soon as possible, desiring them to notify it of their intentions in the matter, indicating at the same time the questions of international law the elucidation of which would in their opinion facilitate their accession to the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court; and

“ Asks the Council to inform the Assembly at its next session of the replies it has by then received. ”

IV.

Lastly, the First Committee examined and approved a draft resolution submitted by the French delegation concerning the documentation of the Secretariat of the League of Nations in regard to treaties on peaceful settlement and arbitral awards.

The Third Committee, having accepted this proposal, has the honour to submit for the approval of the Assembly the following resolution:

6. RESOLUTION WITH REGARD TO THE REVISION OF THE SYSTEMATIC SURVEY OF ARBITRATION CONVENTIONS AND TREATIES OF MUTUAL SECURITY DEPOSITED WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, PREPARED BY THE LEGAL SECTION OF THE SECRETARIAT.

“ The Assembly:

“ Recognising the importance of the documentation which the Secretariat of the League of Nations has begun to collect concerning treaties of judicial settlement, arbitration and conciliation, and of the maps and graphs which it contemplates establishing:

“ Requests the Secretary-General to be so good as to invite the Governments of States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations to communicate to the Secretariat the text:

“ (1) Of those treaties for the pacific settlement of disputes which are now in force and which were concluded prior to the establishment of the League of Nations and which have not been registered;

“ (2) Of such arbitral awards affecting them as may be rendered in the future, with the exception of judgments of the Permanent Court of International Justice and of the Permanent Court of Arbitration and of special tribunals such as the Mixed Arbitral Tribunals. ”

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Appendix I.

GENERAL ACT.

CHAPTER I. — CONCILIATION.

*Article 1.*

Disputes of every kind between two or more Parties to the present General Act which it has not been possible to settle by diplomacy shall, subject to such reservations as may be made under Article 39, be submitted, under the conditions laid down in the present Chapter, to the procedure of conciliation.

*Article 2.*

The disputes referred to in the preceding article shall be submitted to a permanent or special Conciliation Commission constituted by the parties to the dispute.

*Article 3.*

On a request to that effect being made by one of the Contracting Parties to another Party, a permanent Conciliation Commission shall be constituted within a period of six months.

*Article 4.*

Unless the parties concerned agree otherwise, the Conciliation Commission shall be constituted as follows:

1. The Commission shall be composed of five members. The parties shall each nominate one commissioner, who may be chosen from among their respective nationals. The three other commissioners shall be appointed by agreement from among the nationals of third Powers. These three commissioners must be of different nationalities and must not be habitually resident in the territory nor be in the service of the parties. The parties shall appoint the President of the Commission from among them.

2. The commissioners shall be appointed for three years. They shall be re-eligible. The commissioners appointed jointly may be replaced during the course of their mandate by agreement between the parties. Either party may, however, at any time replace a commissioner whom it has appointed. Even if replaced, the commissioners shall continue to exercise their functions until the termination of the work in hand.

3. Vacancies which may occur as a result of death, resignation or any other cause shall be filled within the shortest possible time in the manner fixed for the nominations.

*Article 5.*

If, when a dispute arises, no permanent Conciliation Commission appointed by the parties is in existence, a special commission shall be constituted for the examination of the dispute within a period of three months from the date at which a request to that effect is made by one of the parties to the other party. The necessary appointments shall be made in the manner laid down in the preceding article, unless the parties decide otherwise.

*Article 6.*

1. If the appointment of the commissioners to be designated jointly is not made within the periods provided for in Articles 3 and 5, the making of the necessary appointments shall be entrusted to a third Power, chosen by agreement between the parties, or on request of the parties, to the Acting President of the Council of the League of Nations.

2. If no agreement is reached on either of these procedures, each party shall designate a different Power, and the appointment shall be made in concert by the Powers thus chosen.

3. If, within a period of three months, the two Powers have been unable to reach an agreement, each of them shall submit a number of candidates equal to the number of members to be appointed. It shall then be decided by lot which of the candidates thus designated shall be appointed.

*Article 7.*

1. Disputes shall be brought before the Conciliation Commission by means of an application addressed to the President by the two parties acting in agreement, or in default thereof by one or other of the parties.

2. The application, after giving a summary account of the subject of the dispute, shall contain the invitation to the Commission to take all necessary measures with a view to arriving at an amicable solution.

3. If the application emanates from only one of the parties, the other party shall, without delay, be notified by it.

*Article 8.*

1. Within fifteen days from the date on which a dispute has been brought by one of the parties before a permanent Conciliation Commission, either party may replace its own commissioner, for the examination of the particular dispute, by a person possessing special competence in the matter.

2. The party making use of this right shall immediately notify the other party; the latter shall, in such case, be entitled to take similar action within fifteen days from the date on which it received the notification.

*Article 9.*

1. In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the Conciliation Commission shall meet at the seat of the League of Nations, or at some other place selected by its President.

2. The Commission may in all circumstances request the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to afford it his assistance.

*Article 10.*

The work of the Conciliation Commission shall not be conducted in public unless a decision to that effect is taken by the Commission with the consent of the parties.

*Article 11.*

1. In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the Conciliation Commission shall lay down its own procedure, which in any case must provide for both parties being heard. In regard to enquiries, the Commission, unless it decides unanimously to the contrary, shall act in accordance with the provisions of Part III of the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

2. The parties shall be represented before the Conciliation Commission by agents, whose duty shall be to act as intermediaries between them and the Commission; they may, moreover, be assisted by counsel and experts appointed by them for that purpose and may request that all persons whose evidence appears to them desirable shall be heard.

3. The Commission, for its part, shall be entitled to request oral explanations from the agents, counsel and experts of both parties, as well as from all persons it may think desirable to summon with the consent of their Governments.

*Article 12.*

In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the decisions of the Conciliation Commission shall be taken by a majority vote, and the Commission may only take decisions on the substance of the dispute if all its members are present.

*Article 13.*

The parties undertake to facilitate the work of the Conciliation Commission, and particularly to supply it to the greatest possible extent with all relevant documents and information, as well as to use the means at their disposal to allow it to proceed in their territory, and in accordance with their law, to the summoning and hearing of witnesses or experts and to visit the localities in question.

*Article 14.*

1. During the proceedings of the Commission, each of the commissioners shall receive emoluments the amount of which shall be fixed by agreement between the parties, each of which shall contribute an equal share.

2. The general expenses arising out of the working of the Commission shall be divided in the same manner.

*Article 15.*

1. The task of the Conciliation Commission shall be to elucidate the questions in dispute, to collect with that object all necessary information by means of enquiry or otherwise, and to endeavour to bring the parties to an agreement. It may, after the case has been examined, inform the parties of the terms of settlement which seem suitable to it, and lay down the period within which they are to make their decision.

2. At the close of its proceedings, the Commission shall draw up a *procès-verbal* stating, as the case may be, either that the parties have come to an agreement and, if need arises, the terms of the agreement, or that it has been impossible to effect a settlement. No mention shall be made in the *procès-verbal* of whether the Commission's decisions were taken unanimously or by a majority vote.

3. The proceedings of the Commission must, unless the parties otherwise agree, be terminated within six months from the date on which the Commission shall have been given cognisance of the dispute.

*Article 16.*

The Commission's *procès-verbal* shall be communicated without delay to the parties. The parties shall decide whether it shall be published.

CHAPTER II. — JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT.

*Article 17.*

All disputes with regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights shall, subject to any reservations which may be made under Article 39, be submitted for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice, unless the parties agree, in the manner hereinafter provided, to have resort to an arbitral tribunal.

It is understood that the disputes referred to above include in particular those mentioned in Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 18.*

If the parties agree to submit the disputes mentioned in the preceding article to an arbitral tribunal, they shall draw up a special agreement in which they shall specify the subject of the dispute, the arbitrators selected, and the procedure to be followed. In the absence of sufficient particulars in the special agreement, the provisions of the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes shall apply so far as is necessary. If nothing is laid down in the special agreement as to the rules regarding the substance of the dispute to be followed by the arbitrators, the tribunal shall apply the substantive rules enumerated in Article 38 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 19.*

If the parties fail to agree concerning the special agreement referred to in the preceding article, or fail to appoint arbitrators, either party shall be at liberty, after giving three months' notice, to bring the dispute by an application direct before the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 20.*

1. Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 1, disputes of the kind referred to in Article 17 arising between parties who have acceded to the obligations contained in the present chapter shall only be subject to the procedure of conciliation if the parties so agree.

2. The obligation to resort to the procedure of conciliation remains applicable to disputes which are excluded from judicial settlement only by the operation of reservations under the provisions of Article 39.

3. In the event of recourse to and failure of conciliation, neither party may bring the dispute before the Permanent Court of International Justice or call for the constitution of the arbitral tribunal referred to in Article 18 before the expiration of one month from the termination of the proceedings of the Conciliation Commission.

CHAPTER III. — ARBITRATION.

*Article 21.*

Any dispute not of the kind referred to in Article 17 which does not, within the month following the termination of the work of the Conciliation Commission provided for in Chapter I, form the object of an agreement between the parties, may, subject to such reservations as may be made under Article 39, be brought before an arbitral tribunal which, unless the parties otherwise agree, shall be constituted in the manner set out below.

*Article 22.*

The Arbitral Tribunal shall consist of five members. The parties shall each nominate one member, who may be chosen from among their respective nationals. The two other arbitrators and the Chairman shall be chosen by common agreement from among the nationals of third Powers. They must be of different nationalities and must not be habitually resident in the territory nor be in the service of the parties.

*Article 23.*

1. If the appointment of the members of the Arbitral Tribunal is not made within a period of three months from the date on which one of the parties requested the other party to constitute an arbitral tribunal, a third Power, chosen by agreement between the parties, shall be requested to make the necessary appointments.

2. If no agreement is reached on this point, each party shall designate a different Power, and the appointments shall be made in concert by the Powers thus chosen.

3. If, within a period of three months, the two Powers so chosen have been unable to reach an agreement, the necessary appointments shall be made by the President of the Permanent Court of International Justice. If the latter is prevented from acting or is a subject of one of the parties, the nomination shall be made by the Vice-President. If the latter is prevented from acting or is a subject of one of the parties, the appointments shall be made by the oldest member of the Court who is not a subject of either party.

*Article 24.*

Vacancies which may occur as a result of death, resignation or any other cause shall be filled within the shortest possible time in the manner fixed for the nominations.

*Article 25.*

The parties shall draw up a special agreement determining the subject of the disputes and the details of procedure.

*Article 26.*

In the absence of sufficient particulars in the special agreement regarding the matters referred to in the preceding article, the provisions of the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes shall apply so far as is necessary.

*Article 27.*

Failing the conclusion of a special agreement within a period of three months from the date on which the Tribunal was constituted, the dispute may be brought before the Tribunal by an application by one or other party.

*Article 28.*

If nothing is laid down in the special agreement or no special agreement has been made, the Tribunal shall apply the rules in regard to the substance of the dispute enumerated in Article 38 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. In so far as there exists no such rule applicable to the dispute, the Tribunal shall decide *ex aequo et bono*.

CHAPTER IV. — GENERAL PROVISIONS.

*Article 29.*

1. Disputes for the settlement of which a special procedure is laid down in other conventions in force between the parties to the dispute shall be settled in conformity with the provisions of those conventions.

2. The present General Act shall not affect any agreements in force by which conciliation procedure is established between the Parties or they are bound by obligations to resort to arbitration or judicial settlement which ensure the settlement of the dispute. If, however, these agreements provide only for a procedure of conciliation, after such procedure has been followed without result, the provisions of the present General Act concerning judicial settlement or arbitration shall be applied in so far as the parties have acceded thereto.

*Article 30.*

If a party brings before a Conciliation Commission a dispute which the other party, relying on conventions in force between the parties, has submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice or an Arbitral Tribunal, the Commission shall defer consideration of the dispute until the Court or the Arbitral Tribunal has pronounced upon the conflict of competence. The same rule shall apply if the Court or the Tribunal is seized of the case by one of the parties during the conciliation proceedings.

*Article 31.*

1. In the case of a dispute the occasion of which, according to the municipal law of one of the parties, falls within the competence of its judicial or administrative authorities, the party in question may object to the matter in dispute being submitted for settlement by the different methods laid down in the present General Act until a decision with final effect has been pronounced, within a reasonable time, by the competent authority.

2. In such a case, the party which desires to resort to the procedures laid down in the present General Act must notify the other party of its intention within a period of one year from the date of the aforementioned decision.

*Article 32.*

If, in a judicial sentence or arbitral award, it is declared that a judgment, or a measure enjoined by a court of law or other authority of one of the parties to the dispute, is wholly or in part contrary to international law, and if the constitutional law of that party does not permit or only partially permits the consequences of the judgment or measure in question to be annulled, the parties agree that the judicial sentence or arbitral award shall grant the injured party equitable satisfaction.

*Article 33.*

1. In all cases where a dispute forms the object of arbitration or judicial proceedings, and particularly if the question on which the parties differ arises out of acts already committed or on the point of being committed, the Permanent Court of International Justice, acting in accordance with Article 41 of its Statute, or the Arbitral Tribunal, shall lay down within the shortest possible time the provisional measures to be adopted. The parties to the dispute shall be bound to accept such measures.

2. If the dispute is brought before a Conciliation Commission, the latter may recommend to the parties the adoption of such provisional measures as it considers suitable.

3. The parties undertake to abstain from all measures likely to react prejudicially upon the execution of the judicial or arbitral decision or upon the arrangements proposed by the Conciliation Commission and, in general, to abstain from any sort of action whatsoever which may aggravate or extend the dispute.

*Article 34.*

Should a dispute arise between more than two Parties to the present General Act, the following rules shall be observed for the application of the forms of procedure described in the foregoing provisions:

(a) In the case of conciliation procedure, a special commission shall invariably be constituted. The composition of such commission shall differ according as the parties all have separate interests or as two or more of their number act together.

In the former case, the parties shall each appoint one commissioner and shall jointly appoint commissioners nationals of third Powers not parties to the dispute, whose number shall always exceed by one the number of commissioners appointed separately by the parties.

In the second case, the parties who act together shall appoint their commissioner jointly by agreement between themselves and shall combine with the other party or parties in appointing third commissioners.

In either event, the parties, unless they agree otherwise, shall apply Article 5 and the following articles of the present Act, so far as they are compatible with the provisions of the present article.

(b) In the case of judicial procedure, the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice shall apply.

(c) In the case of arbitral procedure, if agreement is not secured as to the composition of the tribunal, in the case of the disputes mentioned in Article 17 each party shall have the right, by means of an application, to submit the dispute to the Permanent Court of International Justice; in the case of the disputes mentioned in Article 21, the above Article 22 and following articles shall apply, but each party having separate interests shall appoint one arbitrator and the number of arbitrators separately appointed by the parties to the dispute shall always be one less than that of the other arbitrators.

*Article 35.*

1. The present General Act shall be applicable as between the Parties thereto, even though a third Power, whether a party to the Act or not, has an interest in the dispute.

2. In conciliation procedure, the parties may agree to invite such third Power to intervene.

*Article 36.*

1. In judicial or arbitral procedure, if a third Power should consider that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision in the case, it may submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice or to the arbitral tribunal a request to intervene as a third Party.

2. It will be for the Court or the tribunal to decide upon this request.

*Article 37.*

1. Whenever the construction of a convention to which States other than those concerned in the case are parties is in question, the Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice or the arbitral tribunal shall notify all such States forthwith.

2. Every State so notified has the right to intervene in the proceedings; but, if it uses this right, the construction given by the decision will be binding upon it.

*Article 38.*

Accessions to the present General Act may extend:

A. Either to all the provisions of the Act (Chapters I, II, III and IV);

B. Or to those provisions only which relate to conciliation and judicial settlement (Chapters I and II), together with the general provisions dealing with these procedures (Chapter IV);

C. Or to those provisions only which relate to conciliation (Chapter I), together with the general provisions concerning that procedure (Chapter IV).

The Contracting Parties may benefit by the accessions of other Parties only in so far as they have themselves assumed the same obligations.

*Article 39.*

1. In addition to the power given in the preceding article, a Party, in acceding to the present General Act, may make his acceptance conditional upon the reservations exhaustively enumerated in the following paragraph. These reservations must be indicated at the time of accession.

2. These reservations may be such as to exclude from the procedure described in the present Act:

(a) Disputes arising out of facts prior to the accession either of the Party making the reservation or of any other Party with whom the said Party may have a dispute;

(b) Disputes concerning questions which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of States;

(c) Disputes concerning particular cases or clearly specified subject-matters, such as territorial status, or disputes falling within clearly defined categories.

3. If one of the parties to a dispute has made a reservation, the other parties may enforce the same reservation in regard to that party.

4. In the case of Parties who have acceded to the provisions of the present General Act relating to judicial settlement or to arbitration, such reservations as they may have made shall, unless otherwise expressly stated, be deemed not to apply to the procedure of conciliation.

*Article 40.*

A Party whose accession has been only partial, or was made subject to reservations, may at any moment, by means of a simple declaration, either extend the scope of his accession or abandon all or part of his reservations.

*Article 41.*

Disputes relating to the interpretation or application of the present General Act, including those concerning the classification of disputes and the scope of reservations, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 42.*

The present General Act, of which the French and English texts shall both be authentic, shall bear the date of the 26th of September, 1928.

*Article 43.*

1. The present General Act shall be open to accession by all the Heads of States or other competent authorities of the Members of the League of Nations and the non-Member States to which the Council of the League of Nations has communicated a copy for this purpose.

2. The instruments of accession and the additional declarations provided for by Article 40 shall be transmitted to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall notify their receipt to all the Members of the League and to the non-Member States referred to in the preceding paragraph.

3. The Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall draw up three lists, denominated respectively by the letters A, B and C, corresponding to the three forms of accession to the present Act provided for in Article 38, in which shall be shown the accessions and additional declarations of the Contracting Parties. These lists, which shall be continually kept up to date, shall be published in the annual report presented to the Assembly of the League of Nations by the Secretary-General.

*Article 44.*

1. The present General Act shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the receipt by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations of the accession of not less than two Contracting Parties.

2. Accessions received after the entry into force of the Act, in accordance with the previous paragraph, shall become effective as from the ninetieth day following the date of receipt by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. The same rule shall apply to the additional declarations provided for by Article 40.

*Article 45.*

1. The present General Act shall be concluded for a period of five years, dating from its entry into force.

2. It shall remain in force for further successive periods of five years in the case of Contracting Parties which do not denounce it at least six months before the expiration of the current period.

3. Denunciation shall be effected by a written notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall inform all the Members of the League and the non-Member States referred to in Article 43.

4. A denunciation may be partial only, or may consist in notification of reservations not previously made.

5. Notwithstanding denunciation by one of the Contracting Parties concerned in a dispute, all proceedings pending at the expiration of the current period of the General Act shall be duly completed.

*Article 46.*

A copy of the present General Act, signed by the President of the Assembly and by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, shall be deposited in the archives of the Secretariat; a certified true copy shall be delivered by the Secretary-General to all the Members of the League of Nations and to the non-Member States indicated by the Council of the League of Nations.

*Article 47.*

The present General Act shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations on the date of its entry into force.

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Appendix II.

BILATERAL CONVENTION FOR THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF ALL INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

(Convention a.)

The Heads of States. (Governments are left free to draw up the preamble as they may think fit.)

Have decided to realise their common aim by means of a Convention, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

who, having deposited their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions:

CHAPTER I. — PACIFIC SETTLEMENT IN GENERAL.

Article 1.

Disputes of every kind which may arise between the High Contracting Parties and which it has not been possible to settle by diplomacy shall be submitted, under the conditions laid down in the present Convention, to settlement by judicial means or arbitration, preceded, according to circumstances, as a compulsory or optional measure, by recourse to the procedure of conciliation.

Article 2.

1. Disputes for the settlement of which a special procedure is laid down in other conventions in force between the parties shall be settled in conformity with the provisions of those conventions.

2. The present Convention shall not affect any agreements in force by which conciliation procedure is established between the High Contracting Parties or they are bound by obligations to resort to arbitration or judicial settlement which ensure the settlement of the dispute. If, however, these agreements provide only for a procedure of conciliation, after such procedure has been followed without result, the provisions of the present Convention concerning judicial settlement or arbitration shall be applied.

Article 3.

1. In the case of a dispute the occasion of which, according to the municipal law of one of the parties, falls within the competence of its judicial or administrative authorities, the party in question may object to the matter in dispute being submitted for settlement by the different methods laid down in the present Convention until a decision with final effect has been pronounced, within a reasonable time, by the competent authority.

2. In such a case, the party which desires to resort to the procedures laid down in the present Convention must notify the other party of its intention within a period of one year from the date of the aforementioned decision.

CHAPTER II. — JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT.

Article 4.

All disputes with regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights shall be submitted for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice, unless the parties agree, in the manner hereinafter provided, to have resort to an arbitral tribunal.

It is understood that the disputes referred to above include in particular those mentioned in Article 36 of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Article 5.

If the parties agree to submit the disputes mentioned in the preceding article to an arbitral tribunal, they shall draw up a special agreement in which they shall specify the subject of the dispute, the arbitrators selected and the procedure to be followed. In the absence of sufficient particulars in the special agreement, the provisions of the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes shall apply so far as is necessary. If nothing is laid down in the special agreement as to the rules regarding the substance of the dispute to be followed by the arbitrators, the tribunal shall apply the substantive rules enumerated in Article 38 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.



*Article 6.*

If the parties fail to agree concerning the special agreement referred to in the preceding article, or fail to appoint arbitrators, either party shall be at liberty, after giving three months' notice, to bring the dispute by an application direct before the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 7.*

1. In the case of the disputes mentioned in Article 4, before any procedure before the Permanent Court of International Justice or any arbitral procedure, the parties may agree to have recourse to the conciliation procedure provided for in the present Convention.

2. In the event of recourse to and failure of conciliation, neither party may bring the dispute before the Permanent Court of International Justice or call for the constitution of the Arbitral Tribunal referred to in Article 5 before the expiration of one month from the termination of the proceedings of the Conciliation Commission.

CHAPTER III. — CONCILIATION.

*Article 8.*

All disputes between the parties other than the disputes mentioned in Article 4 shall be submitted obligatorily to a procedure of conciliation before they can form the subject of a settlement by arbitration.

*Article 9.*

The disputes referred to in the preceding article shall be submitted to a permanent or special Conciliation Commission constituted by the parties to the dispute.

*Article 10.*

On a request to that effect being made by one of the Contracting Parties to the other Party, a permanent Conciliation Commission shall be constituted within a period of six months.

*Article 11.*

Unless the parties agree otherwise, the Conciliation Commission shall be constituted as follows:

1. The Commission shall be composed of five members. The parties shall each nominate one commissioner, who may be chosen from among their respective nationals. The three other commissioners shall be appointed by agreement from among the nationals of third Powers. These three commissioners must be of different nationalities and must not be habitually resident in the territory nor be in the service of the parties. The parties shall appoint the President of the Commission from among them.

2. The commissioners shall be appointed for three years. They shall be re-eligible. The commissioners appointed jointly may be replaced during the course of their mandate by agreement between the parties. Either party may, however, at any time replace the commissioner whom it has appointed. Even if replaced, the commissioners shall continue to exercise their functions until the termination of the work in hand.

3. Vacancies which may occur as a result of death, resignation or any other cause shall be filled within the shortest possible time in the manner fixed for the nominations.

*Article 12.*

If, when a dispute arises, no permanent Conciliation Commission appointed by the parties is in existence, a special commission shall be constituted for the examination of the dispute within a period of three months from the date at which a request to that effect is made by one of the parties to the other party. The necessary appointments shall be made in the manner laid down in the preceding article, unless the parties decide otherwise.

*Article 13.*

1. If the appointment of the commissioners to be designated jointly is not made within the periods provided for in Articles 10 and 12, the making of the necessary appointments shall be entrusted to a third Power, chosen by agreement between the parties or, on request of the parties, to the Acting President of the Council of the League of Nations.

2. If no agreement is reached on either of these procedures, each party shall designate a different Power, and the appointment shall be made in concert by the Powers thus chosen.

3. If, within a period of three months, the two Powers have been unable to reach an agreement, each of them shall submit a number of candidates equal to the number of members to be appointed. It shall then be decided by lot which of the candidates thus designated shall be appointed.

*Article 14.*

1. Disputes shall be brought before the Conciliation Commission by means of an application addressed to the President by the two parties acting in agreement, or, in default thereof, by one or other of the parties.

2. The application, after giving a summary account of the subject of the dispute, shall contain the invitation to the Commission to take all necessary measures with a view to arriving at an amicable solution.

3. If the application emanates from only one of the parties, the other party shall without delay be notified by it.

*Article 15.*

1. Within fifteen days from the date on which a dispute has been brought by one of the parties before a permanent Conciliation Commission, either party may replace its own commissioner, for the examination of the particular dispute, by a person possessing special competence in the matter.

2. The party making use of this right shall immediately notify the other party; the latter shall in such case be entitled to take similar action within fifteen days from the date on which it received the notification.

*Article 16.*

1. In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the Conciliation Commission shall meet at the seat of the League of Nations, or at some other place selected by its President.

2. The Commission may in all circumstances request the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to afford it his assistance.

*Article 17.*

The work of the Conciliation Commission shall not be conducted in public unless a decision to that effect is taken by the Commission with the consent of the parties.

*Article 18.*

1. In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the Conciliation Commission shall lay down its own procedure, which in any case must provide for both parties being heard. In regard to enquiries, the Commission, unless it decides unanimously to the contrary, shall act in accordance with the provisions of Part III of the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

2. The parties shall be represented before the Conciliation Commission by agents, whose duty shall be to act as intermediaries between them and the Commission; they may, moreover, be assisted by counsel and experts appointed by them for that purpose and may request that all persons whose evidence appears to them desirable shall be heard.

3. The Commission, for its part, shall be entitled to request oral explanations from the agents, counsel and experts of both parties, as well as from all persons it may think desirable to summon with the consent of their Governments.

*Article 19.*

In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the decisions of the Conciliation Commission shall be taken by a majority vote and the Commission may only take decisions on the substance of the dispute if all its members are present.

*Article 20.*

The parties undertake to facilitate the work of the Conciliation Commission and particularly to supply it to the greatest possible extent with all relevant documents and information, as well as to use the means at their disposal to allow it to proceed in their territory, and in accordance with their law, to the summoning and hearing of witnesses or experts and to visit the localities in question.

*Article 21.*

1. During the proceedings of the Commission, each of the commissioners shall receive emoluments the amount of which shall be fixed by agreement between the parties, each of which shall contribute an equal share.

2. The general expenses arising out of the working of the Commission shall be divided in the same manner.

*Article 22.*

1. The task of the Conciliation Commission shall be to elucidate the questions in dispute, to collect with that object all necessary information by means of enquiry or otherwise, and to endeavour to bring the parties to an agreement. It may, after the case has been examined, inform the parties of the terms of settlement which seem suitable to it, and lay down the period within which they are to make their decision.

2. At the close of its proceedings, the Commission shall draw up a procès-verbal stating, as the case may be, either that the parties have come to an agreement, and, if need arises, the terms of the agreement, or that it has been impossible to effect a settlement. No mention shall be made in the procès-verbal of whether the Commission's decisions were taken unanimously or by a majority vote.

3. The proceedings of the Commission must, unless the parties otherwise agree, be terminated within six months from the date on which the Commission shall have been given cognisance of the dispute.

*Article 23.*

The Commission's procès-verbal shall be communicated without delay to the parties. The parties shall decide whether it shall be published.

CHAPTER IV. — SETTLEMENT BY ARBITRATION.

*Article 24.*

If the parties have not reached an agreement within a month from the termination of the proceedings of the Conciliation Commission mentioned in the previous articles, the question shall be brought before an arbitral tribunal which, unless the parties agree otherwise, shall be constituted in the manner indicated below.

*Article 25.*

The Arbitral Tribunal shall consist of five members. The parties shall each nominate one member, who may be chosen from among their respective nationals. The two other arbitrators and the Chairman shall be chosen by common agreement from among the nationals of third Powers. They must be of different nationalities and must not be habitually resident in the territory nor be in the service of the parties.

*Article 26.*

1. If the appointment of the members of the Arbitral Tribunal is not made within a period of three months from the date on which one of the parties requested the other party to constitute an arbitral tribunal, a third Power, chosen by agreement between the parties, shall be requested to make the necessary appointments.

2. If no agreement is reached on this point, each party shall designate a different Power, and the appointments shall be made in concert by the Powers thus chosen.

3. If, within a period of three months, the two Powers so chosen have been unable to reach an agreement, the necessary appointments shall be made by the President of the Permanent Court of International Justice. If the latter is prevented from acting or is a subject of one of the parties, the nomination shall be made by the Vice-President. If the latter is prevented from acting or is a subject of one of the parties, the appointments shall be made by the oldest member of the Court who is not a subject of either party.

*Article 27.*

Vacancies which may occur as a result of death, resignation or any other cause shall be filled within the shortest possible time in the manner fixed for the nominations.

*Article 28.*

The parties shall draw up a special agreement determining the subject of the dispute and the details of procedure.

*Article 29.*

Failing stipulations to the contrary in the special agreement, the procedure followed by the Arbitral Tribunal shall be that laid down in Part IV, Chapter III, of the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

*Article 30.*

Failing the conclusion of a special agreement within a period of three months from the date on which the Tribunal was constituted, the dispute may be brought before the Tribunal by an application by one or other party.

*Article 31.*

If nothing is laid down in the special agreement or no special agreement has been made, the Tribunal shall apply the rules in regard to the substance of the dispute indicated in Article 38 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. In so far as there exists no such rule applicable to the dispute, the Tribunal shall decide *ex aequo et bono*.

CHAPTER V. — GENERAL PROVISIONS.

*Article 32.*

1. In all cases where a dispute forms the object of arbitration or judicial proceedings, and particularly if the question on which the parties differ arises out of acts already committed or on the point of being committed, the Permanent Court of International Justice, acting in accordance with Article 41 of its Statute, or the Arbitral Tribunal shall lay down within the shortest possible time the provisional measures to be adopted. The parties to the dispute shall be bound to accept such measures.

2. If the dispute is brought before a Conciliation Commission, the latter may recommend to the parties the adoption of such provisional measures as it considers suitable.

3. The parties undertake to abstain from all measures likely to react prejudicially upon the execution of the judicial or arbitral decision or upon the arrangements proposed by the Conciliation Commission, and, in general, to abstain from any sort of action whatsoever which may aggravate or extend the dispute.

Article 33.

If, in a judicial sentence or arbitral award, it is declared that a judgment, or a measure enjoined by a court of law or other authority of one of the parties to the dispute, is wholly or in part contrary to international law, and if the constitutional law of that party does not permit or only partially permits the consequences of the judgment or measure in question to be annulled, the parties agree that the judicial sentence or arbitral award shall grant the injured party equitable satisfaction.

Article 34.

1. The present Convention shall be applicable as between the High Contracting Parties, even though a third Power has an interest in the dispute.
2. In conciliation procedure, the parties may agree to invite such third Power to intervene.
3. In judicial or arbitral procedure, if a third Power should consider that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision in the case, it may submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice or to the Arbitral Tribunal a request to intervene as a third party. It will be for the Court or the Tribunal to decide upon this request.
4. Whenever the construction of a convention to which States other than those concerned in the case are parties is in question, the Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice or the Arbitral Tribunal shall notify all such States forthwith. Every State so notified has the right to intervene in the proceedings: but if it uses this right, the construction given by the decision will be binding upon it.

Article. <sup>1</sup>

Article 35.

Disputes relating to the interpretation or application of the present Convention, including those concerning the classification of disputes (. . . .<sup>2</sup>) shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Article 36.

The present Convention, which is in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations, shall not be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League to take, at any time, whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world.

Article 37.

1. The present Convention shall be ratified and the exchange of ratifications shall take place at .....
- It shall be registered at the Secretariat of the League of Nations.
2. The Convention shall be concluded for a period of five years dating from the exchange of ratifications.
3. If it has not been denounced at least six months before the expiration of this period, it shall remain in force for further successive periods of five years.
4. Notwithstanding denunciation by one of the High Contracting Parties, all proceedings pending at the expiration of the current period of the Convention shall be duly completed.

IN FAITH WHEREOF, the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention.

DONE at ..... on .....

in ..... copies .....

<sup>1</sup> States desiring to introduce reservations might insert here an article based on Article 39 of the General Act. In this case they would require to adapt various articles of the Convention to the existence of reservations, as is done in the General Act.

<sup>2</sup> If the Convention contains reservations, it would be convenient to add: " and the scope of reservations ".

BILATERAL CONVENTION FOR JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT, ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION.

(Convention b.)

The Heads of States (Governments are left free to draw up the Preamble as they may think fit),

.....  
Have decided to achieve their common aim by means of a Convention, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

.....  
who, having deposited their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions:

CHAPTER I. — PACIFIC SETTLEMENT IN GENERAL.

*Article 1.*

Disputes of every kind which may arise between the High Contracting Parties and which it has not been possible to settle by diplomacy shall be submitted to a procedure of judicial settlement, arbitration or conciliation under the conditions laid down in the present Convention.

*Article 2.*

1. Disputes for the settlement of which a special procedure is laid down in other conventions in force between the parties to the dispute shall be settled in conformity with the provisions of those conventions.

2. The present Convention shall not affect any agreements in force by which conciliation procedure is established between the High Contracting Parties or they are bound by obligations to resort to arbitration or judicial settlement which ensure the settlement of the dispute. If, however, these agreements provide only for a procedure of conciliation, after such procedure has been followed without result, the provisions of the present Convention concerning judicial settlement or arbitration shall be applied.

*Article 3.*

1. In the case of a dispute the occasion of which, according to the municipal law of one of the parties, falls within the competence of its judicial or administrative authorities, the party in question may object to the matter in dispute being submitted for settlement by the different methods laid down in the present Convention until a decision with final effect has been pronounced, within a reasonable time, by the competent authority.

2. In such a case, the party which desires to resort to the procedures laid down in the present Convention must notify the other party of its intention within a period of one year from the date of the aforementioned decision.

CHAPTER II. — JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT.

*Article 4.*

All disputes with regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights shall be submitted for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice, unless the parties agree, in the manner hereinafter provided, to have resort to an arbitral tribunal.

It is understood that the disputes referred to above include in particular those mentioned in Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 5.*

If the Parties agree to submit the disputes mentioned in the preceding article to an arbitral tribunal, they shall draw up a special agreement in which they shall specify the subject of the dispute, the arbitrators selected and the procedure to be followed. In the absence of sufficient particulars in the special agreement, the provisions of the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes shall apply so far as is necessary. If nothing is laid down in the special agreement as to the rules regarding the substance of the dispute to be followed by the arbitrators, the Tribunal shall apply the substantive rules enumerated in Article 38 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 6.*

If the parties fail to agree concerning the special agreement referred to in the preceding article, or fail to appoint arbitrators, either party shall be at liberty, after giving three months' notice, to bring the dispute by an application direct before the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 7.*

1. In the case of the disputes mentioned in Article 4, before any procedure before the Permanent Court of International Justice or any arbitral procedure, the parties may agree to have recourse to the conciliation procedure provided for in the present Convention.

2. In the event of recourse to and failure of conciliation, neither party may bring the dispute before the Permanent Court of International Justice or call for the constitution of the arbitral Tribunal referred to in Article 5 before the expiration of one month from the termination of the proceedings of the Conciliation Commission.

CHAPTER III. — CONCILIATION.

*Article 8.*

All disputes between the parties other than the disputes mentioned in Article 4 shall be submitted obligatorily to a procedure of conciliation.

*Article 9.*

The disputes referred to in the preceding article shall be submitted to a permanent or special Conciliation Commission constituted by the parties.

*Article 10.*

On a request to that effect being made by one of the Contracting Parties to the other Party, a permanent Conciliation Commission shall be constituted within a period of six months.

*Article 11.*

Unless the parties agree otherwise, the Conciliation Commission shall be constituted as follows:

1. The Commission shall be composed of five members. The parties shall each nominate one commissioner, who may be chosen from among their respective nationals. The three other commissioners shall be appointed by agreement from among the nationals of third Powers. These three commissioners must be of different nationalities and must not be habitually resident in the territory nor be in the service of the parties. The parties shall appoint the President of the Commission from among them.

2. The commissioners shall be appointed for three years. They shall be re-eligible. The commissioners appointed jointly may be replaced during the course of their mandate by agreement between the parties. Either party may, however, at any time replace the commissioner whom it has appointed. Even if replaced, the commissioners shall continue to exercise their functions until the termination of the work in hand.

3. Vacancies which may occur as a result of death, resignation or any other cause shall be filled within the shortest possible time in the manner fixed for the nominations.

*Article 12.*

If, when a dispute arises, no permanent Conciliation Commission appointed by the parties is in existence, a special commission shall be constituted for the examination of the dispute within a period of three months from the date at which a request to that effect is made by one of the parties to the other party. The necessary appointments shall be made in the manner laid down in the preceding article, unless the parties decide otherwise.

*Article 13.*

1. If the appointment of the commissioners to be designated jointly is not made within the periods provided for in Articles 10 and 12, the making of the necessary appointments shall be entrusted to a third Power, chosen by agreement between the parties or, on request of the parties, to the Acting President of the Council of the League of Nations.

2. If no agreement is reached on either of these procedures, each party shall designate a different Power, and the appointment shall be made in concert by the Powers thus chosen.

3. If, within a period of three months, the two Powers have been unable to reach an agreement, each of them shall submit a number of candidates equal to the number of members to be appointed. It shall then be decided by lot which of the candidates thus designated shall be appointed.

*Article 14.*

1. Disputes shall be brought before the Conciliation Commission by means of an application addressed to the President by the two parties acting in agreement, or, in default thereof, by one or other of the parties.

2. The application, after giving a summary account of the subject of the dispute, shall contain the invitation to the Commission to take all necessary measures with a view to arriving at an amicable solution.

3. If the application emanates from only one of the parties, the other party shall without delay be notified by it.

*Article 15.*

1. Within fifteen days from the date on which a dispute has been brought by one of the parties before a permanent Conciliation Commission, either party may replace its own commissioner, for the examination of the particular dispute, by a person possessing special competence in the matter.

2. The party making use of this right shall immediately notify the other party; the latter shall in such case be entitled to take similar action within fifteen days from the date on which the notification reaches it.

*Article 16.*

1. In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the Conciliation Commission shall meet at the seat of the League of Nations, or at some other place selected by its President.

2. The Commission may in all circumstances request the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to afford it his assistance.

*Article 17.*

The work of the Conciliation Commission shall not be conducted in public unless a decision to that effect is taken by the Commission with the consent of the parties.

*Article 18.*

1. In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the Conciliation Commission shall lay down its own procedure, which in any case must provide for both parties being heard. In regard to enquiries, the Commission, unless it decides unanimously to the contrary, shall act in accordance with the provisions of Part III of the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

2. The parties shall be represented before the Conciliation Commission by agents, whose duty shall be to act as intermediaries between them and the Commission; they may, moreover, be assisted by counsel and experts appointed by them for that purpose and may request that all persons whose evidence appears to them desirable shall be heard.

3. The Commission, for its part, shall be entitled to request oral explanations from the agents, counsel and experts of both parties, as well as from all persons it may think desirable to summon with the consent of their Governments.

*Article 19.*

In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the decisions of the Conciliation Commission shall be taken by a majority vote and the Commission may only take decisions on the substance of the dispute if all its members are present.

*Article 20.*

The parties undertake to facilitate the work of the Conciliation Commission and particularly to supply it to the greatest possible extent with all relevant documents and information, as well as to use the means at their disposal to allow it to proceed in their territory, and in accordance with their law, to the summoning and hearing of witnesses or experts and to visit the localities in question.

*Article 21.*

1. During the proceedings of the Commission, each of the commissioners shall receive emoluments the amount of which shall be fixed by agreement between the parties, each of which shall contribute an equal share.

2. The general expenses arising out of the working of the Commission shall be divided in the same manner.

*Article 22.*

1. The task of the Conciliation Commission shall be to elucidate the questions in dispute, to collect with that object all necessary information by means of enquiry or otherwise, and to endeavour to bring the parties to an agreement. It may, after the case has been examined, inform the parties of the terms of settlement which seem suitable to it, and lay down the period within which they are to make their decision.

2. At the close of its proceedings, the Commission shall draw up a procès-verbal stating, as the case may be, either that the parties have come to an agreement, and, if need arises, the terms of the agreement, or that it has been impossible to effect a settlement. No mention shall be made in the procès-verbal of whether the Commission's decisions were taken unanimously or by a majority vote.

3. The proceedings of the Commission must, unless the parties otherwise agree, be terminated within six months from the date on which the Commission shall have been given cognisance of the dispute.

*Article 23.*

The Commission's procès-verbal shall be communicated without delay to the parties. The parties shall decide whether it shall be published.

*Article 24.*

If the parties have not reached an agreement within a month from the termination of the proceedings of the Conciliation Commission, the dispute remains subject to be dealt with in accordance with Article 15<sup>1</sup> of the Covenant of the League of Nations. This provision shall not apply in the case provided for in Article 7.

<sup>1</sup> Should the Convention be concluded between a Member of the League of Nations and a non-Member State, the reference to Article 15 should be replaced by a reference to Article 17.

CHAPTER IV. — GENERAL PROVISIONS.

Article 25.

1. In all cases where a dispute forms the object of arbitration or judicial proceedings, and particularly if the question on which the parties differ arises out of acts already committed or on the point of being committed, the Permanent Court of International Justice, acting in accordance with Article 41 of its Statute, or the Arbitral Tribunal, shall lay down within the shortest possible time the provisional measures to be adopted. The parties to the dispute shall be bound to accept such measures.

2. If the dispute is brought before a Conciliation Commission, the latter may recommend to the parties the adoption of such provisional measures as it considers suitable.

3. The parties undertake to abstain from all measures likely to react prejudicially upon the execution of the judicial or arbitral decision or upon the arrangements proposed by the Conciliation Commission and, in general, to abstain from any sort of action whatsoever which may aggravate or extend the dispute.

Article 26.

If, in a judicial sentence or arbitral award, it is declared that a judgment, or a measure enjoined by a court of law or other authority of one of the parties to the dispute, is wholly or in part contrary to international law, and if the constitutional law of that party does not permit or only partially permits the consequences of the judgment or measure in question to be annulled, the parties agree that the judicial sentence or arbitral award shall grant the injured party equitable satisfaction.

Article 27.

1. The present Convention shall be applicable as between the High Contracting Parties, even though a third Power has an interest in the dispute.

2. In conciliation procedure, the parties may agree to invite such third Power to intervene.

3. In judicial or arbitral procedure, if a third Power should consider that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision in the case, it may submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice or to the Arbitral Tribunal a request to intervene as a third Party. It will be for the Court or the Tribunal to decide upon this request.

4. Whenever the construction of a convention to which States other than those concerned in the case are parties is in question, the Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice or the Tribunal shall notify all such States forthwith.

Every State so notified has the right to intervene in the proceedings; but, if it uses this right, the construction given by the decision will be binding upon it.

Article.<sup>1</sup>

Article 28.

Disputes relating to the interpretation or application of the present Convention, including those concerning the classification of disputes (. . . .<sup>2</sup>) shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Article 29.

The present Convention, which is in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations, shall not be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League to take, at any time, whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world.

Article 30.

1. The present Convention shall be ratified and the exchange of ratifications shall take place at .....

It shall be registered at the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

2. The Convention shall be concluded for a period of five years dating from the exchange of ratifications.

3. If it has not been denounced at least six months before the expiration of this period, it shall remain in force for further successive periods of five years.

4. Notwithstanding denunciation by one of the High Contracting Parties, all proceedings pending at the expiration of the current period of the Convention shall be duly completed.

IN FAITH WHEREOF, the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention.

DONE at ..... on .....  
in ..... copies .....

<sup>1</sup> States desiring to introduce reservations might be guided by Article 39 of the General Act. In this case they would require to adapt various articles of the Convention to the existence of reservations, as is done in the General Act.  
<sup>2</sup> If the Convention contains reservations, it would be convenient to add: "and the scope of reservations".



BILATERAL CONCILIATION CONVENTION.

(Convention c.)

The Heads of States (Governments are left free to draw up the Preamble as they may think fit).

Have decided to achieve their common aim by means of a Convention, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

who, having deposited their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions:

*Article 1.*

Disputes of every kind which may arise between the High Contracting Parties and which it has not been possible to settle by diplomacy shall be submitted, under the conditions laid down in the present Convention, to settlement by recourse to the procedure of conciliation.

*Article 2.*

The disputes referred to in the preceding article shall be submitted to a permanent or special Conciliation Commission constituted by the parties.

*Article 3.*

Disputes for the settlement of which a procedure by judicial settlement, arbitration or conciliation is laid down in other conventions in force between the parties shall be settled in conformity with the provisions of such conventions.

*Article 4.*

If a party brings before a Conciliation Commission a dispute which the other party relying on conventions in force between the parties has submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice or an arbitral tribunal, the Commission shall defer consideration of the dispute until the Court or the Arbitral Tribunal has pronounced upon the conflict of competence. The same rule shall apply if the Court or the Tribunal is seized of the case by one of the parties during the conciliation proceedings.

*Article 5.*

1. In the case of a dispute the occasion of which, according to the municipal law of one of the parties, falls within the competence of its judicial or administrative authorities, the party in question may object to the matter in dispute being submitted for settlement by the different methods laid down in the present Convention until a decision with final effect has been pronounced, within a reasonable time, by the competent authority.

2. In such a case, the party which desires to resort to the procedures laid down in the present Convention must notify the other party of its intention within a period of one year from the date of the aforementioned decision.

*Article 6.*

On a request to that effect being made by one of the Contracting Parties to the other Party, a permanent Conciliation Commission shall be constituted within a period of six months.

*Article 7.*

Unless the parties agree otherwise, the Conciliation Commission shall be constituted as follows:

1. The Commission shall be composed of five members. The parties shall each nominate one commissioner, who may be chosen from among their respective nationals. The three other commissioners shall be appointed by agreement from among the nationals of third Powers. These three commissioners must be of different nationalities and must not be habitually resident in the territory nor be in the service of the parties. The parties shall appoint the President of the Commission from among them.

2. The commissioners shall be appointed for three years. They shall be re-eligible. The commissioners appointed jointly may be replaced during the course of their mandate by agreement between the parties. Either party may, however, at any time replace a commissioner whom it has appointed. Even if replaced, the commissioners shall continue to exercise their functions until the termination of the work in hand.

3. Vacancies which may occur as a result of death, resignation or any other cause shall be filled within the shortest possible time in the manner fixed for the nominations.

*Article 8.*

If, when a dispute arises, no permanent Conciliation Commission appointed by the parties is in existence, a special commission shall be constituted for the examination of the dispute within a period of three months from the date at which a request to that effect is made by one of the parties to the other party. The necessary appointments shall be made in the manner laid down in the preceding article, unless the parties decide otherwise.

*Article 9.*

1. If the appointment of the commissioners to be designated jointly is not made within the periods provided for in Articles 6 and 8, the making of the necessary appointments shall be entrusted to a third Power, chosen by agreement between the parties or, on request of the parties, to the Acting President of the Council of the League of Nations.

2. If no agreement is reached on either of these procedures, each party shall designate a different Power, and the appointment shall be made in concert by the Powers thus chosen.

3. If, within a period of three months, the two Powers have been unable to reach an agreement, each of them shall submit a number of candidates equal to the number of members to be appointed. It shall then be decided by lot which of the candidates thus designated shall be appointed.

*Article 10.*

1. Disputes shall be brought before the Conciliation Commission by means of an application addressed to the President by the two parties acting in agreement, or in default thereof by one or other of the parties.

2. The application, after giving a summary account of the subject of the dispute, shall contain the invitation to the Commission to take all necessary measures with a view to arriving at an amicable solution.

3. If the application emanates from only one of the parties, the other party shall without delay be notified by it.

*Article 11.*

1. Within fifteen days from the date on which a dispute has been brought by one of the parties before a permanent Conciliation Commission, either party may replace its own commissioner, for the examination of the particular dispute, by a person possessing special competence in the matter.

2. The party making use of this right shall immediately notify the other party; the latter shall, in such case, be entitled to take similar action within fifteen days from the date on which it received the notification.

*Article 12.*

1. In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the Conciliation Commission shall meet at the seat of the League of Nations, or at some other place selected by its President.

2. The Commission may in all circumstances request the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to afford it his assistance.

*Article 13.*

The work of the Conciliation Commission shall not be conducted in public unless a decision to that effect is taken by the Commission with the consent of the parties.

*Article 14.*

1. In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the Conciliation Commission shall lay down its own procedure, which in any case must provide for both parties being heard. In regard to enquiries, the Commission, unless it decides unanimously to the contrary, shall act in accordance with the provisions of Part III of the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

2. The parties shall be represented before the Conciliation Commission by agents, whose duty shall be to act as intermediaries between them and the Commission; they may, moreover, be assisted by counsel and experts appointed by them for that purpose and may request that all persons whose evidence appears to them desirable shall be heard.

3. The Commission, for its part, shall be entitled to request oral explanations from the agents, counsel and experts of both parties, as well as from all persons it may think desirable to summon with the consent of their Governments.

*Article 15.*

In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the decisions of the Conciliation Commission shall be taken by a majority vote and the Commission may only take decisions on the substance of the dispute if all its members are present.

*Article 16.*

The parties undertake to facilitate the work of the Conciliation Commission and particularly to supply it to the greatest possible extent with all relevant documents and information, as well as to use the means at their disposal to allow it to proceed in their territory, and in accordance with their law, to the summoning and hearing of witnesses or experts and to visit the localities in question.

*Article 17.*

1. During the proceedings of the Commission, each of the commissioners shall receive emoluments the amount of which shall be fixed by agreement between the parties, each of which shall contribute an equal share.

2. The general expenses arising out of the working of the Commission shall be divided in the same manner.

*Article 18.*

1. The task of the Conciliation Commission shall be to elucidate the questions in dispute, to collect with that object all necessary information by means of enquiry or otherwise, and to endeavour to bring the parties to an agreement. It may, after the case has been examined, inform the parties of the terms of settlement which seem suitable to it, and lay down the period within which they are to make their decision.

2. At the close of its proceedings, the Commission shall draw up a procès-verbal stating, as the case may be, either that the parties have come to an agreement, and, if need arises, the terms of the agreement, or that it has been impossible to effect a settlement. No mention shall be made in the procès-verbal of whether the Commission's decisions were taken unanimously or by a majority vote.

3. The proceedings of the Commission must, unless the parties otherwise agree, be terminated within six months from the date on which the Commission shall have been given cognisance of the dispute.

*Article 19.*

The Commission's procès-verbal shall be communicated without delay to the parties. The parties shall decide whether it shall be published.

*Article 20.*

1. In all cases, and particularly if the question on which the parties differ arises out of acts already committed or on the point of being committed, the Conciliation Commission, when given cognisance of the dispute, may recommend to the parties the adoption of such provisional measures as it may consider desirable.

2. The parties to the dispute undertake to abstain from all measures likely to react prejudicially upon the arrangements proposed by the Conciliation Commission, and in general to abstain from any sort of action whatsoever which may aggravate or extend the dispute.

*Article 21.*

1. The present Convention shall be applicable as between the High Contracting Parties, even though a third Power has an interest in the dispute.

2. The parties may agree to invite such third Power to intervene.

*Article. <sup>1</sup>*

*Article 22.*

Disputes relating to the interpretation or application of the present Convention, including those concerning the classification of disputes (. . . .<sup>2</sup>) shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 23.*

The present Convention, which is in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations, shall not be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League to take, at any time, whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world.

*Article 24.*

1. The present Convention shall be ratified and the exchange of ratifications shall take place at .....

It shall be registered at the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

2. The Convention shall be concluded for a period of five years dating from the exchange of ratifications.

3. If it has not been denounced at least six months before the expiration of this period, it shall remain in force for further successive periods of five years.

4. Notwithstanding denunciation by one of the High Contracting Parties, all proceedings pending at the expiration of the current period of the Convention shall be duly completed.

IN FAITH WHEREOF, the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention.

DONE at ..... on .....  
in..... copies .....

<sup>1</sup> States desiring to introduce reservations might insert here an article based on Article 39 of the General Act. In this case they would require to adapt various articles of the Convention to the existence of reservations, as is done in the General Act.

<sup>2</sup> If the Convention contains reservations, it would be convenient to add " and the scope of reservations ".

Appendix III.

(a) INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE MODEL COLLECTIVE TREATIES OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND OF COLLECTIVE AND BILATERAL TREATIES OF NON-AGGRESSION DRAWN UP BY THE COMMITTEE ON ARBITRATION AND SECURITY.

The Committee thought it advisable to prepare three model treaties which are of unequal scope as regards the degree of security they might afford to States seeking fresh guarantees.

I. MODEL TREATY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE.

The draft having the widest scope is clearly that which combines the three elements: non-aggression, peaceful settlement of disputes and mutual assistance.

This draft differs from the Rhine Pact of Locarno in several respects:

- (a) It contains no clause guaranteeing the maintenance of the territorial *status quo*.
- (b) It provides for no guarantee by third States.
- (c) It provides for the case of States non-members of the League of Nations being parties to the treaty.
- (d) It contains, with regard to the peaceful settlement of disputes, a certain number of clauses which, in the Locarno Agreements, do not figure in the Rhine Pact, but in annexed Conventions.

These differences are due, in the model treaty recommended, to the following reasons:

(a) The individual and collective guarantee of the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* would clearly constitute a very important factor of security in the model treaty proposed; but the fact that certain Powers, when negotiating such a treaty, would not feel able to accept such a clause should not, in the Committee's opinion, prevent the negotiations from being successful. For the clause in question is not essential, and it is understood that, being concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations and within the scope of its Covenant, the treaty assumes the full maintenance of the fundamental principle of Article 10 and all other provisions of the Covenant in relation between the contracting parties.

It is therefore quite possible to be content with the three essential factors of the treaty: non-aggression, the peaceful settlement of disputes and mutual assistance. By their close combination, they signify that the contracting parties, renouncing the use of force to back up their claims, will be guided by a respect for legality in their relations with each other, and that whichever of them breaks its engagements will expose itself, apart from the possible application of the collective sanctions provided for in Article 16 of the Covenant, to the particular sanctions organised by the system of mutual assistance provided for in the treaty.

(b) Similarly, while the guarantee of third States can greatly add to the effectiveness of a treaty of mutual assistance, clearly its absence must not constitute an obstacle to the conclusion of the treaty. The Committee has therefore not thought it advisable to include a clause of this nature in the model treaty it recommends. In the event of the contracting parties being able to rely on the guarantee of third States, the details of this guarantee might either figure in the treaty itself, according to the precedent of the Rhine Pact of Locarno, or be dealt with in separate conventions.

(c) The Committee thought it expedient to provide for the case of States non-members of the League of Nations being parties to the treaty. It considers that it has made this possible by inserting the provision of Article 28 under which any non-legal conflict between the parties would, in the event of the failure of conciliation proceedings, be governed by the provisions of Article 17 of the Covenant if one of the parties to the dispute is not a member of the League of Nations.

The Turkish delegation proposed that the Committee should go a step further and omit the exceptions provided for in Article 1, which lays down the obligation of non-aggression, and should stipulate:

- (1) That aggression by one of the Contracting Parties against another Contracting Party would involve the annulment of the treaty.
- (2) That aggression by one of the Contracting Parties against a third Power would involve release from the obligation of neutrality which should be provided for in a new article of the treaty.

Moreover, the Turkish delegation proposed that it should be stipulated in Article 3 with reference to a violation of Article 1 that, if one of the Contracting Parties not a member of the League of Nations so requests, the question should not be brought before the Council, but submitted to an international commission of enquiry.

The Committee was of opinion that the problems raised by the Turkish delegation's proposals were too complex for it to be possible to examine them at the present session. Unless the Assembly itself desires to examine them, they might be considered at a subsequent meeting of the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

The Turkish delegation agreed to the proposed adjournment.

(d) The Committee thought it advisable to insert in the model treaty it recommends a certain number of clauses relating to the peaceful settlement of disputes. This does not mean that the parties will not be free to apply among themselves the clauses of wider scope which may have been stipulated in the arbitration conventions they have previously concluded or which they may subsequently conclude; but the Committee desired to indicate that a certain minimum of explicit rules is necessary owing to the interdependence of the elements of non-aggression, of the peaceful settlement of disputes and of mutual assistance. Since it is assuming obligations in regard to mutual assistance, each of the Contracting Parties must know that the other Parties are accepting sufficiently extensive obligations in regard to the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The draft treaty recommended consists of a preamble and a series of articles. In the Committee's view, these texts are not unalterable. The Contracting Parties may make any modification they consider useful, provided they respect the interdependence and equilibrium of the three essential factors to which we have referred.

The Committee itself indicates below a certain number of possible departures from the text which it has drawn up.

*Preamble:* The preamble might be limited to a single paragraph, omitting those which have been borrowed from some of the Locarno Conventions. The Committee thinks, however, that it would be well to retain these additional paragraphs. They would serve to create that confidence between the Contracting Parties by which their relations should be governed. They would mark the respect for legality by which the contracting parties would agree to be guided in their relations, and the absence of all chicanery and moral or political pressure.

*Article 1.* The formula by which "each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes not to . . . resort to war against another Contracting Party" must, in the opinion of the Committee, be understood to mean that the parties, which undertake by the Treaty of Mutual Assistance to settle all their disputes by forms of pacific procedure, in every case exclude recourse to force in any form whatever, apart from the exceptions formally reserved in the text.

*Article 3.* It might be possible and desirable in certain cases to add stipulations regarding flagrant aggression. Parties could insert in their Treaty of Mutual Assistance a clause similar to that in paragraph 3, Article 4, of the Rhine Pact of Locarno. This clause reads as follows:

"In case of a flagrant violation of Article 2 of the present Treaty or of a flagrant breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles by one of the High Contracting Parties, each of the other Contracting Parties hereby undertakes immediately to come to the help of the Party against whom such a violation or breach has been directed as soon as the said Power has been able to satisfy itself that this violation constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression and that, by reason either of the crossing of the frontier or of the outbreak of hostilities or of the assembly of armed forces in the demilitarised zone, immediate action is necessary. Nevertheless, the Council of the League of Nations, which will be seized of the question in accordance with the first paragraph of this Article, will issue its findings, and the High Contracting Parties undertake to act in accordance with the recommendations of the Council, provided that they are concurred in by all the members other than the representatives of the Parties which have engaged in hostilities."

The Parties might further stipulate that, should the Council prescribe an armistice, they undertake to carry out its conditions. Such a formula would have the twofold advantage of not anticipating any measures that the Council might take in the case of hostilities which had started, and of facilitating the designation of the aggressor, if the Council decided to prescribe an armistice. But this is a difficult point, and the Committee thought it best to make no mention of it in the model treaty.

*Subjects which might be dealt with in Special Clauses.*

(a) *Reservations.* — The Committee did not think that it should draft a special article providing for the possibility of excluding certain classes of disputes from the procedure for the pacific settlement of disputes. If the contracting parties agreed to insert in their treaty certain reservations, they might be guided by the provisions regarding reservations contained in the General Convention for Judicial Settlement, Arbitration and Conciliation (Convention B). It would be clearly understood, of course, that the undertaking regarding non-aggression contained in Article 1 would in no case be affected by the insertion of provisions of this kind. Even in respect of disputes reserved in this way, the obligation not to resort to force would remain unaffected.

(b) *Preventive and provisional measures.* — The clause inserted in the general provisions with regard to the provisional measures which might be indicated by an international court, or recommended by a Conciliation Commission, could be supplemented by the relevant provisions of the model treaty to strengthen the means of preventing war.

(c) *Re-establishment of peace after an aggression.* — The Committee had to consider, in pursuance of the proposal made by some of its members, whether the model Treaty of Mutual Assistance should not include stipulations concerning the action to be taken by the Council in connection with the cessation of mutual assistance, the re-establishment of normal relations and the reparations to be claimed from the aggressor.

After consideration, the Committee decided that it would not be expedient to insert such detailed provisions. It would always be open to the Parties, should they so desire, to extend their particular treaty by the inclusion of clauses of this kind.

(d) *Establishment of demilitarised zones.* — The establishment of demilitarised zones, as long experience has shown—in particular the naval demilitarisation of the Great Lakes of North America or the demilitarisation of the frontier between Norway and Sweden—tends to give nations a feeling of greater security. However, this is not always the case. Here, again, all depends on circumstances. If the Contracting Parties or certain of them wished to establish such zones along their frontiers, they could do so by separate conventions.

(e) *Accession of third States.* — The Committee decided not to insert a clause stipulating that collective treaties of mutual assistance should remain open for the accession of third States. Such accessions are only conceivable with the consent of the Contracting Parties.

(f) *Co-ordination of Treaties of Mutual Assistance with the Covenant of the League of Nations and any separate agreements which the Contracting Parties may have concluded previously.* — The Committee considers that the provisions of the draft harmonise with those of the League Covenant. The parties will have to see that no clauses are introduced the application of which would conflict with the operation of the Covenant. Otherwise they will risk weakening the general guarantee given to Members of the League by Article 16 of the Covenant.

In any case, the parties will do well to retain in their treaty the clause by which they reserve their rights and obligations as Members of the League of Nations.

The parties will also have to co-ordinate with the Treaty of Mutual Assistance any separate agreements which they may have concluded previously.

(g) *Duration of Treaties of Mutual Assistance.* — The Committee did not feel called upon to decide between the various systems which could be adopted with regard to the duration of the treaty. It had in mind three main systems: the first, on the lines of the Rhine Pact of Locarno, without indication as to duration, but expiring as a result of a decision by the Council; the second, providing for a duration of ten or twenty years with the possibility of denunciation at the end of these periods after one year's notice, or, failing denunciation, renewal of the treaty by tacit consent for a similar period; the third system would be a combination of the other two; it would provide for a short trial period after which the parties could free themselves from their contract subject to one year's notice. If not denounced, the treaty would remain in force indefinitely, but it might be brought to an end by a decision of the Council.

The Committee has felt that none of these systems could be definitely selected without going very deeply into the question—a course which it has been impossible to follow.

(h) *Aggression by a third State.* — The Committee has not felt called upon to refer to the mutual assistance to be afforded by Contracting Parties in the case of aggression by third States. The discussion showed that some States held that such a guarantee is necessary in view of certain definite contingencies, particularly where certain other States refuse to conclude with them a collective treaty, including non-aggression, the pacific settlement of disputes and mutual assistance. On the other hand, it may be held that it is not for the League of Nations, whose object it is to promote sincere co-operation between all its Members with a view to maintaining and consolidating peace, to recommend in a treaty of its own framing provisions which might lead to the formation of rival groups of nations. In this connection, it has been pointed out in the course of discussion that treaties of mutual assistance will be the more valuable and will more certainly merit the support of the League of Nations if they are, in accordance with the precedent of the Rhine Pact of Locarno, concluded between States which only a short time ago belonged to rival groups, or States whose differences might endanger the peace of the world.

It is equally clear that the Contracting Parties could not in any case afford any assistance to a third State which ventured to attack one of them in violation of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The insertion of a special clause to this effect is useless, since it cannot be presumed that a Power which agrees to become party to a treaty of security would be disloyal to any of its co-signatories. It would even be dangerous to insert such a clause, for it might well weaken the force of Articles 16 and 17 of the Covenant; the undertaking not to afford assistance to a third aggressor State would not, for States Members of the League of Nations, be an adequate commitment. The Covenant provides, not for negative, but for positive action against any State resorting to war in violation of the engagements subscribed to in Articles 12, 13 and 15.

(i) *Linking-up of Treaties of Mutual Assistance with disarmament.* — As pointed out above in the paragraph which deals with the duration of treaties of mutual assistance, the latter are calculated to facilitate the successful issue of a general Conference on the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. The Committee on Security, not unmindful of the fact that it owes its origin to a 1927 Assembly resolution on the question of disarmament, feels bound to lay special stress on this consideration, which has influenced all its deliberations. But it would be premature, at the present juncture, to attempt to define the connection which should exist between treaties of mutual assistance and the limitation and reduction of armaments.

(j) *Recommendation with a view to the conclusion of collective Treaties of Mutual Assistance.* — Conceived as they are in the spirit of the League and therefore meriting the League's full support, the conclusion of collective Treaties of Mutual Assistance should, in the opinion of the Committee,

be facilitated if necessary. The Committee therefore proposes to recommend a draft resolution defining the conditions under which the Council of the League might, in this connection, lend its good offices. In these cases, the Council's task would obviously be a very delicate one, but we may be sure that it would, as ever, act with the greatest prudence and that, if it took action in such a matter, it would be likely to prove successful.

The conclusion of a collective Treaty of Mutual Assistance, as conceived by the Committee, naturally presupposes political preparation and endeavours to bring about a better understanding between the countries destined to conclude reciprocal agreements.

II. MODELS OF COLLECTIVE AND BILATERAL TREATIES OF NON-AGGRESSION.

States anxious to obtain better guarantees of security but unwilling for some reason or another to bind themselves by a treaty of mutual assistance will find various model treaties under which they can enter into obligations with other States as regards non-aggression and the pacific settlement of disputes only. The provisions of these treaties on these two latter points are the same as those embodied in the draft collective treaty of mutual assistance.

(b) MODEL TREATIES AMENDED AS A RESULT OF THE WORK OF THE FIRST AND THIRD COMMITTEES.

COLLECTIVE TREATY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE.

(Treaty D.)

(List of Heads of States.)

Noting that respect for rights established by treaty or resulting from international law is obligatory upon international tribunals;

Recognising that the rights of the several States cannot be modified except with their consent;

Considering that the faithful observance, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of methods of pacific settlement renders possible the settlement of all disputes;

Desirous of establishing on a firm basis relations of frank co-operation between their respective countries and of securing additional guarantees for peace within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations:

Have resolved to conclude a Treaty for these purposes and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

who, having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions:

CHAPTER I. — NON-AGGRESSION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE.

Article 1.

Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes, in regard to each of the other Parties, not to attack or invade the territory of another Contracting Party, and in no case to resort to war against another Contracting Party.

This stipulation shall not, however, apply in the case of:

- (1) The exercise of the right of legitimate defence — that is to say, resistance to a violation of the undertaking contained in the first paragraph;
- (2) Action in pursuance of Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations;
- (3) Action as the result of a decision taken by the Assembly or by the Council of the League of Nations or in pursuance of Article 15, paragraph 7, of the Covenant of the League of Nations, provided that in this last event the action is directed against a State which was the first to attack.

Article 2.

Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes, in regard to each of the others, to submit to a procedure of pacific settlement, in the manner provided for in the present Treaty, all questions whatsoever on which they may differ and which it has not been possible to settle by the normal methods of diplomacy.

Article 3.

Should any one of the High Contracting Parties consider that a violation of Article 1 of the present Treaty has taken place or is taking place, it shall immediately bring the question before the Council of the League of Nations.

As soon as the Council of the League of Nations has ascertained that such a violation has taken place, it shall at once advise the Powers which have signed the present Treaty, and each of these Powers undertakes in such a case to give assistance forthwith to the Power against which the act complained of has been directed.

*Article 4.*

1. Should one of the High Contracting Parties refuse to accept the methods of pacific settlement provided for in the present Treaty or to execute an arbitral award or judicial decision and be guilty of a violation of Article 1 of the present Treaty, the provisions of Article 3 shall apply.

2. Should one of the High Contracting Parties, without being guilty of a violation of Article 1 of the present Treaty, refuse to accept the methods of pacific settlement or to execute an arbitral award or judicial decision, the other party shall inform the Council of the League of Nations, which shall propose the methods to be adopted; the High Contracting Parties shall accept these proposals.

CHAPTER II. — PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

*Article 5.*

1. The following provisions shall apply to the settlement of disputes between the parties, subject to any wider undertakings which may result from other agreements between them.

2. The said provisions do not apply to disputes arising out of facts prior to the present Treaty and belonging to the past.

*Article 6.*

1. Disputes for the settlement of which a special procedure is laid down in other conventions in force between the parties to the dispute shall be settled in conformity with the provisions of those conventions.

2. Nevertheless, if these conventions only provide for a procedure of conciliation, after this procedure has been employed without result, the provisions of the present Treaty concerning judicial or arbitral settlement shall be applied in so far as the disputes are of a legal nature.

*Section I. — Judicial or Arbitral Settlement.*

*Article 7.*

All disputes with regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights shall be submitted for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice, unless the parties agree, in the manner hereinafter provided, to have resort to an arbitral tribunal.

It is understood that the disputes referred to above include in particular those mentioned in Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 8.*

If the parties agree to submit the disputes mentioned in the preceding article to an arbitral tribunal, they shall draw up a special agreement in which they shall specify the subject of the dispute, the arbitrators selected and the procedure to be followed. In the absence of sufficient particulars in the special agreement, the provisions of the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes shall apply so far as is necessary. If nothing is laid down in the special agreement as to the rules regarding the substance of the dispute to be followed by the arbitrators, the Tribunal shall apply the substantive rules enumerated in Article 38 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 9.*

If the parties fail to agree concerning the special agreement referred to in the preceding article or fail to appoint arbitrators, either party shall be at liberty, after giving three months' notice, to bring the dispute by an application direct before the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 10.*

If, in a judicial sentence or arbitral award, it is declared that a judgment, or a measure enjoined by a court of law or other authority of one of the parties to the dispute, is wholly or in part contrary to international law, and if the constitutional law of that party does not permit or only partially permits the consequences of the judgment or measure in question to be annulled, the parties agree that the judicial sentence or arbitral award shall grant the injured party equitable satisfaction.

*Article 11.*

1. In the case of the disputes mentioned in Article 7, prior to any procedure before the Permanent Court of International Justice or any arbitral procedure, the parties may agree to have recourse to the conciliation procedure provided for in the present Treaty.

2. In the event of recourse to and failure of conciliation, neither party may bring the dispute before the Permanent Court of International Justice or call for the constitution of the Arbitral Tribunal referred to in Article 8 before the expiration of one month from the termination of the proceedings of the Conciliation Commission.



*Section II. — Conciliation.*

*Article 12.*

All disputes the settlement of which cannot, under the terms of the present Treaty, be attained by means of a judicial or arbitral award, shall be submitted to a procedure of conciliation.

*Article 13.*

The disputes referred to in the preceding article shall be submitted to a permanent or special Conciliation Commission constituted by the parties.

*Article 14.*

On a request being sent by one of the contracting parties to another party, a permanent Conciliation Commission shall be constituted within a period of six months.

*Article 15.*

Unless the parties concerned agree otherwise, the Conciliation Commission shall be constituted as follows:

(1) The Commission shall be composed of five members. The parties shall each nominate one commissioner, who may be chosen from among their respective nationals. The three other commissioners shall be appointed by agreement from among the nationals of third Powers. These three commissioners must be of different nationalities and must not be habitually resident in the territory nor be in the service of the parties concerned. The parties shall appoint the President of the Commission from among them.

(2) The commissioners shall be appointed for three years. They shall be re-eligible. The commissioners appointed jointly may be replaced during the course of their mandate by agreement between the parties. Either party may, however, at any time replace a commissioner whom it has appointed. Even if replaced, the commissioners shall continue to exercise their functions until the termination of the work in hand.

(3) Vacancies which may occur as a result of death, resignation or any other cause shall be filled within the shortest possible time in the manner fixed for the nominations.

*Article 16.*

If, when a dispute arises, no permanent Conciliation Commission appointed by the parties to the dispute is in existence, a special commission shall be constituted for the examination of the dispute within a period of three months from the date at which a request to that effect is made by one of the parties to the other party. The necessary appointments shall be made in the manner laid down in the preceding article, unless the parties decide otherwise.

*Article 17.*

1. If the appointment of the commissioners to be designated jointly is not made within the periods provided for in Articles 14 and 16, the making of the necessary appointments shall be entrusted to a third Power, chosen by agreement between the parties, or, on request of the parties, to the Acting President of the Council of the League of Nations.

2. If no agreement is reached on either of these procedures, each party shall designate a different Power, and the appointment shall be made in concert by the Powers thus chosen.

3. If within a period of three months the two Powers have been unable to reach an agreement, each of them shall submit a number of candidates equal to the number of members to be appointed. It shall then be decided by lot which of the candidates thus designated shall be appointed.

*Article 18.*

1. Disputes shall be brought before the Conciliation Commission by means of an application addressed to the President by the two parties acting in agreement, or, in default thereof, by one or other of the parties.

2. The application, after giving a summary account of the subject of the dispute, shall contain the invitation to the Commission to take all necessary measures with a view to arriving at an amicable solution.

3. If the application emanates from only one of the parties, the other party shall without delay be notified by it.

*Article 19.*

1. Within fifteen days from the date on which a dispute has been brought by one of the parties before a permanent Conciliation Commission, either party may replace its own commissioner, for the examination of the particular dispute, by a person possessing special competence in the matter.

2. The party making use of this right shall immediately notify the other party; the latter shall, in such case be entitled to take similar action within fifteen days from the date on which it received the notification.

*Article 20.*

1. In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the Conciliation Commission shall meet at the seat of the League of Nations or at some other place selected by the President.

2. The Commission may in all circumstances request the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to afford it his assistance.

*Article 21.*

The work of the Conciliation Commission shall not be conducted in public unless a decision to that effect is taken by the Commission with the consent of the parties.

*Article 22.*

1. In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the Conciliation Commission shall lay down its own procedure, which in any case must provide for both parties being heard. In regard to enquiries, the Commission, unless it decides unanimously to the contrary, shall act in accordance with the provisions of Part III of the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

2. The parties shall be represented before the Conciliation Commission by agents whose duty shall be to act as intermediaries between them and the Commission; they may, moreover, be assisted by counsel and experts appointed by them for that purpose and may request that all persons whose evidence appears to them desirable shall be heard.

3. The Commission, for its part, shall be entitled to request oral explanations from the agents, counsel and experts of both parties, as well as from all persons it may think desirable to summon with the consent of their Governments.

*Article 23.*

In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the decisions of the Conciliation Commission shall be taken by a majority vote, and the Commission may only take decisions on the substance of the dispute if all its members are present.

*Article 24.*

The parties undertake to facilitate the work of the Conciliation Commission, and particularly to supply it to the greatest possible extent with all relevant documents and information as well as to use the means at their disposal to allow it to proceed in their territory and, in accordance with their law, to the summoning and hearing of witnesses or experts and to visit the localities in question.

*Article 25.*

1. During the proceedings of the Commission, each of the commissioners shall receive emoluments, the amount of which shall be fixed by agreement between the parties, each of which shall contribute an equal share.

2. The general expenses arising out of the working of the Commission shall be divided in the same manner.

*Article 26.*

1. The task of the Conciliation Commission shall be to elucidate the questions in dispute, to collect with that object all necessary information by means of enquiry or otherwise, and to endeavour to bring the parties to an agreement. It may, after the case has been examined, inform the parties of the terms of settlement which seem suitable to it, and lay down the period within which they are to make their decision.

2. At the close of its proceedings, the Commission shall draw up a procès-verbal stating, as the case may be, either that the parties have come to an agreement and, if need arises, the terms of the agreement, or that it has been impossible to effect a settlement. No mention shall be made in the procès-verbal of whether the Commission's decisions were taken unanimously or by a majority vote.

3. The proceedings of the Commission must, unless the parties otherwise agree, be terminated within six months from the day on which the Commission shall have been given cognisance of the dispute.

*Article 27.*

The Commission's procès-verbal shall be communicated without delay to the parties. The parties shall decide whether it shall be published.

*Article 28.*

If the parties have not reached an agreement within a month from the termination of the proceedings of the Conciliation Commission, the dispute remains subject to be dealt with in accordance with Article 15 or 17 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, as the case may be. This present provision shall not apply in the case provided for in Article 11.

CHAPTER III. — GENERAL PROVISIONS.

*Article 29.*

1. In all cases where a dispute forms the object of arbitration or judicial proceedings, and particularly if the question on which the parties differ arises out of acts already committed or on the point of being committed, the Permanent Court of International Justice, acting in accordance with Article 41 of its Statute, or the Arbitral Tribunal, shall lay down, within the shortest possible time, the provisional measures to be adopted. It shall in like manner be for the Council of the League of Nations, if the question is brought before it, to ensure that suitable provisional measures are taken. The parties to the dispute shall be bound to accept such measures.

2. If the dispute is brought before a Conciliation Commission, the latter may recommend to the parties the adoption of such provisional measures as it considers suitable.

3. The parties undertake to abstain from all measures likely to react prejudicially upon the execution of the judicial or arbitral decision or upon the arrangements proposed by the Conciliation Commission or the Council of the League of Nations, and in general to abstain from any sort of action whatsoever which may aggravate or extend the dispute.

#### *Article 30.*

Should a dispute arise between more than two High Contracting Parties, the following rules shall be observed for the application of the forms of procedure laid down in the foregoing provisions:

(a) In the case of conciliation procedure, a special commission shall invariably be constituted. The composition of such commission shall differ according as the parties all have separate interests or as two or more of their number act together.

In the former case, the parties shall each appoint one commissioner and shall jointly appoint commissioners, nationals of third Powers not parties to the dispute, whose number shall always exceed by one the number of commissioners appointed separately by the parties.

In the second case, the parties who act together shall appoint their commissioner jointly by agreement between themselves and shall combine with the other party or parties in appointing third commissioners.

In either event the parties, unless they agree otherwise, shall apply Article 16 and the following articles of the present Treaty so far as they are compatible with the provisions of the present article.

(b) In the case of judicial procedure, the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice shall apply.

(c) In the case of arbitral procedure, if agreement is not secured as to the composition of the Tribunal, each party shall have the right to submit the dispute to the Permanent Court of International Justice directly by means of an application.

#### *Article 31.*

1. The present Treaty shall be applicable as between the High Contracting Parties, even though a third Power, whether a party to the Treaty or not, has an interest in the dispute.

2. In conciliation procedure, the parties may agree to invite such third Power to intervene.

3. In judicial or arbitral procedure, if a third Power should consider that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision in the case, it may submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice or to the Arbitral Tribunal a request to intervene as a third party.

It will be for the Court or the Tribunal to decide upon this request.

4. Whenever the construction of a convention to which States other than those concerned in the case are parties is in question, the Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice or the Arbitral Tribunal shall notify all such States forthwith.

Every State so notified has the right to intervene in the proceedings; but if it uses this right, the construction given by the decision will be binding upon it.

#### *Article 32.*

Disputes relating to the interpretation or application of the present Treaty, including those concerning the classification of disputes, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

#### *Article 33.*

The present Treaty, which is intended to ensure the maintenance of peace and is in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations, shall not be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League to take at any time whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world.

#### *Article 34.*

1. The present Treaty, done in a single copy, shall be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations. The Secretary-General shall be requested to transmit certified true copies to each of the High Contracting Parties.

2. The present Treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be deposited at Geneva in the archives of the League of Nations as soon as possible.

3. It shall come into force as soon as all the ratifications have been deposited.

4. It shall be registered at the League of Nations by the Secretary-General, who shall be requested to notify the fact to all States Members and non-members of the League.

#### *Article 35 (Duration of Treaty).*

The present Treaty shall be concluded for a period of ..... years as from its entry into force. Notwithstanding that the Treaty ceases to be in force, all proceedings which at that moment have been commenced shall be pursued until they reach their normal conclusion.

(As regards the duration of the Treaty, the Assembly did not consider it its duty to decide between the various possible systems. It recommends three principal systems:

(The first, on the model of the Locarno-Rhine Pact, not specifying any period, but providing for expiry in virtue of a decision taken by the Council;

(The second, providing for a limited period of ten or twenty years, with the possibility of denunciation on the expiry of that period, subject to one year's notice, or, failing denunciation, the renewal of the Treaty by tacit agreement for the same period;

(The third system would be a mixed system providing for a short trial period, on the expiry of which the parties might withdraw, subject to one year's notice; failing denunciation, the Treaty would be for an indefinite period, with the possibility of termination in virtue of a decision taken by the Council.)

IN FAITH WHEREOF, the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

DONE at ..... on .....

COLLECTIVE TREATY OF NON-AGGRESSION.

(Treaty E.)

(List of Heads of States.)

.....

Noting that respect for rights established by treaty or resulting from international law is obligatory upon international tribunals;

Recognising that the rights of the several States cannot be modified except with their consent;

Considering that the faithful observance, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of methods of pacific settlement renders possible the settlement of all disputes;

Desirous of establishing on a firm basis relations of frank co-operation between their respective countries and of securing additional guarantees for peace within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations:

Have resolved to conclude a Treaty for these purposes and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

.....

who, having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions:

CHAPTER I. — NON-AGGRESSION.

Article 1.

Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes, in regard to each of the other parties, not to attack or invade the territory of another Contracting Party, and in no case to resort to war against another Contracting Party.

This stipulation shall not, however, apply in the case of:

(1) The exercise of the right of legitimate defence — that is to say, resistance to a violation of the undertaking contained in the first paragraph;

(2) Action in pursuance of Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations;

(3) Action as the result of a decision taken by the Assembly or by the Council of the League of Nations or in pursuance of Article 15, paragraph 7, of the Covenant of the League of Nations, provided that in this last event the action is directed against a State which was the first to attack.

Article 2.

Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes, in regard to each of the others, to submit to a procedure of pacific settlement, in the manner provided for in the present Treaty, all questions whatsoever on which they may differ and which it has not been possible to settle by the normal methods of diplomacy.

Article 3.

Should any one of the High Contracting Parties consider that a violation of Article 1 of the present Treaty has taken place or is taking place, it shall immediately bring the question before the Council of the League of Nations.

CHAPTER II. — PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

*Article 4.*

1. The following provisions shall apply to the settlement of disputes between the parties, subject to any wider undertakings which may result from other agreements between them.

2. The said provisions do not apply to disputes arising out of facts prior to the present Treaty and belonging to the past.

*Article 5.*

1. Disputes for the settlement of which a special procedure is laid down in other conventions in force between the parties to the dispute shall be settled in conformity with the provisions of those conventions.

2. Nevertheless, if these conventions only provide for a procedure of conciliation, after this procedure has been employed without result, the provisions of the present Treaty concerning judicial or arbitral settlement shall be applied in so far as the disputes are of a legal nature.

*Section I. — Judicial or Arbitral Settlement.*

*Article 6.*

All disputes with regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights shall be submitted for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice, unless the parties agree, in the manner hereinafter provided, to have resort to an arbitral tribunal.

It is understood that the disputes referred to above include in particular those mentioned in Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 7.*

If the Parties agree to submit the disputes mentioned in the preceding article to an arbitral tribunal, they shall draw up a special agreement in which they shall specify the subject of the dispute, the arbitrators selected and the procedure to be followed. In the absence of sufficient particulars in the special agreement, the provisions of the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes shall apply so far as is necessary. If nothing is laid down in the special agreement as to the rules regarding the substance of the dispute to be followed by the arbitrators, the tribunal shall apply the substantive rules enumerated in Article 38 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 8.*

If the parties fail to agree concerning the special agreement referred to in the preceding article or fail to appoint arbitrators, either party shall be at liberty, after giving three months' notice, to bring the dispute by an application direct before the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 9.*

If, in a judicial sentence or arbitral award, it is declared that a judgment, or a measure enjoined by a court of law or other authority of one of the parties to the dispute, is wholly or in part contrary to international law, and if the constitutional law of that party does not permit or only partially permits the consequences of the judgment or measure in question to be annulled, the parties agree that the judicial sentence or arbitral award shall grant the injured party equitable satisfaction.

*Article 10.*

1. In the case of the disputes mentioned in Article 6, before any procedure before the Permanent Court of International Justice or any arbitral procedure, the parties may agree to have recourse to the conciliation procedure provided for in the present Treaty.

2. In the event of recourse to and failure of conciliation, neither party may bring the dispute before the Permanent Court of International Justice or call for the constitution of the Arbitral Tribunal referred to in Article 7 before the expiration of one month from the termination of the proceedings of the Conciliation Commission.

*Section II. — Conciliation.*

*Article 11.*

All disputes the settlement of which cannot, under the terms of the present Treaty, be attained by means of a judicial or arbitral award shall be submitted to a procedure of conciliation.

*Article 12.*

The disputes referred to in the preceding article shall be submitted to a permanent or special Conciliation Commission constituted by the parties.

*Article 13.*

On a request being sent by one of the Contracting Parties to another party, a permanent Conciliation Commission shall be constituted within a period of six months.

*Article 14.*

Unless the parties concerned agree otherwise, the Conciliation Commission shall be constituted as follows:

(1). The Commission shall be composed of five members. The parties shall each nominate one commissioner, who may be chosen from among their respective nationals. The three other commissioners shall be appointed by agreement from among the nationals of third Powers. These three commissioners must be of different nationalities and must not be habitually resident in the territory nor be in the service of the parties concerned. The parties shall appoint the President of the Commission from among them.

(2). The commissioners shall be appointed for three years. They shall be re-eligible. The commissioners appointed jointly may be replaced during the course of their mandate by agreement between the parties. Either party may, however, at any time replace a commissioner whom it has appointed. Even if replaced, the commissioners shall continue to exercise their functions until the termination of the work in hand.

(3). Vacancies which may occur as a result of death, resignation or any other cause shall be filled within the shortest possible time in the manner fixed for the nominations.

*Article 15.*

If, when a dispute arises, no permanent Conciliation Commission appointed by the parties to the dispute is in existence, a special commission shall be constituted for the examination of the dispute within a period of three months from the date at which a request to that effect is made by one of the parties to the other party. The necessary appointments shall be made in the manner laid down in the preceding article, unless the parties decide otherwise.

*Article 16.*

1. If the appointment of the commissioners to be designated jointly is not made within the periods provided for in Articles 13 and 15, the making of the necessary appointments shall be entrusted to a third Power, chosen by agreement between the parties, or, on request of the parties, to the Acting President of the Council of the League of Nations.

2. If no agreement is reached on either of these procedures, each party shall designate a different Power, and the appointment shall be made in concert by the Powers thus chosen.

3. If within a period of three months these two Powers have been unable to reach an agreement, each of them shall submit a number of candidates equal to the number of members to be appointed. It shall then be decided by lot which of the candidates thus designated shall be appointed.

*Article 17.*

1. Disputes shall be brought before the Conciliation Commission by means of an application addressed to the President by the two parties acting in agreement, or, in default thereof, by one or other of the parties.

2. The application, after giving a summary account of the subject of the dispute, shall contain the invitation to the Commission to take all necessary measures with a view to arriving at an amicable solution.

3. If the application emanates from only one of the parties, the other party shall without delay be notified by it.

*Article 18.*

1. Within fifteen days from the date on which a dispute has been brought by one of the parties before a permanent Conciliation Commission, either party may replace its own commissioner, for the examination of the particular dispute, by a person possessing special competence in the matter.

2. The party making use of this right shall immediately inform the other party; the latter shall in that case be entitled to take similar action within fifteen days from the date on which the notification reaches it.

*Article 19.*

1. In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the Conciliation Commission shall meet at the seat of the League of Nations or at some other place selected by the President.

2. The Commission may in all circumstances request the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to afford it his assistance.

*Article 20.*

The work of the Conciliation Commission shall not be conducted in public unless a decision to that effect is taken by the Commission with the consent of the parties.

*Article 21.*

1. In the absence of any agreement to the contrary between the parties, the Conciliation Commission shall lay down its own procedure, which in any case must provide for both parties being heard. In regard to enquiries, the Commission, unless it decides unanimously to the contrary, shall act in accordance with the provisions of Part III of the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

2. The parties shall be represented before the Conciliation Commission by agents whose duty shall be to act as intermediaries between them and the Commission; they may, moreover, be assisted by counsel and experts appointed by them for that purpose and may request that all persons whose evidence appears to them desirable shall be heard.

3. The Commission, for its part, shall be entitled to request oral explanations from the agents, counsel and experts of both parties, as well as from all persons it may think desirable to summon with the consent of their Governments.

*Article 22.*

In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the decisions of the Conciliation Commission shall be taken by a majority vote, and the Commission may only take decisions on the substance of the dispute if all its members are present.

*Article 23.*

The parties undertake to facilitate the work of the Conciliation Commission, and particularly to supply it to the greatest possible extent with all relevant documents and information as well as to use the means at their disposal to allow it to proceed in their territory and, in accordance with their law, to the summoning and hearing of witnesses or experts and to visit the localities in question.

*Article 24.*

1. During the proceedings of the Commission, each of the commissioners shall receive emoluments, the amount of which shall be fixed by agreement between the parties, each of which shall contribute an equal share.

2. The general expenses arising out of the working of the Commission shall be divided in the same manner.

*Article 25.*

1. The task of the Conciliation Commission shall be to elucidate the questions in dispute, to collect with that object all necessary information by means of enquiry or otherwise, and to endeavour to bring the parties to an agreement. It may, after the case has been examined, inform the parties of the terms of settlement which seem suitable to it, and lay down the period within which they are to make their decision.

2. At the close of its proceedings, the Commission shall draw up a procès-verbal stating, as the case may be, either that the parties have come to an agreement and, if need arises, the terms of the agreement, or that it has been impossible to effect a settlement. No mention shall be made in the procès-verbal of whether the Commission's decisions were taken unanimously or by a majority vote.

3. The proceedings of the Commission must, unless the parties otherwise agree, be terminated within six months from the date on which the Commission shall have been given cognisance of the dispute.

*Article 26.*

The Commission's procès-verbal shall be communicated without delay to the parties. The parties shall decide whether it shall be published.

*Article 27.*

If the parties have not reached an agreement within a month from the termination of the proceedings of the Conciliation Commission, the dispute remains subject to be dealt with in accordance with Article 15 or 17 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, as the case may be. This present provision shall not apply in the case provided for in Article 10.

CHAPTER III. — GENERAL PROVISIONS.

*Article 28.*

1. In all cases where a dispute forms the object of arbitration or judicial proceedings, and particularly if the question on which the parties differ arises out of acts already committed or on the point of being committed, the Permanent Court of International Justice, acting in accordance with Article 41 of its Statute, or the Arbitral Tribunal, shall lay down, within the shortest possible time, the provisional measures to be adopted. It shall in like manner be for the Council of the League of Nations, if the question is brought before it, to ensure that suitable provisional measures are taken. The parties to the dispute shall be bound to accept such measures.

2. If the dispute is brought before a Conciliation Commission, the latter may recommend to the parties the adoption of such provisional measures as it considers suitable.

3. The parties undertake to abstain from all measures likely to react prejudicially upon the execution of the judicial or arbitral decision or upon the arrangements proposed by the Conciliation Commission or the Council of the League of Nations, and, in general, to abstain from any sort of action whatsoever which may aggravate or extend the dispute.

*Article 29.*

Should a dispute arise between more than two High Contracting Parties, the following rules shall be observed for the application of the forms of procedure laid down in the foregoing provisions:

(a) In the case of conciliation procedure, a special Commission shall invariably be constituted. The composition of such Commission shall differ according as the parties all have separate interests or as two or more of their number act together.

In the former case, the parties shall each appoint one commissioner and shall jointly appoint commissioners, nationals of third Powers, whose number shall always exceed by one the number of commissioners appointed separately by the parties.

In the second case, the parties who act together shall appoint their commissioner jointly by agreement between themselves and shall combine with the other party or parties in appointing third commissioners.

In either event, the parties, unless they agree otherwise, shall apply Article 15 and the following articles of the present Treaty so far as they are compatible with the provisions of the present article.

(b) In the case of judicial procedure, the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice shall apply.

(c) In the case of arbitral procedure, if agreement is not secured as to the composition of the Tribunal, each party shall have the right to submit the dispute to the Permanent Court of International Justice directly by means of an application.

*Article 30.*

1. The present Treaty shall be applicable as between the High Contracting Parties, even though a third Power, whether a party to the Treaty or not, has an interest in the dispute.

2. In conciliation procedure, the parties may agree to invite such third Power to intervene.

3. In judicial or arbitral procedure, if a third Power should consider that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision in the case, it may submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice or to the Arbitral Tribunal a request to intervene as a third party. It will be for the Court or the Tribunal to decide upon this request.

4. Whenever the construction of a convention to which States other than those concerned in the case are parties is in question, the Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice or the Arbitral Tribunal shall notify all such States forthwith.

Every State so notified has the right to intervene in the proceedings; but if it uses this right, the construction given by the decision will be binding upon it.

*Article 31.*

Disputes relating to the interpretation or application of the present Treaty, including those concerning the classification of disputes, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 32.*

The present Treaty, which is intended to ensure the maintenance of peace and is in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations, shall not be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League to take at any time whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world.

*Article 33.*

1. The present Treaty, done in a single copy, shall be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations. The Secretary-General shall be requested to transmit certified true copies to each of the High Contracting Parties.

2. The present Treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be deposited at Geneva in the archives of the League of Nations as soon as possible.

3. It shall come into force as soon as all the ratifications have been deposited.

4. It shall be registered at the League of Nations by the Secretary-General, who shall be requested to notify the fact to all States Members and non-members of the League.

*Article 34 (Duration of Treaty).*

The present Treaty shall be concluded for a period of ..... years as from its entry into force. Notwithstanding that the Treaty ceases to be in force, all proceedings which at that moment have been commenced shall be pursued until they reach their normal conclusion.



(As regards the duration of the Treaty, the Assembly did not consider it its duty to decide between the various possible systems. It recommends three principal systems:

(The first, on the model of the Locarno-Rhine Pact, not specifying any period, but providing for expiry in virtue of a decision taken by the Council;

(The second, providing for a limited period of ten or twenty years, with the possibility of denunciation on the expiry of that period, subject to one year's notice, or, failing denunciation, the renewal of the Treaty by tacit agreement for the same period;

(The third system would be a mixed system providing for a short trial period, on the expiry of which the parties might withdraw, subject to one year's notice; failing denunciation, the Treaty would be for an indefinite period, with the possibility of termination in virtue of a decision taken by the Council.)

*Article 35.*

As from . . . . . the present Treaty may be acceded to in the name of any Member of the League of Nations or of any non-member State adjacent to or in the neighbourhood of the signatory or acceding States.

The instruments of accession shall be forwarded to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall notify receipt thereof to all the Members of the League of Nations, and to the High Contracting Parties non-members of the League.

IN FAITH WHEREOF, the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty

DONE at..... on.....

BILATERAL TREATY OF NON-AGGRESSION.

(Treaty F.)

(List of Heads of States.)

Noting that respect for rights established by treaty or resulting from international law is obligatory upon International Tribunals;

Recognising that the rights of the several States cannot be modified except with their consent;

Considering that the faithful observance, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of methods of pacific settlement renders possible the settlement of all international disputes;

Desirous of establishing on a firm basis relations of frank co-operation between their respective countries, and of securing additional guarantees of peace within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations:

Have resolved to conclude a Treaty for these purposes and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries;

who, having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions:

CHAPTER I. — NON-AGGRESSION.

*Article 1.*

The High Contracting Parties mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other.

This stipulation shall not, however, apply in the case of:

- (1) The exercise of the right of legitimate defence, that is to say, resistance to a violation of the undertaking contained in the previous paragraph;
- (2) Action in pursuance of Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations;
- (3) Action as the result of a decision taken by the Assembly or by the Council of the League of Nations, or in pursuance of Article 15, paragraph 7, of the Covenant of the League of Nations, provided that in this last event the action is directed against a State which was the first to attack.

*Article 2.*

The High Contracting Parties undertake to settle by peaceful means and in the manner laid down in the present Treaty all questions whatsoever on which they may differ and which it has not been possible to settle by the normal methods of diplomacy.

*Article 3.*

Should any one of the High Contracting Parties consider that a violation of Article 1 of the present Treaty has taken place or is taking place, it shall immediately bring the question before the Council of the League of Nations.

CHAPTER II. — PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

*Article 4.*

1. The following provisions shall apply to the settlement of disputes between the parties subject to any wider undertakings which may result from other agreements between them.
2. The said provisions do not apply to disputes arising out of facts prior to the present Treaty and belonging to the past.

*Article 5.*

1. Disputes for the settlement of which a special procedure is laid down in other conventions in force between the parties to the dispute shall be settled in conformity with the provisions of those conventions.
2. Nevertheless, if these conventions only provide for a procedure of conciliation, after this procedure has been employed without result, the provisions of the present Treaty concerning judicial or arbitral settlement shall be applied in so far as the disputes are of a legal nature.

*Section I. — Judicial or Arbitral Settlement.*

*Article 6.*

All disputes with regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights shall be submitted for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice, unless the parties agree, in the manner hereinafter provided, to have resort to an arbitral tribunal. It is understood that the disputes referred to above include in particular those mentioned in Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 7.*

If the Parties agree to submit the disputes mentioned in the preceding article to an arbitral tribunal, they shall draw up a special agreement in which they shall specify the subject of the dispute, the arbitrators selected and the procedure to be followed. In the absence of sufficient particulars in the special agreement, the provisions of the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes shall apply so far as is necessary. If nothing is laid down in the special agreement as to the rules regarding the substance of the dispute to be followed by the arbitrators, the Tribunal shall apply the substantive rules enumerated in Article 38 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 8.*

If the parties fail to agree concerning the special agreement referred to in the preceding article or fail to appoint arbitrators, either party shall be at liberty, after giving three months' notice, to bring the dispute by an application direct before the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 9.*

If, in a judicial sentence or arbitral award, it is declared that a judgment, or a measure enjoined by a court of law or other authority of one of the parties to the dispute, is wholly or in part contrary to international law, and if the constitutional law of that party does not permit or only partially permits the consequences of the judgment or measure in question to be annulled, the parties agree that the judicial sentence or arbitral award shall grant the injured party equitable satisfaction.

*Article 10.*

1. In the case of the disputes mentioned in Article 6, prior to any procedure before the Permanent Court of International Justice or any arbitral procedure, the parties may agree to have recourse to the conciliation procedure provided for in the present Treaty.
2. In the event of recourse to and failure of conciliation, neither party may bring the dispute before the Permanent Court of International Justice or call for the constitution of the Arbitral Tribunal referred to in Article 7 before the expiration of one month from the termination of the proceedings of the Conciliation Commission.

*Section II. — Conciliation.*

*Article 11.*

All disputes the settlement of which cannot, under the terms of the present Treaty, be attained by means of a judicial or arbitral award shall be submitted to a procedure of conciliation.

*Article 12.*

The disputes referred to in the preceding article shall be submitted to a permanent or special Conciliation Commission constituted by the parties.

*Article 13.*

On a request being sent by one of the contracting parties to another party, a permanent Conciliation Commission shall be constituted within a period of six months.

*Article 14.*

Unless the parties agree otherwise, the Conciliation Commission shall be constituted as follows:

(1). The Commission shall be composed of five members. The parties shall each nominate one commissioner, who may be chosen from among their respective nationals. The three other commissioners shall be appointed by agreement from among the nationals of third Powers. These three commissioners must be of different nationalities and must not be habitually resident in the territory nor be in the service of the parties concerned. The parties shall appoint the President of the Commission from among them.

(2). The commissioners shall be appointed for three years. They shall be re-eligible. The commissioners appointed jointly may be replaced during the course of their mandate by agreement between the parties. Either party may, however, at any time replace the commissioner whom it has appointed. Even if replaced, the commissioners shall continue to exercise their functions until the termination of the work in hand.

(3). Vacancies which may occur as a result of death, resignation or any other cause shall be filled within the shortest possible time in the manner fixed for the nominations.

*Article 15.*

If, when a dispute arises, no permanent Conciliation Commission appointed by the parties to the dispute is in existence, a special commission shall be constituted for the examination of the dispute within a period of three months from the date at which a request to that effect is made by one of the parties to the other party. The necessary appointments shall be made in the manner laid down in the preceding article, unless the parties decide otherwise.

*Article 16.*

1. If the appointment of the commissioners to be designated jointly is not made within the periods provided for in Articles 13 and 15, the making of the necessary appointment shall be entrusted to a third Power, chosen by agreement between the parties, or, on request of the parties, to the Acting President of the Council of the League of Nations.

2. If no agreement is reached on either of these procedures, each party shall designate a different Power, and the appointment shall be made in concert by the Powers thus chosen.

3. If, within a period of three months, the two Powers have been unable to reach an agreement, each of them shall submit a number of candidates equal to the number of members to be appointed. It shall then be decided by lot which of the candidates thus designated shall be appointed.

*Article 17.*

1. Disputes shall be brought before the Conciliation Commission by means of an application addressed to the President by the two parties acting in agreement or, in default thereof, by one or other of the parties.

2. The application, after giving a summary account of the subject of the dispute, shall contain the invitation to the Commission to take all necessary measures with a view to arriving at an amicable solution.

3. If the application emanates from only one of the parties, the other party shall without delay be notified by it.

*Article 18.*

1. Within fifteen days from the date on which a dispute has been brought by one of the parties before a permanent Conciliation Commission, either party may replace its own commissioner, for the examination of the particular dispute, by a person possessing special competence in the matter.

2. The party making use of this right shall immediately notify the other party; the latter shall in such case be entitled to take similar action within fifteen days from the date on which it received the notification.

*Article 19.*

1. In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the Conciliation Commission shall meet at the seat of the League of Nations or at some other place selected by the President.

2. The Commission may in all circumstances request the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to afford it his assistance.

*Article 20.*

The work of the Conciliation Commission shall not be conducted in public unless a decision to that effect is taken by the Commission with the consent of the parties.

*Article 21.*

1. In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the Conciliation Commission shall lay down its own procedure, which in any case must provide for both parties being heard. In regard to enquiries, the Commission, unless it decides unanimously to the contrary, shall act in accordance with the provisions of Part III of the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

2. The parties shall be represented before the Conciliation Commission by agents whose duty shall be to act as intermediaries between them and the Commission; they may, moreover, be assisted by counsel and experts appointed by them for that purpose and may request that all persons whose evidence appears to them desirable shall be heard.

3. The Commission for its part shall be entitled to request oral explanations from the agents, counsel and experts of both parties, as well as from all persons it may think desirable to summon with the consent of their Governments.

*Article 22.*

In the absence of agreement to the contrary between the parties, the decisions of the Conciliation Commission shall be taken by a majority vote and the Commission may only take decisions on the substance of the dispute if all its members are present.

*Article 23.*

The parties undertake to facilitate the work of the Conciliation Commission, and particularly to supply it to the greatest possible extent with all relevant documents and information, as well as to use the means at their disposal to allow it to proceed in their territory, and in accordance with their law, to the summoning and hearing of witnesses or experts, and to visit the localities in question.

*Article 24.*

1. During the proceedings of the Commission, each of the commissioners shall receive emoluments, the amount of which shall be fixed by agreement between the parties, each of which shall contribute an equal share.

2. The general expenses arising out of the working of the Commission shall be divided in the same manner.

*Article 25.*

1. The task of the Conciliation Commission shall be to elucidate the questions in dispute, to collect with that object all necessary information by means of enquiry or otherwise, and to endeavour to bring the parties to an agreement. It may, after the case has been examined, inform the parties of the terms of settlement which seem suitable to it, and lay down the period within which they are to make their decision.

2. At the close of its proceedings, the Commission shall draw up a procès-verbal stating, as the case may be, either that the parties have come to an agreement and, if need arises, the terms of the agreement, or that it has been impossible to effect a settlement. No mention shall be made in the procès-verbal of whether the Commission's decisions were taken unanimously or by a majority vote.

3. The proceedings of the Commission must, unless the parties otherwise agree, be terminated within six months from the date on which the Commission shall have been given cognisance of the dispute.

*Article 26.*

The Commission's procès-verbal shall be communicated without delay to the parties. The parties shall decide whether it shall be published.

*Article 27.*

If the parties have not reached an agreement within a month from the termination of the proceedings of the Conciliation Commission, the dispute remains subject to be dealt with in accordance with Article 15<sup>1</sup> of the Covenant of the League of Nations. This present provision shall not apply in the case provided for in Article 10.

CHAPTER III. — GENERAL PROVISIONS.

*Article 28.*

1. In all cases where the dispute forms the object of arbitration or judicial procedure, and particularly if the question on which the parties differ arises out of acts already committed or on the point of being committed, the Permanent Court of International Justice, acting in accordance with Article 41 of its Statute, or the Arbitral Tribunal, shall lay down, within the shortest

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<sup>1</sup> Should the Convention be concluded between a Member of the League of Nations and a non-member State, the reference to Article 15 should be replaced by a reference to Article 17.

possible time, the provisional measures to be adopted. It shall in like manner be for the Council of the League of Nations, if the question is brought before it, to ensure that suitable provisional measures are taken. The parties to the dispute shall be bound to accept such measures.

2. If the dispute is brought before a Conciliation Commission, the latter may recommend to the parties the adoption of such provisional measures as it considers suitable.

3. The parties undertake to abstain from all measures likely to react prejudicially upon the execution of the judicial or arbitral decision or upon the arrangements proposed by the Conciliation Commission or the Council of the League of Nations, and in general to abstain from any sort of action whatsoever which may aggravate or extend the dispute.

*Article 29.*

1. The present Treaty shall be applicable as between the High Contracting Parties, even though a third Power has an interest in the dispute.

2. In conciliation procedure, the parties may agree to invite such third Power to intervene.

3. In judicial or arbitral procedure, if a third Power should consider that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision in the case, it may submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice or to the Arbitral Tribunal a request to intervene as a third party.

It will be for the Court or the Tribunal to decide upon this request.

4. Whenever the construction of a convention to which States other than those concerned in the case are parties is in question, the Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice or the Arbitral Tribunal shall notify all such States forthwith.

Every State so notified has the right to intervene in the proceedings; but if it uses this right, the construction given by the decision will be binding upon it.

*Article 30.*

Disputes relating to the interpretation or application of the present Treaty, including those concerning the classification of disputes, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

*Article 31.*

The present Treaty, which is intended to ensure the maintenance of peace and is in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations, shall not be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League to take at any time whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world.

*Article 32.*

The present Treaty shall be ratified and the exchange of ratifications shall take place at . . . . .

It shall be registered at the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

*Article 33 (Duration of Treaty).*

The present Treaty shall be concluded for a period of . . . . . years dating from the exchange of ratifications.

Notwithstanding that the Treaty ceases to be in force, all proceedings which at that moment have been commenced shall be pursued until they reach their normal conclusion.

(As regards the duration of the Treaty, the Assembly did not consider it its duty to decide between the various possible systems. It recommends three principal systems:

(The first, on the model of the Locarno-Rhine Pact, not specifying any period, but providing for expiry in virtue of a decision taken by the Council;

(The second, providing for a limited period of ten or twenty years, with the possibility of denunciation on the expiry of that period, subject to one year's notice or, failing denunciation, the renewal of the Treaty by tacit agreement for the same period;

(The third system would be a mixed system, providing for a short trial period, on the expiry of which the Parties might withdraw, subject to one year's notice; failing denunciation, the Treaty would be for an indefinite period, with the possibility of termination in virtue of a decision taken by the Council.)

IN FAITH WHEREOF the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

DONE at . . . . . on . . . . .

ANNEX 29.

A. 85. 1928. X.

FINANCIAL QUESTIONS.

GENERAL REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur* : His Excellency M. Vladimir MOLLOFF (Bulgaria).

The present report, which should be read in conjunction with the Minutes of the Committee, deals with all financial and administrative questions on the agenda of the Fourth Committee, except that of contributions in arrears, of the construction of new buildings, and of an amendment to Article 1 of the Financial Regulations, which forms the subject of separate documents.

I. AUDITED ACCOUNTS FOR 1927.

The Committee unanimously recommends that the Assembly should approve the accounts of the Secretariat and autonomous organisations of the League in the form in which they have been submitted. It also agrees with those of the auditor's recommendations which have been adopted by the Supervisory Commission.

II. 1929 BUDGET.

1. SECRETARIAT AND SPECIAL ORGANISATIONS.

(a) *General Discussion.*

This year a very important general discussion took place before the budget itself was examined.

The Secretary-General explained that the League's budget differed from national budgets in two essential points — before being submitted to the Assembly it was considered in every detail by the Secretariat and then by the Supervisory Commission. Any credit which the Secretary-General could not justify in whole or in part was ruthlessly reduced or suppressed by the Supervisory Commission. Secondly, as the Assembly met only once a year, the Secretary-General was not, like national Governments, able, if necessary, to apply to Parliament in the course of the financial year for additional credits. The total funds voted at one session of the Assembly had to suffice for the continuation of the League's work until the following session.

Apart from a small sum of 50,000 francs, the increase in the budget for 1929 over that of 1928 was entirely due to four items :

1. 300,000 francs added to the Economic and Financial Organisation's budget to cover fresh work decided upon by the Consultative Committee and the Economic Conference, whose resolutions were approved by the last Assembly ;
2. 80,000 francs in the budget of the Transit Organisation for the collection and exchange of information regarding communications and transit. When last year it was decided to refuse this credit, the Assembly had, in a sense, given a moral undertaking to grant this credit as soon as the financial situation of the League allowed ;
3. 330,000 francs for a Conference on the Codification of International Law ;
4. 126,000 francs for the Central Opium Board.

After pointing out that the best method of effecting economies in this year's and future budgets would be to persuade the technical committees to reduce their programme of work, the Secretary-General concluded by saying that, if they set the total figure of the Secretariat's budget against the multiplicity of its tasks, and remembered that the budget of the League of Nations was the only budget in the world for the organisation of peace, they might, far from regarding the sum of 14,500,000 francs as exaggerated, even be surprised at its modest proportions.

From the observations made by the various delegates who took part in the general discussion on the budget, the following principles emerged :

Certain delegates asked that the budget should be referred back to the Supervisory Commission so that that Commission might work out the effect of making reductions up to a total of one million francs, and submit the result to the Fourth Committee, so that the latter could decide what economies could, in fact, be recommended to the Assembly. They argued that the increase in the 1929 budget, as compared with the 1928 budget, was 6 per cent, and, taking into account certain probable additional credits, would amount to 7 per cent, the greatest increase since 1922. Although the task of pressing for economies

was a thankless one, and those who undertook it were immediately accused of unfriendliness towards the League, they thought that the League's prestige would diminish if they permitted its expenditure to grow out of all proportion. Another member of the Committee, referring to the Supervisory Commission's report and to previous discussions in the Assembly, said he thought that it would be desirable to define the League's field of activity in the form of a very clear programme of work to be undertaken gradually; the League's budget might be stabilised at about 25 million francs, the advantage of this being that countries would know in advance the exact amount of their contribution to the League. After emphasising the importance of several principles inseparable from good administration, the speaker, interpreting the opinion of the Commission, congratulated the Secretary-General, the Under-Secretary-General in charge of Internal Services, and the Treasurer, on the excellent results they had obtained.

Generally speaking, the Committee held that it would be well to stabilise progressively the budgets of the various technical organisations of the League, but expressed a doubt as to the possibility of fixing a rigid maximum for the whole budget of so young an institution as the League. Certain members thought that in some cases stabilisation would connote stagnation. That does not mean that the budget figures should not be reduced to the lowest possible figure, or that any credits which do not directly contribute to the work of the League, as defined in the Covenant and the resolutions of the various Assemblies, should not be ruthlessly refused; indeed, the members of the Assembly and members of Parliament are experiencing some anxiety in view of the recent tendency to increase the budget. The importance of the League is not to be measured by the number of conferences held and questions dealt with, and any conference which does not seem to be strictly necessary should be excluded from its programme of work. One member of the Committee explained his fears on this subject: conferences usually lead, he said, to the preparation of a convention, but conventions are useless until they have been signed, ratified and, above all, applied. Certain Governments feel very strongly that the number of conventions still waiting to come into force indicates that some of the friends of the League have been proceeding too rapidly in international matters.

The League's task is complicated by two other difficulties of a financial nature. On the one hand, certain Members of the League consider that their assessment under the present scale is too high. On the other, the burden falling on countries which regularly pay their contributions is increased by the non-payment of certain contributions in arrears and by the fact that it is impossible, in actual practice, to count on the payment of current contributions by certain States.

In the vast majority of cases, the contributions to the League do not constitute a heavy burden for the States, as will immediately be realised if they are compared with the sums provided in budgets for national defence, for instance. Nevertheless, the sums voted by the various Governments, which, of course, could have been used in undertaking or developing necessary and even urgent national work, might give rise to awkward criticism, if these same Governments had not every confidence in the financial administration of the League, and were not perfectly sure that the different sums included in the budget were to be expended on really necessary work.

Two tendencies became apparent from the very outset of the general discussion on the budget:

Some members were of opinion that, before it was examined by the Fourth Committee, the budget should be sent to the Supervisory Commission, which, by reason of the special qualifications and limited number of its members, was in a better position than the Fourth Committee to undertake, with a reasonable prospect of success, the technical work of showing where economies might be effected if certain decisions of principle were taken.

Other members, referring to the report in which the Supervisory Commission asked the Assembly to give a ruling in advance on the financial policy to be followed in the circumstances; considered that the Fourth Committee should shoulder its own responsibilities, after consulting the competent Committees of the Assembly.

The Chairman of the Supervisory Commission pointed out that the main function of the Fourth Committee was to organise and co-ordinate the separate efforts of the other Committees. The duty of the Supervisory Commission was to assist the Fourth Committee in its work by giving technical advice. The Supervisory Commission had, at its May session, reduced the ordinary budget of the League to a minimum; the only further economies that could be effected concerned points which the Assembly must itself decide. In these circumstances, the Supervisory Commission would not be able to achieve any useful results until the Fourth Committee had stated its opinion regarding the political desirability of the new expenditure mentioned in the Supervisory Commission's report.

As most of the delegates shared the view of the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"The Fourth Committee, having examined the draft Budget for 1929 and noted the rapid increase in the credits demanded, which at present represents about 6 per cent as compared with the 1928 Budget, draws the special attention of the other Assembly

Committees to this position at the moment when they are about to consider the work contemplated for the League, and asks them to bear in mind the necessity for a reasonable limitation of the expenditure of the League.

“ Similarly, the Fourth Committee requests the other Committees to revise the programme of Conferences for which provision is made for 1929 and to limit them to those which cannot be postponed until 1930 and, more generally, to examine especially the budgets of the Economic Organisation and the Transit Organisation, of the opium and humanitarian activities and of codification of international law, and to make proposals for restricting expenditure, and to suggest any other direction in which economy can be effected, taking account particularly of the effect that the new tasks may have on the increase of the permanent staff. ”

(b) *Detailed Examination of the Budget.*

*Chapter I. Assembly and Council.*

In adopting the credits for the session of the Assembly, the Committee requested the Secretary-General to submit to it, together with the draft budget for 1930, a statement showing the sum which would be necessary to cover the travelling expenses of three delegates from the capital of their country to Geneva and back. The possible inclusion in the Assembly budget of a credit to cover the travelling expenses of delegates would be in keeping with the precedents set by certain Commissions, and would eliminate one of the obstacles in the way of the participation of representatives from certain very distant countries.

As regarded the unforeseen expenditure, subject to a special vote of the Council, it remained understood that this credit was intended solely to cover expenditure of a political nature that the Council may be obliged to incur during the year.

*Chapter II. General Services of the Secretariat. Item 4: Salaries, Wages and Allowances of the Secretariat.*

A general, and at times very animated, discussion took place in the Fourth Committee in connection with the adoption of the item for salaries.

Certain members, referring to articles which had recently appeared in the Press, expressed doubt whether the atmosphere of the Secretariat was as firmly international as it had been in the beginning. While declaring their absolute confidence in the Secretary-General, they expressed a fear that there was a danger of the principles laid down in the report concerning the organisation of the Secretariat, adopted by the Council in 1920 on Lord Balfour's proposal, being forgotten. Whereas certain States — fewer and fewer every year, it is true — were not yet “represented” in the Secretariat, nationals of a certain group of Powers filled too large a number of posts; there was a growing tendency for the higher officials to be members of the diplomatic service of their respective countries, and certain States laid a permanent claim to high posts.

In reply, the Secretary-General pointed out that he had himself been largely responsible for the drafting of the report adopted by the Council on Lord Balfour's proposal, and that he had always kept closely to the principles enunciated therein. He had always followed the rule that officials of the Secretariat were the servants of all the nations who together formed the League, and had taken care that this principle should always be applied. As Secretary-General, he had always refused to ask the Council to approve the appointment of any person whose qualifications did not seem to him to be entirely satisfactory. Though it might be true that the highest posts in the Secretariat were held by nationals of certain groups of Powers, that was due to the instructions he had received in 1919, in Paris, from the Organising Committee of the Secretariat and, in one case, to a decision of the Fourth Committee itself. A claim by any particular Power for a monopoly of any particular post or posts in the Secretariat was untenable. He had been faithful to the undertaking he had given to the Fourth Committee several years previously. The number of officials of British and French nationality of and above the rank of Member of Section had not increased for several years. He would, moreover, be prepared, if the Committee so decided, to undertake not to increase the number of German or Italian officials of the same standing. He had had the honour to occupy his post for a long period of years; he did not know how much longer he would be able to carry out his duties. But, in his case, two factors would always be decisive — he would immediately resign if the British Government endeavoured in any way to influence him in the exercise of his duties (he might say that it never had done so); and, secondly, he would not remain Secretary-General if he were not absolutely certain that he enjoyed the confidence of all the Members of the League.

After this long and important discussion the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

“ The Assembly endorses and would recall the principles concerning the staff of the Secretariat contained in the report which Lord Balfour submitted to the Council, in agreement with a memorandum drawn up by the Secretary-General, and which was



adopted by the Council on May 19th, 1920. In the words of this report, the Secretary-General, in making appointments to posts on the Secretariat, 'had primarily to secure the best available men and women for the particular duties which had to be performed. But in doing so, it was necessary to have regard to the great importance of selecting officials from various nations. Evidently no one nation or group of nations ought to have a monopoly in providing the material for this international institution'. Lord Balfour emphasised the word 'international' because the members of the Secretariat, once appointed, are no longer the servants of the country of which they are citizens, but become for the time being servants only of the League of Nations. Their duties are not national, but international.

"The Assembly believes that the observance of these principles constitutes an essential factor in the confidence which the Members of the League of Nations repose in the Secretariat.

"The Assembly relies on the Secretary-General and on the Council, which, in virtue of Article 6 of the Covenant, is responsible for approving the nominations made by the Secretary-General, to uphold in their entirety the principles stated above.

"The Assembly requests the Council to submit to the Members of the League of Nations in good time before the tenth ordinary session of the Assembly a list of the appointments, promotions and resignations of officials of the rank of Members of Section and above that have taken place since this Assembly and of the salaries allotted in each case."

The Italian representative pointed out that sufficient time had elapsed since the establishment of the Secretariat at Geneva to enable them to form an opinion as to the efficacy of the system of staff organisation approved by the 1921 Assembly. He thought that the time had now come to consider, in view of the experience gained, the present situation and the improvement which might be made in order to ensure in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results. He therefore proposed that the Fourth Committee should adopt a resolution which was approved in the following form :

"The Assembly :

"Whereas the Staff Regulations were drawn up shortly after the organisation of the Secretariat and whereas it would be advisable for the League to avail itself of the experience acquired since 1922 ;

"Considering that, although the regulations have, on the whole, proved satisfactory, certain modifications would appear desirable to remedy certain disadvantages to which attention had been drawn ;

"Instructs the competent officials of the autonomous organisations after examining the present situation and the improvements which might be made, to consider what steps — in particular, amendments to the Staff Regulations — could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results, and to submit the results of this enquiry to the Supervisory Commission, in order that a report on the question may be communicated to the Assembly at its next ordinary session."

#### *Chapter II. Items 5 to 17.*

In answer to a request by one of the members of the Committee, the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission stated that the Commission would consider before the next ordinary session of the Assembly whether it was absolutely necessary to provide so large a credit as the one included in the 1929 budget for travelling expenses and subsistence allowances for the general services.

The Committee noted with satisfaction that, as a result of the reorganisation of the Publications Service, the receipts derived from the sale of publications had increased considerably.

Several members of the Committee said they agreed with the proposal contained in the Supervisory Commission's report to the effect that the cost of postage should be reimbursed by persons to whom publications were sent by the League free of charge.

#### *Chapter III.*

The Norwegian delegate drew the Committee's attention to the Supervisory Commission's observations concerning the salary of the new Director of the *Administrative Commissions and Minorities Questions Section*. He expressed his opinion that officials ought, as a general rule, to be engaged at the lowest salary for their category. As this new official had been appointed after the preparation of the budget, the Secretary-General agreed to a reduction of 2,000 francs on this item.

In reply to a question, the Secretary-General stated that the suppression of a post in the Administrative Commissions and Minorities Questions Section did not in any way mean that the Secretariat under-estimated the importance of that Section's work.

After a prolonged discussion, the Committee reduced by 100 francs the credit opened for the publications of the *Mandates Section* in order clearly to mark its desire that the mandatory Powers should in future increase the number of copies of their annual reports sent free of charge to the League of Nations.

The Committee recognised that it was essential that persons interested should be able to apply to the Secretariat when they wished to obtain these reports, the reprinting of which by the League of Nations had been discontinued several years ago on grounds of economy. Moreover, these reports were the very best propaganda for the mandatory Powers, so that the latter might possibly be willing to make this slight sacrifice.

The Indian delegate's proposal to bracket under one subhead the appropriations for investigations, the Disarmament Conference and the International Conference for the Supervision of the Private Manufacture of Arms gave rise to an interesting discussion.

The Chairman of the Supervisory Commission explained that the appropriation made for the unforeseen expenditure of the Council was only intended to meet totally unforeseen expenditure of a political character. If, as was probable, the sums provided for the three above-mentioned purposes were not expended in 1929, they would be used to constitute the surplus for the financial year and would thus be returned to the States Members. Moreover, the Assembly had always insisted that these items, which referred to entirely distinct purposes, should remain separate.

The Secretary-General having emphasised the exceptional character of the grant to the Director of the Section for the Reduction of Armaments, this item was adopted without modification.

Although, for political reasons, the proposal of the representative of India to charge the cost of printing connected with the slavery question to the budget of the Mandates Section was not accepted, the Secretary-General agreed to a reduction of 500 francs in connection with item 20, the *International Slavery Convention*.

### *Chapter III : Items re-submitted to the Supervisory Commission or the Assembly Committees concerned.*

The Committee recommends the Assembly to fix the budget of the *Economic and Financial Organisation* at the figure entered in the budget submitted to the Assembly, namely, 1,359,045 francs for the general work of the Organisation, and 375,000 francs for the consequences of the Economic Conference. It should be pointed out, however, that, as a result of various recommendations of the Second Committee, the Organisation will have to undertake in 1929 certain studies and enquiries which were not provided for in the original budget. But this new expenditure is compensated by the postponement to another year of certain work originally contemplated, and by certain reductions proposed by the Supervisory Commission.

The Supervisory Commission's report on this question gave rise to an exchange of views on the tasks which will have to be undertaken next year. In the first place, it was understood that studies on "groups of commodities" will be confined to the articles mentioned in the Second Committee's report. Secondly, after a discussion, during which the Italian delegate referred to the observations made by the British delegate on the occasion of the general discussion on the budget, the Committee decided that a reference should be made in its report to the necessity of avoiding any overlapping between the Economic and Financial Organisation and other international organisations.

The Committee approved the reductions, amounting to 30,000 francs, proposed by the Supervisory Commission in the budget of the *Communications and Transit Organisation*. It voted a credit for the conference, the convocation of which is provided for in Article 12 of the agreement concluded by the first Opium Conference; it agreed, on the other hand, to suppress the sum of 100 francs provided for in the original budget *ad memoriam* for a possible conference on the revision of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Circulation of Obscene Publications. The Committee also associated itself with a proposal made by the Supervisory Commission which will permit the League of Nations, without increasing its budget, to publish annually a survey with the object of keeping the younger generation informed of the work of the League, and of making known to the members of the teaching profession in the different countries the experience acquired and the results obtained in this sphere.

The Committee approved a new item of 50,000 francs: "Administrative Expenses for the Settlement of Refugees in Erivan". As a result of the appeal made by the Council, promises of contributions, or of loans on favourable terms, amounting to about £155,000 have been received, subject to the condition that the work of settling Armenian refugees on arable land in the Republic of Erivan should be placed under the patronage of the League of Nations, which should bear the administrative expenses.

The Fourth Committee has learnt with interest that, under certain decisions of the First Committee, the credit included in the budget for the Committee of Experts for the Codification of International Law could be reduced from 45,000 to 9,000 francs.

Having been informed that the preparatory work for the Disarmament Conference and the Codification Conference may not be completed before the next Assembly, and that it would be scarcely practicable for the two Conferences to be held simultaneously next

autumn, the Fourth Committee has decided to strike out of the 1929 budget the proposed credit for the Codification Conference, and to add the following note at the end of Schedule "S" of the budget :

" The Conference will be held at the beginning of 1930, unless the Disarmament Conference is not held in 1929 ; in the latter case, the credits voted for disarmament can be used for the Conference on Codification up to the amount of 208,500 francs. "

This operation, the reasons for which are purely administrative, has made possible a saving of 337,000 francs on the 1929 budget. If the Disarmament Conference takes place in 1929, the Codification Conference will be postponed till 1930 ; but if the Disarmament Conference is not held in 1929, the Codification Conference will be convened for that year.

The Fourth Committee takes this opportunity of offering its heartiest thanks to the Netherlands Government, which has stated that, subject to parliamentary approval, it is ready to make itself responsible, up to a maximum of 128,500 francs, for the difference between the total expenses entailed by the holding of the Conference at The Hague and the sum of 208,500 francs, representing the budget of the Conference if it had been decided to hold it at Geneva.

The Fourth Committee has before it a report in which the Supervisory Commission proposed the rejection of the Fifth Committee's proposal that an item of 250,000 francs should be included in the budget to cover the expenses of a Commission to be sent to the Far East to enquire into the position as regards prepared opium. After discussing the matter, the Committee appointed a Sub-Committee to make a further examination of the question.

The Sub-Committee noted with extreme satisfaction that the British Government was prepared to offer the sum of 50,000 francs towards the expenses of the enquiry. While the Sub-Committee had not sufficient information as to the preparation made in the different countries which it is proposed to visit in order to ensure the success of the enquiry, and while there exists a certain amount of uncertainty as to the estimated cost of the scheme, the Sub-Committee was strongly impressed by the importance and urgency of the work now contemplated.

The Fourth Committee has therefore decided to limit the financial responsibilities of the League in connection with this enquiry, to recommend that the question should be treated exceptionally, and to vote for 1929 a credit of 100,000 francs, which will demonstrate that the League is not evading the task which devolves upon it under the terms of the Covenant. It is, however, understood that the British Government will ascertain whether the Governments concerned would be willing to offer additional contributions in order to finance the whole scheme.

The British Government's report will be sent to the Secretary-General for examination by the Supervisory Commission, which will submit its observations to the Council in sufficient time before the latter's fifty-third session ; a final decision in the matter will be taken by the Council.

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Lastly, the Committee accepted the Supervisory Commission's proposal to enter in the fourth part of the budget, " Buildings at Geneva ", the sum of 70,000 francs to pay back into the Building Fund the sum used for the enlargement of the Council hall. It also associated itself with the observation of principle made by the Supervisory Commission in this connection.

## 2. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.

### (a) *General Discussion.*

The general discussion on the budget of the International Labour Organisation was of unusual length this year. In addition to those budgetary questions strictly so called which arise annually in connection with the examination of the budget, " the constitutional problem ", *i.e.*, the problem of the rights and powers of the Fourth Committee in regard to that budget, was a subject of lengthy consideration.

The discussion began with a statement by M. Albert Thomas on the essential features of his budget for 1929. This involves a net increase of about 528,000 francs, the larger part of which, some 395,000 francs, is of an obligatory — and in some cases exceptional — character. This part represents increases necessitated by the fulfilment of existing contracts (increased salaries, Provident Fund, travelling expenses), amounting to 172,000 francs, and by increases, totalling 229,000 francs, resulting from decisions of the directing bodies of the Organisation (double conference, increase in the number of commissions, etc.). The Governing Body, on whose behalf M. Albert Thomas submitted the budget to the Fourth Committee, did more, however, than merely ask for funds to meet this necessary increase ; it thought it essential to meet the most urgent new needs relating to the development of scientific work, the extension of relations and the diffusion of publications.

Having regard to all these considerations, the Governing Body decided to allocate a number of development credits, the most important of which by far, representing 219,000 francs, relates to new appointments.

Of the seventeen new appointments in question, special reference should be made to that of a Chief of Division, the Governing Body having decided on the creation of a fourth division. This new department will co-ordinate the activities of the Administrative Section and that of the Publishing Section. The Chief of the new division will have the general control over the administration of the Office and this will enable the Director and the Deputy-Director to devote themselves more completely than it is possible for them to do at present to the political and general supervision of the Office.

On the other hand, the Governing Body has effected economies amounting to about 120,000 francs.

In the course of the discussion following this statement, a number of speakers expressed disappointment with the large net increase in the 1929 budget as compared with that of 1928. They emphasised the necessity of stabilising this budget in the same way as the budgets of the other organisations of the League, since they did not regard the arguments put forward in justification of the increased expenditure as being entirely convincing. A feeling was growing up in certain countries that the International Labour Organisation was passing too many Conventions and that the International Labour Office was issuing too many publications. It would be desirable to moderate these activities slightly.

Other speakers pointed out that the representation of nationalities on the staff had not been very satisfactory in the International Labour Office, and that in this case also it appeared as if the larger nations, particularly France and England, were unduly "represented".

The Director of the International Labour Office replied to these various general criticisms. He pointed out, as regards the conventions, that their number depended on the intensity of modern social conditions, which year by year were raising problems affecting new categories of workers. Even a convention which had not been ratified had a high moral value as an example and model. The legislation of new countries or countries which had been reconstituted was very largely based on the work of the International Labour Conference.

The growing appreciation with which the publications of the Office were regarded was shown by the increased sales, the estimated receipts having risen from 45,000 francs in 1924 to 170,000 francs in 1929. If this figure was compared with the amount of the credits for printing, and if it was remembered that the Office had to make a large gratuitous distribution, they would admit that the result might be regarded as satisfactory.

In reply to the observations regarding the "representation" of nationalities, the Director stated that he had followed three rules in appointing his staff. The first was that, having regard to Article 393 of the Treaty of Peace, he had refused and would continue to refuse to provide for a strictly proportional "representation" as between States. The second rule was, as far as possible, not to stereotype the "representation" of nationalities on the staff of the Office, as the years went on, and not to consider that certain States had a traditional right to certain appointments. The third rule was that the Office could not tolerate interference from any State which might desire to press the claims of an official candidate.

M. Albert Thomas had hitherto attempted, and would continue to attempt, to reconcile, as far as lay in his power, the three essential requirements — to ensure an equitable representation of nationalities; to guarantee a large output of good work by appointing the ablest candidates; and to give the staff adequate opportunities of promotion. If these conditions were fulfilled, the Director could not give any undertaking not to appoint new candidates of French or British nationality in future.

The Director agreed in principle as to the necessary stabilisation of the budget of the Office. But at the same time he asked the Committee to bear in mind that any such stabilisation could only be relative, for the International Labour Office, like the other organisations of the League, was a young body, and moreover, this stabilisation had been effected, since, for the past eight years, the budget of the Office had varied between some seven million and eight and a-half million francs.

The constitutional problem was the second important point to be raised during the general discussion. What were the respective rights and powers of the authorities constituting the International Labour Organisation on the one hand, and the Assembly on the other hand, as regards the budget of the International Labour Office? The speakers laid stress on the difficulty of giving a definite reply to this question, while others referred to Article 6 of the Financial Regulations, which, in their opinion, made the legal position clear.

The Director of the International Labour Office, referring to the decision taken by the Council of the League at San Sebastian, pointed out that it was for each Government to give precise instructions to its delegates on the Governing Body regarding the budget of the Office. It was desirable, further, that those instructions should be definitive, and that the delegates of the same Governments on the Fourth Committee should receive instructions identical with those given to the delegates on the Governing Body.

As regards the particular point of identity of instructions, several speakers observed that this applied only to Governments which were represented on the Governing Body, *i.e.*, to a minority of Governments; delegates of the majority of the Governments, which were not so privileged, would have to be able to express their views freely in the Fourth Committee regarding the budget of the International Labour Organisation.

In closing his statement on this constitutional problem, M. Albert Thomas observed that, though the principles seemed to be somewhat vague, the present arrangement had so far worked satisfactorily in practice and it would be advisable to keep to it.

The Committee was of opinion that, in accordance with the Financial Regulations, only the Assembly had the right to approve or amend the budget of the International Labour Organisation. It was necessary, however, that the Assembly, in the exercise of this indisputable and undisputed right, should take account of the system in force in the International Labour Organisation, which provides that the budget submitted to the Assembly is that approved by the Governing Body of the Office.

(b) *Consideration of the Items.*

*Item 1 : Sessions of the Conference, 432,000 francs.*

The proposal for holding two conferences, a General and a Maritime Conference, in 1929, gave rise to an animated discussion.

First of all, doubt was expressed as to the actual necessity of holding two conferences and, alternatively, if the conferences were proved to be necessary, as to the impossibility of holding them consecutively.

Several speakers urged that if the two conferences could be convened one after the other, this would mean not only a reduction of 27,000 francs in the budget of the Organisation, but also a fairly considerable saving for distant countries, which would thus have to pay travelling expenses once only and not twice.

M. Albert Thomas said that the Governing Body had decided to hold a double conference on political grounds, and after consulting all the Governments and all the groups concerned. To have a break between the conferences was an administrative as well as a political necessity.

In the first place, only the maritime countries proper, and the countries attaching special importance to maritime questions, should be represented at the conference, and, in the second place, it was impossible to expect the staff to stand the heavy strain of a conference for seven weeks on end.

The credit demanded for Item 1 was put to the vote and passed by the Committee. At the same time, however, the Committee unanimously adopted the following resolution :

“ The Fourth Committee hopes that, if in future it is decided that the International Labour Organisation shall hold two conferences in the same year, the dates shall be so chosen that these conferences shall take place consecutively, for reasons of economy. ”

*Item 2 : Sessions of the Governing Body, 95,000 francs.*

The credit demanded was passed by the Fourth Committee.

*Item 2b : Unforeseen Expenditure of the Governing Body and the Conference, 8,000 francs.*

*Item 3 : Salaries, 5,291,655 francs.*

After three consecutive votes, the Fourth Committee approved the creation of the seventeen new posts requested, on the understanding that the appointments should be subject to the holders agreeing to such changes as the next Assembly might make in the Statutes. The creation of the new post of Chief of Division was approved by 16 votes to 10. One delegation, however, reserved the right to bring the question of the new posts before the Assembly.

All the remaining items of the budget of the International Labour Office were then passed by the Committee without discussion.

### 3. PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

The Committee approved the budget of the Permanent Court of International Justice without modifying it in any way. It noted the explanations for the increase in the budget given by the Registrar and mentioned in the Supervisory Commission's Report.

### III. REPORTS OF THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION.

The Committee examined the work accomplished by the Supervisory Commission since the last ordinary session of the Assembly, the results of which were embodied in the four important reports submitted to the Assembly.

(a) The Fourth Committee approved the Supervisory Commission's solution of the problem of the adjustment of salaries; it hopes that all the officials of the three organisations will accept stabilisation at the 1921 rate (the 1922 rate in the case of the Permanent Court of International Justice).

(b) Subject to a few slight alterations, the Fourth Committee approved the amendments to the Financial Regulations proposed by the Supervisory Commission to settle the question of supplementary credits and of any disagreements which might arise between the Fourth Committee and another Assembly Committee on the subject of budgetary credits. The Assembly will doubtless remember that, as the result of certain difficulties which had arisen last year, the Supervisory Commission had been asked to consider what amendments might be made in the present procedure.

The object of the three slight amendments approved by the Fourth Committee was to give more exact effect to the intentions of the Supervisory Commission as expressed in its report of June 20th.

It was clearly understood that proposals entailing an increase in the budget as contemplated by Article 16 (a) might be made even by telegram, provided that the telegram contained a full statement or was followed immediately by a full statement.

(c) In adopting the conclusions of the report submitted by the Supervisory Commission on the question of publications, the Fourth Committee noted the views of one of its members on the subject of the inferior quality of the paper used and the poor appearance of certain League publications. The delegate in question considered that receipts from sales would increase if the publications were made more attractive. The Chairman of the Secretariat Publications Committee pointed out that the paper was carefully selected and its quality depended on the degree of permanence of the publications in question. The Publications Committee, which was closely studying the question, would act on the suggestions made, in so far as they could be reconciled with the need of cutting down expenditure to what was strictly necessary.

In order to emphasise its desire to reduce the high cost of publishing the minutes of Committees, the Fourth Committee, in agreement with a proposal adopted two years ago by the Assembly, approved the following draft resolution:

“ The Assembly decides that, excepting in the case of the Mandates Commission and Committees of the Assembly where special considerations apply, the Minutes of Committees and Sub-Committees will in no case be published unless a formal request, containing a statement of the reasons for such a course, is submitted to the Council through the Secretary-General. ”

#### IV. ALLOCATION OF LEAGUE EXPENDITURE.

The Fourth Committee approved the report submitted by the Committee for the Allocation of the Expenses of the League, under the terms of which the budgets for the financial year 1930 would be adopted as a basis of the revised scale for the allocation of League expenditure; this would allow the Allocation Committee to prepare a revised draft scale for the 1932 Assembly.

While accepting the proposals made by the Allocation Committee in the matter, the Indian delegate asked the Chairman of the Committee for the Allocation of Expenses whether the results of this investigation might not be submitted to the 1931 Assembly. The Chairman of that Committee having pointed out that this suggestion could not be adopted owing to technical considerations, the Indian representative said he would raise no objection if an earlier date was not possible. Consequently, the provisional scale will remain in force during the four years 1929 to 1932 inclusive.

#### V. MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

Replying to a point raised in the debate on the amendments to the Financial Regulations, the Under-Secretary-General in charge of Internal Administration assured the representative of South Africa that the Secretariat would give its most careful attention to the point he had raised as to the need for despatching the League's communications to distant countries in sufficient time.

The Fourth Committee desired to express its appreciation of the authority, tact and impartiality with which their able President, M. de Vasconcellos, had presided over the proceedings. The Committee also wished to thank the honourable representative of Poland, M. de Modzelewski, who had acted as Vice-Chairman.

In conclusion, the Fourth Committee proposed the following draft resolutions for adoption by the Assembly :

“(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 ninth financial period, ending on December 31st, 1927.

“(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 1929, the general budget of the League of Nations, of the Secretariat and special organisations of the League, of the International Labour Organisation, and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, amounting, including supplementary credits, to the total sum of 27,026,280 Swiss francs.

“And decides that the aforesaid budgets shall be published in the *Official Journal*.

“(3) The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the various reports submitted for its consideration by the Supervisory Commission, except in regard to the Commission of Enquiry to the Far East.

“(4) The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the report of the Fourth Committee.

“(5) The Assembly :

“I. Requests the Council to ask the Allocation Committee to submit a revised scale to the 1932 Assembly ;

“II. Approves for the years 1929, 1930, 1931 and 1932, the scale for the allocation of the expenses of the League in force during the year 1928.”

### Appendix I.

#### MODIFICATIONS IN THE BUDGET MADE BY THE FOURTH COMMITTEE.

Item	Title	Add Sw. frs.	Subtract Sw. frs.
8	<i>Travelling expenses of officials of the League :</i>		
	(c) Removal expenses to and from Geneva .	2,460	
11	<i>Publications Department :</i>		
	(b) <i>Treaty Series</i> . . . . .	25,000	
	(f) Cinematographic films and photographs .	66	
16	<i>Unpaid Liabilities Fund</i> . . . . .	2,500	
18	<i>Administrative Commissions and Minorities questions :</i>		
	(1) Salaries . . . . .		2,000
20	<i>Mandates :</i>		
	(4) Printing and documentation . . . . .		100
21	<i>Communications and Transit Organisation :</i>		
	5 (b) Printing and documentation for the collection and exchange of information on communications and transit . . . . .		14,000
	7 (b) Salaries : additional permanent staff for the collection and exchange of information on communications and transit . . . . .		15,000
	8 Travelling and removal expenses of the Secretariat . . . . .		1,000
22	<i>International Health Organisation :</i>		
	I.7 Unpaid liabilities in respect of previous years . . . . .	6,554	

Item	Title	Add Sw. frs.	Subtract Sw. frs.
23	<i>Social questions :</i>		
	3. v. Control of traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs :		
	Conference . . . . .	13,400	
	vi. Commission of Enquiry to the Far East on the control of prepared opium . . . . .	100,000	
	5 (a) Other social questions and unforeseen contingencies . . . . .	75	
	5 (b) Conference for the Revision of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications . . . . .		100
28	<i>Progressive Codification of International Law :</i>		
	(a) Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law . . . . .		36,000
	(b) First Codification Conference . . . . .		337,000
26	<i>International Convention on Slavery . . . . .</i>		500
New 30	<i>Settlement of Armenian Refugees in the Republic of Erivan . . . . .</i>	50,000	
32	(d) <i>Library : Equipment, shelving etc. . . . .</i>	4,000	
Part IV.	<i>Buildings at Geneva :</i>		
	(b) Enlargement of the Council Hall . . . . .	70,000	
	<i>Stabilisation of salaries of Secretariat and International Labour Organisation (for details, see Sub-Appendix . . . . .</i>	288,681	
		562,736	405,700
	Net addition . . . . .	157,036	
	Original Budget <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	26,869,244	
	Budget as approved by the Fourth Committee .	27,026,280	

**Sub-Appendix.**

**BUDGET FOR 1929. — COST-OF-LIVING REDUCTIONS.**

<i>(a) Secretariat.</i>		Amount Sw. frs.
Item		
4 (a)	Secretariat . . . . .	106,654
6	Liaison with Latin America . . . . .	1,035
18	Administrative Commissions and Minorities . . . . .	7,720
19	Economic and Financial Organisation . . . . .	16,340
20	Mandates . . . . .	3,277
21	Transit . . . . .	3,611
		1,077
		234
22	Health <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	7,550
23	Social Questions . . . . .	4,611
24	Reduction of Armaments . . . . .	6,641
25	Intellectual Co-operation . . . . .	2,571
	Total Secretariat. . . . .	161,321
	<i>(b) International Labour Office . . . . .</i>	127,360
	<i>(c) Permanent Court of International Justice . . . . .</i>	
	(Nothing shown)	
	Grand Total . . . . .	288,681

<sup>1</sup> The total is shown in the Budget as 26,871,244 gold francs; as pointed out in the report on the Twenty-eighth Session of the Supervisory Commission, this amount was reduced by 2,000 Swiss francs owing to the reduction of 2,000 Swiss francs made in the Refugees Budget of the International Labour Organisation.

<sup>2</sup> Not including the reduction of the salaries of the officials paid out of the Rockefeller Foundation grants.



ANNEX 30.

A. 78. 1928. X.

AMENDMENT TO THE REGULATIONS FOR THE FINANCIAL  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

PROPOSAL SUBMITTED TO THE ASSEMBLY BY THE FOURTH COMMITTEE.

*Rapporteur* : His Excellency M. Vladimir MOLLOFF (Bulgaria).

According to Article 51 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, "these Regulations shall not be amended except by the Assembly acting upon the advice of its Finance Committee".

After considering, from the constitutional point of view, the question of the appointment of the members of the Supervisory Commission, and while reiterating its full confidence in the members of the Supervisory Commission as at present constituted, the Committee pronounced in favour of the following proposal :

*Article 1.* — That paragraph 2 be amended as follows :<sup>1</sup>

"The Commission shall be composed of five members, of whom one at least shall be a financial expert. The members shall be appointed by the Assembly, which, in selecting members, shall include among them persons belonging to countries Members of the League which are not represented on the Council. The Assembly shall also appoint two substitutes to replace, if need be, members unable to attend a meeting."

The Fourth Committee proposes that this amendment should come into force as from January 1st, 1929, in order to give the Council an opportunity of submitting proposals to the Assembly at its next ordinary session as to the best procedure for the election of members, and considering the possibility of a small nominating Committee being set up by the Assembly.

ANNEX 31.

A. 81. 1928. X.

CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARREARS.

REPORT SUBMITTED BY THE FOURTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

*Rapporteur* : Mr. Michael MACWHITE (Irish Free State).

The Fourth Committee instructed a Sub-Committee to consider the question of unpaid contributions for the financial years of the League previous to December 31st, 1927. The Sub-Committee was composed as follows :

M. William BORBERG (Denmark),  
M. Jean RÉVEILLAUD (France),  
Mr. Michael MACWHITE (Irish Free State),  
H.E. Gustavo GUERRERO (Salvador),  
H.S.H. Prince VARNVAIDYA (Siam).

Mr. MACWHITE was elected Chairman and *Rapporteur* of the Sub-Committee.

The Sub-Committee presented a confidential report to the Committee.

After this report had been discussed at a private meeting, the Fourth Committee unanimously agreed to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution :

"The Assembly requests the Secretary-General :

"(1) To continue to give his support when necessary to any steps which he may consider useful with a view to the recovery of arrears ;

"(2) To submit to the Council before the next session of the Assembly a detailed report of the position with regard to contributions in arrears."

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is at present worded as follows :

"The Commission shall be composed of five members, of whom one at least shall be a financial expert. The members shall be appointed by the Council, which, in selecting members, shall include among them persons belonging to countries Members of the League which are not represented on the Council. The Council shall also appoint two substitutes to replace, if need be, members unable to attend a meeting."

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**Erratum.**

Page 494. — Article 21, third line : for «may» read «shall».