

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

League of Nations Publications

VII. POLITICAL

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Geneva, January 19th, 1929.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

DOCUMENTS
CONCERNING THE
**DISPUTE BETWEEN BOLIVIA
AND PARAGUAY.**

Note by the Secretary-General.

As a supplement to document C.619.M.195.1928.VII, the Secretary-General has the honour to circulate for the information of the Council and the Members of the League the following correspondence relating to the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay.

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I. LETTER FROM THE PARAGUAYAN CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES IN PARIS TO THE ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.

[Translation.]

Paris, December 21st, 1928.

I have pleasure in forwarding you the text of a telegram just received from my Government:

“ Asunción, December 20th, 1928.

“ Our Government had accepted the Argentine Government's offer of mediation. Bolivia at first made no reply and her ultimate reply was accompanied by reservations. For that reason the Argentine Government's offer of mediation led to no result. Our Government and Bolivia accepted the good offices of the Washington Conference. We are ignorant of the terms of Bolivia's acceptance. — ZUBIZARRETA, *Minister for Foreign Affairs.* ”

(Signed) R. CABALLERO,
*Delegate to the League of Nations,
Chargé d'Affaires of Paraguay.*

2. LETTER FROM THE PARAGUAYAN CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES IN PARIS TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

[Translation.]

Paris, December 31st, 1928.

I have the honour to enclose a copy of the *communiqué* which I issued to the French Press on December 30th regarding the fresh advance of Bolivian troops in the interior of the Chaco.

I need not emphasise the gravity of this disloyal act, by which one of the parties has betrayed the confidence of the other.

(Signed) R. CABALLERO.

Copy of the Communiqué.

[Translation.]

“ Paris, December 30th, 1928.

“ The Paraguayan Legation in France confirms the *communiqué* issued by the Paraguayan Legation at Washington regarding the fresh advance of Bolivian forces in the interior of the Chaco.

“ This advance is a treacherous violation of the truce imposed on the parties by the procedure instituted by the Pan-American Arbitration and Conciliation Conference in session at Washington, to which Bolivia and Paraguay have referred their dispute for settlement. ”

3. TELEGRAM¹ FROM THE ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ENCLOSING A TELEGRAM FROM THE BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENT.

[Translation.]

Paris, January 14th, 1929.

The following telegram was communicated to me by the Bolivian Minister at Paris:

“ La Paz, January 7th, 1929.

“ To the Bolivian Legation, Paris.

“ Please inform M. Briand, President of the Council of the League of Nations, that we have signed a Protocol providing for the setting up of a commission as suggested by the Pan-American Conference at Washington to fix the responsibility for the Paraguayan aggression.

We propose to submit the substance of the dispute for arbitration to the Hague Court. — ELIO, *Bolivian Minister for Foreign Affairs.* ”

You will no doubt consider it desirable to communicate this telegram to the Members of the Council and to Paraguay. — Aristide BRIAND.

¹ The substance of this telegram was communicated by cable to the Paraguayan Government and by document C.4.M.4.1929.VII to the Council and the Members of the League.

4. TELEGRAM¹ FROM THE PARAGUAYAN GOVERNMENT TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL.

[Translation.]

Asunción, January 16th, 1929.

I beg to acknowledge receipt of the telegram you addressed to me on the request of the President of the Council. My country has never refused to accept a decision by arbitration on the substance of the dispute and on the incidents, which have taken place. The White Book published by our Chancellery, which you will receive, proves fully that the responsibility for the check to the negotiations so far undertaken does not lie with Paraguay. I take note of Bolivia's intention to propose that the main question be submitted to the arbitration of the Hague Court.
— GERONIMO ZUBIZARRETA, *Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

Annex I.

TELEGRAM FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF SALVADOR IN REPLY TO THE TELEGRAM SENT BY THE ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL FROM LUGANO ON DECEMBER 15TH, 1928
(see No. 9 of document C.619.M.195.1928.VII).

[Translation.]

San Salvador, December 21st, 1928.

Having noted the important telegram of the 16th instant, the Government [of Salvador] expresses its warm approval of the action taken by the League of Nations in the interests of world peace. — FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Annex II.

REPLIES FROM THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL TO THE LETTER SENT FROM PARIS ON DECEMBER 21ST, 1928, BY M. BRIAND, ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL
(see No. 23 of document C.619.M.195.1928.VII).

1. LETTER FROM M. ADATCI, REPRESENTATIVE OF JAPAN ON THE COUNCIL.

[Translation.]

Paris, December 22nd, 1928.

In your letter dated the 21st instant you were good enough to apprise me of the steps that you took after the Lugano session with regard to the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay, and of the results achieved.

It is with profound satisfaction that I acknowledge the receipt of your communication. This is not the first occasion on which you, as Acting President of the Council, have successfully preserved the peace and prevented the opposing nations from resorting to arms. Again, in this case, it is due to your timely intervention that the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay is on the way to a peaceful settlement.

As one who has from the outset shared in the work of the League, I am, if I may say so, well able to recognise the full value of the untiring efforts, always crowned with success, which you exert on behalf of international peace and the League of Nations.

I have therefore the honour and pleasure to express my deep gratitude and to congratulate you most heartily on your personal success.

(Signed) M. ADATCI,

Japanese Representative on the Council.

2. LETTER FROM M. TITULESCO, REPRESENTATIVE OF ROUMANIA ON THE COUNCIL.

[Translation.]

London, December 24th, 1928.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated December 21st.

I have pleasure in informing you that I agree with its contents and that I feel bound to express to you my gratification that it falls to Your Excellency to give your valuable personal assistance in settling a difficult question on which peace and the good understanding between nations depend.

(Signed) TITULESCO.

¹ The substance of this telegram was communicated by cable to Bolivia and by document C.15.M.12.1929.VII to the Council and the Members of the League.

3. LETTER FROM M. VILLEGAS, REPRESENTATIVE OF CHILE ON THE COUNCIL.

[Translation.]

Rome, December 26th, 1928.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of December 21st of this year. I am very much obliged to you for your valuable information concerning the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay, which is now, to our common satisfaction, progressing towards a pacific settlement.

I also note that it will not be necessary to summon the Council in extraordinary session.

May I offer you my most cordial congratulations and, at the same time, express my admiration of your great efforts to maintain peace between two South American Republics? Thanks to your high authority, these efforts have already produced positive results, and they will play their part in strengthening the prestige of the League of Nations.

(Signed) VILLEGAS.

4. LETTER FROM M. PROCOPÉ, REPRESENTATIVE OF FINLAND ON THE COUNCIL.

[Translation.]

Helsingfors, January 2nd, 1929.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 21st, 1928, in which you were good enough to inform me of the steps you had taken with a view to facilitating the settlement of the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay.

I desire to thank you for this communication and to reiterate the sincere congratulations already conveyed in my telegram of December 20th on the remarkable success which has attended your efforts.

(Signed) J. PROCOPÉ.

5. LETTER FROM SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, BRITISH REPRESENTATIVE ON THE COUNCIL.

London, January 3rd, 1929.

I have read with much interest the communication which you were good enough to circulate on December 21st to your colleagues on the Council of the League, informing them of the various steps which you have taken to bring about a settlement of the difference between Bolivia and Paraguay.

I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating you personally on the energetic and at the same time tactful action which you have taken on behalf of the Council of the League. Your telegrams have not only been largely instrumental in bringing about the present *détente* but they have served to strengthen the prestige and influence of the League of Nations.

(Signed) Austen CHAMBERLAIN.

6. LETTER FROM M. STRESEMANN, REPRESENTATIVE OF GERMANY ON THE COUNCIL.

[Translation from the German.]

Berlin, January 7th, 1929.

I have the honour to acknowledge with many thanks the receipt of your letter of December 21st, 1928, in which, following upon your telegram of December 19th, you give me further information concerning the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay and, in particular, concerning the measures you took as Acting President of the Council and in virtue of the authority conferred on you by the Council on December 15th, 1928.

I would state that I am fully in agreement with the steps you have taken, and am convinced that these played an important part in inducing the parties to accept a procedure for pacific settlement.

Whilst stating my satisfaction at the good results of the intervention of the League and of your personal endeavours, I would also give expression to my hope that the Pan-American Conference at Washington may be successful in reaching a final settlement of the dispute by peaceful means.

(Signed) STRESEMANN.

Geneva, August 15th, 1929.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

**RUSSIAN, ARMENIAN, ASSYRIAN, ASSYRO-CHALDEAN,
AND TURKISH REFUGEES.**

REPORT TO THE TENTH ASSEMBLY.

Note by the Secretary-General:

The Secretary-General has the honour to communicate to the delegates to the tenth ordinary session of the Assembly:

- I. Report of the Advisory Commission to the High Commissioner for Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish Refugees, dated May 18th, 1929;
- II. Report of the Representative of Venezuela, presented to the Council on June 10th, 1929;
- III. Report of the High Commissioner for Refugees, dated August 10th, 1929.

The report of the Supervisory Commission, to which the High Commissioner refers in his report, has been submitted to the Assembly in document A.5(a).1929.X.

**REPORT OF THE ADVISORY COMMISSION TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR
RUSSIAN, ARMENIAN, ASSYRIAN, ASSYRO-CHALDEAN AND TURKISH REFUGEES,
SUBMITTED TO THE COUNCIL ON JUNE 12TH, 1929.**

(Document C.210.1929.VII.)

The Advisory Commission for Refugees held its first session at Geneva from May 16th to 18th, 1929.

In accordance with the mandate conferred by the Council and the Assembly, the Commission prepared a general report on the possible ways and means of securing a definite solution of the refugee problem within the shortest possible time.

After an exhaustive discussion, and after having considered various memoranda submitted by the High Commissariat and by the members of the Advisory Committee of private organisations for the refugees, and after having heard the views of the experts of the latter body, the Commission arrived at the following conclusions and recommendations, which it has the honour to submit to the Council.

I. IMPOSSIBILITY OF A RADICAL SOLUTION.

The Commission, in the first instance, gave its attention to the radical solutions contemplated by the last Assembly of the League of Nations, namely, the naturalisation of refugees by the countries in which they are resident, the recovery by refugees of the nationality of their countries of origin and their return to those countries.

(a) Naturalisation.

The Commission recognised that it would be impossible for the various countries in which the refugees are located to proceed to a mass naturalisation of those refugees. It would be even less possible, as a means of resolving the problem, to consider the possibility of refugees being faced with the alternative of either obtaining naturalisation in the country in which they are located or of returning to their country of origin. On the one hand, naturalisation is a privilege which cannot be granted without distinction to every person who requests it and, on the other hand, respect for individual liberty excludes the exertion of pressure on foreigners, even on those without nationality, in order to oblige them to apply for naturalisation.

The Commission noted with satisfaction the generous reception afforded by various countries to the requests for naturalisation submitted by refugees, as well as the special provisions introduced by certain countries in their legislation in order to facilitate the naturalisation of refugees.

The Commission recommends that States develop and embark on this procedure.

(b) *Recovery by Refugees of the Nationality of their Country of Origin.*

This means of facilitating the solution of the refugee problem depends in no way on the High Commissariat, but solely on the legislation of the countries of origin.

(c) *Return of Refugees to their Countries of Origin.*

The Commission recognises that the return of refugees to their country of origin presents most serious difficulties. It is impossible to oblige them to return to those countries, but it is desirable that nothing should be done to discourage them if they wish to return.

2. MAINTENANCE AND DURATION OF THE HIGH COMMISSARIAT.

In these circumstances, the Commission is of opinion that it is impossible to contemplate the immediate cessation of the High Commissariat. It was observed that the duration of the High Commissariat was dependent on the future development of the refugee problem. The Commission, whilst taking note of this observation, was of opinion that it would be desirable, nevertheless, to contemplate a maximum period for the liquidation of the services of the High Commissariat. It is evident from the memoranda submitted and from the statements made by the High Commissioner that, in order to enable him to wind up his work, to carry through to a successful conclusion the settlement work undertaken and to ensure the execution of the obligations which he has contracted, a period of ten years is indispensable and sufficient. The Commission therefore proposes a period of ten years.

If, however, in the future, the situation should so develop as to make it possible to reduce this period of ten years, the Commission would consider that to be an advantage.

The Commission desires also to stipulate that the activity of the High Commissariat, during the period contemplated, should involve the League of Nations in no expenditure other than that resulting from the administration expenses which will be referred to later.

3. REFUGEE SETTLEMENT.

The High Commissioner had furnished the Commission with detailed information regarding the settlement of refugees. According to this information, the High Commissioner contemplates the settlement of approximately 102,000 refugees within a period of ten years at an expenditure of approximately £500,000 sterling. It is true that the total number of refugees at present without work is about 180,000, but the High Commissioner entertains the belief that the unemployed refugees not covered by the programme referred to above can be placed in employment by small groups by means of the direct or indirect efforts of the High Commissariat.

The Commission noted with satisfaction the measures contemplated by the High Commissioner, and shared the opinion that this programme will provide a practical solution of the whole problem of the settlement of refugees who are at present still without work.

The Commission also took note of the estimates submitted by the High Commissariat of the resources from which the settlement expenses could be met. These estimates show that, in order to meet a total expenditure of £500,000 sterling, the High Commissariat has available a revolving fund of approximately £300,000 sterling, and that present negotiations encourage the hope that an additional loan of £100,000 may be obtained at a very early date. The High Commissioner believes that the remaining £100,000 sterling could be obtained by a general application of the Nansen stamp system instituted by the Inter-Governmental Arrangement of 1926.

The Commission, after consideration of the explanations given and the proposals laid before it, agrees with the programme submitted by the High Commissioner, which comprises the general measures contemplated for the establishment of refugees, and particularly the development of colonisation operations in Syria and Erivan.

4. RELIEF.

The High Commissioner pointed out that a wide application of the arrangements for the issue of the Nansen stamps would also provide sufficient funds to execute the relief measures for refugees who are unable to work (aged persons, invalids, children), of whom there still exist, according to the statistics furnished by the High Commissioner, about 70,000. The Commission supported this point of view, and therefore proposes to the Council that the necessary authority should be given to the High Commissioner.

The relief measures for refugees who are unable to work would thus be maintained primarily by funds provided by the refugees themselves.

The Commission also noted with satisfaction that several Governments assimilate, in a certain measure, refugees unable to work to their own citizens, and grant them certain unemployment benefits, etc. The Commission expresses the hope that Governments will find it possible to develop this procedure.

5. ASSISTANCE FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

The Commission highly appreciated the advantages accruing from the collaboration of the International Organisations of the Red Cross and of various private associations and individuals with the High Commissariat, both for the colonisation and relief of refugees unable to work.

The Commission draws attention to the desirability of appealing to the foregoing organisations and individuals to continue and develop their efforts in order to obtain the largest possible sums for the continuance of the work undertaken by the High Commissariat.

In particular, it would be desirable that the High Commissioner should be authorised to forward this appeal to the British United Committee, comprising the Armenian (Lord Mayor's) Fund, the "Save the Children" Fund, the Friends of Armenia and the Society of Friends; to the Jewish Colonisation Association, the International Organisations of the Red Cross, the Near East Relief and to the International "Save the Children" Fund.

6. ADMINISTRATION OF THE FUNDS.

The Commission proposes that the High Commissioner should continue to administer the various funds of which he has charge at present, and that the same powers should be granted to him in respect of any funds which he may obtain in the future. The necessary measures should be taken to ensure that these funds should be completely liquidated or vested in trustees or transferred to benevolent institutions as and when the High Commissariat ceases to function. In regard to loans already raised or to be raised in the future, repayment of which would fall due after the activities of the High Commissariat had ceased, appropriate measures should be taken to ensure the complete execution of all obligations resulting from such loans.

7. LEGAL STATUS OF REFUGEES.

In order to ensure a practical solution of the question of the legal status of the refugees, the Commission recommends all Governments to adopt and execute the Inter-Governmental Arrangements of 1922, 1924, 1926 and 1928. It is not, however, desirable that this special regime should be indefinitely prolonged, since it is a temporary expedient rendered necessary by the present situation of the refugees. If, therefore, at the time when the High Commissariat ceases to function, there should still remain a considerable number of refugees, Governments should come to an agreement in order to ensure to refugees the benefits of these arrangements by adapting them to the new situation created by the cessation of the activities of the High Commissariat.

8. REFUGEE PROBLEM.

In proposing to maintain the High Commissariat for a considerable period, the Commission desires to indicate that the refugee problem still requires the co-ordination of national and international effort. The Commission is of opinion that Governments, during the continuance of the activities of the High Commissariat, should consider the eventual possibility of assuming such functions of the High Commissariat the continuation of which may be recognised as necessary.

9. NANSSEN CERTIFICATES.

The Commission recommends that Governments should apply as widely and as generously as possible the provisions of the 1926 Arrangement concerning the issue of Nansen certificates. The Commission draws attention to the desirability of not withdrawing such certificates from those refugees to whom they have been delivered and of not refusing to renew them, since it is an accepted principle of administrative law that, except for serious reasons, acquired rights should not be challenged.

10. ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES.

The Commission considered the administrative measures to be taken in connection with the continuation of the work of the High Commissariat.

The Commission considered that the powers and competence of the High Commissioner as laid down by the resolutions of the Assembly and of the Council should be maintained in their entirety.

(a) *Central Service.*

In order to place the international activity of the High Commissariat on a more regular and stable basis, the Commission considers it necessary that the central service of the High Commissariat should be incorporated in the Secretariat of the League, of which it will form a temporary department.

The Commission expresses the wish that, although not receiving permanent contracts, the members of the central service of the High Commissariat should be assimilated to the other members of the general Secretariat to the utmost extent acceptable by the Supervisory Commission and by the Assembly, subject to the maintenance of existing advantages.

As regards the conditions under which this staff should be utilised by the High Commissioner, the Commission is of opinion that it should be left to the High Commissioner and to the Secretary-

General to decide this matter by mutual agreement and in such a manner as will ensure that the service will function as satisfactorily as in the past.

(b) *External Agents.*

The attention of the Commission has been drawn to the resolutions of the Council and of the Assembly to the effect that refugees should not be employed in the services of the High Commissariat. The High Commissioner and certain members of the Commission pointed out, however, that, in certain exceptional circumstances, recourse by the High Commissariat to the technical collaboration of refugees in his external services would present important advantages.

II. BUDGET.

The Commission examined a draft budget for 1930 drawn up by the High Commissioner for submission to the Assembly.

The budget for 1929 as adopted by the last Assembly amounted to 298,000 Swiss francs, plus 50,000 Swiss francs for settlement measures in Erivan.

The Commission, in agreement with the High Commissioner, is of opinion that the amount requested from the Assembly for 1930 should in no case exceed the amount granted for 1929.

The Commission is also of opinion that subsequent budgets should show a tendency towards a gradual decrease, particularly during the period of the last five years of the activity of the High Commissariat.

The Commission is of opinion that the delegation in South America could be reduced.

As regards the expenditure occasioned by the delegates of the High Commissariat in various countries, the Commission considers that the High Commissioner could be authorised to meet a part of this expenditure from fees charged for services rendered to the refugees. It would be desirable if the Council or the Assembly would agree to recommend that Governments should give this proposal their sympathetic consideration.

II.

REPORT BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF VENEZUELA.

(Document C.223(1).1929.VII).

Madrid, June 10th, 1929.

In its resolution of September 25th, 1928, the Assembly invited the Council to take urgently all necessary steps to appoint an Advisory Commission to be attached to the High Commissioner and to instruct this Commission to submit, before the next session of the Assembly, a general report on the possibility of reaching a final solution of the refugee problem as soon as possible and on the means by which this object might be attained.

The general report of the Advisory Commission appointed by the Council at its meeting on December 14th, 1928, is now before you.¹

All the countries invited by the Council, with the exception of Japan and Switzerland,² attended the meeting of the Commission, which was held in Geneva from May 16th to 18th, 1929.

It is evident from its report that the Commission endeavoured to conform to the view expressed by M. Bastid, Rapporteur to the Fifth Committee, at the last Assembly, that the refugee work of the League should be considered as temporary, that it should not be prolonged indefinitely, but should be brought to a final conclusion.

The Commission therefore first examined the drastic and final solutions contemplated by the last Assembly: the naturalisation of the refugees by the countries in which they are residing, their reinstatement in the nationality of their countries of origin and their return to these countries. From the written observations on this subject forwarded by a large number of Governments and from the discussion which took place at its first session, the Commission was, however, forced to recognise that none of these measures could at the moment lead to a complete solution of the refugee problem. The mass naturalisation of the refugees by the countries in which they are residing gives rise to insuperable difficulties and the reinstatement of refugees in the nationality of their countries of origin depends entirely on legislation in those countries. It seems out of the question to try to force the refugees to return to their countries of origin.

The Commission therefore sees no possibility of recommending that the High Commissariat should cease work immediately, but it lays stress on the necessity of fixing at once the maximum period within which the High Commissariat should be entirely liquidated. The High Commissioner showed that a period of ten years was indispensable, and the Commission adopted this point of view under the conditions stated in its report. It added, however, that it saw nothing but advantage in any reduction in this period which future developments might render possible.

The Commission's report further makes a certain number of recommendations with regard to the measures to be taken for the continuation and the liquidation of the refugee work under satisfactory conditions.

¹ See Section I.

² See document C.188.1929.VII.

I think that the Council will agree with me that, since it has set up the Advisory Commission in conformity with the Assembly's instructions, and since that Commission has drawn up a complicated programme, parts of which are administrative and financial and may require thorough study by the competent organs of the League, it is better not to discuss at the moment the substance of the question, but to forward to the Assembly the Advisory Commission's report and the recommendations contained therein.

I have the honour to propose that the Council should adopt the following resolution:¹

"The Commission approves the present report and forwards to the Assembly the report of the Advisory Commission for Refugees, together with the recommendations contained therein."

III.

REPORT BY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES TO THE TENTH ASSEMBLY.

August 10th, 1929.

I. INTRODUCTION.

The ninth ordinary session of the Assembly had under consideration reports by the High Commissioner for Refugees and by the Director of the International Labour Office on the refugee work and on the recommendation made by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office that the whole of the refugee work should revert to the High Commission for Refugees, whose authority should be reinforced for the purpose by the appointment of a Refugee Advisory Commission.

In making that recommendation, the Governing Body explained that it had come to the conclusion that the work remaining to be executed for the settlement of the unemployed refugees consisted mainly of colonisation and training operations, which belonged more properly to the competence of the High Commission which had always been responsible for the political, legal and financial aspects of the refugee questions.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Ninth Assembly concerning the refugee work:

"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;

¹ Adopted by the Council on June 12th, 1929.

"(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 Service 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;

"(14) Decides that the work of establishment of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Eriwan 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."

In conformity with the Assembly resolution No. 6 quoted above, the Council, at its fifty-third session, decided to invite the Governments of the following countries to nominate members on the Refugee Advisory Commission: Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Poland, Roumania, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and Switzerland. All those Governments accepted the Council's invitation with the exception of the Japanese and Swiss Governments, which intimated that, as their countries were not directly interested, to any appreciable extent, in the refugee problems, they did not consider it essential for them to participate in the work of the Advisory Commission. The Council also adopted the High Commissioner's suggestion that the employers' and workers' groups of the Governing Body should be invited to send representatives as technical advisers or assessors to the meetings of the Commission when questions of particular interest to them were under discussion, and that the Secretary-General and the Director of the International Labour Office, or their nominees, should be invited to attend the meetings of the Commission in an advisory capacity. Finally, the Council approved the proposal of the High Commissioner that the Advisory Committee of private organisations to the High Commission should be authorised to send members as technical advisers to the meetings of the Commission.

II. DOCUMENTATION SUBMITTED TO THE ADVISORY COMMISSION.

To enable the Advisory Commission to be in a position to execute the mandate conferred on it by the Council, a summary of the refugee problems, of the progress made with their solution and of the measures contemplated for their liquidation was circulated to the Commission some time before its first meeting, which was convened for May 16th and the following days. In order, moreover, that the Advisory Commission might be acquainted with the views of the interested Governments concerning the two solutions of the refugee problems contemplated in the Assembly resolutions, a questionnaire was sent out to those Governments and a résumé of their replies was likewise communicated to the Commission before its meeting. Material extracts from the general documentation thus submitted to the Advisory Commission have been brought up to date and appear in the Appendix as a progress report on the refugee work.

III. CONSTITUTION AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE REFUGEE ADVISORY COMMISSION.

The Advisory Commission held its first meeting in Geneva from May 16th to 18th, 1929, and was attended by the following members and advisers:

Government Representatives:

Dr. VÖLKERS, German Consul-General.

His Excellency M. C. DUZMANS, Permanent Representative of the Latvian Government accredited to the League of Nations.

His Excellency M. C. ANTONIADE, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Roumanian Government to the League of Nations.

His Excellency M. I. CHUMENKOVITCH, Permanent Delegate of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes accredited to the League of Nations.

- M. D. MIKOFF, Bulgarian Chargé d'Affaires.
- M. Th. GWIAZDOWSKI, Counsellor of Legation at the Permanent Polish Delegation accredited to the League of Nations.
- M. OBREBSKI, Chief of Division, Consular Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Poland).
- His Excellency M. A. SCHMIDT, Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs (Estonia).
- M. DE NAVAILLES-LABATUT, Sous-Directeur des Chancelleries et du Contentieux au Ministère des Affaires étrangères (France).
- M. R. RAPHAEL, Greek Chargé d'Affaires.
- His Excellency, M. FIERLINGER, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Czechoslovak Government to the League of Nations.
- M. P. F. DE ROSSI DEL LION NERO, Counsellor of Legation (Italy).
- M. CHEN-TING, Secretary of the Permanent Office of the Chinese Delegation to the League of Nations.
- Dr. Fridtjof NANSEN, High Commissioner for Refugees.

Technical Advisers:

- M. C. GOULKÉVITCH }
Baron B. NOLDE } conseil des anciens ambassadeurs russes.
- Mr. Lucien WOLF }
Mr. L. B. GOLDEN } United British Committee.
- M. A. KHATISSIAN, Delegation of the Armenian Republic.
- M. L. PACHALIAN, Comité central des Réfugiés arméniens.
- Captain C. PETERSEN, League of Red Cross Societies.
- Maître J. RUBINSTEIN, Comité central pour l'étude de la condition des réfugiés russes.
- M. SUGIMURA, Under Secretary-General, and Mr. BUTLER, Deputy Director, represented the Secretariat and the International Labour Office respectively.
- Secretary-General, Mr. T. F. JOHNSON, Assistant High Commissioner for Refugees.

* * *

The Commission elected the French délégué, M. DE NAVAILLES, as its President and adopted unanimously a report (document C.210.1929.VII) containing a series of recommendations on the possible ways and means of securing a definite solution of the refugee problems.

In that report, the Advisory Commission explained that it had arrived at its conclusions after an exhaustive discussion, and after having considered various memoranda submitted by the High Commission and by the members of the Advisory Committee of Private Organisations for the Refugees, and after having heard the views of the experts of the latter body.

The Commission in the first instance gave its attention to the declaration made by the last Assembly that a complete solution of the refugee problems could only be achieved by the return of the refugees to their country of origin or by their assimilation by the countries at present offering them hospitality.

After considering the replies made by the interested Governments to the questionnaire on those solutions, the Commission recognised that their practical achievement would encounter most serious difficulties and came to the conclusion that it was impossible to oblige the refugees to accept either of the alternative solutions. The Commission recommended, however, that all possible steps should be taken to encourage the refugees to adopt one or the other of those solutions.

The Commission also noted that the High Commissioner, in execution of the various mandates conferred on him from time to time by the Assembly and Council, had been obliged, in the absence of funds provided for the purpose, to obtain credits from Governments, official and private institutions, for the settlement of the refugees and to enter into obligations concerning the administration and eventual reimbursement of the funds thus placed at his disposal, and that a period of ten years would be necessary for the liquidation of those obligations.

As regards the future development of the refugee work, the Commission approved plans submitted by the High Commissioner for a practical solution of the whole problem of the settlement of the 180,000 refugees still unemployed within the next ten years, for a total revolving fund of £500,000. Of that amount, the High Commissioner had available or had been promised about £300,000, and the Commission agreed, from evidence furnished by the High Commission, that the balance could be obtained without recourse to the League, except for administrative expenses, by the general application, by the Governments, of the Nansen stamp system. It was, moreover, agreed that the revenue derived from the general application of that system would also provide adequate funds for the settlement of some 70,000 aged, invalid and infant refugees.

After taking into account the foregoing considerations, the Commission came to the conclusion that it was impossible to contemplate the immediate cessation of the activities of the High

Commission, and expressed the opinion that a period of ten years was indispensable and sufficient for the successful conclusion of the High Commission's activities and to ensure the fulfilment of the various obligations contracted. The Commission thought, however, that if, in the future, the situation should so develop as to make it possible to reduce this period of ten years, it would consider it an advantage.

In proposing to maintain the High Commission for a period of ten years, the Commission indicated that the refugee problems still required the co-ordination of national, international and private efforts. This conclusion was reached as a result of the consideration of resolutions submitted by the Advisory Committee of Private Organisations (consisting of some forty members, representing the foremost international and national organisations, including the International Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies, working for the refugees), to the effect that the maintenance of the High Commission by the League was indispensable to that end, as experience has shown that the efforts of the Governments, the Red Cross or other private organisations could only be completely successful when co-ordinated as at present.

The Commission was, however, of the opinion that Governments, during the continuation of the activities of the High Commission, should consider the eventual possibility of assuming the continuation of such functions of the High Commission as might be considered necessary.

With reference to the administrative measures to be taken in connection with the continuation of the work of the High Commission, the Advisory Commission considered that the powers and competence of the High Commissioner, as laid down by the resolutions of the Assembly and Council, should be maintained in their entirety, but, in order to place the international activity of the High Commission on a more regular and stable basis, the Commission recommended that the central service of the High Commission should be incorporated in the Secretariat of the League, of which it would form a temporary department. The Commission also expressed a wish, in view of the recommendations made by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office at its meeting in June 1928, and by the last Assembly, that the members of the central service, whilst not receiving permanent contracts, should be assimilated to the other members of the permanent Secretariat to the utmost extent acceptable by the Supervisory Commission and by the Assembly.

As regards the Administrative expenses of the High Commission, the Commission considered that the amount requested from the Assembly for the year 1930 should not exceed that granted for 1929 (*i.e.*, 298,000 francs for the general work of the High Commission and 50,000 francs for the Erivan settlement scheme). The Commission was of opinion, however, that subsequent budgets should show a tendency towards a gradual decrease, particularly during the last five years of the duration of the High Commission. The Commission recommended, however, that the deficiency thus created should be met from fees charged for services rendered to the refugees by the High Commission.

IV. COUNCIL ACTION.

The report of the Advisory Commission was considered by the Council at its fifty-fifth session when it was decided that, since the Council had set up the Commission in conformity with a resolution of the Assembly, it was desirable to forward to the Assembly the report of that Commission and the recommendations contained therein.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION CONCERNING THE FUTURE STATUS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE HIGH COMMISSION.¹

The report of the Refugee Advisory Commission was submitted to the Supervisory Commission at its meeting from June 21st to 24th, with a view to advice being afforded to the Assembly concerning the financial aspects of that report. The Supervisory Commission thought that even the strictly financial advice to be given involved a decision as to the future status of the refugee organisation and as to the term of its duration. The Supervisory Commission considered, therefore, that it had to envisage the eventuality of the refugee organisation being incorporated in the Secretariat, as recommended by the Refugee Advisory Commission, or of being treated as a separate, autonomous organisation. For the reasons which appear in the succeeding paragraphs, the Supervisory Commission definitely recommended acceptance of the latter policy.

The High Commission, however, ventures to submit that some of the statements made in the Supervisory Commission's report might possibly be reconsidered in the light of all the decisions taken by the Assembly and Council in connection with the refugee work. The recommendations of the Supervisory Commission, for instance, appeared to be particularly influenced by the reference to a letter addressed to the States Members and approved by the Council on March 1st, 1921. The Supervisory Commission interpreted that letter in the sense that the Council had laid down clearly and definitely that the League could not concern itself with the refugee problems or accept any financial responsibility for relief, whereas a definite decision, which modified sensibly the opinion expressed in the letter in question, was not taken by the Council until June 1921.

¹ See document A.5(a).1929.X.

It might therefore be convenient to repeat the material extracts from the memorandum and letter sent to the interested Governments on that occasion, as well as relevant portions of the report adopted by the Council in June 1921 after considering the observations of those Governments. In the memorandum it was stated that the Council had been requested by the International Red Cross Committee to find some solution of the Russian refugee problem and to appoint a Commissioner whose task would be:

- (a) To define the legal position of the refugees;
- (b) To repatriate those refugees to Russia or to settle them outside Russia;
- (c) To co-ordinate the efforts already undertaken for the assistance of the refugees.

The Council added that, although it would not be possible for it to deal with all aspects of the case, it was most anxious to give such assistance as was possible within certain limits.

With reference to the legal status of the refugees, the Council thought it to be a matter primarily for the interested Governments, but realised that international agreement and co-operation might be of value, and therefore decided unanimously to place the machinery of the League at their disposal should the Governments desire it.

As regards the general question of the relief of the refugees, the Council felt that it was more a matter for the Red Cross and other voluntary relief organisations, but invited the views of the Governments as to the measures which should be taken for the solution of that international problem.

In a memorandum submitted to the Council by the International Red Cross Committee, it was emphasised that the solution of the refugee problem was not so much a humanitarian duty as an obligation of international justice, and that all the organisations already helping the refugees would be encouraged to make fresh efforts under the general supervision of a Commissioner appointed by the League, which was the only super-national political authority capable of solving a problem which was beyond the power of exclusively humanitarian organisations, and which the League of Nations alone could handle with the necessary authority.

The replies received from the Governments to the letter approved by the Council on March 1st, 1921, were summarised in a report presented by M. Hanotaux as Rapporteur, and adopted by the Council at its meeting in June 1921. In that report, it was stated:

“ A permanent organisation, no matter what form it will eventually assume, will require considerable funds. It will need funds for its administrative organisation and, above all, for the carrying out of its far-reaching and costly operations.”

(It should be recalled that, in June 1921, it was estimated that £4,000,000 would be required for the purpose.)

“ All the other classes of refugees, however, who hitherto have had no means of subsistence, and are unable in their present position to obtain any, will come within the sphere of activity of the permanent organisation of the League.”

The majority of the Governments expressed the opinion that a solution of the refugee problems could only be found by the appointment by the League of a High Commissioner for Refugees. It was in consequence of recommendations thus made that the Council in June 1921 adopted the following resolutions:

“ The Council of the League recognises that the best method of attaining a general settlement of the problems involved by the influx of Russian refugees is to appoint a carefully chosen High Commissioner, whose duty will be to co-ordinate the action taken in the various countries, whether by the Governments or by private organisations.

“ In order to ensure co-ordination of effort among the Governments, the Council will, as soon as possible, take steps to summon a conference of the officials who are specially detailed in the various countries concerned to keep in touch with the Russian refugee question, in order that the High Commissioner's staff, which is to be responsible for the ultimate settlement of the refugee question, may be organised as soon as possible upon a sound basis.

“ The Council calls upon its President, after having obtained the approval, if necessary by letter, of his colleagues, to arrange, should circumstances demand, for the appointment of a High Commissioner and his staff in the interval between the Council meetings. The President shall also, if necessary, appoint the staff which will assist the High Commissioner thus nominated.”

Another passage in the report of the Supervisory Commission would appear to call for observations from the High Commissioner in order to avoid possible misunderstanding. That passage is in the following terms:

“ That [industrial] phase of the work has also passed, and the organisation is now, more distinctly than ever, pursuing its own policy, on its own lines . . . The whole business, in fact, is exactly one of those humanitarian projects which the League of Nations can stimulate, or even initiate, but the detailed execution of which it must leave to inter-governmental action or ultimately to private agencies.”

A reference, however, to the progress report on the refugee work (Appendix) will show that the placing of refugees in industrial employment still constitutes an important part of the refugee settlement programme. As regards the policy of the High Commission, it should be emphasised that this is exercised strictly in conformity with reports submitted to the Assembly and Council, and with the resolutions adopted thereon. With reference to the suggestion that the refugee work should be left to inter-governmental action or private agencies, extracts which appear in this present report show that the Council in June 1921, on the insistence of the Governments, Red Cross and other private organisations, and the Refugee Advisory Commission in May 1929, after consulting similar bodies, share the opinion that the co-ordination by the League of governmental and private effort is indispensable for the solution of the refugee problems.

With reference to the mention made in the Supervisory Commission's report to the pronouncements made in the Assembly from time to time calling for the liquidation of the refugee work, it should be recalled that, although certain delegates have given voice to such opinions, the unanimous resolutions ultimately adopted by the Assembly and the Council have extended considerably the activities of the High Commission by the addition of the Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish refugee problems, by the adoption of the plans for the settlement of the Armenian refugees in Erivan and Syria, and by referring to the High Commission the important functions connected with the execution of the Inter-Governmental Arrangements of May 12th, 1926, and June 30th, 1928.

It should, moreover, be recalled that, when the High Commissioner in June 1927 urged the League to disassociate itself from the plan for the settlement of the Armenian refugees in Erivan, the Council begged him earnestly not to abandon his efforts for the execution of that plan.

Finally, it should be emphasised that, if the proposals of the Supervisory Commission that the High Commission should become an entirely separate autonomous organisation are adopted, the High Commission will be faced with an unforeseen additional initial establishment expenditure of 10,882 francs and an additional yearly expenditure of 43,904 francs. A substantial portion of this latter sum would be required for contributions to a Pensions and Invalidity Fund, owing to the inability of the Supervisory Commission to accept the Assembly and Governing Body recommendations concerning the improvement of the conditions of service of the High Commission staff, which, it will be remembered, the Refugee Advisory Commission recommended could best be effected by their assimilation to the staff of the League Secretariat.

VI. SETTLEMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES IN ERIVAN.

The question of the settlement of Armenian refugees in Erivan will form the subject of a supplementary report to the Assembly.

Appendix.

PROGRESS REPORT ON THE REFUGEE WORK BY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES.

I. HISTORY OF THE WORK OF THE HIGH COMMISSION.

A short survey of the history of the questions referred by the Assembly and the Council to the High Commission since its inception; of the steps taken to deal with them; of the present state of the refugee problems and of the measures contemplated by the High Commission for their solution will probably help to form an accurate appreciation of the task referred to it by the Assembly and the Council.

(a) *Repatriation of Prisoners of War.*

At the close of the war, there were nearly half a million prisoners of war and interned soldiers, mostly in a destitute situation, in Siberia, awaiting the means of returning to their homes. Certain Governments and international and national charitable organisations had endeavoured to assist them, but had not been able to cope with the problem in a completely effective manner. The situation became so serious that it was feared that no fewer than 120,000 to 200,000 prisoners of war would be in danger of death from cold and starvation in the winter of 1920-21.

It was in these circumstances that the Council of the League, at its session in April 1920, appointed Dr. Nansen as High Commissioner to co-ordinate the efforts which had been made up to that date for the repatriation of the prisoners of war.

In spite of the difficulty in obtaining funds and the necessary shipping, the High Commissioner was able to report to the 1922 Assembly that no fewer than 430,000 prisoners of war, of 26 nationalities, had been restored to their homes at a cost of about £1 per head.

(b) *Russian Refugees.*

In June 1921, the Council of the League invited the High Commissioner to endeavour to find a solution of the problem constituted by more than one million Russian refugees who were scattered throughout Europe and China and whose situation was tragic. The refugees were for the most part destitute and unable to travel in search of employment, and constituted a very heavy charge on the countries into whose territories they had penetrated. To afford some idea of the magnitude of the problem and of the cost it imposed on the countries concerned, it may be recalled that M. Hanotaux, in a report which was subsequently adopted by the Council, expressed the opinion that a permanent organisation should be established for the solution of this particular refugee problem, with funds estimated at 200 million French francs, or 4 million pounds.

An Inter-Governmental Conference on the whole Russian refugee question, held in 1921, recommended, *inter alia*, the following:

- (a) Classification of the refugees by profession, to be carried out in co-operation with the International Labour Office;
- (b) Preparation of schemes for the provision of productive employment;
- (c) Regularisation of the legal status of the Russian refugees.

Without entering into the detail of the steps taken by the High Commission for the execution of its mandate, it may be said that, as a result of the establishment of a refugee passport, of the co-ordination of the activities of private organisations and by direct placing and evacuation, the general situation of the Russian refugees was so far improved that, at the time of the transfer of the technical part of the work to the International Labour Office in 1925, no more than 200,000 Russian refugees capable of working were unemployed. Of the 90,000 Russian refugees at Constantinople, whose situation in 1921, 1922 and 1923 had caused the representatives of the Governments at Constantinople such grave anxiety, and inspired their appeals for the High Commission's active intervention, 30,000 had been transferred to 45 different countries, at a cost of about 30s. per head, and the departure of the majority of the remainder had been facilitated in various ways. Furthermore, about 6,000 refugees of the Denikin evacuation, who had up to then been maintained by the British Government at a cost reported to reach the sum of over £250,000 for 1921 alone, were taken over by the High Commission, which settled them in employment during 1922 for a total expenditure of about £70,000 from a grant of £150,000 made by the British Government for the purpose. One-half of the saving thus effected was returned to the British Government, and the remaining half was devoted to the evacuation of Russian refugees from Constantinople.

(c) *Asia Minor Refugees.*

At the time of the Third Assembly of the League, public attention was focussed on the plight of some hundreds of thousands of refugees from the interior of Asia Minor, and the High Commission was once more invited by the Assembly to extend its operations, and, with a small fund placed

at its disposal by the Members of the League, the High Commission organised the transport of no fewer than 156,000 of those refugees to Greek ports.

In all, more than one million refugees arrived in Greece, for whom the High Commission co-ordinated international emergency relief measures. Realising, however, that the provision of food could at the very best be merely palliative, the High Commission, with its small remaining funds, demonstrated by means of the establishment of some 10,000 refugees in colonies, that the whole problem could be solved by those means on a constructive basis. A mission was sent to Greece to draw up a comprehensive settlement programme, which eventually served as a basis for the preparation of a scheme by the Finance Committee of the League for the floating of an international loan and the progressive liquidation of the Greek refugee problem.

Another concrete instance of the services rendered by the High Commission as an international body may be worthy of note. In the spring of 1924, some 30,000 Anatolian refugees were in a very precarious situation on the outskirts of Constantinople, when as many as 500 deaths per week were occurring from typhus, smallpox and other epidemics. In response to urgent appeals from the Allied authorities in Constantinople, the High Commission initiated energetic disinfection and dispersal measures, with the result that the mortality was quickly reduced by 90 per cent, and arrangements were made for the settlement of the whole of the refugees in Western Thrace by the end of August of the same year.

(d) *Armenian Refugees.*

The Council of the League in September 1923 requested the High Commissioner to undertake the solution of the problem of some 300,000 Armenian refugees in the Near East, who were in a similar position to that of the Russian refugees. In pursuance of that request, the identity certificate system for Russian refugees was extended to the Armenian refugees in 1924, and an occupational census was established which showed that approximately 200,000 were unemployed though able to work.

The Assembly of 1924 also requested the High Commissioner to examine the possibilities of the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Erivan Republic. In conformity with that request, a mission was sent to the Caucasus, which drew up a plan for the establishment of some 10,000 Armenian refugees in colonies in that part of the world.

(e) *Transfer to the International Labour Office of the Technical Work for Russian and Armenian Refugees.*

Until 1924, hopes were entertained that a substantial solution of the Russian refugee question might be achieved by the repatriation of at least the major portion of the refugees. Negotiations to that end had been prosecuted by the High Commissioner, and as a result some 6,000 refugees had been transferred to Russia. In 1924, however, it became apparent that the Soviet Government would only admit further refugees on conditions which the latter regarded as unacceptable, and that, in future, efforts would have to be directed to the transfer of the refugees to other countries to secure relief from the burden imposed on many European countries by the presence of large numbers of unemployed refugees on their territories. It was in these circumstances that the Assembly and the Council endorsed Dr. Nansen's recommendation that the duties in connection with the employment and emigration of the refugees should be transferred to the International Labour Office, which had already on several occasions assisted the High Commission in those fields. It was stipulated, however, that Dr. Nansen, as High Commissioner of the League, should continue to deal with any questions of a political, legal and financial character which might arise.

In accordance with the resolution of the Governing Body, the technical part of the refugee work was transferred to the Office in January 1925.

The necessary liaison between Dr. Nansen and the Office was maintained by charging Mr. T. F. Johnson, the Assistant High Commissioner, with the functions of Assistant High Commissioner and Chief of the Refugee Section of the International Labour Office.

In conformity with the resolutions adopted by the Sixth and Seventh Assemblies of the League, delegates were sent to the Argentine and Brazil for the placing of refugees in South America, and to Beirut to co-ordinate the work for the settlement of Armenian refugees in Syria.

(f) *Inter-Governmental Identity Certificate (Passport) Arrangements.*

From the outset it became apparent that it would not be sufficient merely to centralise offers of employment and communicate them to the unemployed refugees, since the majority of them were indigent and not in a position to pay their transport expenses to the countries where work was found for them. Recourse was had in those cases to the small revolving fund administered by the High Commissioner. That fund, however, was insufficient for the provision of travelling expenses in Europe, and was quite inadequate to meet the higher cost of transport to and settlement in overseas countries.

The Sixth Assembly recognised that it would be indispensable to increase the revolving fund and adopted a resolution inviting the High Commissioner to convene an Inter-Governmental Conference at Geneva for the purpose of considering the creation of a revolving fund of not less than £100,000 to assist the emigration and settlement of Russian and Armenian refugees and of improving the existing systems of refugee identity certificates.

With a view to giving effect to those suggestions, a questionnaire was addressed to the Members of the League and to other interested Governments inviting them to furnish certain statistics regarding the situation of the refugees, for the information of the Conference. With the help of the answers thus obtained, and the information supplied by the delegates of the Refugee Section and by refugee organisations, the Conference was placed in possession of a memorandum containing comprehensive information on the Armenian and Russian refugee problems.

Without recapitulating the details of that memorandum, it may be pointed out that the identity certificates, or refugee passports, are now recognised by the 52 Governments for Russian refugees and the 39 Governments for Armenian refugees mentioned in a later paragraph of this chapter.

The replies also disclosed that, although a comparatively large number of Governments had adopted the identity certificate system in principle, the lack of uniformity in its application precluded the refugees from obtaining the benefits contemplated at the time of the adoption of the respective identity certificate arrangements.

Perhaps the most striking information disclosed by the Government replies was that the presence of the Armenian and Russian refugees in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Latvia, Poland, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Switzerland alone involved the Governments of those countries in an expenditure of 20 million gold francs per annum.

The Inter-Governmental Conference, which met in Geneva from May 10th to 12th, 1926, and was attended by the delegates of 25 countries, recognised the necessity:

- (1) Of regularising the systems of identity certificates for Russian and Armenian refugees;
- (2) Of determining in a more complete manner the number and situation of Russian and Armenian refugees in the various countries; and
- (3) Of creating a revolving fund to provide for the cost of transportation and settlement of refugees.

With those objects in view, it adopted unanimously an Arrangement, which included a number of important recommendations calculated to advance the solution of the refugee problems, particularly in regard to the definition of persons entitled to the refugee identity certificates; the return of refugees to countries from which they emigrate; the free issue of identity certificates, entry, exit and transit visas to indigent refugees; transport facilities; inclusion of children on their parents' identity certificates; the general application of the identity certificate systems; and the creation of the revolving fund by means of the issue by the High Commission of a stamp of the value of 5 gold francs, to be purchased yearly by every self-supporting refugee, as a preliminary to the issue to him of an identity certificate, an identity card or a *permis de séjour*. Governments were also recommended to supplement the revolving fund by means of special contributions for the specific transfers of refugees.

It is believed that the general application of this arrangement would not only confer obvious benefits on large numbers of refugees, estimated at more than one million, but also on the countries for which the unemployed refugees represent a heavy expense, and on the immigration countries anxious to increase their productive populations, and would, moreover, constitute a very important step towards the constructive solution of the refugee problem.

The Governments of the following countries have recognised the identity certificate for Russian refugees (July 5th, 1922): South Africa, Albania, Argentine, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Danzig, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, India, Iraq, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Palestine, Paraguay, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Saar Basin, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Siam, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States of America, Uruguay.

The Governments of the following countries have recognised the identity certificate for Armenian refugees (May 31st, 1924): South Africa, Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, India, Iraq, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, New Zealand, Norway, Palestine, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Saar Basin, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, United States of America, Uruguay.

The Governments of the following countries have adhered to the Arrangement of May 12th, 1926: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Irish Free State, Luxemburg, Norway, Poland, Roumania, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Sweden, Switzerland.

(g) *Progress made with the Solution of the Refugee Problem.*

At the time of the transfer of the technical part of the refugee work to the International Labour Office, a large number of refugees had succeeded in becoming self-supporting, thanks to the passport and other measures initiated by the High Commission for Refugees, which enabled them to move about more freely in search of employment or to join relations or friends who were willing to help them. Nevertheless, there were still about 400,000 Armenian and Russian refugees unemployed or in temporary or casual employment. Although the economic crises which have ensued during the last few years have borne more heavily on the refugees than on those workers who enjoyed the protection of national Governments, and have resulted in many former employment avenues being closed to the refugees, it is very satisfactory to note that the total number of unemployed Armenian and Russian refugees has now been reduced to less than 180,000. Whilst not claiming full credit for the transformation into productive members of the community of the 220,000 refugees who have thus during the last four years become self-supporting, it may be claimed that the majority of those refugees owe their improved situation, either directly or indirectly, to the various measures initiated by and executed in conjunction with the High Commission for Refugees.

The revolving fund which was created as a result of the Inter-Governmental Arrangement of May 12th, 1926, has now reached the visible figure of approximately £300,000 (see Chapter III, 2), and constitutes an important *caisse de crédit* to which the refugees of all categories may have recourse in their endeavours to reconstruct their lives and gradually revert to the economic situations which they formerly enjoyed.

Lastly, from June 28th to 30th, 1928, an Inter-Governmental Conference adopted an Arrangement concerning the legal status of the Armenian and Russian refugees (see Chapter III, 3).

The manifold demands which have been made on the Office and on the High Commission in their respective spheres by the mass of the Armenian and Russian refugees for the facilities offered by those Arrangements may easily be imagined. Coming to concrete figures, however, which are supported by statistics, it is worthy of note that, during the last four years, it can be shown that more than 60,000 refugees have been enabled to become independent as a result of the direct efforts of the High Commission and the Refugee Section. Those refugees have been placed all over the world—from Australia to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes—but for the most part in France, thanks to the benevolent attitude adopted by the competent services of the Ministries of Agriculture and Labour and to the close daily co-operation which has been established between those services, the Office and the High Commission.

The major portion of the refugees transferred to France have been placed on industrial and agricultural contracts, and it is an interesting indication of the satisfactory manner in which this movement has developed that last year alone the French employers advanced no less than half a million francs to enable refugees to take advantage of the contracts offered to them.

Another satisfactory feature of the refugee settlement work in France is the steady increase in the number of refugees established on *métayage* and similar contracts. This work is carried out in close co-operation with the Office de la main-d'œuvre et de l'immigration agricoles of the French Ministry of Agriculture and with the Russian Refugee Agricultural Commission, and, in order that the refugees may be protected as far as possible from failure arising from their ignorance of the French language and agricultural conditions, a service of Russian-speaking agricultural inspectors has been arranged, in agreement with the Ministry of Agriculture, which advises the refugees on the management of their farms.

By those means, about 2,000 refugees have been established successfully in France as *métayers*, etc., since November 20th, 1926, on advances made to them by the High Commission. Mention should be made in this connection of an experiment for the development of this class of settlement work which may conceivably be of interest to countries whose nationals are also placed in French agriculture. An agreement has been entered into by the High Commission with the French Caisse nationale de Crédit agricole for advances to enable refugees to accept *métayage* and similar contracts, on the understanding that the High Commission guarantees the Caisse nationale against any loss arising from the default of the refugees to reimburse at stipulated periods the advances made to them. This plan has the obvious advantage of economising the High Commissioner's funds and, owing to the creation of a mutual guarantee fund, the risk accepted by the High Commission is reduced to a minimum.

Over 1,000 refugees have also been transferred to South American countries, but it must be admitted that the results obtained are not altogether commensurate with the expectations which were current in 1926 when the Office established delegations in Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro. The chief delegate for South America attributed these results, in a report submitted to the Governing Body at its session in June 1928, to difficulties encountered in connection with visa and entry formalities and to the high costs of transport and settlement compared with those usually paid for the establishment of the refugees in European countries. He considered, however, that the results, though admittedly small, were very satisfactory, and that the long-range cumulative benefits to the refugees as a whole may be considerable, seeing that those who are in South America have brighter prospects than the future offered them in Europe, and that

they are already beginning to attract relations and friends in steadily increasing numbers. It is interesting to mention, in this connection, that the increased transfers to South America effected during the first five months of 1929 fully justify the expectations that the cumulative results in that continent will in course of time vindicate the policy adopted by the Office and the High Commission.

A very gratifying measure of success has attended the efforts of the High Commission and the Refugee Section for the settlement of the Armenian refugees in Syria. Within two years of the invitation of the Mandatory Authority to co-operate in the solution of the problems presented by the presence of some 90,000 Armenian refugees in the mandated territories, of whom 40,000 were existing under most precarious conditions in the refugee camps of Aleppo, Alexandretta and Beirut, it is highly satisfactory to be able to report that no fewer than 8,000 of those refugees are in course of establishment in agricultural and urban settlements, and that arrangements are being made this year for the settlement of a further 2,000 refugees. Moreover, negotiations are on foot which justify the hope that sufficient funds will be forthcoming this year to enable the full execution, within four years, of the plan drawn up by the Assistant High Commissioner and Chief of the Refugee Section, in consultation with the Mandatory Authority two years ago, which will ensure the settlement on the land or in urban quarters of the 32,000 refugees still remaining in the refugee camps.

The High Commission and the Refugee Section have also been called upon to contribute to the solution of another refugee problem, which, if of less magnitude, was of a particularly acute character. In May 1927, there remained some 3,500 Russian refugees in Constantinople of the large mass of refugees who sought asylum in Turkey after the Denikin and Wrangel evacuations. Those refugees had for the most part resided in Turkey for some five or six years, and had to a certain extent succeeded in establishing themselves on a more or less permanent basis. The Turkish Government, however, issued a Decree that those refugees should before August 1st, 1927, obtain Soviet citizenship, Turkish nationality or leave Turkey. The first of these alternatives presented obvious difficulties, whilst the second was not capable of early realisation, and the third was equally difficult of achievement owing to the fact that the majority of the Russians were political refugees, old people, invalids, young children, or belonged to occupations for which places were not easily obtainable in other countries. It was in these circumstances that the Office sent the Chief of its Refugee Section on a special mission to Angora, as a result of which the Turkish Government generously agreed to suspend the application of the above-mentioned Decree and enable the Office to arrange for the gradual evacuation of the refugees to other countries. Thanks to the progress made, the Turkish Government agreed to the further suspension of the Decree until February 6th, 1929, by which time the Office and the High Commission had secured the evacuation of 1,700 refugees. Of the 1,800 who remained, 1,000 had applied for Turkish nationality, in conformity with the Ministerial Decree; arrangements have been made for the settlement of 200 in Palestine, and many of the rest have been offered contracts in Brazil and France. At the present time, there remain about 1,400 Russian refugees in Turkey.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Office and the High Commission have not contented themselves with the compilation of statistics regarding the numbers and occupations of the unemployed refugees in the different countries or with the development of existing placing opportunities, but have instituted enquiries in practically every country in the world which might conceivably be able to offer employment to the refugees or to assimilate them. It must be admitted that the results which have been obtained have more than justified that policy.

If the solution of the remaining portion of the problem, consisting of 180,000 unemployed Armenian and Russian refugees, could be solved on these lines, it would be a comparatively easy matter, given the necessary time, governmental and financial assistance. Unfortunately, at least one-half of those refugees, although physically fit, are not at present equipped for agricultural or industrial employment and require special training before they can be drafted into such forms of employment. It has therefore been necessary to contemplate, contemporarily with the prosecution of the existing methods of placing the refugees, a series of training centres as reservoirs from which the refugees may be drafted to employment as and when they are properly equipped and when opportunity offers in the countries willing to accept suitable refugees.

The work, however, of placing the refugees in employment concerns at the present time only about 20 per cent of their total number. Experience has shown that the lack of employment is only one of the disabilities from which the refugees suffer; other disabilities of a political, legal and economic character, which are of vital importance to the welfare of the whole mass of the refugees and which call for the daily, if not hourly, assistance of the High Commission, also exist. That assistance is provided for by the application of the various functions conferred on the High Commissioner by the Inter-Governmental Arrangements of 1926 and 1928 already mentioned.

In short, the work which remains to be performed for the refugees comprises functions of a political, legal, financial and settlement nature—all of which functions belong more properly to the competence of the High Commission.

It was for those reasons that the Governing Body, at its session in June 1928, recommended that, in order to avoid duality of functions, the whole of the work for the refugees should be centralised after the end of 1929 under the High Commission, whose authority should be reinforced by the creation of an official Advisory Commission.

II. PRESENT STATE OF THE REFUGEE PROBLEMS.

The existing state of the refugee problems may be summarised as follows:

Country	Total number of refugees whose legal and personal status has to be regularised		Number capable of work but unemployed or employed in casual or temporary work		Number of refugees incapable of earning their living (including war invalids and children)	
	Russian	Armenian	Russian	Armenian	Russian	Armenian
Austria	2,402	265	53	—	298 (160)	65 (20)
British Empire: Great Britain			Recent statistics not available.			
Cyprus	40	2,500	—	—	—	—
Iraq	222	6,784	687 R. and A.		—	2,975 (2,123)
Palestine	30	1,500	250 R. and A.		600	—
Belgium			No statistics available.			
Bulgaria	24,513	22,000	5,000	2,500	3,431 (2,459)	6,900 (5,500)
China	88,548	500	15,750	—	10,425 (8,650)	—
Czechoslovakia	23,640	200	16,000	20	4,500 (3,000)	30 (20)
Danzig	269	—	27	—	10 (10)	—
Denmark	300	—	—	—	—	—
Estonia	16,422	—	3,353	—	6,000	—
Finland	14,314	—	10,825	—	—	—
France	400,000	—	—	—	—	—
Germany	100,000	—	No statistics available.			
Greece	1,659	33,663	616 ¹	23,648 ¹	150 (108)	9,561
Hungary	4,764	15	—	—	1,901	—
Italy	1,154	603	427 R. and A.		203 R. and A. (83)	
Japan	2,356	24	1,657	—	580 R. and A. (455)	
Latvia	30,000	—	5,800	—	11,500	—
Lithuania	8,000	—	1,500	—	3,500	—
Norway	Very small.		—	—	—	—
Poland	100,000	1,000	39,163	—	—	—
Roumania	70,000	—	No detailed statistics available.			
Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes	26,299	200	7,000	—	5,200	—
Spain	500	—	—	—	—	—
Sweden	1,000	—	500	—	—	—
Switzerland	2,266	250	—	—	218	—
Syria	—	85,842	—	32,700	—	—
Turkey (Stamboul)	1,400	—	—	—	—	—
Total	920,098	155,346	108,608	58,868	48,516	19,531

¹ Including refugees employed in temporary work as well as the unemployed refugees. The figures in parentheses refer to the numbers of infants.

Assyrians and Assyro-Chaldeans:

Greece	600
Iraq	12,000
South Russia	15,000
Syria	1,500
Total	29,100

Turkish Refugees:

Albania	2
Bulgaria	3
Cyprus	3
Egypt	14
France	5
Greece	37
Iraq	5
Roumania	32
Syria	30
Other countries	19
Total	150

No detailed statistics are available for these refugees, but they are understood to be in a precarious situation.

It will be seen, therefore, that there are more than one million refugees, of whom about 200,000 are unemployed or in casual employment, and 70,000 are invalids, old people or children, who are incapable of earning their living and for whom some adequate provision should be made. Those figures do not, however, include the refugees in North and South America, where there are known to be large numbers of refugees whose legal and personal status has not been regulated, but regarding whom even approximate figures are not available.

In addition, there are large numbers of refugees who have been obliged to accept employment altogether unsuited to their qualifications and who thus represent an important sum-total of wasted effort. The High Commission plays an important part in remedying this wastage by assisting those refugees to fit themselves gradually into the occupations and professions for which they are specially equipped.

The disabilities from which the unemployed refugees suffer are too obvious for comment: indications are given in the following chapter as to the steps being taken, or which are contemplated, to remedy their condition. The question of the regularisation of the legal and personal status of the refugees is, however, a more complicated problem, as it is a matter of vital concern, not only to the unemployed refugees, but to the whole mass of the refugees, not excluding those who are economically self-supporting.

One of the foremost reasons which prevents the refugees from adapting themselves to the new conditions in which they are placed is the inadequacy of their personal and legal status. The consequent insecure and unstable situation of the refugees is prejudicial, not only to themselves, but to the citizens of the countries in which they reside.

III. SOLUTIONS CONTEMPLATED.

I. *Settlement Measures.*

(a) *Unemployed Refugees.*

It is suggested that the measures referred to in Chapter I (g), should be prosecuted and developed, and particularly those for the settlement of some 10,000 Armenian refugees in the Erivan Republic, 30,000 Armenian refugees in Syria, and the placing of refugees in industrial and agricultural employment in France. Since 1926, 2,000 refugees have been placed as *métayers*, etc., in France on advances made by the High Commissioner. The results of this operation have been most encouraging, especially the increasing readiness of the French farmers to receive refugee *métayers*. Plans are being prepared for an important development of this activity, thanks to a credit of one million francs granted by the Caisse nationale de Crédit agricole on a guarantee given by the High Commission against default of the refugees, to whom advances are made from that credit. Moreover, in order to reduce to a minimum the risk of disappointment resulting from the refugees' lack of knowledge of the French language and agricultural conditions, negotiations are on foot, in close co-operation with the Office de la main-d'œuvre of the French Ministry of Agriculture, for the establishment of an agricultural colony and training centre, through which about 500 refugees per annum will be passed. Assuming that a refugee family consists of the low average of three persons, it should be possible ultimately to provide for the settlement of about 1,500 refugees per annum by means of this colony. This colony will, in addition, possess the advantage of enabling a number of refugees who cannot find employment in the occupations for which they were educated to obtain training which will fit them for market-gardening, poultry, rabbit- and bee-keeping. During the past year, some 2,000 contracts have been received from French industrials, and there is a welcome indication of an increasing appreciation by those employers of the value of the refugee workers. This appreciation is evidenced by the fact that the majority of the industrials now advance the transport expenses to enable refugees to travel to France, and many of them allow 25 per cent of the refugees to bring their families. The revolving fund was in this way saved no less than 650,000 francs during the past year. It is hoped, therefore, that the figure of 2,000 French industrial contracts per annum will be maintained in the future, which, taking into consideration the 25 per cent family allowance, should account for the settlement of a minimum of 3,000 refugees per annum by these means.

At the same time, the possibilities of increasing the movement of refugees to South America should not be disregarded. In spite of the passport, visa and transport difficulties, some 1,000 refugees have been transferred to South American countries, and there are indications that those refugees are now applying for assistance to bring out their friends in increasing numbers.

If other Governments could find it possible to afford facilities similar to those made available in France and Syria for the settlement of the refugees on the land, at least a partial practical interpretation could be given to the Assembly recommendation concerning the assimilation of the refugees in the countries where they now reside.

Given the continuation of the existing co-operation, and in the absence of any unforeseen and radical change in the economic situation of the interested countries, there is reason to expect that a complete solution of the material side of the refugee problems could be obtained within a

period of ten years, including the reimbursement of the settlement advances made to the refugees and the winding-up of the advances made from various sources to the revolving fund, on the basis of the following Settlement Estimates:

	£
40,000 Armenian refugees in Syria (£120,000 + £24,000 from Lebanon Government)	144,000
7,000 métayers at 1,000 francs, or £8, per head. Reimbursements normally commence after eighteen months to two years: allowing further year for bad harvests or unforeseen contingencies, it would be safe to assume that by the end of the third year the advances made to the first 700 métayers in the first year would be fully repaid. Those advances would thus become available for the 700 métayers in the fourth year, and so on. Thus the total capital sum necessary for this placing would be $700 \times 3 \times £8$.	16,800
10,000 ¹ Armenian refugees in Erivan	300,000
30,000 refugees (including families) on 20,000 contracts, on the basis of 25 per cent or 5,000 married refugees. Reckoning an average family of three persons, transport would have to be provided for 30,000 refugees at 400 French francs, say £3 per head, of which it is expected employers will advance one-half. Advances are, however, usually repaid within one year to eighteen months. It should therefore only be necessary to provide a capital sum for this purpose during the first two years, <i>i.e.</i> , one-half of the transport of 6,000 refugees = $3,000 \times £3$	9,000
15,000 refugees through agricultural training colony in France	25,000
Unforeseen for small groups and overseas settlement on contracts, etc. . .	10,000
<hr/> 102,000	<hr/> £504,800

or an average capital advance of approximately £5 per head.

It will be seen, therefore, that large-scale settlement operations would account for the establishment of 100,000 refugees in ten years, and there is little doubt that the remaining 100,000 unemployed refugees could be placed in smaller groups during the same period either by the direct or the indirect efforts of the High Commission.

It should be emphasised that these figures are purely estimates, which are liable to increase or decrease both in the numbers of refugees to be settled and the amount of the advances to be made as a result of unforeseen circumstances. It is believed, however, that, in the light of previous experience, those figures may be taken as a reasonable basis for future settlement work.

(b) *Unemployable Refugees.*

Of the number of 68,047 refugees of this category mentioned in Chapter II, 5,994 are war invalids and the remainder are civil invalids, old people or children. Much has been done in the past for those refugees by Governments and private organisations, but during the last few months contributions from those sources have been greatly reduced, and it is feared that, unless some measures are initiated by the High Commission for their relief, these unfortunate people will be exposed to real hardships, if not starvation. A proposal is therefore submitted in the next section whereby a certain proportion of the revenue of the Nansen Stamp Funds should be made available for the maintenance of institutions for these deserving persons.

2. *Funds.*

Against the sum of approximately £500,000 required for the settlement work mentioned in the foregoing chapter, the High Commission has the following sums and credits at its disposal or promised:

¹ It may be necessary to modify these figures in the light of a supplementary report to be submitted to the Assembly.

Contributors	Grants made	Credits opened	Grants or credits promised	Totals		
				Grants made	Credits opened	Grants or credits promised
	£ s. d.	£	£	£ s. d.	£	£
(a) General Revolving Fund:						
Crédit Agricole, France . . .	—	8,000	—			
Czechoslovak Government (conditional)	—	—	37,500			
German Government (100,000 RM).	—	5,000	—			
Polish Government (40,000 zlotys).	930 0 0	—	—			
Nansen Stamp Fund (£12,925 less £1,595 9s. 6d. to Syrian Settlement Fund)	11,330 0 0	—	—			
				12,260 0 0	13,000	37,500
(b) Armenian Settlement Fund (Syria):						
Lebanon Government ¹	24,000 0 0	—	—			
Anonymous loan.	2,131 8 9	—	—			
Private organisations:						
British United Philarmenian Societies	17,050 0 0 ²	—	5,000			
Union générale arménienne de bienfaisance	1,200 0 0	—	—			
International Near East Association	4,000 0 0	—	—			
Different gifts through International Near East Association	573 5 5	—	—			
Special contribution (Friends of Armenia).	100 0 0	—	—			
League of Red Cross Societies	3,000 0 0	—	—			
Dr. Lepsius' Orient Mission Miss Edith Roberts	1,000 0 0	—	1,750			
Allocation from:						
Nansen Stamp Fund.	1,595 9 6	—	—			
Nansen Private Fund.	3,094 6 2	—	—			
				57,744 9 10	—	6,750
(c) Armenian Settlement Fund (Erivan):						
Albanian Government	—	—	40			
French Government (335,000 francs and private subscription)	—	—	2,680			
German Government.	—	—	50,000			
Greece	—	—	(Transp ^t)			
Luxemburg Government	200 0 0	—	—			
Norwegian Government	—	—	2,000			
Roumanian Government	—	—	1,000			
Armenian organisations	—	—	100,000			
Miss Roberts	500 0 0	—	—			
Noel Buxton Trust Fund	200 0 0	—	—			
				900 0 0	—	155,720
(d) Constantinople Fund	20,600 0 0	—	—	20,600 0 0	—	—
Totals				£91,504 9 10	£13,000	£199,970

¹ All reimbursements effected on advances made from this grant are to be applied to the settlement of further Armenian refugees in the Lebanon.

² £15,050 paid directly. £2,000 paid through the Near East Association.

In addition, there is a sum of £9,000 in Dr. Nansen's Private Fund, from which he makes settlement or compassionate grants at his discretion, thus making a grand total of £323,474 9s. 10d.

It will be seen, therefore, that, for the execution of the programme estimated to cost £500,000, the High Commission has a visible revolving fund of £300,000, and negotiations are in progress which encourage the hope that a further loan of £100,000 will be obtained in the near future for the development of the Armenian refugee settlement work in Syria. Moreover, a scheme is under consideration for raising an additional sum of £50,000 in conformity with a recommendation made by the Advisory Committee of Private Organisations.

Even if those hopes materialise, there would still be a deficit of nearly £100,000 on the estimated required sum of £500,000, and there would still be no provision for the refugees who are unemployable.

The High Commission believes, however, that, given the full co-operation of the Governments in connection with the application of the various Inter-Governmental Refugee Arrangements, it could raise the necessary sums without financial recourse to the Governments Members of the League. This view has the unanimous endorsement of the Advisory Committee of Private Organisations.

It will be remembered that the Inter-Governmental Arrangement of May 12th, 1926, provided that all non-indigent refugees should purchase each year the Nansen stamp at a fee of 5 gold francs which the Governments would require them to obtain as a condition of the issue to them of the Nansen passport, an identity card or a *permis de séjour*. The average annual revenue derived from this source is at present about £3,000 and is obtained from the issue of the stamp in the following countries: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, India, Luxemburg, Norway, Roumania, Kingdom the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Sweden, Switzerland and Syria.

In many of those countries, the purchase of the stamps is optional, but there is every reason to believe that, if they were generally issued in conformity with the provisions of the May 1926 Arrangement, a minimum revenue of £50,000 could be obtained from this source. This assumption is based on the figures given in Chapter II, which show that 700,000 refugees are more or less self-supporting. Making the maximum allowance for indigents and dependants, it is believed that at least 250,000 of those refugees could be required to purchase the stamp annually without imposing on them any hardship, and which would provide the above-mentioned yearly revenue of £50,000.

With reference to the provision of sums for the maintenance of the unemployable refugees, the Finance Committee of the Advisory Committee of Private Organisations has recommended that 50 per cent of any annual revenue above £2,500 derived from the issue of the Nansen stamps should be set aside for the relief of the compassionate categories of refugees. If, therefore, the necessary steps are taken to secure the general issue of the Nansen stamp, the substantial sum of £23,750 per annum could be made available for this purpose.

3. Legal Status.

As has been pointed out in this memorandum, and in a memorandum of the Central Refugee Organisations, much remains to be done for the refugees after employment has been found for those who are unemployed.

It was the desire to remedy the disabilities thus disclosed which inspired the establishment of the Inter-Governmental Arrangements of July 5th, 1922, and May 31st, 1924, which created the passports for Russian and Armenian refugees respectively; the Inter-Governmental Arrangement of May 12th, 1926, which amended and completed those Arrangements; and the important Inter-Governmental Agreement and Arrangement of June 28th-30th, 1928, which vested the representatives of the High Commissioner with the functions and recommended the facilities mentioned in the following paragraphs:

1. (a) To certify the identity of the refugees;
(b) To certify their civil status;
(c) To attest the regularity and legality of documents issued in their country of origin;
(d) To certify the signatures of the refugees and of documents drawn up in their own language;
(e) To attest *vis-à-vis* the authorities the character and good conduct of the refugees, their previous records of service, their professional and academic qualifications;
(f) To recommend the refugees to the competent authorities, particularly for obtaining visas, *permis de séjour*, admission to schools, libraries, etc.
2. Definition of the personal status of the refugee.
3. Enjoyment of certain rights usually granted to foreigners on conditions of reciprocity.
4. Benefit under certain conditions of free legal assistance.
5. Recommendation that restrictive regulations concerning foreign labour be not rigorously applied to the refugees.
6. Relaxation, in certain circumstances, of expulsion measures.

7. Taxation equality with nationals.
8. Facilities for obtaining and prolonging passports and visas and for freedom of movement.
9. That the formula in the refugee identity certificate: "The present certificate is *not* valid for the return", etc., should be replaced by the words: "The present certificate is valid for return into the country which has issued it, during its validity", etc.

The Agreement has been ratified by the Belgian and French Governments and the Arrangement has been adopted by the following Governments: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia¹, France, Germany, Greece¹, Latvia¹, Poland¹, Roumania, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and Switzerland.

The Advisory Committee of Private Organisations shares the view of the High Commission that the general situation of the whole mass of refugees would be substantially remedied if Governments would agree to apply fully the various recommendations adopted by the Inter-Governmental Conferences of July 1922, May 1924, May 1926 and June 1928.

Annex I to Appendix.

REVOLVING FUND FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES IN SYRIA.

Balance-Sheet as at December 31st, 1928.

<i>Assets</i>	£	s.	d.	<i>Liabilities</i>	£	s.	d.
Bank accounts:				Capital (see Sub-Annex A)	21,467	11	7
Lloyds and National Provincial Foreign Bank, Ltd., Geneva:				Creditor for non-interest-bearing loan (see Sub-Annex A)	1,000	0	0
Current account:				Profit-and-loss Account Bank interests	171	17	4
Swiss francs 1,048.75	34	4	5				
Deposit account:							
Swiss francs 58,729.30	2,317	16	4				
Deposit account, sterling	424	8	6				
Settlement advances (Sub-Annex B)	17,315	17	1				
Debtors (Beirut Committee)	2,547	2	7				
Total	£22,639	8	11	Total	£22,639	8	11

Audited and approved for the Refugee Advisory Committee:

(Signed) C. GOULKÉVITCH.
E. CLOUZOT.
L. PACHALIAN.
Lucien WOLF.

Sub-Annex A.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REVOLVING FUND FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ARMENIAN REFUGEES IN SYRIA.

	£	s.	d.
British United Armenian Committee	10,000	0	0
Remitted through the Treasury of the International Near East Association:			
	£	s.	d.
British United Armenian Committee	2,000	0	0
International Near East Association	4,181	16	7
Den Danske Armeniervenner	162	15	7
Norwegian and German Societies	165	19	2
Dr. Lepsius, Deutsche Orient Mission	57	5	1
Miss Wallis	5	9	0
	6,573	5	5
Union arménienne de bienfaisance	700	0	0
Dr. Nansen's Private Fund	3,094	6	2
Nansen Stamp Fund	1,000	0	0
Non-interest-bearing loan (Anonymous)	1,000	0	0
Friends of Armenia (contribution for the building of a church at Sooug-Sou)	100	0	0
Total	£22,467	11	7

In addition, there is a grant from the Lebanon Government of 3,000,000 French francs, which has been remitted to the Beirut Committee direct.

¹ With certain reserves.

Sub-Annex B.

ARMENIAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENT ACCOUNT AS AT DECEMBER 31ST, 1928.

	Remitted to the Beirut Committee	Sums advanced by Beirut Committee	Balance in hands of Beirut Committee
I. Agricultural Settlements:			
(a) Nor Zeitoun (ex Ikiz Kepreu)		£T gold 1,891.68	
(b) Sooug-Sou		2,975.26	
(c) Pré-Militaire:			
Haiachen		5,566.18	
Abdal Keneuk		1,772.73	
(d) Kirik-Khan		789.17	
Administrative expenses		420.63	
		<hr/>	
		13,415.65	
	or £11,936	1s. 10d.	
II. Urban Settlements:			
(a) Kirik-Khan		£T gold 214.81	
(b) Aleppo		4,090.46	
(c) Beirut		1,494.29	
(d) Alexandretta		245.63	
		<hr/>	
		6,045.19	
	or £5,379	15s. 3d.	
Total	£19,862 19s. 8d.	£17,315 17s. 1d.	£2,547 2s. 7d.

A balance drawn up as on June 30th, 1929, shows that, during the first six months of the current year, the Revolving Fund for the Settlement of Armenian Refugees in Syria has increased by £8,401 13s. 9d., distributed over the various accounts as follows:

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Contributions to the Revolving Fund:						
British United Armenian Committee	5,050	0	0			
Union arménienne de bienfaisance	500	0	0			
Nansen Stamp Fund (Armenian section)	595	9	6			
				<hr/>	6,145	9 6
Anonymous donation in the form of a loan repayable in ten years for the purchase of land for an urban settlement in Damascus						
24,000 gold piastres				2,131	8	9
Profit-and-loss account (bank interest)				124	15	6
				<hr/>	2,255	23 5
Total				£8,401	13	9

At the same time, the settlement operations have involved fresh expenditure amounting to £4,623 18s. 11d. on April 30th. The total expenditure made by the Beirut Committee for the settlement of Armenians in Syria amounted on April 30th to £21,939 16s., distributed as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Agricultural settlements	13,861	17	8
Urban settlements	8,077	18	4
			<hr/>
Total	£21,939	16	0

Annex II to Appendix.

CONSTANTINOPLE EVACUATION ACCOUNT.

Balance-Sheet as at December 31st, 1928.

<i>Assets.</i>	\$	<i>Liabilities.</i>	\$
Bank accounts: Lloyds and National Provincial Foreign Bank, Ltd., Geneva:		Capital (received from American philanthropic organizations)	100,000.00
On current account	— 1,668.46	Profit-and-loss account	1,357.40
On deposit account, 16 days	+ 42,508.00		
On deposit account, 3 months	+ 1,774.79		
 Total:	42,614.33		
Advances made	51,938.84		
Debtors ¹	6,804.23		
 Total	\$ 101,357.40	 Total	\$ 101,357.40

Audited and approved for the Refugee Advisory Committee:
(Signed) C. GOULKÉVITCH.
E. CLOUZOT.
L. PACHALIAN.
Lucien WOLF.

Geneva, April 25th, 1929.

PROFIT-AND-LOSS ACCOUNT AT DECEMBER 31ST, 1928.

<i>Debit.</i>	\$	<i>Credit.</i>	\$
Bank charges	118.82	Interest on Bank accounts	2,054.63
Supplementary salary of the typist at the Constantinople Committee	79.25		
Travelling expenses of two members of the Constantinople Committee for consultation with the High Commissariat	499.16		
 Total	\$697.23		
Balance (net profit)	1,357.40		
	\$2,054.63		\$2,054.63

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Lucien WOLF.

Geneva, April 25th, 1929.

According to a balance drawn up as at June 30th, 1929, the total amount of the advances made for the evacuation of Constantinople up to May 31st was \$71,509.16.

¹ The balance of the Debtors' Account was as follows:

	\$
(a) Balance in hands of the Constantinople Committee	6,333.92
(b) Balance in hands of M. Yourieff (Belgrade) for the maintenance of invalids	470.31
 Total	\$6,804.23

Annex III to Appendix.

I. ADMINISTRATION OF NANSEN STAMPS, 1928.

	Refugees			Various	Total	Swiss francs
	Russian	Russian and Armenian	Armenian			
Stamps issued to refugees in:						
Austria	311	—	17	—	328	1,640
Belgium	950	—	174	—	1,124	5,620
Bulgaria	3,131	—	847	—	3,978	19,890
Denmark	—	129	—	—	129	645
Finland	—	35	—	—	35	175
France	—	3,571	—	—	3,571	17,855
Greece	—	1,726	—	—	1,726 ¹	8,630
Luxemburg	—	73	—	—	73	365
Norway	—	100	—	—	100	500
Roumania	—	2,000	—	—	2,000	10,000
Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom	2,940	—	2	—	2,942	14,710
Sweden	—	258	—	—	258	1,290
Switzerland	—	1,245	—	—	1,245	6,225
Syria	—	—	216	—	216	1,080
Stamps issued to individuals:						
Refugee Service	—	—	—	22	22	110
Washington Office	—	—	—	167	167 ²	835
Total	7,332	9,137	1,256	189	17,914	89,570
Stamps sold in 1926	—	—	—	—	17,661	88,305
Stamps sold in 1927	—	—	—	—	13,327	66,635
Balance of "1926" stamps	—	—	—	—	1,039	5,195
Balance of "1927" stamps	—	—	—	—	74,437	372,185
Balance of "1928" stamps	—	—	—	—	25,622	128,110
Total	—	—	—	—	150,000	750,000

¹ These stamps are dated 1927; the cash from these sales was paid in December 1928.

² Including 94 stamps dated 1927; the cash from these sales was paid in February 1929.

II. POSITION AT DECEMBER 31ST, 1928.

<i>Credit.</i>	Swiss francs	<i>Debit.</i>	Swiss francs
Balance in stamps	505,490.00	Capital (see Sub-Annex 1)	778,683.16
Balance in bank: Swiss francs		Creditors (see Sub-Annex 3)	7,183.59
Deposit account. 15,550.60		Profit and loss (see Sub-Annex 2)	5,115.39
Current account. 15,853.00			
Deposit, sterling,			
£872 3s. 2d. 22,064.77			
Current, sterling,			
£26 19s. 2d. 700.60			
3-months deposit			
account, £1,075			
13s. 3d. 27,128.30			
	81,297.27		
Advances (Armenians)	39,638.90		
Advances (Russians)	122,893.30		
Various debtors (see Sub-Annex 3)	41,662.67		
Total	790,982.14	Total	790,982.14

III. NANSEN STAMP FUND AT DECEMBER 31ST, 1928.

	Swiss francs
Capital	778,683.16
1928 profits	5,115.39
	<hr/>
Balance of unsold stamps.	783,798.55
	505,490.00
	<hr/>
Revolving Fund	278,308.55
Four-fifths of above allocated for advances to Russian refugees	220,646.85
One-fifth of above for advances to Armenian refugees . .	57,661.70
	<hr/>
Total	278,308.55

Audited and approved
for the Refugee Advisory Committee:

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Lucien WOLF.

Sub-Annex 1.

CAPITAL AT JANUARY 1ST, 1928.

	Swiss francs
1. 150,000 Nansen stamps (100,000 in French, 50,000 in English)	750,000.00
2. 360 provisional stamps, fees collected by the Swiss Govern- ment in 1926 before the stamps were printed	1,800.00
	Swiss francs
3. Net profits in 1926	23,875.16
Net profits in 1927	3,008.00
	<hr/>
	26,883.16
	<hr/>
Total	778,683.16

On January 1st, 1929, the capital was 5,115.39 Swiss francs higher (net profits of 1928), and amounted to 783,798.55 Swiss francs.

Sub-Annex 2.

PROFIT-AND-LOSS ACCOUNT FOR 1928.

	Swiss francs		Swiss francs
Expenditure:	Swiss francs		
Miscellaneous.	46.50	Interest on deposits in banks	3,129.50
Printing of certifi- cates in Syria.	52.00	Profit on exchange (distribution of stamps)	2,847.41
	<hr/>	From surcharge in India	6.63
	98.50		
Losses on exchange (distribution of stamps)	769.65		
Balance at December 31st, 1928.	5,115.39		
	<hr/>		
Total	5,983.54	Total	5,983.54

Audited and approved
for the Refugee Advisory Committee:

(Signed) C. GOULKÉVITCH.
E. CLOUZOT.
L. PACHALIAN.
Lucien WOLF.

Geneva, April 25th, 1929.

Sub-Annex 3.

DEBIT AND CREDIT ACCOUNT, 1928.

<i>Debit.</i>		<i>Credit.</i>	
Governments which sold "1928" stamps and paid in 1929:		Governments which paid for "1929" stamps in 1928:	
	Swiss francs		Swiss francs
Austria	80.00	Switzerland	525.00
Belgium	485.00	Sweden	710.00
Bulgaria	2,485.00		<hr/> 1,235.00
Denmark	643.20		
Finland	171.15	Creditors:	
France	5,930.00	Reimbursements made for	
Luxemburg	135.00	Dr. Nansen's private fund	4,837.57
Roumania	10,000.00	Miscellaneous	1,111.02
Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes	5,425.00		<hr/> 7,183.59
Syria	1,080.00		
International Labour Office	100.00		
Washington Office	835.00		
	<hr/> 27,369.35		
Two "1927" stamps (Berlin Office) paid in 1929	10.00		
Profit on "1928" stamps paid in 1929	2,396.61		
Balance in hands of the various delegates of the High Commissariat	2,639.61		
Miscellaneous	9,247.10		
	<hr/> 41,662.67		
Total			

According to a balance as at June 30th, 1929, the revolving fund from the sale of Nansen stamps during the first six months of the current year increased by 51,366.12 Swiss francs, of which 48,762.32 Swiss francs represent the income from sales in the strict sense and 2,603.80 Swiss francs the net profit on the distribution of the stamps.

On June 30th, the revolving fund showed a total of 327,070.87 Swiss francs, of which four-fifths, that is 261,656 Swiss francs, are destined for advances to Russian refugees, and one-fifth, that is 65,414 Swiss francs, for Armenian refugees. In addition, the Polish Government has contributed 40,000 zlotys (23,262.60 Swiss francs) for the evacuation of Russian refugees from Poland.

The work of distributing the advances has developed very successfully during the first months of the current year. The balance of the two accounts (advances to Armenian and to Russian refugees) amounted to 102,720.69 Swiss francs on June 30th, 1928; 162,532.20 Swiss francs on January 1st, 1929; 246,946.76 Swiss francs on June 30th, 1929.

Annex IV to Appendix.

DR. NANSEN ERIVAN FUND AT JUNE 30TH, 1929.

Contributions (balance in Bank)	£ 900 0 0
Interest	14 13 5
	<hr/>
Total	£914 13 5

Geneva, September 19th, 1929.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

**Settlement of Armenian Refugees in the
Erivan Republic.**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : Dr. Fridtjof NANSEN (Norway).

The Ninth Assembly decided that the work of establishment of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan should be carried on under the auspices of the League, and requested the Council to continue negotiations with those Governments which had offered their assistance for the purpose in order that the conditions under which other offers had been made might be fulfilled.

As a result of those and other negotiations, a total sum of £155,720 was promised for this particular settlement work ; fuller particulars concerning that sum appear in Chapter III (2) of the Appendix to document A.23.1929.VII.

Although that sum fell short by nearly £150,000 of the minimum amount required for the reduced settlement operations, on the basis of which the Armenian Government had agreed to co-operate, it was, nevertheless, thought desirable to make a start with the actual settlement work, even on a reduced scale, in the hope that further financial support might be forthcoming after it had been proved by practical results that the Armenian refugees could be settled under satisfactory conditions in the Republic of Erivan. The High Commissioner was, moreover, encouraged to take that step by the important success which had attended the work for the settlement of the Armenian refugees in Syria, which was begun on a small experimental scale, but which, in the course of little more than two years, had developed in such a way as to provide for the settlement of nearly ten thousand refugees.

The Armenian Government, however, holds the view that the sum of £300,000 is the minimum fund on which the settlement operations could be launched under the auspices of the League.

As there appears to be no immediate prospects of obtaining the balance of nearly £150,000 which is still required to take advantage of the offer of the Armenian Government, the Assembly is reluctantly forced to the conclusion that there is no alternative but to recommend that the League should discontinue, at any rate for the moment, its connection with this scheme.

If the Assembly adopts those recommendations, the contributions which have been made from Government and private sources will revert to the subscribers and the credits offered by various Governments will automatically lapse.

As regards the contribution of £100,000 subscribed by the Armenian refugee organisations, it is understood that this sum will be utilised as an outright gift for the transport of Armenian refugees to, and their settlement in, the Republic of Erivan, and that the Armenian organisations will continue their efforts for the development of the movement of the Armenian refugees to that country.

If, therefore, it is the desire of the Assembly, the High Commission could keep in touch with that movement, so that, should general conditions improve in such a way as to indicate that the assistance of the High Commission would be desirable, the matter might be brought once more to the attention of the League.

The Sixth Committee therefore invites the Assembly to adopt the following resolution :

“ The Assembly :

“ Having considered carefully Dr. Nansen's report concerning the result of his negotiations for the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan ;

“ Notes that, although he does not consider the moment opportune for the prosecution of those negotiations, he is willing to keep in touch with the movement for the return of Armenian refugees to the Republic of Erivan in order that he may be in a position to judge whether at a later date the co-operation of the High Commission for Refugees might be effective ;

“ Decides to discontinue for the moment its connection with this scheme, but to invite the High Commissioner to keep in touch with the movement for the return of the Armenian refugees to the Republic of Erivan and to acquaint the Council if and when the High Commission's co-operation might appear to be opportune. ”

Geneva, September 20th, 1929.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

**RUSSIAN, ARMENIAN, ASSYRIAN, ASSYRO-CHALDEAN
AND TURKISH REFUGEES.**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: Mrs. HAMILTON (British Empire).

This year's Assembly is called upon to take important decisions on the question of the Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish refugees. The reports submitted to it by the Advisory Commission the High Commissioner and the Supervisory Commission, necessitate a retrospective study of the work so far accomplished by the High Commissioner and also call for decisions of principle in regard to the continuation and completion of the League's work in this connection.

The Assembly and the Council recognised, as long ago as 1921, that the creation, as a result of the war, of masses of refugees without homes and without money constituted both an international danger and an international responsibility. At their request Dr. Nansen agreed to act as High Commissioner of the League of Nations. The immediate problem at that time was the existence of more than a million Russian refugees. During the years that followed, the High Commissioner was further required to deal with the new danger due to the presence of more than a million refugees in Greece, to whom were added in 1923 some 300,000 Armenian refugees in the Near East.

We all know the energy and devotion with which Dr. Nansen embarked upon his work and the great success he achieved. This success was so complete that in 1924 the Council and the Assembly were enabled to decide, on his recommendation, that the responsibilities of the High Commissioner with regard to the settlement and emigration of refugees should be transferred from the Secretariat to the International Labour Office, the High Commissioner continuing to deal with the political, legal and financial aspects of the question. The High Commissioner thereby succeeded in developing the system of the inter-Governmental identity certificates of 1922, 1924 and 1926.

In 1928, the International Labour Office asked the Assembly to relieve it of the share of responsibility it had assumed in the previous years. There still remained about 200,000 refugees without employment, in addition to a considerable number who were incapable of working owing to their age, infirmities or lack of qualifications. Taking into account the fresh and very heavy responsibility thus placed upon the High Commissioner's shoulders, the Assembly and the Council created an inter-governmental Advisory Commission and instructed it to report on the possible ways and means of securing a final solution of the problem within the shortest possible time.

The Advisory Commission drew up its report during its first session, which was held at Geneva from May 16th to 18th, 1929. This report is based on a thorough examination of all the sources of information and of all the documents with which the Commission was furnished.

A study of these documents shows that the characteristic and essential feature of the refugees problem is the fact that persons classed as refugees have no regular nationality and are therefore deprived of the protection and care which every State extends to its own nationals both within and beyond its frontiers. Accordingly, the ideal solution of the refugees question would be to furnish them with a regular and definite nationality. This, however, raises innumerable difficulties. In the present state of international law, nationality is a question which belongs exclusively to the sovereignty of States. The League of Nations could not create and could not even definitely recognise any nationality which does not directly belong to a specific and existing State. From the beginning therefore a solution of the problem has been sought either by nationalising refugees according to the countries in which they are settled, or by restoring to them their original nationality. It is true that some progress has been made in both these directions but in the existing circumstances neither solution is capable of settling the status of all the refugees.

The Advisory Commission has closely considered the various possibilities of solution, but it has again been forced to realise that the present provisional regime will continue to be necessary for some time yet. This regime combines action by the Governments of the countries where the refugees are settled with international action by the High Commissioner. It is greatly to the credit of the Governments and the League, for it relieves the refugees of a great deal of suffering and want which would have been their inevitable lot if they had simply been treated as persons without nationality (*heimatlose*).

The Advisory Commission found that the provisional legal status of the refugees—a status which must govern their position until they can acquire a regular and definite nationality—could be practically settled by the provisions of the inter-Governmental Arrangements made in 1922, 1924, 1926 and 1928. Accordingly, the Assembly can only hope that the recommendations made in these Arrangements will be adopted and applied by all the Governments concerned.

Nevertheless, the Advisory Commission does not think it desirable that this special regime should continue indefinitely. It is a provisional expedient made necessary by the present position of the refugees. If, when the High Commissioner resigns his duties, there still remains a considerable number of refugees, the Governments should agree to grant the refugees the benefit of these arrangements by adapting them to the new situation following upon the High Commissioner's resignation.

As regards the settlement of refugees who are still without work, the Advisory Commission had been able to note important progress, effected by the work of the High Commissioner and his admirable staff, to whose services the Committee wishes to pay tribute. It is impossible to cover all the various departments of this genuinely constructive work; it may suffice to note that 2,000 refugees have, since 1926, been established in agricultural work in France, and over 1,000 transferred to South America; while in Syria 8,000 Armenian refugees are already established on the land, arrangements have been made this year for an additional 2,000, and it is hoped that within four years 32,000 more will be settled. Camps at Aleppo, Alexandretta and Beirut are rapidly being evacuated and the refugees satisfactorily housed. During the same period, about 6,000 refugees have also been placed industrially in France, and considerable progress has been made with the so-called Constantinople problem; indeed, since the last Assembly, the refugee population in Turkey has been reduced by considerably more than half.

In view of the foregoing considerations, the Advisory Commission, although it considers that the High Commissioner's work cannot cease at once, suggests that a period of ten years should be fixed as a maximum period for winding up affairs. In order to give a more stable and more regular basis to the international work of the High Commission the Advisory Commission thinks it necessary that the central services of the High Commissariat for Refugees should be incorporated in the Secretariat of the League of Nations, of which it would form a temporary department.

As regards the budget, the Advisory Commission, in agreement with the High Commissioner, expressed the opinion that the amount requested from the Assembly for 1930 should in no case exceed the amount granted for 1929 and that subsequent budgets should show a tendency towards a gradual decrease.

* * *

The Advisory Commission's recommendation for the incorporation of the central service in the Secretariat of the League of Nations was not, however, accepted by the Supervisory Commission, which recommends in its report of June 1929 that the refugee work should be transferred to an independent and autonomous organisation.

* * *

At the first meeting at which it dealt with this question, the Sixth Committee had before it the report of the Advisory Commission and that of the Supervisory Commission. It had also had the advantage of hearing a statement by Dr. Nansen. After a discussion, the Committee came to the decision that it was necessary for the High Commissioner to continue his work for the benefit of the refugees. At the same time, however, the Sixth Committee clearly expressed the opinion that it was desirable that the liquidation of this work should take place as rapidly as possible, the longest period contemplated being ten years.

The Sixth Committee then had to consider what form of administration would lead most surely to this result.

The two points which chiefly engaged its attention were:

1. To find means of winding up the work in the most practical and rapid manner, while having due regard to the interests of the unfortunate refugees;
2. To relieve Dr. Nansen in some degree of the enormous burden which he has shouldered for the last eight years on behalf of the League of Nations.

The Sixth Committee came to the conclusion that this result could better be attained by the incorporation of the services in question in the Secretariat than by the constitution of a temporary autonomous organisation in conformity with the Supervisory Commission's suggestion.

The problem having numerous administrative and financial aspects, the Sixth Committee applied to the Fourth Committee. At its meeting of September 17th, the Fourth Committee heard Dr. Nansen and the Rapporteur, and decided to set up a Sub-Committee to make a detailed study of the question. This Sub-Committee's report was submitted on September 19th to the Fourth Committee, which approved it.

This text is as follows:

"In examining the question of the future organisation of the services of the High Commissioner for Refugees, the Sub-Committee noted that the Advisory Committee for

Refugees and the Supervisory Commission and the High Commissioner himself, whilst proposing different solutions, had the same end in view, namely, to carry through this organisation in such a way as to enable the High Commissioner's work to be terminated as speedily and satisfactorily as possible.

"The Sub-Committee discussed the two solutions proposed at great length. Both alternatives give rise to numerous administrative and financial questions, most of which call for exhaustive enquiries that could not be undertaken and completed during the present Assembly.

"For these reasons, the Sub-Committee proposes that the High Commissioner's central service should be placed for a period of one year, and as an experiment, under the administrative authority of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. During this period all the financial obligations of the High Commissioner and the funds accruing from external sources will be administered and controlled by the competent organs of the League in accordance with the Financial Regulations and the decisions of the Assembly, under conditions which will be subject to examination and approval by the Supervisory Commission. It is, moreover, understood that this temporary management will not affect the status of the personnel of the High Commissioner.

"The Secretary-General will thus be in a position to consider the whole of the questions relating to this problem, to report to the next Assembly on the experience thus obtained, and to make proposals for the administration of the refugees organisation during the whole period in which it is being wound up.

"The Secretary-General had no objection to the proposed arrangement, but he pointed out that the personnel thus incorporated in the Secretariat must be disregarded if a reckoning be made of the number of the different nationalities on the Secretariat. The Sub-Committee agreed to this view."

* * *

The Sixth Committee wishes to express its gratitude to the Fourth Committee and to the Secretary-General for the practical solution which has thus been found. Although in the nature of a compromise, it is not in contradiction with the principles on which the Sixth Committee laid stress with a view to attaining as rapid and effective a final solution as possible. The Committee expresses the hope, however, that it will be possible to arrange for the High Commissioner's staff to share in certain advantages of the Provident Fund.

* * *

Lastly, mention should be made of certain special recommendations submitted by the Advisory Commission for Refugees. Being anxious to improve the lot of refugees unable to work, the Advisory Commission proposes that the High Commissioner should be authorised to utilise part of the funds derived from the sale of the Nansen stamps to increase the funds set up to provide relief for the refugees deserving of assistance. The Sixth Committee proposes that the Assembly should grant the High Commissioner the necessary authority.

The Advisory Commission also attaches great importance to the co-operation of the International Organisations of the Red Cross and of various private associations and individuals with the High Commissioner both for the colonisation and relief of refugees unable to work. The Assembly will certainly share this view and will authorise the High Commissioner to make a fresh appeal to these organisations to continue and develop their efforts in order to obtain the largest possible sums for the continuance of the work undertaken by the High Commissioner.

* * *

In conclusion, the Sixth Committee has the honour to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolutions:

"The Assembly:

"(1) Has examined the reports submitted by the High Commissioner, the Advisory Commission and the Supervisory Commission on the question of Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish refugees;

"(2) Thanks the High Commissioner and the Advisory Commission for the work accomplished and asks them to continue their work on the basis of the programme outlined in the Advisory Commission's report, under the direction of the Council of the League of Nations;

"(3) Decides that the refugees' organisation should be wound up within a maximum period of ten years;

"(4) Recommends that the work of winding-up should be methodically pursued in order that it may be possible subsequently to reduce this period of ten years;

"(5) Decides that the High Commissioner's central service be placed for a period of one year, and as an experiment, under the administrative authority of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, subject to the conditions indicated by the Fourth Committee;

"(6) Requests the Secretary-General to report to the next Assembly on the experience thus acquired and to make proposals for the administration of the refugees' organisation during the whole period in which it is being wound up;

" (7) Requests the Governments to adopt and apply the inter-governmental Arrangements of July 5th, 1922, May 31st, 1924, May 12th, 1926, and June 30th, 1928, and expresses the wish that the use of the Nansen stamp should be further extended;

" (8) Sees no objection to part of the funds derived from the sale of the Nansen stamps being utilised to add to the funds created for the benefit of deserving refugees;

" (9) Authorises the High Commissioner to make a fresh appeal to the International Organisations of the Red Cross and to various private associations and individuals to continue and develop their efforts in order to obtain the largest possible sums for the continuation of the work undertaken by the High Commissioner;

" (10) Asks the Council to take such steps as the execution of these resolutions may render necessary until the next meeting of the Assembly."
