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-
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 3. The Economic Interdependence of States. 1935. 28-44 pp.
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 13. Government Press Services. 1935. 293- 315 pp.
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THE SAAR PLEBISCITE

GENEVA 1935
INFORMATION SECTION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
The Constitution of the Territory	7
Organisation of the Plebiscite : Resolution of June 4th, 1934 . .	9
Report of December 6th, 1934	14
Maintenance of Order	18
Plebiscite of January 13th, 1935	21
The Council's Decision, January 17th, 1935	30
Execution of the Decision : Agreements of February 19th, 1935 . .	32
The Transfer to Germany, March 1st, 1935	40

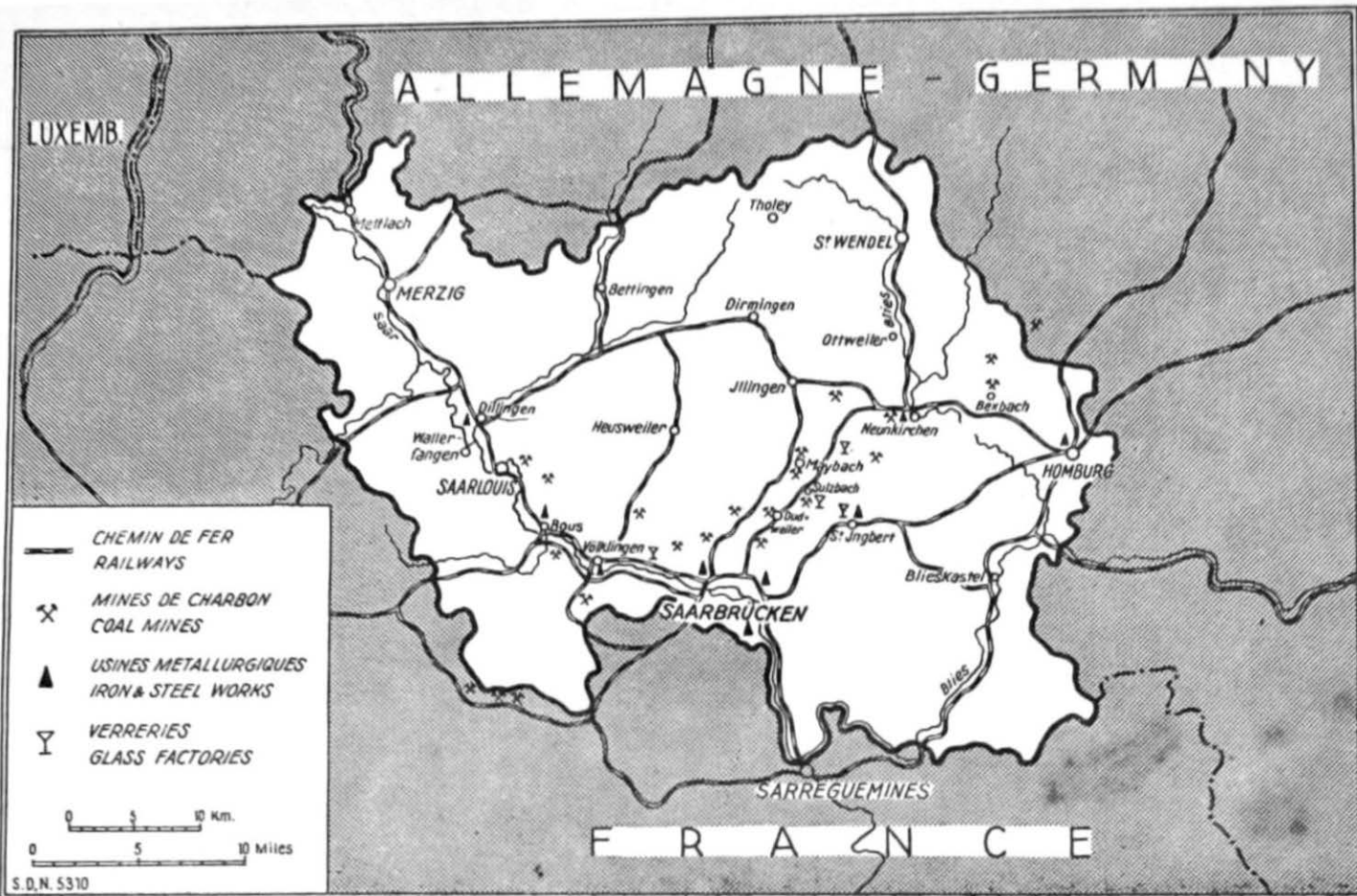
FOR fifteen years, from 1920 to 1935, the League of Nations undertook the administration of a territory small in extent but of the greatest economic and strategic importance, the Saar Basin.

By the Treaty of Versailles (June 28th, 1919), Germany, to whom the territory had hitherto belonged, ceded to France "as compensation for the destruction of the coal mines in the north of France and as part payment towards the total reparation due from Germany for the damage resulting from the war, the full and absolute possession" of the Saar mines, renouncing "in favour of the League of Nations, in capacity of trustee, the government of the territory". At the end of fifteen years from the coming into force of the Treaty, the inhabitants of the Saar were to be "called upon to indicate the sovereignty under which they desired to be placed".

The territory consisted of the mine workings themselves and of the larger area within which the miners lived. Its size was 1,912 square kilometres and its population in 1935 exceeded 800,000, a figure representing 400 inhabitants to the square kilometre, which is reached by no other State in Europe.

Saarbruck, the chief town of the territory, has 130,000 inhabitants. It is an important railway centre and lies at the junction of the Saar and the Sulzbach. In the valleys formed by these two rivers, to the north-west as far as Saarlouis and north-eastwards to Neuenkirchen and St. Wendel, lie the mines and industrial centres.

Coal-mining is the largest industry in the territory; the output is from 10 to 13 million tons and about 50,000 men are employed. The iron and steel industry comes second with thirty blast furnaces, of which the annual output is two million



The Saar Territory.

tons. There are also four large steel-works capable of producing $1\frac{1}{2}$ million tons. Normally, these industries also employ 50,000 men. There are, further, important glass-works and factories for the production of earthenware and china.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE TERRITORY

THE representatives of the League of Nations entered upon their duties in Saarbruck on February 26th, 1920. The following is a general outline of the constitution of the territory during the fifteen years which followed.

A Commission of five members, one of whom was Chairman, formed the Government. One member was always French; one was a native of the territory and not a French citizen, and the three others belonged to three countries other than France or Germany. All were appointed for a year, but might be reappointed.

The Commission possessed within the territory all the powers of government that formerly belonged to the German Empire, Prussia and Bavaria.¹ It appointed and dismissed officials, constituted such administrative and representative bodies as it thought fit, controlled and operated railways, canals and other public services, assured the protection abroad of the interests of the inhabitants and levied taxes. After consultation with the popular representatives, it had power to decree new taxes and amend laws. Justice was administered in the name of the Commission.

After June 1st, 1923, the French franc was the only legal currency, and, after 1925, the territory was under the French Customs Administration. In other respects, and particularly in connection with the rights and customs of the inhabitants, the Treaty provided for the continuation of the previously

¹ Before 1919, 77 % of the territory was under Prussian and 23 % under Bavarian administration.

existing regime. The existing laws and regulations, the fiscal system and the courts of justice were maintained (except where the Governing Commission found it necessary to make changes). Subject to the Commission's supervision, the inhabitants retained their local assemblies, their religious liberties, their schools and their language.

The Governing Commission thus possessed powers which exceeded those of an ordinary constitutional government. But though it was not answerable to the population, it was responsible to the League of Nations, and had to submit quarterly reports for the information of the Council. The Commission was required to secure the views of elected representatives of the inhabitants in certain cases. Until 1922, it consulted for this purpose the municipal and district councils. As this method did not prove suitable, an Advisory Council was set up. This consisted of thirty representatives elected by universal suffrage and secret ballot. Native-born inhabitants of the territory, of either sex and of at least 25 years of age, were eligible for election.

At the same time, a small technical Committee of eight members appointed by the Commission was established to advise it, when so requested. Subsequently, a Supreme Court of Justice of international composition, sitting at Saarlouis, a Supreme Administrative Court and a Labour Exchange were set up.

The League Council admitted the right of the Saar inhabitants to address petitions to it through the Governing Commission. The population made ample use of this right. Only a local gendarmerie was recruited for the maintenance of order, all compulsory or voluntary military service being prohibited by the Treaty of Versailles.

The Governing Commission's decisions were taken by majority vote. During the fifteen years of its existence, it met regularly once or twice a week. Each member, besides attending the meetings at which general policy was discussed, had also charge of one or more of the administrative departments.

The successive Chairmen of the Commission were : M. RAULT (French), Mr. G. W. STEPHEN (Canadian), Sir E. WILTON (United Kingdom) and, lastly, Mr. G. G. KNOX (United Kingdom). The Commission's tasks were varied and complex. The political atmosphere was often uncomfortably strained and the economic conditions unfavourable (successive depreciations of the mark and the franc, the establishment of a new Customs regime and the severe coal crisis throughout Europe). Yet, during a period in many respects so disturbed, the Saar budget as a rule showed no deficit, and no loan was issued by the Government.

ORGANISATION OF THE PLEBISCITE

Resolution of June 4th, 1934

THE Treaty of Versailles provided that, at the termination of a period of fifteen years from its coming into force, the population of the Saar Territory was to state in the following manner the sovereignty under which it wished to be placed :

A vote will take place by communes or districts on the three following alternatives : (a) maintenance of the regime established by the present Treaty and by this Annex ; (b) union with France ; (c) union with Germany.

All persons without distinction of sex, more than twenty years old at the date of voting, resident in the territory at the date of signature of the present Treaty, will have the right to vote. The other conditions, methods and the date of voting shall be fixed by the Council of the League of Nations in such a way as to secure the freedom, secrecy and trustworthiness of the voting.

The Treaty of Versailles having come into force on January 10th, 1920, the measures to be taken with a view to the plebiscite in 1935 were an item on the Council's agenda for January 1934.

Germany, a member of the League and of the Council, had given notice of withdrawal from the League in October 1933,

and refrained from participating in the Council's discussion. The Council set up a Committee consisting of the representatives of Italy (Rapporteur for Saar questions), Argentine and Spain to study measures calculated to ensure the regularity of the electoral proceedings by safeguarding the



Council Committee on Saar Questions: In the centre, Baron P. ALOISI (Italian), on his right, M. J. M. CANTILO (Argentine), on his left, M. LÓPEZ OLIVÁN (Spanish) and Sir Geoffrey KNOX, Chairman of the Saar Territory Governing Commission (English).

population against pressure of any kind likely to affect the trustworthiness of the voting.

This Committee, of which Baron ALOISI (Italy) was Chairman, held fifty-four meetings between January and June, and also had recourse to the help of experts and asked the advice of the Financial Committee of the League and of the International Labour Office.

On June 4th, 1934, the Council, in accordance with its

Committee's proposals, laid down the Regulations for the Plebiscite.

The Council noted first the declarations made on June 2nd by the German and French Governments in an exchange of letters during the negotiations with the Council Committee. In these documents, the two Governments undertook :

(a) To abstain from pressure of any kind, whether direct or indirect, likely to affect the freedom and trustworthiness of the voting ;

(b) Likewise to abstain from taking any proceedings or making any reprisals or discrimination against persons having the right to vote, as a result of their political attitude in connection with the purpose of the plebiscite during the administration by the League of Nations ;

(c) To take the necessary steps to prevent or punish any action by their nationals contrary to these undertakings.

The German and French Governments at the same time agreed that any difference concerning the application or interpretation of these undertakings should be submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, without prejudice to the rights of the Council of the League.

It was further agreed that, for a transitional period of one year from the establishment of the final regime, a Supreme Plebiscite Court should have jurisdiction as regards any complaint submitted by a person having the right to vote in the Saar, of pressure, prosecution, reprisals or discrimination as a result of his political attitude in connection with the purpose of the plebiscite during the administration of the territory by the League. The competence of the Court was to extend to cases in which penal or administrative proceedings were taken outside the territory against any person having the right to vote in the Saar. No decision, even of a judicial nature, was to prevail against the decision of the Plebiscite Court.

In taking note of these declarations, the Council added that it would reserve the right to examine in due course the conditions under which the benefit of the undertakings given by the two Governments in the above-mentioned declarations as regards voters could be extended to inhabitants of the Saar Territory who did not possess the right to vote.

Sunday, January 13th, 1935, was fixed as the voting-day.

The following decisions were taken as to the organisation and carrying-out of the plebiscite :

I. THE PLEBISCITE COMMISSION

The government of the territory was still to be carried on by the Governing Commission during the plebiscite ; but a special body, the Plebiscite Commission, was constituted under the authority of the Council for the organisation, direction and supervision of the plebiscite. This Commission consisted of three members and an expert (who might act as deputy member): M. Victor HENRY (Swiss), M. Daniel DE JONGH (Dutch)



The Plebiscite Committee... from left to right : Miss Sarah WAMBAUGH (U.S.A.), M. V. HENRY (Swiss), M. A. E. RODHE, Chairman (Swedish), M. D. DE JONGH (Dutch) and M. S. HELLSTEDT, Secretary-General (Swedish).

and M. Alan RODHE (Swedish), with Miss Sarah WAMBAUGH (United States) as technical adviser.

The chairmanship of the Commission was held in turn by members; the Commission entered on its duties on July 1st, 1934. During its labours, it submitted to the Council a series of progress reports.

2. REGULATIONS FOR THE PLEBISCITE

These regulations related to the following points: the right to vote, the status of resident, the voting divisions, the local bodies to be established in connection with the plebiscite, the compilation of the voting-lists, the presentation of claims in connection with the voting-lists, voting procedure and the treatment of persons committing offences against the Regulations.

It was at the same time laid down that, in the provision that "a vote will take place by communes or districts," the Treaty was referring to already existing areas. The results of the voting were to be determined by unions of communes (*Bürgermeistereien*) or, in the case of communes not forming part of any union, by communes. Each union of communes and each commune which did not form part of a union was to constitute a voting area. In each of the 83 areas thus formed, the voting was to be calculated separately.

3. PLEBISCITE TRIBUNALS

A Supreme Plebiscite Court and eight district tribunals were set up, with jurisdiction in disputes concerning the entries in the registers of persons entitled to vote and the validity of the voting, offences covered by the plebiscite regulations and breaches of ordinary criminal law (in so far as they were connected with the purpose of the plebiscite) committed before, during and after the plebiscite proceedings.

The President of the Supreme Court was M. Bindo GALLI (Italian), and the Vice-President Mr. James CREED MEREDITH

(Irish); there were six other judges and an examining magistrate, a public prosecutor and his assistants, the registrars and the district judges. All these were appointed by the President of the Council, after consulting his colleagues, and on the proposal of the Council Committee. The judges of all these courts were required to know German, were strangers to the territory and were not nationals of either of the States interested in the plebiscite.¹

The Supreme Court and the eight district tribunals began their duties at the beginning of October 1934.

4. FINANCING OF THE PLEBISCITE

It was agreed that the cost of the plebiscite should be borne by the German and French Governments and by the Governing Commission. Each of these Governments provided five million French francs and the Commission one million. As this amount proved insufficient, the Council subsequently asked for a further advance from the two Governments. The total cost, including that of the "International Force", was more than 22 million French francs.

REPORT OF DECEMBER 6TH, 1934

DURING the summer of 1934, the Council had to consider a number of documents, in particular certain letters from the Chairman of the Governing Commission and a Memorandum from the French Government raising the following problems: the position of Saar officials after the plebiscite; Saar loans taken up outside the territory and Saar claims on foreign countries; social insurances contracted in the territory; the general outline of the regime to be established if the *status quo* were maintained and the question of the mines and of the

¹ The following nationalities were represented on the Supreme Court and on the district tribunals: Danish, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Luxemburg, Norwegian, Portuguese, Spanish, Swedish, Swiss and Yugoslav.

French currency in the territory, in the event of its return to Germany.

The Committee of Three, to which the Council on September 8th referred these various questions, held three sessions (Geneva, September 27th-28th ; Rome, November 5th-December 3rd ; and Geneva, December 4th), and submitted to the Council at an extraordinary session a report, which was unanimously approved on December 6th.

The decisions thus taken related in particular to the following points :

1. DEFINITION OF THE REGIME ESTABLISHED BY THE TREATY

Without going into details of the regime to be established if, " for the whole or part of the territory, the League of Nations decides in favour of the maintenance of the regime established by the Treaty, " the Council emphasised that, in such a case, the League, which was at present trustee for the exercise of the government, would be assigned the sovereignty for the whole or part of the territory. In this case, the present regime might and, indeed, should undergo the modifications deemed necessary by the League, which would therefore have power to dispose of its sovereignty to such extent as might be compatible with the Treaty, and in conformity with the principles on which the sovereignty over the territory had been conferred on it and must be exercised.

2. NATIONALITY OF INHABITANTS OF THE SAAR

Until the decision of the League following the plebiscite, the inhabitants of the territory would retain their nationality. But if the territory were placed under the sovereignty of the League, it would be necessary to institute a Saar nationality. In the event of union with France, questions of nationality would be settled in accordance with the principles generally followed in cases of annexation of territory. A union with Germany

would not involve any change of a legal character affecting the nationality of the inhabitants.

3. EXTENSION TO THOSE INHABITANTS OF THE SAAR TERRITORY WHO DID NOT POSSESS THE RIGHT TO VOTE OF THE GUARANTEES AFFORDED TO VOTERS

At the suggestion of the Council Committee, the German and French Governments completed their declarations of June 2nd by others made on December 3rd and 4th respectively, and undertook to abstain from all proceedings, reprisals or discrimination against inhabitants of the Saar Territory who were not entitled to vote, on account of their political attitude in connection with the purpose of the plebiscite during the League's administration. It was agreed that by "inhabitant" should be meant any person who had been domiciled in the Saar Territory for at least three years on January 13th, 1935.

The two Governments agreed that any dispute with regard to the application or interpretation of these undertakings might be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague and that, during a transitional period of one year as from the establishment of the definitive regime, the Supreme Plebiscite Court should have power to entertain petitions from inhabitants of the Saar not entitled to vote.

4. TREATMENT OF THE INHABITANTS AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DEFINITIVE REGIME

The Council took note of the undertaking given by the French and German Governments to the effect that, in the event of all or part of the territory being united either with France or with Germany, persons domiciled in the Saar who were desirous of leaving the territory should be given every facility to retain or sell their immovable property and to remove their movable property free of all charges.

It was further agreed that, in the event of union with Germany, the inhabitants of the Saar Territory, whatever their

nationality, should not, for a period of one year, be subject to any discrimination on account of their language, race or religion.

5. SOCIAL INSURANCE

In the event of the maintenance of the regime set up by the Treaty, the rights acquired or in process of being acquired by inhabitants in respect of social insurance institutions in the Saar were safeguarded. Should the Saar be returned to Germany, the German Government made a declaration that the social insurance in the territory would be incorporated in the general German insurance system, and that, as a general rule, the rights acquired or in process of acquisition from social insurance funds in the territory would, in consequence, continue to be safeguarded.

6. FINANCIAL QUESTIONS AND THE MINES

As regards financial questions and the mines, an agreement reached at Rome on December 3rd covered in a general way the economic and financial questions that arose in the event of union with Germany, such as commercial credits, the intermediate period between the decision of the Council to be given after the plebiscite and the date of the change of regime, the claims of the French Treasury and the Saar debts authorised by the Governing Commission.

The Agreement laid down that, in such a case, France would cede to Germany her rights of ownership over the Saar mines and railways against a payment of 900 million French francs. This payment would be provided for by the handing-over of 95 per cent of the total quantity of Bank of France notes circulating in the territory, and, as regards the balance, by free deliveries of coal, the deliveries being spread in such a way as to ensure full payment of the lump sum in five years.

The dues derived from the Warndt mine leases would be

paid to the French Treasury up to an amount averaging 2,200,000 tons per annum for five years.

Bank of France notes and other foreign means of payment circulating in the Saar were to remain on deposit in a blocked account in the name of the Bank for International Settlements, and to be employed for the payment of the debts to which they had been assigned.

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* *

In giving their approval to the report placing on record these decisions and agreements, certain members of the Council desired to make their views clear.

The French representative declared that in the event of the maintenance of the "regime established" in the Saar, if, at some later time, the Saar population expressed a desire to be reincorporated with Germany, the Council of the League would then have to give a decision. France, on her part, would not oppose any such decision by the Council.

MAINTENANCE OF ORDER

AS the date of the plebiscite approached, the political situation in the territory became more strained. On several occasions, the Governing Commission was obliged to take exceptional measures to maintain order.

In June 1934, the Council of the League authorised the Commission to increase the police and local gendarmerie during the plebiscite period, so far as possible by local recruitment; but if necessary the Commission might accept candidates from abroad. The Commission considered that it would be well for foreigners to be enrolled, and an appeal made by the President of the Council to the States Members of the League was favourably received by a certain number of Governments.

At the December meeting, the French representative asked the Council to entrust the maintenance of order to interna-

tional contingents, among which neither France nor Germany would be represented.

The representatives of the United Kingdom and Italy accepted this suggestion. They added, however, that other countries



International force at Saarbruck.

should also contribute and that Germany must give her consent to the despatch of such forces.

Germany having meanwhile given a favourable reply, the Council asked the Governments of the United Kingdom, Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden to participate in the forming of an international force, which would, under the authority of the Governing Commission, provide for the maintenance of order in the territory before, during and after the plebiscite.

On December 11th, the four Governments having replied favourably, the Council decided that such a force should be created. The costs of transport and maintenance due to service

abroad, in so far as they were not covered by credits existing in the budgets of the respective Governments, would be borne by the funds for plebiscite expenses.

The contingent was placed under the command of Major-General BRIND (United Kingdom). Its strength was fixed as follows:

United Kingdom	1,500
Italy	1,300
Netherlands	250
Sweden	250

The contingents were granted transit facilities by the German and French Governments and by December 22nd had reached the Saar Basin, where they were to remain till February 1935. The International Force (also called the Saar Force) was generally billeted in public buildings or factories: the British in the north-east part of the territory (Kreise of Homburg, St. Wendel and Ottweiler, and in Saarbruck); the Italians to the south-west (Kreis Saarlouis); the Dutch in the south-east (Kreis St. Ingbert); and the Swedes to the north-west (Kreis Merzig).

In the main, the Force was composed of infantry, but the British and Italians also had tanks. There were sufficient lorries to transport half of the total in case of emergency. The detachments were fairly large — a company at least — in order to be more effective should they be called on to intervene.

The headquarters of the Force was at Saarbruck and consisted of a staff of British officers and a central reserve of two companies, one British and the other Italian. Each contingent was independent as regards discipline and internal administration, but general orders were issued in regard to billeting, postal, telegraph and telephone service, military transport and furlough. A military hospital was set up at Saarbruck.

Throughout the stay of the troops, thanks to their perfect discipline, no incident occurred to disturb the good relations between them and the population. There was also complete harmony between the various contingents. Owing to the moral effect of the troops' presence in the Saar, the Governing

Commission was able to maintain order without the necessity for their active intervention.

PLEBISCITE OF JANUARY 13TH, 1935

THE Plebiscite Commission came into office on July 1st, 1934, and, in a proclamation, announced that it would take the steps necessary to secure the freedom, secrecy and trustworthiness of the voting, while expressing the hope that it could count on the help of the population.

In conformity with the "Regulations for the Plebiscite", published on July 7th with the necessary explanations and additions, the Commission set up in each of the eight districts of the territory a district bureau, composed of officials not natives of the territory nor nationals of Germany or of France, to take measures under the authority of the Commission to secure the freedom, secrecy and trustworthiness of the voting. In each of the eighty-three voting-districts, a Communal Committee,¹ presided over by a chairman not a native of the territory and not belonging to either of the two States concerned, was given the task of compiling a register of persons entitled to vote; the other members of these Committees were also appointed by the Commission.

The staff was composed of the following nationalities : American, British, Danish, Italian, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish and Swiss.

The following persons were first entered on the provisional voter's lists in alphabetical order :²

(a) Without any special application being made, those who were more than 20 years old on January 13th, 1935, and were resident in the territory on June 28th, 1919, and still resident therein ;

(b) On application being made by them, persons who, without inhabiting the territory, fulfilled the other conditions prescribed.

¹ In Saarbruck, two communal sub-committees were set up.

² Steps had already been taken as early as 1922-1923, under instructions from the Council of the League, to preserve the official documents which might be required in preparing for the plebiscite.

At the end of September 1934, these provisional lists were made public by being posted for a month on the "communal notice-boards" at the headquarters of each voting-district. Any person resident in the territory was entitled to make a claim for the removal of a name from the lists, for a rectification or for the addition of the name of a person residing in the territory. Anyone residing outside the territory was entitled, within one month after the publication of the provisional lists, to submit a claim to have his name placed on the list.

In order to prevent a name from appearing on the lists more than once, a central card index for the whole territory was prepared.

The district bureaux completed the examination of the claims in respect of the provisional voting-lists by November 9th. The total number submitted was 107,145. Of this number, 53,447 (49.9 %) were allowed; the others were rejected or declared non-receivable. The various claims may be classified as follows :

a) Requests to be placed on the voting-lists :	
Total	32,854
Allowed	18,540 = 56.4 % ;
b) Requests to have a name removed :	
Total	46,033
Allowed	7,217 = 15.6 % ;
c) Requests to have a correction made in the lists :	
Total	28,258
Allowed	28,210 = 99.08 % ;

The total number of appeals lodged with the Supreme Plebiscite Court against decisions of district bureaux concerning claims in respect of the provisional voting-lists was 9,248. Of this number, 2,387 (25.8 %) were allowed ; the others were rejected or declared non-receivable.

The various appeals may be classified as follows :

a)	Concerning the placing of names on the lists :	
	Total	7,400
	Allowed	1,365
b)	Concerning the removal of names :	
	Total	1,844
	Allowed	1,018
c)	Concerning corrections :	
	Total	4
	Allowed	4

“ Electoral certificates ” were sent between December 20th and 31st to those entitled.

Eight hundred and sixty electoral bureaux were established. These were presided over by neutrals, who, for the most part, were nationals of Luxemburg, Netherlands or Switzerland; but they also included persons of American, British, Danish, Finnish and Italian nationality. Two regular tellers and two assistants were appointed to each electoral bureau by the district bureaux, which endeavoured as far as possible to provide for the representation of various shades of opinion.

On January 11th, the chairmen of the electoral bureaux took oath before the Plebiscite Commission to perform the powers and duties entrusted to them in all honour and conscience.

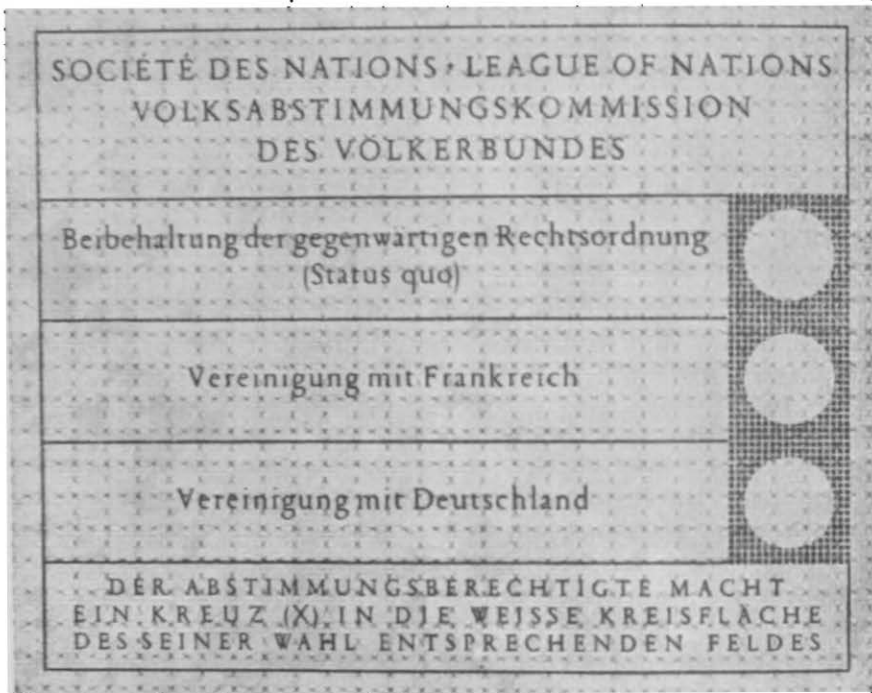
On January 12th, the Council of the League of Nations, sitting at Geneva, addressed the following message to the Saar population :

On the eve of the plebiscite, the Council desires to make a solemn appeal to the Saar population,

Urging it to manifest by its calmness and dignity its appreciation of the importance of the vote which it is called upon to give.

The Council is convinced that the inhabitants will afterwards maintain the same attitude and will wait confidently for the Council to take with all possible speed the decisions that are to follow the vote.

On January 13th, after the electoral bureaux had been opened, the voting began at 7.30 a.m. Each bureau had received from the Communal Committee three certified copies of the extract from the voters' lists. Each holder of an electoral certificate



Ballot paper.

entered the building of his voting-section and submitted his certificate to the chairman, who read out the name of the voter and the number allotted to him in the extract from the register. He then handed the voter an envelope and a ballot with three sections relating to the three possible alternatives: maintenance of the regime established by the Treaty ; union with France ; union with Germany.

As evidence of the delivery of a ballot and of the due identification of the voter, a teller placed his initials against the voter's name on the identification list. The voter then withdrew into a voting-booth and put a cross to indicate his choice

in the appropriate section on the ballot with a black pencil to be found in the voting-booth. He then placed the ballot in the envelope, which he closed before handing it to the chairman, who placed it in the ballot-box.



A voter casting his vote.

The voting ended at 8 p.m. Immediately afterwards, the boxes containing the ballots were collected from the electoral bureaux by military or police lorries and conveyed to the headquarters of the voting-districts; thence, they were forwarded by special trains to the capital of the territory. Throughout their journey, as far as the Wartburg Hall in Saarbruck, where the count took place, the boxes were accompanied by a military escort and by a neutral representative of the Commission and two witnesses. At the Wartburg, the boxes were received by officials of the Plebiscite Commission, who signed the



The Wartburg, in which the votes were counted, protected by tanks



The count.

records of receipt. These various operations were marked by no incident.

The count began on Monday, January 14th, at 5 p.m., under the direct and exclusive supervision of the Plebiscite Commission. The votes were counted by voting-districts; there



M. RODHE, Chairman, announces the result.

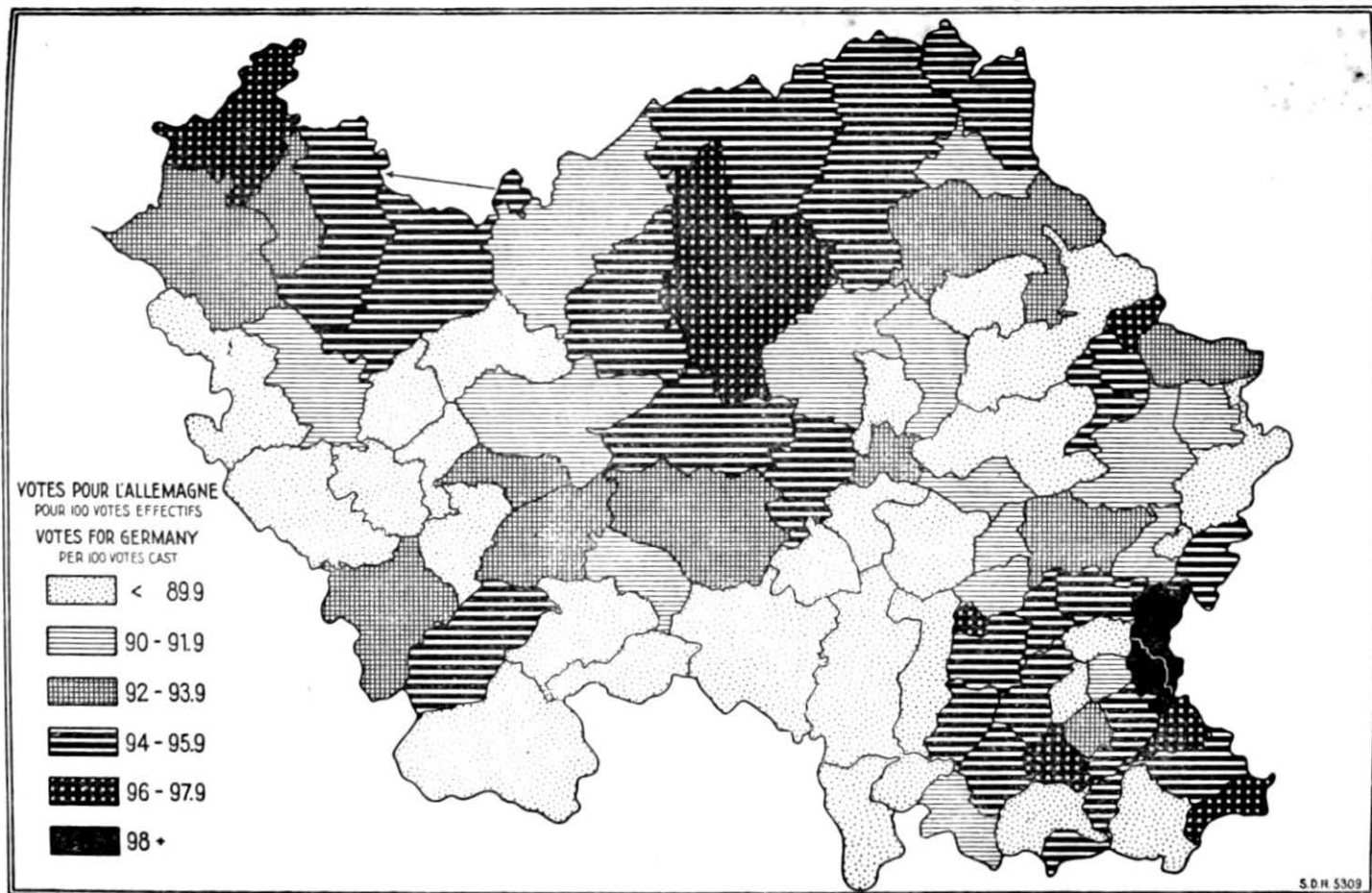
were 300 neutral tellers selected from the chairmen of the electoral bureaux. All decisions concerning the validity of ballots were taken by the Plebiscite Commission. Seats had been reserved in the hall for representatives of the Saar population, the French and German Governments and the Press.

On Tuesday, January 15th, between 6 and 7 a.m., the results of the plebiscite were communicated by telephone to the Secretariat of the League of Nations. At 8.15 a.m., they were announced in the Wartburg Hall.

The figures for the eight voting-divisions and for the whole territory are given on the following page.

RESULT OF THE VOTE TAKEN ON JANUARY 13TH, 1935

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
District	Number on voting-register	Number of votes cast	For the present regime	For France	For Germany	Invalid papers	Blank papers
Saarbrücken-Stadt	88,596	84,850	10,413	286	73,761	147	234
Saarbrücken-Land	138,158	135,116	12,303	657	121,632	208	292
Saarlouis	95,598	93,955	7,541	768	85,230	147	267
Ottweiler	100,770	99,200	8,792	152	89,875	199	177
Merzig	25,047	24,744	1,180	66	23,362	49	85
St. Wendel	22,176	21,882	1,130	27	20,629	30	65
St. Ingbert	37,748	37,271	3,058	126	33,867	79	133
Homburg	31,448	31,087	2,196	42	28,763	46	39
Total	539,541	528,105	46,613	2,124	477,119	905	1,292



The map on page 29 shows the proportion of the majority figures in each voting-division to those of the total votes cast.

The ballots were subsequently taken to Geneva and there destroyed.



Collecting the ballot papers in the Wartburg.

THE COUNCIL'S DECISION, JANUARY 17TH, 1935

ON January 17th, the Committee, presided over by Baron ALOISI, which had been instructed by the Council on January 12th to draft the resolutions to be taken after the plebiscite, submitted a report, in which it was stated that, in all the voting-divisions, the population of the Saar Territory had decided by a majority in favour of union with Germany. In no division was the majority less than 82.9 %. It was now

for the Council, in accordance with the Treaty, to decide under whose sovereignty the territory was to be placed, taking into account the wishes of the inhabitants as expressed by the voting.

The Committee proposed to the Council a resolution which decided:

1. In favour of the union with Germany of the whole of the Territory of the Saar Basin, under the conditions resulting from the Treaty of Versailles and from the special undertakings entered into in connection with the plebiscite.

2. That March 1st, 1935, should be the date for the re-establishment of Germany in the government of the territory.

3. That the Committee should decide, in consultation with the French Government, the German Government and the Governing Commission of the Saar Territory, upon the arrangements necessary for the change of regime in the territory and upon the manner in which the undertakings entered into should be carried out.

In submitting the report and the draft resolution, the Chairman of the Committee said that the Territory of the Saar had been most admirably administered on behalf of the League of Nations during the past fifteen years. In recent months, feeling had been running high in view of the approaching plebiscite, and the maintenance of good administration and order had constituted an increasingly heavy responsibility. The Council owed a very deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Knox, the Chairman of the Governing Commission.

Each European member of the Council then spoke. M. LAVAL, the French representative, declared that the people of the Saar had freely chosen their future, and that the Council of the League must decide for the reunion of the Saar with Germany.

The Council then unanimously adopted the resolution, and authorised the Governing Commission to take such steps as it should think desirable, and to abrogate all laws enacted solely in connection with the plebiscite.

EXECUTION OF THE DECISION

Agreements of February 19th, 1935

IN accordance with the duties entrusted to it, the Council Committee met at Rome and also at Naples between February 5th and 19th. In a series of decisions appearing in its final report, dated February 19th, it approved a number of agreements reached after negotiations at Basle and at Rome between the representatives of France and Germany and of the Governing Commission. These agreements related to monetary questions, mines, railways and other immovable property situated in the Saar, French private insurance, treatment of the property and assets of persons leaving the Saar, social insurance, rights of officials, and the change of the Customs regime.

The Committee also adopted two resolutions, one in regard to debts contracted by Saar individuals and legal entities with the sanction of the Governing Commission, and the other in regard to the working of the Supreme Plebiscite Court after the transfer of the territory to Germany.

The main provisions of these agreements and resolutions are analysed below :

1. MONETARY QUESTIONS

The exportation of means of payment of all kinds and remittances of funds outside the Saar Territory are, in principle, prohibited. The main exceptions relate to the exportation to Germany of German means of payment, the transfer of funds from the Reichsbank to France and the exportation of means of payment by certain persons and administrations (the non-German members and officials of the Governing Commission and of the Plebiscite Tribunal, etc.) and persons domiciled in the Saar on December 3rd, 1934, who have left the territory before March 1st, 1935. All means of payment in circulation

in the territory expressed in a currency other than the Reichsmark must be handed over to exchange offices for exchange into Reichsmarks. All debts expressed in French francs payable in the territory, the beneficiaries of which have their domicile in the territory, may be validly paid in Reichsmarks at the rate of exchange fixed on the day of payment by the Reichsbank.

2. MINES AND RAILWAYS

All installations belonging to the administration of the French State mines in the Saar are transferred to Germany in return for the comprehensive payment of a lump sum of 900,000,000 French francs, provided for in the agreement of December 3rd, 1934. The taking-over of the mines was fixed for midnight on the night of February 28th/March 1st, 1935. The services of the French personnel terminated at midnight on that night.

France, on the other hand, transfers to Germany all her rights over the railways situated in the Saar, as from February 28th/March 1st, 1935, at midnight, and all immovable property belonging to the railway lines. The personnel of German nationality employed on the railway lines is taken over by the German Government, and the French Government withdraws the personnel of French nationality.

The payment of pensions to officials in retirement devolves on the State of which the beneficiary is a national. On the lines connecting the Saar, now German, with the French Department of the Moselle, frontier stations will be opened at ten places, five on the German and five on the French side.

For the purpose of the lump-sum settlement of 900,000,000 francs, the German Government declares that it is its intention to cause the return to the Saar, for exchange into Reichsmarks, of Bank of France and other foreign means of payment which may have been exported by Saar inhabitants. The notes recovered in this manner up to October 1st, 1935, will be paid to the Bank of France to be placed to the credit

of a sight account in the name of the Bank for International Settlements.

The Bank for International Settlements will place these amounts to the credit of two separate French franc accounts: Account A will contain 95 % of the amounts; it may only be operated by the joint order of the Reichsbank Direktorium and the Governor of the Banque de France. Of the amounts received, 5 % will be paid into Account B and employed exclusively for the service of debts contracted by Saar natural or legal persons, with the approval of the Governing Commission.

As regards free deliveries of coal and settlements effected in Reichsmarks by the German Government for account of the French Government, half-yearly schedules will be drawn up showing the amount to be collected in each such period in the form of free deliveries of coal. The contracts to be taken as a basis for the free deliveries will be those for the sale of Saar coal to public services (railways and gasworks) and heavy industry. The first schedule will, as an exception, apply only to the period March 1st to June 30th, 1935. The sum is fixed at 40,000,000 francs. The payments to be made by the German Government in lieu of free deliveries of coal will consist of the sums in Reichsmarks payable by the French Government for any reason in the Saar Territory in connection with the French administration of the State mines, and the sums owed in Reichsmarks by the Société houillère de Sarre et Moselle and by the Petits-fils de François de Wendel during a period of five years. Any dispute as to the interpretation of this part of the agreement will be submitted to an arbitrator appointed by agreement between the two Governments or, failing such agreement, by the President of the Administrative Council of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague.

Finally the two Governments declare that they have taken note of the contracts concluded for the lease, for a term of

five years, of certain of the Warndt coal mines, which are worked exclusively by means of pits in French territory.

3. FRENCH PRIVATE INSURANCE

French insurance undertakings authorised to operate in the Saar will retain such authorisation but will be subject to all the obligations imposed by German law. In particular, they must constitute and deposit in Germany the guarantees, reserves, etc., required from foreign insurance undertakings operating in Germany. There are provisions in favour of life and general insurance undertakings wishing to liquidate their contracts in the Saar.

4. LIABILITIES AND TREATMENT OF THE PROPERTY AND ASSETS OF PERSONS LEAVING THE SAAR

The German Government announces that it has decided to reintroduce the Reichsmark as legal currency in the Saar, but that it will exempt from conversion such claims and mortgages as arose before March 1st, 1935, and were held by French public administrations (including the mines) or individuals and legal entities who, on March 1st, 1935, were established abroad. Persons resident in the Saar on December 3rd, 1934, who have left the territory prior to March 1st or subsequently within a year of that date, will be authorised to take with them their movable property and, in free Reichsmarks, the proceeds from the sale of movable or immovable property in the Saar, and the amounts derived from the recovery of debts owing to them in the territory. But they will not be exempt from the obligation to hand over to the Reichsbank, under the procedure introduced for the purpose, any Bank of France notes and other foreign means of payment which they may have in their possession.

5. DEBTS CONTRACTED BY SAAR INDIVIDUALS AND LEGAL ENTITIES WITH THE SANCTION OF THE GOVERNING COMMISSION

Of the total amount of notes of the Bank of France and other foreign means of payment circulating in the Saar Territory which have been recovered, 5 % will be paid into Fund B (Reichsbank Account, Authorised Saar Loans) and assigned to the service of debts contracted by Saar natural or legal persons with the approval of the Governing Commission.

A referee¹ will determine the distribution of this fund on the basis of the claims specified in the list to be drawn up by the Governing Commission and to be finally established before June 30th, 1935, by the Financial Committee of the League of Nations.

The referee's functions will cease when Fund B is exhausted.

6. POSITION OF FRENCH NATIONALS WHO REMAIN IN THE SAAR

In letters addressed to the French delegation, the German delegation undertook that French nationals who remained permanently in the Saar would, from the point of view of foreign exchange and revalorisation regulations, receive the same treatment as German nationals.

7. SOCIAL INSURANCE

Workmen and employees who have been members of social insurance organisations in the Saar will, so long as they are resident in France or in Germany, be entitled to the annuities and pensions which they have earned in France, Germany and the Saar. The transfer of sums in respect of social insurance

¹ M. POSPISIL, honorary Governor of the Czechoslovak National Bank, was subsequently appointed referee.

benefits paid abroad will not be subject to German exchange regulations.

8. RIGHTS OF OFFICIALS

The German Government will, in principle, take back into its service officials of German nationality appointed by the Governing Commission. If any officials, for personal reasons not of an economic character, express not later than February 25th, 1935, the desire to relinquish their status as officials, they may apply to be retired on pension. Applications to this effect will be submitted for decision to a committee consisting of three members appointed by the German Government and three members appointed by the Governing Commission.

The German Government recognises the promotions made by the Governing Commission. As from March 1st, 1935, officials will be paid in accordance with German regulations. Officials of non-German nationality will be obliged to retire as from March 1st, 1935. The Governing Commission will propose to the Governments of the countries of origin concerned that they should assume responsibility for the retiring pensions to be paid. The German Government is prepared to withdraw from the pensions fund the sums necessary for the payment of such pensions and to hand them over to the Governments of the countries of origin. Until such time as the countries of origin have made known their decision, the German Government will make monthly advances to the officials concerned. The German Government assumes responsibility for the pensions of officials of German nationality retired by the Governing Commission. That Government will not apply disciplinary measures on account of acts committed by officials, in the service or otherwise, under the special regime set up in the Saar Territory by the Treaty of Versailles.

9. CHANGE OF THE CUSTOMS REGIME

The Saar Territory will be placed once more under the German Customs regime as from February 17th/18th, 1935, at midnight. Customs duties levied in the territory from February 18th to 28th inclusive will be paid into the Treasury of the Saar Territory.

10. TRANSFER OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY

The administration of the territory will pass into the hands of the German Government at midnight on February 28th-March 1st, 1935. That Government will take over all the assets and liabilities of the Governing Commission, including all contracts concluded by that body. Judgments of the courts of the territory and those of the Governing Commission and other administrative authorities will be regarded as final and treated as if they were judgments of German courts.

11. SUPREME PLEBISCITE COURT

The Plebiscite Court will be maintained for one year under the conditions specified in the German Government's declarations of June and December. It will be competent to pass upon its own jurisdiction.

The German Government will appoint a public agent who will be attached to the court. The court will lay down its own rules of procedure. But any complaint addressed to the court will, in the first place, be transmitted to the public agent by a member of the court specially delegated for the purpose. Acting in agreement with the delegated member, the public agent will be empowered to make representations in the proper quarter with a view to obtaining satisfaction for the complainant. Should he succeed therein, he will report to the President, who will give his decision. In the contrary event, the complaint will be submitted to the court together with the observations of the public agent.

The court will afford to complainants and any other persons concerned an opportunity of submitting their observations, either verbally or in writing. Complainants will be permitted to appear in person before the court and to appoint persons to represent or advise them. The proceedings of the court will not be public. The court will be entitled to collect all such evidence as it may think fit; in particular by letters of request which will be addressed to the German authorities by the public agent and to authorities other than the German authorities through the German Government. Cases pending before the court on February 29th, 1936, will remain within its jurisdiction.

The court's decisions will be enforceable on its own authority and the German Government will take any steps that may be necessary to ensure that they are duly enforced.

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During the negotiations which followed the plebiscite, the French delegation had handed the Chairman of the Council Committee a memorandum on the demilitarisation of the territory. But, subsequently, the French and German Governments decided to settle the question by negotiation, and accordingly exchanged declarations on February 28th.

The German document stated that the Saar Territory was included in the zone referred to in Articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Versailles,¹ and that therefore the provisions in force as regards that zone held good also in the territory after

¹ These articles are as follows :

" *Article 42.* — Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometres to the east of the Rhine.

" *Article 43.* — In the area defined above, the maintenance and the assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military manoeuvres of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilisation, are in the same way forbidden. "

its return to Germany. The German Government at the same time made clear the following points :

(1) The size of the normal police contingent of all categories in the territory after its return to Germany would be about 1,500 ;

(2) Besides the four airports provided for in the demilitarised zone, there would also be one at Saarbruck and a landing-ground at Saarlouis.

In taking note of this communication, the French Government made reservations as to the possible presence in the henceforth demilitarised territory of S.A. and S.S. or Compulsory Labour Service formations, owing to certain characteristics of such formations. Moreover, with a view to the application of Article 43 of the Versailles Treaty, the French Government added that it held it to be of great importance that railway and road systems should be developed solely for economic purposes.

THE TRANSFER TO GERMANY, MARCH 1st, 1935

THE transfer to Germany of the government of the Saar Territory took place at Saarbruck on March 1st. The members of the Committee of the League Council presided at the ceremony. On the evening of February 28th, Mr. KNOX, Chairman of the Saar Governing Commission, transferred his powers to Baron ALOISI, Chairman of the Committee of Three, who in his turn handed them over on the morning of March 1st to Dr. FRICK, Reich Minister of the Interior.

The Protocol of Transfer reads as follows :

In its resolution of January 17th, the Council of the League of Nations fixed March 1st, 1935, as the date of the re-establishment of Germany in the government of the Territory of the Saar Basin in accordance with the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles on June 28th, 1919.

In pursuance of this resolution, the Committee of the Council of the League of Nations appointed to deal with the questions of the Saar, composed of His Excellency Baron ALOISI, Ambassador of His Majesty the King of Italy, Chief of the Cabinet of the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, His Excellency M. CANTILO, Ambassador of the Argentine Repu-

blic at Rome, and His Excellency M. LÓPEZ OLIVÁN, Spanish Minister at Berne, has this day solemnly transferred, on behalf of the Council of the League of Nations, the government of the said territory to Germany, represented for this purpose by His Excellency Dr. FRICK, Minister of Interior of the Reich.

In faith whereof, the abovementioned representatives of the League of Nations and of the German Government have drawn up the present record.

Baron ALOISI, in the name of the League of Nations spoke as follows :

In the name of the League of Nations and in my capacity as Chairman of the Committee of Three which has had to deal with all questions relating to the return of the Saar Territory to the Reich, I have the honour to transfer the territory definitely to Germany.

Thus a page of post-war history is ended, and at the same time an element of discord in the relations between peoples disappears. I trust that the solution of this problem, which has been reached after long and difficult negotiations, carried out in a spirit of loyalty and mutual comprehension, will be a good omen for the re-establishment of order and peace in Europe.

Dr. FRICK, Reich Minister of the Interior, replied as follows :

This event is not solely of importance to Germany. As you have pointed out, it closes a chapter in European politics which has handicapped the good relations between two great neighbouring peoples during recent years. The German Government is convinced that the settlement of the Saar problem marks a step towards an improvement in the general political situation in Europe and towards peaceful collaboration between peoples.

In the afternoon, the Führer and Chancellor of the Reich, M. Adolf HITLER, reached Saarbruck, and received the members of the Committee of the League Council at the City Hall. He gave them his personal thanks and those of the German people for the work which they had accomplished with activity and with loyalty, and was very satisfied that a particularly delicate and difficult problem had been solved.

FACTS AND FIGURES

PRODUCTION, TRADE AND PRICES TO-DAY

GENEVA 1935 . INFORMATION SECTION

*Extract from a report by M. W. M. van Lanschot,
Senator of the Netherlands — XVIth Assembly of the League.*

In the ultimate analysis, all economic activity is directed to the production of goods and services, and there can be no doubt that, over large areas of the globe, production has increased in the last year — indeed, in the last two years. We have passed since the autumn of 1929 through various phases of a worldwide economic depression. The bottom of that depression, as far as we can judge, was touched during the summer of 1932, although in certain countries it may not yet have been reached. The aggregate improvement since the summer of 1932 may be judged by the following world figures that the League has recently published :

	1925-29	1931	1932	1933	1934
Production of foodstuffs	100	102	105	104	102
Raw-material production	100	92	81	89	94
Industrial activity.	100	89	78	88	96
Quantum of trade.	100	94	81	82.5	85.5
Stocks of raw materials :					
(excl. U.S.S.R.) (end of years)	100	190	188	178	164
Industrial activity :					
(excl. U.S.S.R.) (1929 = 100)	—	75	63	71	76
Employment (excl. U.S.S.R.) :					
(1929 = 100)	—	84	75	78	84

There are two facts that emerge from these figures which should, I think, arrest our special attention. The first is the steady and very substantial recovery in raw-

material production and in industrial activity ; the second is the almost complete stagnation of international trade.

In 1934, industrial activity was 23% greater than in 1932, while the quantum of trade was only 5-6% greater.

These aggregate figures, however, although they throw the stagnation of trade into very clear relief, afford perhaps the most favourable picture of the situation that it is possible to give, for they conceal the lack of balance in the world, the unevenness of the progress and the variety of national experience. While, in some countries, industry has been remarkably active, unemployment has been reduced and prices have been firm or rising, in others conditions steadily deteriorated, at any rate up to the early summer of this year, and falling prices led to business pessimism and a reduction of activity.

Quite recently, however, the vigorous action which has been taken by the Governments of certain countries particularly affected by the later phases of the depression and the signs of a more widespread recovery in the United States of America have given rise to a sober and conditional optimism.

The revival, as I have shown, has been greatest in manufacturing activity and the production of raw materials of mineral origin. I do not think that I can illustrate the unevenness of the recovery better than from the figures of manufacturing activity in different countries.

(Base = Average 1929 = 100)

Country	Average 1932	June 1934	June 1935
U.S.S.R.	183	244	260 ¹
Japan	98	128	143 ²
Chile	87	100	124
Roumania	89	126	122 ²
Greece.	101	132	120 ²
Denmark	91	114	120
Norway	92	105	111
Sweden	79	102	109
Finland	83	113	107
United Kingdom	83	98 ³	104 ²
Hungary	77	98 ³	102 ²
Italy	67	79	94 ⁴
Germany	53	80	94 ⁵
Spain	88	84	84 ⁶
Canada	58	75	78
Austria	64	74	77 ¹
Belgium	69	64	73 ¹
United States.	54	70	72
Czechoslovakia	64	69	68
Poland	54	62	68
Netherlands	62	69	67
France	69	71	66

The U.S.S.R. has almost trebled her industrial production in six years. In almost half of the other countries mentioned, the production to-day is greater than it was in 1929; but even there the depression persists. It persists because the balance between one industry and another, between one country and another, has not been adequately re-established.

¹ May. ² March. ³ Second quarter. ⁴ 104 in May. ⁵ Includes Saar since March 1935. ⁶ January.

I do not propose to examine now in detail the causes which have led to the striking contrast in national conditions or the extent to which industry has been stimulated into activity by Government orders for armaments, but to emphasise a fact to which I shall revert later, that this unevenness in the degrees of recovery reached constitutes a possible impediment to stable recovery in the future.

I have already drawn attention to the contrast between the recovery in industry and the almost complete stagnation in trade. If instead of the quantity of goods exchanged the gold value of international trade is considered, there has, indeed, not only been no recovery, but a continual contraction, although at a diminishing rate. By 1934, the value of trade had sunk to a little more than a third of what it had been before the depression started.

	1929	1933	1934	First half	
				1934	1935
World Imports . . .	100	35.0	33.7	33.7	33.2
Exports . . .	100	35.6	34.4	33.9	33.2
Total	100	35.3	34.0	33.8	33.2

The contraction in the value of trade has persisted in the present year. In 1934, the total trade of the whole world was less in terms of gold francs than was the trade of three countries — the United Kingdom, the United States and Germany — in 1929. It was less than the trade of these three countries five years earlier, and it was still contracting; the contraction continues. It continues, not because the actual quantity of goods exchanged diminishes — on the contrary, there was a slight

increase in 1934 — but because prices on the world markets still decline. The reduction in the value of trade in 1934 of approximately two-thirds compared with 1929 was due to a decline in quantum of just under a quarter and a decline in prices of just under three-fifths. The decline in gold prices has persisted during the current year and has given rise to a constant and painful pressure on the economy of gold-standard countries.

This constant fall in the prices of goods on world markets has been no doubt the major cause of the restrictions of all kinds that have been imposed in recent years upon imports. Those restrictions, while maintaining prices in certain areas, have further contributed to the decline on the world markets. I do not propose for the moment, however, to enter upon any discussion of the cause and effects of commercial policy, which is dealt with very fully in the Economic Committee's report to which I have already referred. The tendency towards falling prices, falling value of world trade and falling value of paper currencies persisted throughout 1934. But there were nevertheless certain signs of improvement during the course of that year, and there has been some further improvement in recent months.

One of the first signs of the onset of the depression of 1929 was the fall in the prices of raw materials. In 1934, though raw-material prices still fell, they fell substantially less in the aggregate and foodstuff prices fell even somewhat less than did the prices of manufactured goods. In consequence, the less wealthy and less economically developed countries in the world can now obtain a greater quantity of the goods they require for

what they export, and, since the majority of them are debtor States, the basis of international credit has been strengthened together with the demand for manufactured goods.¹

It was the fall in the price of raw products relatively to the price of manufactured goods that gave rise to restrictions on imports. Industrial States endeavoured to ward off the effects of low prices on their own producers of crude products. Agricultural States endeavoured to maintain their export surplus in the face of a falling market for their products. If the scissors close — if price tendencies are reversed — then at least certain of the causes which have given rise to policy will be affected.

But the improvement in the relationship between the prices of manufactured goods on the one hand and raw materials or foodstuffs on the other, although substantial and apparently still continuing, must not be interpreted as indicating that an equilibrium between agricultural and industrial countries has yet been achieved or is indeed even in sight. The situation of certain agricultural exporting countries has been relieved to some extent by extraordinary measures adopted in the United States of America and elsewhere, and over-production checked by drought. There was some increase in the demand for agricultural products in those countries where industrial activity revived the most. There has been some shift

¹ Certain areas were, however, very adversely affected in 1934 by the heavy fall in the prices of their major raw products — *e.g.*, wool by nearly 24% and mutton 12% between December 1933 and May 1935.

from cereal production to other forms of farming, meat production, dairy-farming, fruit-farming, etc. But the stocks of cereals and of wheat in particular are still excessive, and consumption remains adversely affected at once by the reduced income of many industrial countries and the high prices in certain areas resulting from the restrictions imposed on imports.

The population of the world (exclusive of China) is estimated to have increased in recent years at an average rate of about 1.2% per annum. The index of foodstuffs production prepared by the League has changed but little since 1928; it dropped by some 3% between 1932 and 1934. Perhaps this drop exaggerates the real reduction in supplies owing to the shifts in production to which I have referred. But the figures are at least sufficient to suggest that the needs of a growing population are not being adequately met.

The relationship between the prices of raw and manufactured products is only one of the manifestations of that lack of balance that is impeding recovery. Not less important is the change in relative domestic price-levels as compared with a few years ago. These changes may be seen by comparing national indices of wholesale prices to-day in terms of gold with what they stood at in 1928.

Gold Wholesale Prices.

(1928 = 100.)

(71-)	(61-70)	(51-60)	(41-50)	(-40)
Germany 72	Austria . . 68	Bulgaria 58	France . . 50	Australia . 38
	Latvia ¹ . . 66	Poland . 53	Netherlands 49	India. . . 38
	Hungary. . 64	China . 52	Peru . . . 49	Argentina ¹ 36
	Italy . . . 63		Belgium . . 48	Chile ¹ . . 35
	Czecho- slovakia . 62		Denmark . 48	Japan . . 28
	Switzerland. 61		U.S.A. . . 48	
			Yugoslavia. 47	
			Egypt. . . 47	
			Greece . . 47	
			Union of S. Africa. 46	
			U.K. . . . 45	
			Finland . . 45	
			Canada . . 44	
			Norway . . 44	
			Sweden . . 44	
			New Zealand 44	
			Estonia . . 41	

What, in view of the changes which have taken place during the last few years in national economic structure, may be the gold price-level for each country least apt to give rise to new disturbances in trade or in productive activity, it is impossible to foresee. But the range from 28 in Japan to 73 in Germany is clearly not one which can be permanently maintained. On the other hand, it is significant that the discrepancy between so many important States is to-day so small. Between five of the principal industrial countries — France, the Netherlands, the United States, Belgium and the United Kingdom — it is only about 10%; it is less than 10% between ten members of the sterling group.

¹ May.

Furthermore, although the range of the differences between gold prices no doubt illustrates a lack of balance in the world, there is no reason whatever for assuming that, if perfect equilibrium existed, the price-levels would bear exactly the same relationship to one another that they did in 1928. On the contrary, there is every reason for thinking that they would not. To quote a single example — though an important one — there are very good reasons for assuming that the British gold prices index, which was perhaps too high in 1928, would be relatively lower and the French index relatively higher than it was then.

Moreover, in recent months, gold prices have with a few exceptions been tending to draw closer together; it would appear that a better equilibrium is gradually being established. That this is the case is confirmed by recent exchange movements. The dollar has been stable since February 1st, 1934, and the pound sterling, which dropped in value during the first eight months of 1933 by 2.6%, and by 6.4% in the same period in 1934, was higher at the end of August last than at the beginning of the year, and apart from the temporary depression in March, when it fell by 5%, has moved within narrow limits.

The gradual establishment of a better equilibrium in the world is facilitated by the fact that, in the majority of countries, the banking and credit situation has greatly improved in the last two years. Real progress has been made in the liquidation of frozen credits; in a growing number of countries banks are liquid and money is cheap; debts have been written down and it is estimated that international short-term debts have been reduced to well under a half of what they were four years ago. If the whole volume of short- and long-term debts still presents

a serious and unsettled problem to certain States, in almost all cases arrangements and machinery for renewing arrangements have been made. On the other hand, the disparity of price-levels during the last two years has led to the accumulation in some centres of new commercial debts; certain countries with high price-levels have, in spite of their restrictions on imports (rationing of exchange, prohibitions, tariffs, etc.), imported more goods than they were able to pay for.

In the hope of liquidating this new short-term debt on merchandise account, creditors have demanded in certain cases that a system of clearings be established under which importers in the two contracting States pay the moneys due to them into special accounts in their respective central banks, on which accounts the exporters have a right to draw.

In conclusion, there is one other factor in the general situation to which I wish to refer. The world has been suffering from a triple disequilibrium: disequilibrium in certain areas between prices and costs; disequilibrium in prices and costs between certain areas, and disequilibrium in the degree of recovery achieved.

The domestic disequilibrium between prices and costs has been the major difficulty in all countries which have felt themselves compelled to pursue a deflationary policy in order to force down their level of values to that ruling in the rest of the world. Many elements of the cost structure, such as interest on debt, rent and frequently wages, have proved resistant to the deflationary pressure, with the result that profits have been reduced and economic activity checked.

With the international price disequilibrium I have already dealt.

The disparity in the degree of recovery is perhaps scarcely less important. As equilibrium is established in the world, the yield on capital where risks are not dissimilar will tend to approximate. To-day, the index of industrial securities in the United Kingdom stands somewhat above the level reached in 1928, in the United States at 62%, and in France at 46% of that level. These and similar differences may lead to large movements of investment capital as gradually in one country after another economic activity revives — as revive it must. It is necessary to consider, therefore, not merely the measures which will allow of a wider international exchange of a greater volume of goods, not merely the problem of national cost and price or international price disparities, but also the measures necessary to prevent rapid movements of capital from one centre to another from giving rise to new strains too great for the monetary systems to withstand.

THE ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE OF STATES

GENEVA 1935
INFORMATION SECTION

Resolutions of the Sixteenth Assembly on Economic and Financial Questions The Sixteenth Assembly of the League of Nations on September 28th, 1935, adopted a number of resolutions on economic and financial questions submitted by its Second Committee. The most important of these was as follows :

The Assembly,

Convinced of the inimical effect on international trade of arbitrary restrictions imposed by Governments ;

Noting that one of the ultimate objectives of Governments is a return to an international gold standard ;

Considering that, even before the re-establishment of such an international monetary standard becomes possible, effective steps might be taken with a view to the removal of impediments to the exchange of goods, and that such a removal is indispensable if the economic recovery of which signs are now apparent is to be developed ;

Considering that the recovery of international trade would be greatly assisted by the conclusion by as many countries as possible of bilateral agreements having for their object the application of a more liberal economic policy ;

Recognising, further, that the beneficial effects of such agreements would be more widespread when based upon the principle of the most-favoured-nation clause ;

Realising that Governments hesitate to enter into agreements of substantial duration if the circumstances in which they were entered into may be subject to violent changes as the result of currency fluctuations :

Recommends that Governments should endeavour to encourage freer trade by the conclusion of bilateral agreements subject, should they consider it necessary, to the provision that, in the event of a large variation in the rate of exchange between the currencies of the contracting parties, there should be power to take steps to revise the agreement at short notice.

On this subject, Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States of America, sent the following message *Message from Mr. Cordell Hull* to the Chairman of the Second Committee :

I have observed with the greatest of interest that many important Governments of the world, as represented in the Committee of which you are Chairman, have reached close accord on an economic programme designed to assure a fuller and more satisfactory restoration of industry and commerce. These far-reaching conclusions of your Committee possess great weight, since the Committee comprises members of the actual Governments in office in most of the important trading countries of the world, selected because of their special competence and assigned to the task of considering economic questions.

The world will note that a leading conclusion of your Committee is that the adoption of more liberal international trading policies is indispensable to further recovery. It will be understood that the definite recommendations made by your Committee take into account the difficulties which face many Governments in lessening the existing impediments to the exchange of goods and that your Committee proposes a method by which commercial policies can here and now be directed along liberal lines despite these difficulties. To this end, your Committee has recommended the conclusion of bilateral trade agreements, pointing out that the beneficial effects of such agreements will be the more widespread when based upon the principles of the most-favoured-nation clause.

The circumstance that, following upon the great economic disturbances of the recent past, the nations, speaking through the specially qualified Governmental representatives that make up your

Committee, show such a consensus of judgment is most dramatic and encouraging.

The proposed programme assumes no doubt that each country will continue to develop its economy on domestic lines as fully as sound business calculations may justify, but recognises fully the economic fact which has been demonstrated by bitter experience that full and stable business prosperity, full employment of labour at satisfactory wages, and the need of a secure foundation for peace would all require the restoration of a normal volume of international trade.

I have absolute faith that patience and political courage on the part of all acting simultaneously as is contemplated in the resolution will make realities of the recommended action.

There is no need to stress the *Present phase of international economic relations* importance of this message; which gives the view, on this economic and financial issue, of one of the countries whose co-operation is most necessary in attaining the League's object.

Owing to the interest that has been aroused, it may be well to give a brief summary of the position of international economic relations, as it appeared to the Assembly, which had the opportunity of studying a number of documents, and in particular three reports, two of which were submitted by the Economic Committee ("Remarks on the Present Phase of International Economic Relations" and "Considerations on the Present Evolution of Agricultural Protectionism"), and the third by a Joint Committee for the "Enquiry into Clearing Agreements".

In spite of their variety, the subjects dealt with in these documents are only in appearance theoretical; they give an impression of close interdependence. They

all relate to international trade policy ; they all deal, in a general manner, with the various problems that are forming the subject of direct negotiations between States ; they all show how international trade is falling off ; they all throw light on the effect of the measures by which each country, in defending itself against the depression, has paralysed international trade ; and they advocate a change in commercial policy on these points, indicating how erroneous it is to regard national interest and international interest as opposite sides of the same thing, and as contradictory to one another.

The facts are known. In 1929 a
The Stock Exchange and banking crisis on
depression an exceptional scale led to the abrupt
withdrawal of a large amount of capital
invested at short term. The crisis was superimposed on an economic situation which was already greatly shaken by the structural changes which followed on the war. The result was a reduction of the demand for raw materials, which had as its sequel a collapse of prices. The position in regard to agricultural products is the same ; and in their case it is aggravated by the fact of over-production. Accordingly, while agricultural prices crumble, there is a simultaneous reduction of industrial production, leading to an alarming increase of unemployment. Under pressure of these combined factors, the currency in a large number of countries is depreciated.

A difference of prices in such countries as compared with prices in countries still on the former par of exchange is then apparent, affecting adversely the competitive capacity of the latter. Having now become " dear ",

the producers of these last-named countries find themselves at a disadvantage. They experience greater and greater difficulty in selling on the "depreciated" markets, which become more and more numerous. Everywhere, even in countries which, like their own, have preserved the value of their money, they meet with the same competition, which soon begins to be felt on their home market as well. It deprives them of customers and makes prices fall.

The monetary depreciation, which in a large number of countries was an inevitable consequence of the collapse of prices, played an important part in the general medley of opposing forces which were disturbing international trade. It deprives countries which have not had recourse to it of the possibility of making provision for long or medium term transactions, while it places the States in a similar position of difficulty in connection with commercial agreements. On the other hand, the countries which require in the ordinary way an influx of foreign capital (agricultural countries for the most part and countries producing raw materials) are unable to meet their foreign obligations and are weakened by the arrest of the flow of international credit. In these circumstances, the countries which have remained on their former gold parity are compelled to restrict their imports in continually increasing degree in the hope of retaining the home market for their own producers. In the first instance, it is the collapse of agricultural prices against which these countries react ; but the same tendency is soon apparent in the case of industrial products.

Certain classes of producer accordingly demand the application of exceptional defensive measures. Duties are followed by quotas. The new system of restriction extends to a large part of the national production. On the other side of the frontier, in countries which are our suppliers and customers, the same thing happens, and this places further difficulties in the way of our exports.

Certain countries find with dismay
Exchange that their gold and foreign exchange
control reserves are rapidly shrinking. To
arrest this loss of blood and maintain
the value of their currency, they introduce exchange
control, taking the view that the only means by which
they could safeguard their currencies is to limit or
even suspend transfers abroad on account of financial
obligations and also to place limitations on the purchase
of the foreign exchange required to pay for imports.

Thereupon, the currency ceases, at any rate as regards the external relations of the countries in question, to perform the essential function for which it was created.

The stringency with which the different countries apply exchange control varies considerably; some of them have had to employ this method for some years past, whereas others are barely beginning to make use of it.

We can realise the inevitably depressing effect on international trade of a system which results in restricting more and more the rôle of the national currency as a means of external payments and limiting it as far as possible to the rôle of an instrument of home trade.

Exchange control is becoming the most effective means of restricting imports, which are reduced to what is most indispensable for the economic life of the nation. Moreover, there is no longer any certainty that those who export to a country that has instituted this control will receive payment for their goods. Not only are financial payments suspended or reduced, but a new kind of bad debts is rapidly growing up, the so-called "frozen" trade credits, in respect of goods that have been delivered, but for which payment cannot be obtained.

The countries whose claims and goods remain unpaid are usually not inclined to accept increased imports of goods from the country with a weak currency.

Clearing agreements Faced by this dilemma, they seek a system which would permit them : (1) to obtain payment for goods already delivered, (2) to continue, as far as possible — even on a reduced scale — their exports to the country in question, and (3) to secure at least partial repayment of their financial claims.

Thus arises the bilateral system of commodity clearing.

There is an immense difference between the spontaneous automatic, almost unconscious, clearing of debts and claims generally, through the machinery of banking, almost without the importer or exporter realising it, and the obligatory and necessarily bilateral clearing system as we see it applied at present.

Where a clearing agreement does not guarantee a sufficient supply of foreign exchange to a country with

a weak currency, that country finds itself deprived, at least to a considerable extent, of the exchange the free disposal of which would naturally result from a surplus in its exports. A situation thus arises in which the orders of the weak-currency country at first tend to flow towards the country with which it has clearing relations, to the prejudice of third countries.

Moreover, the limited amount of free foreign exchange at its disposal makes it not only less and less able to purchase in third countries but also less able to make any payments to them. Since the starting-point is usually that the weak-currency country has an active balance of trade, it follows that, if it has at the same time large debts and a debit balance in relation to certain third countries, the latter probably will be the chief sufferers from the situation so created.

It might seem that things would proceed in a more or less satisfactory manner, at all events between the two countries between which clearing treaties exist. But a series of forces tend to impair the trade relations between these two countries in the most undesirable way—by making it easier for the country with a strong currency, and more difficult for the country with a weak currency, to export.

In the relations established by the clearing system, the rate of exchange corresponding to gold parity is from the outset relatively high, and acts accordingly as a brake on exports, while it encourages imports — whereas exactly the opposite process would be necessary to restore the position of a country which is both an exporter and a debtor.

In the other country, the existence of a rate of exchange higher than the natural rate places a premium on exports. The exporter receives more in exchange for the currency in which the payment is made than he would have received had there been no official rate. Not only does he receive more, but he is, at first at any rate, relieved of anxiety concerning payment being made, as he has a claim on the national clearing office and not on a foreign debtor. At a later stage, when, owing to these causes, unsettled arrears have accumulated, delays in payment will occur and credit will consequently have to be allowed.

The result of such a state of affairs is the reversal of the original trade balance on which the whole system was built, and the accumulation of frozen credits to the detriment of the country with a sound currency, while the other country consequently experiences an increased difficulty in continuing its exports and in obtaining, with a constantly declining volume of free foreign exchange, raw materials which it ought to obtain from third countries.

Countries which have adopted the practice of clearing are now endeavouring to meet the dangers by various measures.

Thus we see that the country with a weak currency, not wishing officially to abandon the official rate of exchange in its transactions, introduces measures designed to neutralise the restrictive effect on its sales abroad of a rate which has become unduly high. These measures may consist in complicated systems of export bounties or import surcharges, which may vary according to

the country of destination or provenance or according to the nature of the goods ; or they may consist in giving the clearing offices special powers to fix the rate of exchange for transactions ; or, again, they may consist in a considerable development of what is known as private compensation, which, while ensuring that every import shall be balanced by a corresponding export, leaves the parties concerned relative freedom to fix their terms of business, including the rates of exchange.

Moreover, the countries with free currencies, especially when they are at the same time financial creditors, become alarmed at the rapid increase in their commercial claims in arrears and realise the necessity of at all costs maintaining a balance in favour of the countries with weak currencies. As they are in most cases unwilling to increase their imports, they generally have to decrease their exports, and they institute clearing visas. The final result of the system is constantly to reduce the volume and value of international trade and to subject it to forms of restraint that necessarily hamper its development.

Third parties are adversely affected because a country with a weak currency will tend to buy as much as possible in the country with which it has a clearing agreement. Lacking free exchange, the weak-currency country will buy in the other country even goods which, in the ordinary way, it might have bought in third countries on more favourable terms ; this leads to a diversion of commercial trends to the detriment of these last-mentioned countries.

On the other hand, once natural automatic clearing has been either partly or wholly replaced by a number

of watertight bilateral arrangements, it is very difficult for third parties, producers of raw materials, to obtain the payments due to them, since, as a rule, their commercial balances with the debtor country are favourable.

Apart from their influence on the natural direction and total volume of trade, clearing agreements tend to lower the world level of prices. Their restrictive effect on trade limits possibilities of sale and, faced with the partial or complete closing of their outlets, the countries which are not parties to clearing agreements are gradually led to reduce the prices of their goods in order to sell them. These agreements thus reduce the volume of trade and the prices at which trade is conducted; they reduce the ability of debtor countries to meet those very financial obligations which gave rise to exchange control and subsequently to the introduction of clearing agreements.

It is therefore difficult to imagine a return to normal trade movements so long as exchange control, and with it clearing agreements, have not been abolished.

All are convinced of this necessity, including the countries which make use of these methods. Countries with a falling currency in particular would be only too glad to get rid of them, for clearing prevents them from making a free use of the foreign currency they obtain by their exports.

But countries that have been led
Debts to establish exchange control to maintain an unsound currency and, so far as possible, to secure the necessary means of payment

for meeting their financial obligations and for obtaining their indispensable imports, have great reluctance in abandoning this control so long as the question of their debts, of which the burden has been greatly increased by the fall in prices, remains pending.

An improvement in the international economic situation depends to some extent on a subsequent settlement of the question of indebtedness.

However, the burden of debt has already been reduced by the devaluation of the dollar and of the pound sterling, and various individual agreements have already effected a reduction in the amounts payable, particularly in respect of short-term debts.

The creditor States might, moreover, help to facilitate the removal of exchange control by agreeing to accept a greater amount of commodities from debtor countries, thus enabling the latter to increase their exports.

So long as creditor countries are not ready to accept and to maintain an unfavourable trade balance, or at least to neutralise the effect of a favourable one by "invisible" imports, no international monetary system can work with success.

The economic depression, with the accompanying monetary depreciation, foreign-exchange control and clearing agreements, has brought about a reaction that has taken the form of a disorganised and excessive increase in Customs duties or a quantitative limitation of imports. By these measures, the countries in question endeavoured to protect both their production

*Duties
and quotas*

and their national currency against the consequences of serious disturbances (in prices or in currency) which had arisen in other countries.

This growth of restrictive measures is also attended with excessive protection, such as had already appeared in some countries before the depression, and has since become general.

The two principal methods used by countries to restrict their imports are the application of duties and the institution of quotas. Both may be applied more or less strictly ; duties may be low, moderate, excessive, or prohibitive, and quotas may be either limited or extensive.

In order to compare the effects of these two methods, we must, of course, assume that they are applied with the same degree of severity. For instance, we must not compare very strict quotas with moderate duties, or prohibitive duties with generous quotas. A prohibitive duty has the same effect as an absolute import prohibition.

Moreover, generous quotas, carefully devised so as to maintain normal currents of trade, may be much less harmful to imports than excessive duties. Excessive duties and stringent quotas, especially when applied by creditor countries, may be an equally serious danger to international equilibrium.

To substitute excessive duties for quotas would represent rather a step backwards than an advance.

If we confine ourselves to comparing moderate duties with quotas which allow of a reasonable measure of imports, it will be seen that quotas have frequently

been selected during the depression by Governments for the very reason that they desire to avoid the necessity of applying duties which, in order to meet competition that had become intolerable, would have had to be prohibitive, and would have had the same effect on competitors of unequal strength. Moreover, it has been observed that, for various reasons, it was easier in the course of negotiations to increase a quota than to reduce a duty which had once been imposed.

But we cannot disregard the fact that quotas enormously increase the work and responsibility of the departments of State, and give rise to commercial practices which are not altogether desirable. Quotas have to be allocated between countries ; hence the danger of discrimination. Quotas have to be allocated between traders, and allocation is necessarily synonymous with delay, confusion, error, abuse, *de facto* monopoly, and sometimes corruption.

Moreover, the action of quotas is different from that of duties, in their influence on the equilibrium of the balance of payments.

Formerly, an industry which could not, or thought it could not, meet foreign competition, and accordingly obtained protection from the State in the form of a duty, thereby merely levied on the consumer a tithe which enabled the industry to maintain its position though producing under technical or economic conditions inferior to those prevailing in a similar foreign industry. The object of the duty was to enable the industry to sell at a higher price. The industry was thus able to live, or at any rate to exist.

But this, naturally, did not prevent the same articles from coming in from foreign countries, since they were able to overcome the obstacle of Customs duties as soon as internal prices had risen sufficiently. The foreign countries could therefore continue to export to the country in question—that is to say, they could continue by exporting goods to pay their debts to that country in respect of capital loans, purchases, the tourists they sent there, transport services, etc. So far as the flow of international trade was concerned, everything was in order. For generations, notwithstanding the existence of Customs duties which were sometimes moderate and sometimes high, international trade constantly increased at an extremely rapid rate.

On the other hand, with the quantitative limitations of imports, the machinery for maintaining the equilibrium of the balance of payments will be jammed.

The economic malaise has been heavy upon the world for nearly five years. Unfortunately, everyone is occupied with the cure of the malady in his own case, as if his own case were different from that of his neighbour—in short, to employ purely national remedies. It has so far been impossible to attack it in the proper way—*i.e.*, internationally.

Accordingly, the ill from which the world is now suffering is no longer entirely the crisis, but rather the inability of countries to co-ordinate their several efforts to emerge from the crisis. This inability is a result of paralysis of the international circulation, the regular

operation of which is indispensable to the welfare of civilised nations.

In a perfect machine, the various parts, being properly adjusted one to another, themselves work smoothly and ensure the smooth working of the whole. In the same way, before the depression and before the world war, the economic life of civilised nations moved in an atmosphere of freedom, and co-operation was the daily rule to which everyone was so accustomed that it seemed quite natural and necessarily everlasting.

This was the result of generations of progress, especially technical progress, which, by reducing distances, brought peoples closely together in their daily life.

When overtaken by the depression, each country sought the quickest means of securing its own safety. Thus countries were necessarily separated from one another. The machinery on which their common life had been based was thrown out of gear.

The wheels remained, but the wires that conveyed the current were broken in various places. Currency stability, unlimited possibilities of trading, the free movement of capital and credit, and relatively free exchange of commodities, now exist only partially.

The international machinery for the exchange of commodities, without which no people can enjoy true prosperity, has ceased to work. Trade is faced with a mass of obstacles which zeal and ingenuity is daily piling up. States are endeavouring to live solely on their own resources. Frontiers are closed not only to goods and to capital, but even to individuals. Everyone it kept a prisoner in his own country behind

Customs walls at a time when perfected means of communication permit of journeys at great speed. Deprived of the advantages they formerly enjoyed thanks to a natural distribution of material and of labour, people are witnessing a steady decline in their standard of living.

No doubt the world economic *Uncertainty of recovery ; dangerous contradictions* situation has for the last two years shown a decided improvement. In the internal evolution of the principal countries there are healthier signs of recovery. Between 1932 and 1935, the index of industrial activity rose from 70 to 96, that of industrial production from 81 to 94. Stocks have diminished and unemployment figures are falling. Prices of raw materials have improved—metals in particular, but also agricultural produce—and it was the catastrophic fall in raw materials as compared with manufactured articles which was the origin of the depression. In many States, budgetary difficulties have lost some of their urgency and the policy of cheap money is making progress.

But the recovery is slow, feeble and irregular. It is localised and limited ; it only relates to certain countries and certain branches of production.

Whilst the international disequilibrium persists, there are isolated instances of individual recovery without a resulting movement in reciprocal economic relations. These various “localised conjunctures” are somewhat partial or at any rate lack that spontaneity which would

dispel doubts as to their capacity for duration and development.

In truth, in many cases the resumption of industrial activity is in direct proportion to the preparation of war material and the organisation of armies. It is not necessary to insist on the doubtful economic value and the depressing psychological effect of such activity.

Apart from war production, the decline in unemployment noticeable in certain important industrial countries is almost entirely due to direct intervention by the public authorities. The latter endeavour to create directly all sorts of additional opportunities for work, with the three-fold object of occupying the unemployed, perfecting the national equipment, and, above all, giving an impetus to the business of the nation. The State, dipping into the nation's reserves, endeavours, in very diverse forms, to effect an emergency allocation of the national wealth. Such an attempt is determined by social preoccupations whose urgency and utility no one can at the present juncture contest, their effect being to distribute over the population as a whole a burden which would otherwise be insupportable for the classes most directly affected.

But a nation's resources, especially in time of crisis, are not unlimited; and if, to finance interventions designed to revive national economic interests, it becomes necessary to add to the fiscal burden already pressing upon the vital forces of the nation, one feels inevitably that the country concerned moves in a vicious circle.

Certain experiments in managed or planned economy are often preceded or followed by a recrudescence of

obstacles to international trade. What is more natural, when preparations are being made to create at a great sacrifice fresh opportunities of work for the population, than to bolt and bar the door against foreign competition?

Moreover these measures deliberately designed to “revitalise” internal activity often run concurrently with an increase in prices, so that exports cost more and exportation becomes increasingly difficult. Recourse is then had to export bounties or various categories of dumping, which in their turn induce the customary reaction. Once again we are faced with a conflict between the policy which aims at galvanising internal economy and the ever widening disequilibrium of foreign trade, particularly noticeable in the form of foreign-exchange difficulties.

The result of this unfortunate discordance between the attempts to stimulate the national economy and the restrictions imposed on it is that a multitude of efforts, the money for which has been found with the utmost self-denial by already over-burdened taxpayers, have failed to produce the beneficial effects that might be legitimately expected from them.

Thanks to the speed and cheapness
The budget of communication, nations are so close
and international to another that, as regards time and
traffic cost of transport, present-day Europe
is not larger than Switzerland in former
times. When we think of the obstacles of every sort
that impede movement over this limited area, we are
no longer tempted to smile at the memory of a Germany

which in Goethe's time was divided up by thirty-nine Customs cordons.

We should be far nearer to restoration of comparative freedom of international trade if everyone were convinced of the close interrelation between our national economy and that of others.

But demonstrations based on economic theory are a matter of indifference to the individual, who does not appreciate the connection between these large phenomena and his own particular situation.

Even an essentially national question like the budget of a State, which forms a subject of immediate interest to each taxpayer owing to the demands of the tax-collector, is directly connected with the position of foreign trade, so much so that every citizen, even he who neither buys nor sells anything outside his own small town, is personally interested in the restoration of international commerce.

Budgetary equilibrium is, of course, largely a matter of good or bad management. Within these limits, it is an internal problem depending for its solution upon the wisdom of the Government and the extent to which the nation is prepared to accept the necessary sacrifices.

But the position becomes extremely complicated as soon as international trade encounters obstacles as serious as those at present existing.

Amongst the first to suffer from these difficulties are the producers—industrial or agricultural—who work for export. As they lose their foreign custom, exporters cut down their purchases. Textiles buy less from the spinning-mills; the engineering trades buy fewer

metallurgical products ; agriculturists, smaller amounts of fertilisers and of industrial products. The wave of depression starting at the frontier spreads slowly over the whole country. First, certain machines come to a standstill ; staff is dismissed ; a few factories close down ; unemployment becomes chronic. Profits fall, or dry up. Reserves gradually dwindle. Bankruptcies are more frequent.

For the budget, there will be two consequences : the weakening of the taxpayers' capacity and the growth of expenditure under the heads of unemployment and other relief necessitated by the economic depression.

But other anxieties begin to arise for
*Contraction of the Finance Minister in connection
transport.* with transport.

Transport deficits In many countries the railways are run at a loss. There are a variety of special reasons (such as the competition of road transport) which may explain such a situation : but, speaking generally, the deficit is not surprising when it is remembered that every national transport system was conceived and developed as part of the general international transport system, and therefore presupposes the maintenance of the international movement of goods.

A consignment of raw materials arriving at a frontier port or frontier station is merely beginning its wanderings: the bulk of it will continue its travels over the territory of the country. A decline in imports will necessarily bring about a large reduction in transport, even on the national system.

If there is a drop in our exports, the “shortage of goods for transport”, after affecting our railways as far as the frontier, will also affect those of the countries of transit and destination. This will operate to increase the difficulties of those countries and these difficulties will, in many roundabout ways, have further harmful effects on our own national economy.

Moreover, the depression spreading to the national market as the result of the contraction of foreign trade will lead to a falling-off in the actual trade in foodstuffs and articles produced and consumed within the country.

The effect exercised on sea transport by the shrinkage of international trade is naturally even more direct.

The State is compelled to intervene with aid in the form (amongst other things) of taxes and charges to cover the deficit. The cost of transport, having to be distributed over a smaller number of transactions, becomes a heavier charge on all kinds of undertakings, and the latter's taxpaying capacity is correspondingly reduced.

The receipts from tourist traffic are
Decay of of paramount importance in the eco-
tourist traffic nomic system of certain nations. Tou-
rist traffic falls off inevitably when
international trade is held up ; the difficulties with which
it is faced are even more markedly enhanced when
monetary depreciation and foreign exchange control
supervene.

Industry and trade, which depend upon the tourist traffic—first and foremost, the hotel industry—have experienced a contraction of income and their taxpaying capacity is steadily shrinking. The amortisation of the

capital invested in large or small undertakings designed to meet a given volume of tourist traffic begins to weigh far more heavily on them. The State has to intervene either by granting subsidies or by allowing exemptions.

Moreover, tourists have in the past attracted to the country they were visiting a large quantity of imports which represented profits for neighbouring countries. The decrease in this trade will affect the producers and merchants of the countries of origin of the products in question and will consequently render them also less capable of contributing to the balancing of their own national budget.

By a policy of protection, the agriculturist has been assured for years past—in the case, for example, of wheat—of a price regarded as necessary for the maintenance of the peasant population, but no longer in any proportion to the collapsed world prices. He is faced, in the general internal depression just described, with a fall in prices for high-grade meat, butter, poultry, etc. For, in conditions in which business is declining and unemployment increasing, fewer and fewer consumers can afford high-grade foodstuffs, easily replaced by others costing less.

For certain basic products such as wheat, excessive protection engenders over-production. Prices weaken, and straightway complicated and expensive systems are adopted for stocking surpluses, for maintaining a minimum price, for subsidising the farmer.

The effect on State budgets under these circumstances is a heavy addition to expenditure. At the same time, export difficulties are reflected in the budgets of countries exporting agricultural products.

The State is busier than ever meeting expenditure, often substantial, directly connected with the depression.

The national budget is swollen by all the relief and reconstruction work which the Government is obliged to undertake.

Clearly, there is a close connection *The international economic situation* between the collapse of international trade and the position of national budgets.

is reflected in the national budgets In view of the paralysis of international trade at present prevailing, the restoration of permanent budget equilibrium, at a level commensurate with the standard of living which a modern country regards as indispensable, ceases to be a mere matter of sound administration and must be viewed as a problem directly correlated with the international economic situation.

Sound economy is inconceivable without the balancing of the finances of the State. The majority of countries have made, and are making, great efforts to effect economies in their budgets.

But the success of such efforts, if it is to be lasting, postulates a corresponding movement of the international conjuncture. The reduction of public expenditure threatens to exercise a repressive effect on economic enterprise, and consequently on the return from taxation, if the recovery of enterprise is not fostered by a policy

of recreating possibilities of profit-earning in the case of production and trade.

Directly we consider the possibility of ensuring permanent national budgetary equilibrium, we inevitably come back to the fundamental problem, the re-establishment of a regular and abundant flow of international trade.

Despite all efforts of Governments *International* and of peoples, a revival of prosperity *co-operation* at home cannot go beyond certain *towards economic* limits unless it is fostered by a wide and *recovery* regular movement of international trade.

The domestic recovery must be supported by a setting in motion of the international stream of commodities and capital whose flow is at present held up. It can only be generalised by freedom of international trade.

Isolated action by States is necessarily ineffective. So long as they direct all their effort towards an economic and financial re-establishment within their own frontiers, they can only afford their peoples a passing relief. All they can hope for will be something transitory and incomplete, so far as it is not combined with a restoration of international trade.

The individual activity of States however powerful is confined by the depression within extremely narrow limits and only collaboration between them can bring about the desired result.

The feeble signs of recovery noticeable in certain States must be encouraged by a transfer of activity from

the national to the international plane. Efforts at individual improvement must be backed up by effective collaboration between nations for the revival and intensification of exchanges of commodities.

It matters little whether this co-operation takes a collective or a bilateral form. The essential thing is the spirit by which it is animated.

An economist who has a great deal of practical experience and has for many years past conducted the commercial negotiations of his country is in the habit of saying that a State does far better business when it secures the opportunity to export a million francs worth of products than when it decides to exclude imports for that amount. "In the first case", he adds, "I know that I shall have obtained for my country additional receipts amounting to a million francs and so much extra work. In the second case, on the other hand, I do not know whether the work thus rejected can actually be replaced within the country by sales in the home market. Even in the most favourable circumstances, it will only be partly replaced."

This means that it is to-day of essential importance that the autonomous measures of different countries in regard to commercial policy, and their negotiations, should be dominated by the desire to increase and intensify trade.

The policy of defending at all costs the *status quo* on the home market—a policy which is perhaps essential at certain times but which experience shows to be incapable of reconstituting the volume of business—

must be replaced by the effort to extend our activities on the foreign market, regarded as a natural extension of the national economic territory. We must accordingly be prepared in our turn to accept foreign goods to a greater extent.

This policy is a fundamental one and, if tenaciously pursued by all countries, it would in itself suffice without the need of any international conference to cure a great part of the economic ills which at present afflict the world. But its application calls for a considerable effort.

The re-establishment of the essential minimum flow of international trade which alone can arrest the world on the steep slope down which it is slipping to disaster presupposes in Governments, especially in creditor countries, a very lofty sense of their responsibility, much firmness and a determination not to allow private interests, however reputable, to paralyse the great work which is indispensable in the interests of the nation.

For this they must be convinced that, however great the risks inherent in such a policy may be, they are no more serious than the danger of prolonging the present position.

The declarations made during the debates in the League Assembly by the delegations of a number of important countries show that their Governments are perfectly convinced of the necessity for intensifying foreign trade and of modifying their commercial policy for this purpose on more liberal lines, subject to the sole condition that they will be followed by

the other countries and that in the monetary sphere they will find *de facto* conditions sufficiently stable not to hamper the development of normal commercial transactions.

This latter condition brings out *Endeavours to find a common ground* the great importance of the connection between commercial policy and the monetary problem. The relationship between these two fundamental problems naturally received much attention in the Assembly. The general feeling was entirely in favour of the restoration of a stable purchasing power of currency, both internal and external.

All are agreed that the final object must be the re-establishment of a stable international monetary standard—that is, the gold standard—which remains the best available monetary mechanism.

No one can deny the disturbing influence of sudden and frequent fluctuations in exchange rates upon international trade. It is very satisfactory to note that the pound sterling has remained relatively stable in terms of gold for some time past and that the American dollar has been in much the same position for almost two years. There exists therefore at the present moment a *de facto* position which should be sufficient to allay the fears of other countries and to prepare the way quite naturally for a reversal of commercial policy, such as is indispensable. It is, however, still counteracted by uncertainty with regard to the behaviour of the various currencies in the near future. Traders, moreover, find their activities very seriously hampered by the

clearing system and by the foreign-exchange regulations in force in a large number of countries.

So far the question of Customs protection had been bound up in a vicious circle with that of monetary instability. No end to the depression was possible in countries where currency was unstable. The manufacturer or merchant could not be left to the mercy of daily fluctuations in exchanges. How could a return be made to a normal system of Customs protection so long as the abnormal disturbances that result from currency depreciation still persisted and in consequence foreign prices might suddenly be modified in a single day by changes in the value of money?

Some wished to delay the removal of trade barriers until the fluctuating currencies had been stabilised; others, on the contrary, demanded the lowering of the barriers before an investigation of the conditions under which they would be prepared to consider a possible stabilisation of their currency.

However, the controversies of the London Conference on the relative priority of currency stabilisation or of the removal of hindrances to trade have lost much of their interest. The happiest and most encouraging feature of the Assembly's discussions was the refusal of various delegations to waste time in idle debates on currency questions. Doctrines and theories are placed on one side and a stand is taken on a practical ground. The undeniable progress towards *de facto* stability by so-called unstable currencies forms a solid ground for building up a positive solution. Discussions on the gold standard are no longer an insurmountable barrier.

The elements of effective co-operation are to be found in the situation as it now exists.

Several commercial treaties between important States have already inaugurated a more liberal trade policy.

They encourage commercial exchanges and provide tariff reductions on numerous articles. They generally contain a clause that makes the Customs concessions dependent on the maintenance of a certain currency stability. A system of bilateral agreements, completing one another and combining their effects, would, if they included the most important countries, introduce a sounder situation and enable progress to be made towards *de jure* stabilisation and towards the free working of the gold standard.

We must hope that, as soon as political and other circumstances permit, the situation will be examined objectively, in the first place by the chief States concerned, with a view to ascertaining whether opinion in general is ripe for the adoption, during a definite period, of a *modus vivendi*, in which neither the monetary nor the commercial factor would be neglected.

Until the favourable moment arrives for an attempt on such a large scale (and let us hope that this moment will be hastened by a dispersal of the clouds that now darken the international horizon), great progress could be made by the co-operation of different countries from day to day one with another.

Lowering of trade barriers From the investigations of the technical organs of the League of Nations we may conclude that there is a general tendency to recommend moderation in trade policy.

The practices, now current in many countries, that are harmful to international economy must be limited and a return to normal methods must be made.

Governments must realise that a crisis like the present demands exceptional remedies and must bring public opinion to see that certain sacrifices must be accepted, and moreover that these sacrifices would in themselves bring relief to the national economy and hasten recovery.

No doubt a radical change in import policy will probably involve certain producers in serious difficulty and they will have much trouble—and perhaps for a time incur some loss—in adapting themselves to new conditions. But these sacrifices and these losses will perhaps be less severe than those they are now obliged to bear without seeing any signs of recovery; and they may perhaps be compensated by that phenomenon which, in the long run, is the producer's true salvation, in whatever price conditions it be manifested—namely, an increase in business.

It is precisely those countries in which the depression is most severe that must break the vicious circle that surrounds them and restore liberal communication with abroad. Whatever be the risk involved, it cannot be graver than the danger of prolonging the present situation.

NUTRITION
CONSIDERED
IN RELATION TO PUBLIC HEALTH
AND TO ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

GENEVA 1935
INFORMATION SECTION

At the last Assembly of the League of Nations, the First Delegate of Australia, Mr. S. M. Bruce, submitted a proposal which he described as "marrying Agriculture and Health". This phrase made a hit and lent precision to ideas hitherto ill defined and imperfectly apprehended.

Agriculture is in a bad way; the claims of health remain unsatisfied. Marry them, and you save the one and strengthen the other.

The idea might be further extended to include the notion of the marriage of health and economics.

Students of world events are confronted by a strange paradox: there are gluts in the agricultural markets; while a substantial part of mankind is underfed.

Farmers and health experts have complained alike. The farmer said: "There is over-production, prices are collapsing, work is no longer remunerative; let us turn all the devices of protectionism to account." The health expert: "Hundreds of thousands of human beings are under-developed, their health and efficiency are impaired, because they are short more especially of *protective foodstuffs*: milk, fresh vegetables, fruit, and meat." The man in the street was aghast that a state of semi-starvation should prevail in some parts of the world, while in others food was being destroyed.

The vicious circle After 1929, world prices of agricultural products — especially cereals — dropped heavily. Compared with actual consumption and with the production for previous years, production was excessive. In Europe, Governments decided on measures of protection — tariffs and quotas — in the interests of the peasant population, the backbone of society.

These measures hit agricultural countries, which exported agricultural produce to industrial Europe. Being restricted in the sale of their own products, they had to curtail the purchase of the manufactured goods of industrial countries.

In those countries which had formerly been buyers of foodstuffs, protection brought about an increase in home agricultural production without reducing production in the rest of the world. Protection thus aggravated that apparent over-production, which was looked on as the source of the evil.

The industrial countries frequently carried increased production so far as to become actual exporters of agricultural goods. The agricultural countries felt forced to intensify their industrial efforts and to produce manufactures, previously imported, at high costs.

On either side, there was a decline in purchasing power; trade was paralysed. Agricultural distress brought industrial distress and unemployment in its train, this in turn aggravated the distress of agriculture, and so the process went on.

Here, then, is the vicious circle from which the nations have not yet succeeded in escaping.

*Demand
on the side
of Health* For the past ten years, the League of Nations Health Committee has had under consideration the question of the best possible feeding of the greatest number.

Research was first directed to the study of conditions in a country with a large population suffering from under-nutrition — Japan; next, attention was given to the production and distribution of one of the food-stuffs most essential to mankind — milk. In 1932, a study was made of the influence of the world economic depression on public health, with particular reference to nutrition. Lastly, the Health Committee appointed two experts to prepare a general report on “Nutrition and Public Health”.¹

This report, while touching on numerous and varied questions, is simple in plan. It is an attempt to answer three questions :

1. What are the food requirements at the various stages of human development; what, in particular, are the working man's requirements; and how can they be ascertained?

2. What resources are available to meet those requirements?

3. How can those resources be actually applied to the satisfaction of these needs? How can nutrition be organised in the best interests of public health?

¹ *Quarterly Bulletin of the Health Organisation*, Vol. IV, No. 2, June 1935; 151 pages.

The first question is that of dietary standards. Its importance was generally realised during the great war, when Governments had not only to feed the armed forces but also provide for the food supply of the civilian population. Dietary standards — that is to say, the quantity and quality of food required — call for revision in the light of modern physiological knowledge. Physical standards — the various methods for determining the state of nutrition, or the state of health from the standpoint of the food supply to the body — must be adjusted to practical use.

Dietary standards are the demand which health makes on economics ; one might even say they are its ultimatum.

The second question is that of supply, which embraces production, preservation and distribution of foodstuffs. The report studies in particular four staple foods of enormous and world-wide economic and physiological importance : bread, meat, milk and fat.

Once the foodstuffs are on the market, the next step is purchase : how does income — that is to say, in the main, how do wages — affect nutrition? The question is more complex than appears at first sight and, under the conditions of the world economic depression is naturally to the forefront in every country.

The third question is that of organised nutrition. Doubts as to the propriety of State intervention in nutrition need not detain us, for the State long since intervened : it has set up public machinery to deal with adulteration ; it feeds various groups of persons : prisoners, schoolchildren, students, the army ; it takes measures

to cure and prevent deficiency diseases, no less dangerous than infectious epidemic diseases : scurvy, pellagra, rickets, beri-beri ; it has begun to supplement the dietary of schoolchildren by means of school meals and the distribution of milk in the schools. In certain countries, such as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Government organises communal meals for workers and peasants in canteens, which help to raise the standard of nutrition among the people.

Both directly and indirectly the State is dealing with education in the matter of nutrition, in the various school grades, from the elementary school to the medical faculties, and among the population at large by means of specialist visiting nurses and vast propaganda organisations (in the United States the “nutritionists” and Co-operative Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics). Increased purchasing power and the distribution of foodstuffs cannot suffice to make good the shortage and deficiency attendant upon poverty ; *education* is essential.

The authors of the report, when studying the means of satisfying dietary requirements, found themselves carried beyond the limits of their own particular subject of physiology and hygiene into the field of economics. When seeking remedies for malnutrition, they found that the existence of surplus stocks and apparent overproduction did not mean that the world was producing too much, or even enough, food to satisfy the requirements of mankind. Production, preservation and distribution have hitherto been regarded mainly as economic phenomena, without sufficient attention being paid to

their bearing upon public health ; the economic depression has directed attention to the gap which exists very generally between food requirements as specified by the physiologist and the means of satisfying them which are available under present economic conditions. It is now realised that, in general terms, the problem is to harmonise developments in the economic sphere and in the sphere of public health ; and it is in this way that every country comes to have a policy in the matter of nutrition.

Between the two terms of this paradoxical contradiction — over-production and under-nutrition — there is room for a third : thanks to scientific and technical progress, the possibilities of production are infinite. The Malthusian spectre of an over-populated foodless earth need trouble us no more. In the background, behind that over-production which is thought to be real, lurks a potential production on an even vaster scale. Hygienists who complain of malnutrition would willingly make use of this possible source of plenty. But those already persuaded of an over-production fatal to agriculture refuse to countenance such a possibility. Their aim is to cut down production. Which of the two parties is right?

The time has come to revise current notions of production and consumption.

If we were to assume that consumption as we know it or think we know it, consumption which might be thought normal because usual, is the “ natural ” level

of consumption — notwithstanding the widespread evidence of malnutrition of which we hear — we might perhaps fairly talk of over-production. But a multiplicity of enquiries have convinced us of the reality of malnutrition : fifteen millions underfed in Britain, twenty-five to thirty millions in the United States ! An enquiry in the United Kingdom has shown that in a group of poor families 47% of the children are under sized and under weight, as compared with 5% in well-to-do families, and infant mortality in the second group is only half as high as in the poorer group—largely on account of nutrition. If this is the case in these relatively advanced countries, what is the position elsewhere ?

Further, the studies of Stiebeling and Ward show that, in order to provide for the whole population of the United States an abundant dietary (according to the standards of well-to-do families), an additional forty million acres would have to be brought under cultivation ; until this was brought about, agriculture would accordingly still be under-producing. Now, it is an established fact that present world production does not suffice to ensure an adequate food supply for the whole of mankind. When health problems are examined with due regard to economic factors and economic problems are considered in their bearings upon health, the myth of over-production vanishes, leaving the sad reality of under-consumption.

Cereals, to which attention is often almost exclusively devoted, are not the sole product of agriculture. What is lacking in nutrition in general is *protective foodstuffs*—milk, dairy products, eggs, fresh vegetables, fruit and

meat — notwithstanding the apparent over-production. Agriculture has supplies available, but, as a result of protective restrictions, they are not made obtainable. The trouble is not even limited to the rejection by Europe of overseas products ; individual countries fail to consume quantities of their own home-produced protective foods, or restrict their production.

The free play of trade exchanges determines the world level of prices, protection determines prices on the home market. There is often a huge discrepancy between the normal free market prices and the prices artificially created by a system of protection. Imported wheat, costing 100 units in the United Kingdom, stood (in 1934) at 268 in Italy, 276 in Germany, 300 in France. Butter, costing 100 units in the United Kingdom, cost (in 1934) 233 in Hasselt, 271 in Berlin, 283 in Paris. In Germany, at the same date the price of beef, etc., was four times, that of pork three times, that of eggs three times, that of sugar five times the world market rate. Dear food entails specially great hardships for the poorer classes.

That is why Agriculture should now
Marriage of say to Health : “ I note what you say
Health and about under-nutrition ”. The public
Agriculture health demands greater consumption,
not restrictions on production. Governments are spending money on keeping up prices by a policy of restriction. Let us impress upon them that this money would be far better spent in increasing consumption. Restriction will neither save world agriculture nor improve national public health. Increased consump-

tion will improve public health, will provide a market for agricultural produce, will create wealth. Here, then, is a first attack on, a first attempt to escape from the vicious circle. We can agree to teach people what they should eat to be healthy. Governments can consider how to provide for adequate supplies of protective foods to the unemployed and lower-paid workers. The possibilities of marketing in special areas at reduced rates can be studied, the advantages of supplementing the dietary of children by school-meals and school-milk distribution can be taken into account.

A state of things has been observed in certain countries that no doubt exists in all : the diet of a more or less large section of the population is below what physiologists regard as the ideal standard. Money spent on raising this to the desirable level would improve both public health and the position of agriculture.

Who can doubt that such a policy, if judiciously applied, would be of benefit to the country that applied it? Can it be applied to the world as a whole? The difficulties which undoubtedly exist will grow less as international institutions develop.

Such is the immense problem with
The problem of nutrition and the League of Nations which the League is now dealing. This account follows the chronological order of the League's work in the year 1935, which will always be a memorable year in the history of these enquiries. It should be remembered, however, that ten years have now elapsed since the study of nutrition was

begun by the Health Organisation on the proposal of several Governments. Countries such as Japan and Chile, in which under-nutrition is very prevalent, notwithstanding their degree of civilisation, formed the subject of the first surveys which already contained some reference to economic considerations, in addition to the observations of doctors and health experts. The world economic depression added to the importance of the problem by supplying, unhappily, only too many opportunities of studying it. It is on the basis of a general report by the Health Organisation that this question, now ripe for discussion, has come up before all the League organisations.

The nutrition of the worker is both *The problem of* a question of health and a question *nutrition and* of economics. At the International *the International* Labour Conference in June 1935, Sir *Labour* Frederick Stewart, Government dele- *Conference in* gate of Australia, referred to the work *1935* of the Health Organisation on nutrition and the economic depression. As a former Minister for Commerce, he expressed the view that an improved demand for nutritive foodstuffs would play no small part in restoring world equilibrium ; there was always malnutrition among the unemployed. He agreed with the health experts that the malnutrition of the general population was a problem, not only of poverty, but also of ignorance.

Miss Grace Abbot, First Delegate for the United States, described the results of enquiries carried out in the United States : there were signs of increasing

malnutrition ; in certain districts, nine-tenths of the children were 10% or more under weight ; a meeting of health officers of the United States and Canada had recorded its view that the nutritional needs of children were the most important problem of the moment. Teaching in regard to the value of “ protective food-stuffs ” — milk, green vegetables, fresh fruit — had not yet penetrated everywhere. The urgent tasks were to determine the economic bases of nutrition and to educate the masses in the matter of nutrition. The Conference adopted the following resolution submitted by Sir Frederick Stewart :

Seeing that nutrition adequate both in quantity and in quality is essential to the health and well-being of the workers and their families ;

And seeing that, in various countries, evidence has been brought forward to show that large numbers of persons both in town and country are not sufficiently or suitably nourished ;

Seeing, moreover, that an increase in the consumption of agricultural foodstuffs would help to raise standards of life and relieve the existing depression in agriculture :

The Conference welcomes the attention drawn by the Director in his report to the problem of nutrition and requests the Governing Body to instruct the Office to continue its investigation of the problem, particularly in its social aspects, in collaboration with the Health and Economic Organisations of the League of Nations, the International Institute of Agriculture and other bodies capable of contributing to its solution, with a view to presenting a report on the subject to the 1936 session of the Conference.

The report of the International Labour Office will deal chiefly with the following points, which come within the province of the Office :

1. Consumption of foodstuffs in homes, particularly those of the workers, in its relation to the maintenance of health and output of work. Methods, organisation and institutions already existing and capable of facilitating the necessary consumption.

2. Nutritional standards as they are established to-day, according to profession, sex, age and type of work.

3. Correlation between the food requirements of workers and the capacity of world production ; between the requirements and the capacity to buy.

The paradox of malnutrition at a time of alleged over-production ; increased consumption as a remedy for the agricultural depression and inadequate nutrition ; a change of policy as regards agricultural bonuses and subsidies, which, instead of being spent on restrictions, would purchase health and increase the consumption of agricultural produce—in a word, the marriage of Health and Agriculture : such, as already stated, were the fundamental ideas in the speech of the Australian delegate, Mr. Bruce, to the Assembly. He propounded the question plainly, not in terms of any one given country, but in terms of the world as a whole. Not only are there agricultural countries in which malnutrition exists side by side with ample production, but there are wealthy countries at an advanced stage of civilisation in which too little of the protective foodstuffs are consumed. What is wanted is to revive trade between these richer countries and the

agricultural countries. Later, means must be found of providing protective foodstuffs even for those populations which cannot at present afford them.

The margin between production and consumption is not so great that results cannot be obtained fairly rapidly, if appropriate measures are taken.

The cost of transport and distribution, important factors in the cost of foodstuffs, is sometimes very high, and in certain countries the gap between wholesale and retail prices is too wide. Prices might be lowered without decreasing the return to the farmer. The first point is to realise that high prices prevent the population from purchasing the foodstuffs most essential to health.

After Mr. Bruce's statement, the delegations of twelve countries (Argentina, Australia, Austria, United Kingdom, Canada, Chile, Denmark, France, Italy, New Zealand, Poland and Sweden) signed the following motion :

The undersigned delegations,

Recognising that both in their own countries and elsewhere the relationship of nutrition to the health of the people has become a social and economic problem of widely accepted significance and further recognising that this subject has an important bearing on world agricultural problems,

Request that the Agenda Committee will consider placing the subject on the Agenda of the present session of the Assembly.

They further suggest that the subject might be conveniently considered by the Second Committee.

In the discussion in the Second Committee, several delegates drew attention to the gap between wholesale and retail prices and urged the importance of reducing obstacles to trade and distribution. The delegate of

New Zealand recalled the suggestion of Sir John Orr at the last meeting of the British Association with regard to the creation of public utility offices, subsidised by the State, to organise the purchase and sale of products under conditions which would guarantee the proper nutrition of the poorer classes. The delegate of France emphasised the conditions of ignorance which, together with poverty, are the cause of malnutrition, not only in the lower classes, but even in the well-to-do classes; he insisted on the importance of education and on the rôle that the elementary schools and practical domestic science training should play. The conditions of human existence were changing, and new forms of civilisation were appearing to which man must adapt himself, beginning during childhood in the elementary schools.

All the delegates stressed the need for a greater knowledge of the facts if nutrition schemes are to be established on a scale adequate to cover the whole problem. The demand for an enquiry put forward by the delegate of Australia met with unanimous approval.

The discussion showed in the main that :

(1) Increased production gave to Governments the opportunity of taking another step forward in their attempt to build a healthier people ;

(2) They could do so by extending their present activities in the comparatively new field of nutrition ;

(3) This was a direct and practical way of dealing with the problem of agricultural surpluses and the depression of prices that has resulted therefrom.

On consideration of the report of Lord De La Warr, the Assembly, on September 25th, 1935, adopted the following resolution :

The Assembly,

Having considered the subject of nutrition in relation to public health and of the effects of improved nutrition on the consumption of agricultural products, urges Governments to examine the practical means of securing better nutrition and requests the Council :

(1) To invite the Health Organisation of the League of Nations to continue and extend its work on nutrition in relation to public health ;

(2) To instruct the technical organisations of the League of Nations, in consultation with the International Labour Office and the International Institute of Agriculture, to collect, summarise and publish information on the measures taken in all countries for securing improved nutrition ; and,

(3) To appoint a Committee, including agricultural, economic and health experts, instructed to submit a general report on the whole question in its health and economic aspects to the next Assembly, after taking into consideration, *inter alia*, the progress of the work carried out in accordance with paragraphs (1) and (2) above.

At its session in October 1935, the *The problem of nutrition and the Health Organisation of the League of Nations* Health Committee, which is composed of doctors and heads of public health administrations, deliberately concentrated its attention upon the hygienic aspects of the problems on the basis of the above-mentioned report.

Rational nutrition as a factor in the complete development of man was placed in the forefront. Dame Janet Campbell laid stress on the special needs of women during pregnancy and lactation and of

infants, and stated that the International Council of Women would take an active interest and support the proposed studies.

It is evident that nutrition in infancy, childhood and adolescence must be planned. It is therefore necessary first to determine the needs of childhood and adolescence. In the case of adults, these needs will have to be considered in connection with age, sex and the nature of employment.

The Committee's attention was drawn to the importance of methods of gauging the state of nutrition by a report on nutrition in the Netherlands, where an attempt has been made by direct and indirect methods to assess the relations between nutrition and health.

On the other hand, the difficulty of nutrition surveys is well known. It is therefore desirable that the technique of studies and enquiries should be defined practically in the light of recent research.

Foodstuffs are studied and analysed with two main objects in view. The first is to consider their composition and nutrient value in each country. The second is to discover any frauds on the market. It is no longer possible to be satisfied with the chemical analyses of the past. Salts, vitamin-content, freshness and the technique for preserving foods must all be considered. This involves a complete scientific survey of the value of foodstuffs. Should not techniques be unified? In spite of the diversity of foodstuffs according to countries and climates, methods can certainly be unified up to a certain point.

There cannot be any useful planning without *education*. This should take into account the psychological as well as the physiological factors of nutrition. Medical training should include the study of the theory and practice of nutrition to an extent commensurate with their importance. Public education falls within the realm of social service—namely, the work of health visitors in the home. In the Netherlands, there have recently been quite successful attempts to give practical education to housewives.

The Assembly's discussions on the economic aspects of nutrition were based on the assumption that increased consumption would bring about improved public health. Recent experiments in Japan, Norway, the United Kingdom and in many other countries would prove that this assumption is correct.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics representative stated that twenty million people in the Union were being fed under schemes of collective nutrition, in accordance with the teachings of science. It would be of interest to study the technique of these vast social undertakings from the standpoint both of economics and of health. The preparation and distribution by "secondary centres" of food that has been half prepared in central kitchens has proved popular in countries where large numbers of unemployed and destitute have been fed in times of crisis.

In order to determine what is the "normal state" and for the purpose of calculating data for particular forms of nutrition in the case of normal or abnormal subjects, it would be useful to classify individuals

according to *nutrition types*, as such a classification would make the work of school and labour medical officers much easier.

The Health Committee adopted the following resolution:

The Health Committee,

Being of opinion that these studies may be a useful contribution to public health progress and would be the logical development of its former activities in this field :

Requests the Bureau to constitute an expert committee of twelve members at most, with the following terms of office :

(1) To consider the suggestions contained in the Health Organisation's report or formulated when this report was examined by the Health Committee and during the Assembly discussions on the matter (document A.61.1935) ;

(2) To select such questions of practical importance as might usefully be studied internationally and to classify them by order of priority ;

(3) To submit a first report to the Co-ordination Committee set up in accordance with the third paragraph of the Assembly resolution of September 25th, 1935. This report would be the basis for the work to be carried out in co-operation by the technical organisations and international institutions mentioned in the above resolution.

The work of the Assembly and of the Health Committee on nutrition has had what is called a good Press. The idea of a connection between economics and health already makes headway. It establishes a link between certain hitherto uncoordinated and sometimes conflicting needs and desires. It embraces the notion of health, the tilling of the soil and industry. It affords a high aim for economic reform and means for the promotion of public health.

It has aroused much interest in the British Press. The *Statist* analyses in detail the speeches of Mr. Bruce and Lord de la Warr. The *Spectator* calls for a national nutrition policy in the form of a Five-year Plan. The *Economist* comments on Lord de la Warr's memorable utterance to the effect that the Problem of Poverty in Plenty could not be solved by mere removal of the Plenty.

The Geneva discussions were reported in the British daily papers, including *The Times*, with leading articles bearing significant titles : " Better Food for All ", " Farming and Health ", " Poverty and Plenty ", " Underfed People and Restricted Food Production ".

The question of retail-price levels was also taken up and there has already been talk of inevitable changes. The new Viceroy of India, when visiting the Grocers' Exhibition at the Royal Agricultural Hall, had a conversation with dealers on their rôle in nutrition and enquired whether, if the Government invited them to play their part in a national nutrition policy, they would remain on the defensive and cling to their rights or whether they would be prepared to put forward a constructive plan.

These reports have already familiarised public opinion — so far, it must be admitted, chiefly in British circles — not only with the main idea, but also with the initial means of putting it into effect. Physiologists and health experts must first specify the food needs of mankind and submit these demands to the economic machine. Such a question came up during the war : means had to be found of providing for the minimum needs of the population ; to-day, in time of peace, the objective to

be aimed at should be the optimum result—namely, the complete satisfaction of physiological requirements in accordance with the latest developments of scientific knowledge. The Ministry of Labour has been asked to carry out a fresh enquiry into nutrition requirements as a basis for cost of living and wages.

The Assembly has called for collaboration between its technical organisations. First, the Health Organisation is invited to continue and extend its studies on nutrition and the problems connected therewith. One of its present objectives is to submit very shortly a plan of work to be examined by the economic, financial and agricultural organisations and institutions.

Simultaneously with this work of the Health Organisation, the other technical organisations are to carry out enquiries into the various aspects — economic and financial — of the problem, in relation to the measures already taken by a number of countries for securing improved nutrition and relieving agricultural distress.

With this object, close collaboration has been instituted between these organisations (Health, Economic, Financial), the International Labour Office and the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome.

As regards the International Labour Office, it is particularly important that it should obtain the assistance of specialists familiar with the social aspects of the problem from the point of view of consumers, and, as regards the International Institute of Agriculture, the assistance of technical agricultural authorities.

In view of the interdependence of the many aspects of the problem — public health, economics, agriculture, administration, finance — arrangements must be made for a comprehensive enquiry embracing the whole of the problems thus raised ; accordingly, the Assembly requested the Council to appoint a committee to submit a general progress report on the work to the next Assembly in September 1936.

This work follows the usual League methods : each technical organisation has set up a Committee of experts selected from among specialists of different nations—namely :

- (1) A Committee of experts of the Health Organisation ;
- (2) A Committee of experts of the International Labour Office ;
- (3) A Committee for liaison between the technical organisations.

These Committees send representatives to one another's meetings : two members of the Committee of health experts are present at proceedings of the Committee of experts of the International Labour Office.

- (4) Over these Committees there is the Mixed Committee on the Problem of Nutrition appointed by the Council of the League of Nations to submit a general report on nutrition to the 1936 Assembly.

This Council Committee keeps in touch with the special Committees of experts through the Liaison Committee (3), which will act as Secretariat.

May the close co-operation of Health and Economics sweep from the world that state of under-nutrition which

still remains as a survival of the times of famine ! May it improve the health of mankind by rational feeding and deliver the economic life of the world from the vicious circle in which it has been imprisoned by the great economic depression !

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ASSYRIANS

A WORK OF HUMANITY
AND APPEASEMENT

GENEVA 1935
INFORMATION SECTION

Except where the action of the League of Nations is concerned, this record makes no claim to be based on original sources. For the earlier history, we express our particular obligations to the work of Canon W. A. Wigram.

This publication is not to be regarded as an official document for which the League of Nations is responsible.

Information Section.

FOREWORD

The years of war have changed the face of the Old World. Dynasties and Empires have fallen : old freedoms have been reborn : revolutionary systems of government have arisen. But it is probable that, in proportion to its size, no community has undergone trials and upheavals to equal those of the little Nation-Church which bears the name of the Assyrians.

Not that the Assyrians have ever been strangers to trouble. Small, remote and insignificant as they were — so remote and insignificant that their very existence was forgotten in the West until the nineteenth century — they have never, it seems, enjoyed that happiness which falls to “the people whose annals are empty”. Their poverty has not saved them from invasion and aggression : their small numbers have not saved them from internal disunion. They have existed for centuries on the margin of history, bearing its burdens, excluded from its glories and rewards. Yet this people, poor, disunited, unshepherded, has handed down from generation to generation its strange ancestral titles — the shadowy heritage of the ancient name of Assyrian, the substantial succession of a once mighty Church.

Can it be that this community, marked by so stormy a destiny, is about to enter upon a period of happiness and peace? The following pages will make it plain that, in fact, a new and brighter prospect is opening before it. They will set forth briefly the circumstances which

have made it necessary to try, at whatever cost, to give it a fresh start ; the difficulties and obstacles which have had to be faced and the great efforts that have been made to overcome them. They will show that success is not yet definitely achieved, that much still remains to be done, that dangers and uncertainties must be guarded against for a long time to come. But they will show also that, thanks to the unremitting work of the League of Nations, and to the courage and generosity of the French authorities in Syria, the British Government, and the Government of Iraq, an admirable plan has been worked out, designed at the same time to unite the Assyrians in a new and safe home, and to bring into prosperous cultivation a great area which is now for the most part an uninhabited swamp ; that the funds required have in great part been provided, and that the material arrangements for this beneficent work are already in hand.

I. THE ASSYRIAN CHURCH

It is outside the purpose of this paper to touch on ancient history : nor, in fact, can any clear connection be proved between the Assyrians of our day and those who ruled in Nineveh, though certain indications can be adduced in support of the tradition, which in itself is in no way improbable.

But we must consider for a moment the greatness of the Assyrian Church, of which the modern Assyrians are the undoubted successors. In the first place, the community-memory of that greatness must necessarily, however obscure its working may be, contribute an essential element in their character. Secondly, it is right that we should think of the debt we owe to this as to any of the great civilising institutions of the past, however little may remain of them to-day.

“ Men are we, and must grieve when even the shade
Of that which once was great is passed away.”

Here “ the shade ” at least can still be preserved. And, thirdly, there is a fascination in recalling a page of history so vast and so forgotten.

For who remembers now that the Assyrian Church had spread its influence, not only westward almost to the shores of the Mediterranean, but southward to Malabar and Sumatra, and eastward far into the Chinese Empire itself ? That its colleges of Nisibis and Seleucia, the former of which was founded in the fifth century,

were, until the fall of Constantinople, the chief centres wherein the tradition of Greek learning was preserved and transmitted to the Western world through the Arab scholars of North Africa and Spain? That, at one time, twenty-five archbishops owed allegiance to the head of this Church, whose total congregation now is but a few thousand uneducated men and women?

Even in the centuries of its greatest extension, the Assyrian Church never enjoyed the privileges, or was exposed to the temptations, of political power. It dwelt, grew and flourished under the precarious tolerance of the Sassanid Emperors of Persia, and later of their Arab conquerors with their splendid capital at Baghdad. The days of its tribulation began immediately on the close of the first thousand years of the Christian era. From that time onward, successive disasters, culminating in the appalling horrors of the Tartar invasions, reduced the richest regions of the world to a desert, and their teeming and prosperous population, Christian and Moslem alike, to a shadow of its former state. The Church itself must have fallen rapidly from its modest heights of learning and of influence, until no sign and almost no memory of it remained to cross the barrier which Islam had set up between it and its brothers of the West.

Still it survived, and, as the slow process of civilisation made headway amongst the Tartar conquerors, they began to show some sympathy with the Christian religion, though they never fully embraced it. At one moment, late in the thirteenth century, the Tartar monarch Argun took up the idea of an alliance with the

crusading West for the reconquest of the Holy Land. He chose as his ambassador the Patriarch of the Assyrian Church, who sent his Archdeacon, Soma, in his place. The chosen messenger went first to Rome, where, the Papal Throne being vacant, he was received by the cardinals, who asked him questions about the faith he professed, and, satisfied by his answers, allowed him to celebrate Mass in one of the churches of Rome. Subsequently, he travelled further, was received by Philippe le Bel of France and by Edward I of England, who received communion at his hands. His mission came to nothing ; but when we think of the immense journey from Central Asia to Western Europe ; of the fact that the Mass which he celebrated before the Roman cardinals and the Kings of France and England was said in that Aramaic language which was spoken by Christ himself ; and, finally, that this simple priest was, like the Patriarch who sent him, of pure Chinese race, we cannot but feel that this story concentrates in a brief compass an epitome of the lost romance of mediæval Christendom.

There is no need to trace further the slow and inexorable process by which the Assyrian Church was reduced by the close of the eighteenth century to a little group of mountain tribes, whose Patriarch was at once their religious and their tribal chief. Still more invasions, and, above all, the development in Mesopotamia of a Moslem culture superior to anything which the struggling and divided Church could maintain or reach, bore upon it with a weight that it could not resist. It must be counted as a proof of uncommon courage and tenacity that the Assyrian community succeeded in holding

together through long centuries of neglect and contempt, preserving something of its ancient traditions both as a Church and as a people.

Throughout the nineteenth century the main body of the community lived in the mountainous region of Hakkari, in the neighbourhood of the frontiers between Turkey, Russia and Persia. A smaller group was settled in the plains of northern Persia, in the neighbourhood of Urmiah. The head of their Church, the Mar Shimun, was not less a tribal chieftain than a religious leader, and in practice was recognised as such by the Turkish authorities. Some efforts were made by the Western Churches, which, in the early part of the century, became once more aware of their existence, to support and educate this small Christian group ; but, on the whole, there seems no doubt that, at the moment when the great war broke out, their general condition, both from a material or administrative and a spiritual point of view, was continuously and rapidly deteriorating.

Nevertheless, the events of the war must be reckoned as the first act in the tragedy which has brought about the present situation. The main episodes in the existence of the Assyrians since that date must now be briefly related. It will be for the historian to judge of the responsibilities involved and to relate effects to their causes. We shall confine ourselves to the briefest narrative of the simple facts.

II. THE ASSYRIANS IN IRAQ

A. FINAL LOSS OF THE MOUNTAIN HOME

When, in November 1914, Turkey entered the great war, the Assyrians living as Turkish subjects in the Hakkari mountains were soon swept into the vortex. In the spring of 1915, they decided to throw themselves on to the side of Russia and her allies, and formally declared themselves at war with Turkey. In spite of their courage and fighting spirit, the war was for them a series of heavy disasters. Driven by the Turkish forces from their mountain home, they took refuge at Urmiyah, in Persia, which was at that time in the hands of a Russian force; but early in 1917, when the Russian front collapsed as a result of the revolution, they found themselves once more deprived of outside help; and, though they managed to hold their own through a period of grim, irregular warfare, by the summer of 1918 their position in Persia had become untenable, and they had no alternative but to retreat in the direction of the British forces in Mesopotamia. Moving 300 miles south-eastward in disordered retreat with their families, live-stock and possessions, the Assyrians finally arrived at Hamadan, decimated from perpetual attacks on all sides from the Turks, Kurds and Persians alike. Scorched in the burning summer heat and ridden with typhus, dysentery, smallpox and cholera, old people and children exhausted with fatigue and fever were left to die by the wayside, marking the path of retreat with the dead and the dying. At length, 20,000 fewer in number, the survivors made contact with the British troops.

From that day to this, the Assyrians have lived in Iraq. For a period of three years, they were housed in one or other of the large refugee camps set up under the auspices of the British Government in the neighbourhood of Baghdad or Mosul. Meanwhile, efforts were made to enable them to return to their old homes. But the difficulties were too great ; and all hope of this solution of the problem had to be given up after the decision, taken by the Council of the League at the end of 1925, that the Hakkari district should remain under Turkish sovereignty.

For although the Assyrians for whose future it was sought to provide did not all originate from the region which was left under Turkish sovereignty, but included considerable numbers from Urmiyah and from the northern area of what is now Iraq, it was felt by the British authorities — who now found themselves, by the force of circumstances, responsible for seeking a solution to the problem of the future existence of this unfortunate people — that by far the best plan would be to return them as far as possible to their former habitat, including a part of the vilayet of Hakkari, where, instead of being scattered, they could live in a compact community and thus enjoy a certain degree of local autonomy. This plan, however, required that not only the vilayet of Mosul, but also a portion of Hakkari, should be brought within the borders of Iraq, since neither the British Government nor the Assyrians thought that the problem could be solved by bringing the Assyrian people or a portion of it again under Turkish rule.

It is unnecessary to go into the details of the numerous discussions which took place between early in 1923 and the end of 1925, when the frontier was finally determined. At the Lausanne Conference of 1923 it was agreed that the frontier between Turkey and Iraq should be laid down by a friendly arrangement to be concluded within nine months between Turkey and the United Kingdom ; in case no agreement were reached within that time, the dispute was to be referred to the Council of the League. The efforts to reach a direct settlement, which took the form of a Conference in Constantinople in the spring of 1924, led to no result, and the question accordingly came before the Council in September of that year. It was first discussed at an extraordinary session held in Brussels to determine the *status quo* line, which was to be respected by both parties, pending the final determination of the frontier by a special Delimitation Commission sent to the spot. This *status quo* line was called " the Brussels line ", and, in fact, proved to be almost identical with the line eventually decided upon by the Council in December 1925 upon the recommendation of the Delimitation Commission.

At the same time, the Commission recommended that, in view of the inexperience of the Iraqi Government, the mandatory regime laid down by the Treaty of Alliance between the United Kingdom and Iraq should continue during twenty-five years, unless Iraq in the meantime were admitted as a Member of the League. Having in mind the interest of the Assyrians and other minorities, this proposal was accepted by the United Kingdom at the meeting of the Council of December 16th, 1925,

when that Government agreed to continue the mandatory responsibility for twenty-five years "or until such earlier date as Iraq is, in the opinion of the Council, qualified for admission to membership of the League".

If any hope remained that the Assyrians could settle once more in their mountain home under Turkish protection it was finally dispelled by an official communication from the Turkish Consul-General at Baghdad on June 25th, 1928, stating that "the Turkish amnesty law did not cover the Assyrians, who would not be permitted in any circumstances to enter Turkey; that any Assyrians who attempted to enter Turkey would be punished".

B. ATTEMPTED SETTLEMENT IN IRAQ

The Council's decision made it necessary to face the prospect that the only available possibilities for a permanent home for the Assyrian community must be sought within the boundaries of Iraq. The question was one of great difficulty. The resources of the new State, both in money and in land available for settlement, were limited, and some ill-feeling existed between certain sections of the Arab population and this small Christian minority, the greater part of which was not indigenous to the country and which had received what some felt to be too great favours from the mandatory Power. Nor, it must be added, was the attitude of the Assyrians themselves such as to facilitate the difficult task of the Government. Nevertheless, a real effort was made. Special consideration was given to the

Assyrians by the Government as regards settlement on vacant land, and they received a generous measure of liberty in the management of their local affairs. In 1927, a special Settlement Officer was appointed, and, by the end of 1930, it was estimated that only about three hundred families still required settlement. It is true that it had proved impossible to find any way of settling the Assyrians in a single homogeneous community, but there seemed good reason to hope that by 1932 the Assyrians might find themselves successfully settled in the Iraq body politic.

C. TERMINATION OF THE BRITISH MANDATE OVER IRAQ

It was in September 1929 that the British Government first declared its intention of recommending that the mandate over Iraq should be terminated in 1932, and that at that date Iraq should be admitted to membership of the League as an independent sovereign State. This announcement led to some degree of misgiving amongst the Assyrians and other minorities in Iraq, and the question of their future treatment was studied and discussed with great care by the Mandates Commission and by the Council during the years that followed.

It is certain that the Council, in fixing the frontier in 1925, had not expected that it would prove possible to terminate the mandate at so early a date. Nevertheless, the Iraqi Government and people had shown good reason to believe that they would give liberal and tolerant treatment to the minorities within their borders ; fully satisfactory assurances on this point were given by the representatives of the mandatory Power, and the

Iraqi authorities themselves stated that they were ready to sign a special declaration guaranteeing equality of treatment, freedom of conscience, and general protection to these minorities. If, unhappily, the event has proved that the protection given was inadequate in the face of a test of a specially difficult nature, there is no reason to doubt the good faith in which these promises were made, or that it was right and reasonable to accept it as adequate at the time. But for a series of unfortunate happenings, which no one could then have foretold, it may well be that the Assyrians might have led at least a tolerable existence as loyal subjects of the King of Iraq.

D. FINAL ATTEMPT AT SETTLEMENT IN IRAQ

Meanwhile, at the moment at which Iraq became an independent Member of the League, the Council had before it certain petitions from the Assyrians asking either that they should be transferred to other protection or that they should be settled in Iraq in a compact community possessing local autonomy. Realising the difficulties, but anxious to make every effort in the interests both of Iraq itself and of the Assyrians to find the most satisfactory permanent arrangement possible, the Council, in December 1932, asked five of its members to make a careful study of the petitions. On the basis of that study, the Council adopted the view of the Mandates Commission that the demand of the Assyrians for administrative autonomy within Iraq could not be accepted. This question had long been one of the issues between them and the Iraqi Government. The Assyrians, as

we have already said, are both a nation and a Church. For centuries they had lived as an isolated community and had developed a certain degree of autonomous organisation under their own Patriarch, the Mar Shimun.

The circumstances now obtaining in the new Iraqi State were different. Isolation was a thing of the past ; and a Central Government existed which made the exercise of temporal power by the Assyrian leader unnecessary. It was not always easy, however, to define clearly the limits of spiritual authority, and, in fact, serious misunderstandings had arisen on the point of " the temporal authority " of the Mar Shimun. It was one of the difficulties on which agreement had never been reached. But, in any case, the territory for a compact community of the Assyrians in Iraq could not be found ; hence, even the first claim of the Assyrians could not be met.

Nevertheless, one more effort for settling the landless inhabitants of Iraq, including the Assyrians, was to be made, which the Council noted in its resolution with satisfaction. The Iraqi representative informed the Council that he intended to select a foreign expert to assist the Government to settle the Assyrians on the land, as far as possible, in homogeneous communities. For this purpose, Major Thomson, an experienced official from the Sudan, was appointed by the Iraqi Government, and arrived in Mosul in the beginning of May 1933. It cannot be said, however, that the Assyrians as a whole gave their full co-operation to the efforts which were being made on their behalf. The difficulties were not lessened by the fact that the Mar Shimun himself was

detained in Baghdad during this period, owing to differences with the Central Government as to the respective rights and powers which the Assyrian community should enjoy in Iraq.

III. THE SEARCH FOR A NEW HOME

A. THE EVENTS OF AUGUST 1933

A series of grave events in July and August 1933 abruptly terminated this last attempt.

Dissatisfied with the manner in which the settlement scheme was being carried out, and persuaded that, if they did not accept the plan of settlement provided for them by the Iraqi Government, they would be obliged to leave the country, certain Assyrian leaders hastily decided on their own responsibility to leave Iraq.

Apparently unannounced and without warning, a group of some eight or nine hundred Assyrians with their arms crossed the Tigris River on July 22nd into Syria. Here they were at first disarmed, but, having resumed their arms, they recrossed into Iraq on August 5th, presumably for the purpose of bringing their families back with them into Syria. It was in these circumstances that they encountered a section of the Iraqi army which had been sent to disarm them. Shots were exchanged, and during the day desultory fighting took place. Several score were killed and wounded on both sides, and at the end of these encounters some 550 Assyrians recrossed the Tigris into Syria, where they have been ever since.

It is unnecessary to describe the effect of this incident upon the Assyrian and the Iraqi populations. Passions were inflamed on both sides and grossly exaggerated rumours were rife throughout the country. During the next several days, bands of fugitive Assyrians got into further skirmishes, until, on August 11th, the troubles reached a terrible climax.

At a place called Simmel, several hundred Assyrians were killed, while, in neighbouring villages, killing, robbing and looting continued to take place during the following days.

It is not a part of this story to assess the blame for these incidents. The representative of Iraq made it plain at the next meeting of the Council that his Government deplored them no less sincerely than the Governments represented on the Council, that steps were being taken to make amends to the sufferers and to care for the dependants without distinction, and that his Government was determined to leave nothing undone to ensure that there should be no repetition of those unfortunate events, which, he said, had created a situation which appeared to be beyond local remedy.

B. THE SETTING-UP OF THE COUNCIL COMMITTEE

It was, indeed, only too clear that the whole problem had now taken on a completely new aspect. Neither the Government of Iraq nor the Assyrians themselves could any longer avoid the conclusion that their further efforts, however sincere, could not suffice to lead to a satisfactory solution of the problem. The Council of the

League, which had followed events in Iraq with deep anxiety, was unanimously of the same opinion. When, therefore, the Prime Minister of Iraq announced that, in the interests of all concerned, the happiness of the Assyrians themselves and the reputation of Iraq, it was necessary to find a new home elsewhere for the Assyrian immigrants who wished to leave, or were unwilling to settle peaceably and to be incorporated finally into the Iraqi State, and that his Government was prepared to make as generous a contribution as its resources permitted to help them on their way, and, at the same time, appealed to the Council to do what his Government could not do—namely, to search for some place outside Iraq where they might be settled with happier prospects — the Council, though well aware of the responsibilities and difficulties involved, did not refuse the task.

Accordingly, on December 15th, it decided to delegate extensive powers to a Committee of six of its members to prepare and execute, in co-operation with the Iraqi Government, a detailed scheme of settlement elsewhere than in Iraq of such Assyrians as wished to leave the country.

The Committee was composed of His Excellency M. López Oliván (Spain) (President), His Excellency M. William Borberg (Denmark) (Vice-President), M. Renato Bova-Scoppa (Italy), M. de Panafieu (France), Mr. J. C. Sterndale Bennett (United Kingdom) and M. M. Tello (Mexico).¹

¹ Mexico having ceased to be a member of the Council on September 17th, 1935, His Excellency M. Gonzalo Zaldumbide (Ecuador) took the place of M. Tello from that date.

It was, of course, understood that the Assyrians who finally decided to remain in Iraq would continue to enjoy the guarantees which Iraq had given on her admission to the League, and would, on their part, be bound by obligations of loyalty to the Iraqi State.

The Iraqi Government gave the fullest assurances as to the safety of the Assyrians in Iraq pending the completion of the plans for transferring them elsewhere, and, in agreement with the Council Committee, set up a local Committee, presided over by Major Thompson, to explain to the Assyrians the action that was being taken in Geneva. This Committee, which now includes a direct representative of the Council Committee, was subsequently made responsible for the individual consultation of the Assyrians and for organising the transfer from Iraq.

At the same time, the Iraqi Government established in Mosul a camp in which some 1,500 persons, mostly women and children, who had been rendered destitute by the events of August 1933, were brought together. The Council Committee kept itself constantly informed of the conditions prevailing in this camp, which was gradually liquidated in the course of the next two years. The camp was finally closed in June 1935, when the last inmates were removed to the temporary settlement on the Khabur river in Syria.

C. THE KHABUR SETTLEMENT

The 550 Assyrians who had taken refuge in Syria in August 1933 following the disturbances in Iraq were

settled provisionally, a year later, in the valley of the upper Khabur. In the following months, in accordance with an agreement reached between the French High Commissioner in Syria and the Iraqi Government, their wives, children and a few close relatives — many of them from the Mosul camp — to the number of approximately 1,450 persons were authorised to join them. At the request of the French Government, M. Burnier, representative of the Nansen Office for Refugees in Syria, took charge of the settlement in co-operation with Captain Duprez, representing the High Commissioner.

In September and October 1934, three villages were built, in which it was possible to settle all the refugee families in two-roomed houses before the rainy season.

In June 1935, the President of the Council Committee, M. López Oliván, arranged with the Iraqi Government to put up the necessary funds to enable the 340 women, children and old men who were still at the Mosul camp, and about 1,000 Assyrians, selected from among the poorest members of the Mosul community, to be transferred to the Khabur settlement.

To provide for this population, it was necessary to erect pumping-stations by which an area of about 1,000 hectares (2,500 acres) can be irrigated. The Assyrian immigrants immediately set about cultivating vegetable gardens ; a small number of cows, goats and sheep was also provided for their use. Pasturage was available in the immediate vicinity and two small mills were set up to keep the villages in flour.



An Assyrian village on the Khabur in course of construction; 1935

Since their arrival on the Khabur, the Assyrians have had to be fed; but they are rapidly becoming self-supporting as regards the more important foodstuffs. In spite of somewhat primitive conditions, a satisfactory bill of health is reported in the villages, the health service of which consists of an army doctor and seven nurses.

In September 1935, a further contingent of Assyrians was brought to the Khabur, making a total of about 6,000 persons. This last contingent was made up of members of the tribes which predominated in the settlement. It is planned that the Khabur settlement will remain in being until the reclamation scheme in the Ghab has been completed, some four years hence.

D. MISSIONS TO BRAZIL AND BRITISH GUIANA

From October 1933 to the middle of 1935, the Council Committee searched the world for a suitable place in which to settle the Assyrian people, and there is not a continent in which it did not consider possibilities.

In the spring of 1934, the Committee devoted its attention, in co-operation with the Brazilian Government, to the possibility of settlement in the State of Paraná, in Brazil. The lands where settlement was contemplated had already been the subject of a report by the Counsellor of the Swiss Legation at Rio de Janeiro, who had been authorised by his Government at an earlier date to inspect them on behalf of the Nansen Office in connection with the settlement of other refugees.

It was necessary, however, to be assured that the climate and physical conditions in the Paraná region would be such that the Assyrians could be expected to adapt themselves and to settle down as a useful element in the country. Accordingly, the Council Committee decided to send out Brigadier-General Browne, who for many years had commanded the Assyrian levies in Iraq, in order to advise the Committee, in the light of his special knowledge of Assyrian needs and characteristics, whether the proposed area offered good prospects of success.

General Browne, assisted by Mr. Johnson, Secretary-General of the Nansen Office, was in Brazil from February to April 1934, and, after a thorough investigation, reported that the area in question was suitable in all respects for Assyrian settlement. Plans for the removal of the Assyrians to this area were considered by the Council Committee, but the scheme eventually had to be abandoned owing to the adoption by the Brazilian Parliament of a law restricting immigration.

It was now clear that the Assyrians, who had had great hopes of an early departure, would be obliged to remain in Iraq much longer than had been anticipated. The Committee therefore addressed an urgent appeal to Governments to facilitate its task and at the same time assured itself that the Iraqi Government would continue to provide for the security and welfare of the Assyrians.

A number of Governments responded to the Committee's appeal. In particular, the United Kingdom and France suggested settlement possibilities in British

Guiana and the bend of the Niger in West Africa respectively. After a first study of these offers, it was decided to send a Commission of Enquiry to British Guiana.

This Commission was composed of General Browne and of Dr. Giglioli, member of the Royal Colonial Institute of Agriculture in Florence, who had already had personal experience of British Guiana, having visited the colony as a member of an Italian scientific expedition in 1931. These experts, in November and December 1934, made a visit of inspection to the interior of the colony, where it was thought the Assyrians might be settled. They travelled about 2,000 miles, of which 1,000 were accomplished in the saddle or on foot and some 700 miles in small boats on rivers, difficult and laborious to navigate owing to rapids and fallen trees.

Their first impressions were relatively favourable. The climate seemed suitable, the country well watered and health conditions generally good, and there was every reason to believe that the Assyrians could adapt themselves to the cultivation of the kind of crops that would grow in that area. Further investigations, however, revealed the existence of serious difficulties, apart from the obvious one of communications. It appeared more than doubtful whether the Assyrians could be settled there on a sufficiently large scale, and in any case the scheme could only be attempted after fuller investigations on a number of points and then very gradually on an experimental basis.

E. VISIT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL COMMITTEE TO SYRIA AND IRAQ .

In view of the limited possibilities of settlement in British Guiana, the Council Committee came to the reluctant conclusion that it was impossible for it to accept the responsibility of embarking upon a scheme of settlement which was clearly of so speculative a nature in itself and which, even under the best of conditions, could not be regarded as offering a full or rapid solution of the problem.

The Committee now reverted to the idea of a more extensive settlement of the Assyrians in Syria. There were obvious difficulties which everyone realised, but the French Government, urged to do so on both humanitarian and political grounds, finally agreed, subject to certain conditions, to accept for permanent settlement, not only those who were provisionally settled there, but also those remaining in Iraq who wished to settle elsewhere.

It was also decided that the Chairman of the Council Committee, M. López Oliván, accompanied by the Secretary of the Committee, M. Manuel Arocha, should undertake a journey to Iraq and Syria in order to facilitate the necessary negotiations and assist the various parties concerned effectively to realise the plan of settlement.

This mission took place in May and June 1935 and laid the foundation for the settlement scheme which is described in the next chapter. Representatives of a large number of Assyrian tribes were consulted in Baghdad, Kirkuk, Mosul and the mountain villages, with a

view to forming a rough estimate of the number of Assyrians who might wish to leave that country, and the Iraqi Government made an offer of £125,000 towards the execution of the scheme. Part of that sum was devoted to the removal, in the course of the summer, of several thousand Assyrians to the Khabur, as described above. In the Levant States, the Khabur and Ghab areas, proposed by the French Government as possible sites for the permanent settlement, were visited by the mission and, after consultation with the High Commissioner, M. Oliván reached the conclusion that the latter area was the more suitable. The Committee met in Geneva in July and, after having studied M. Oliván's report and the preliminary documentation furnished by the French authorities, endorsed that conclusion and decided to direct its efforts towards the realisation of a plan for the settlement of the Assyrians in the Ghab district.

IV. THE SETTLEMENT SCHEME

As soon as the Committee had decided on the Ghab as the permanent destination for the Assyrians, it asked the French Government to draw up a detailed and comprehensive plan for the settlement and sent two representatives — one a financial expert and the other an expert in the exchange of populations — to Beirut to collaborate with the High Commission for this purpose. A draft plan covering every aspect of the settlement problem was completed by the end of August. In the following months, the Committee made a careful study of this

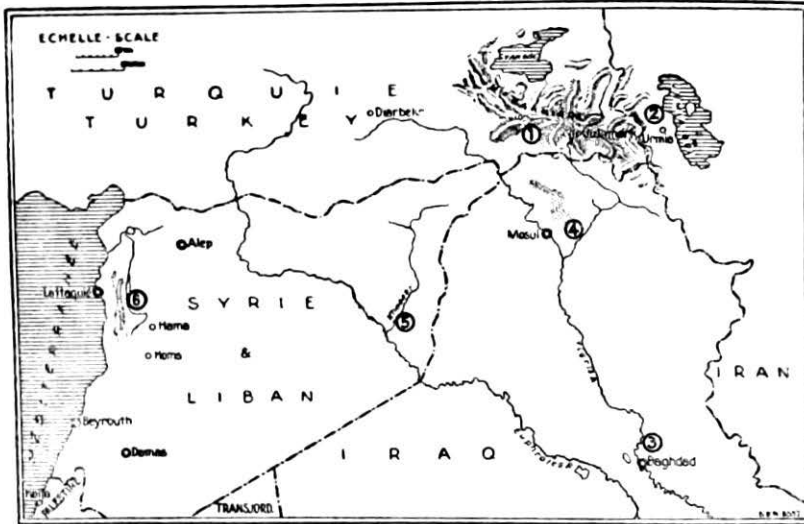
draft plan, which was revised on one or two points in consultation with the French Government; but the greater part was accepted as it stood. In its revised form — the form in which it has since been put before the Assyrians by the Local Committee in Iraq — the plan is summarised in the following pages.

All plans, and especially estimates of costs, for the fairly distant future are bound to be in some degree tentative; but, in the present case, the uncertainty that exists regarding some of the essential factors — in particular, the number and the material situation of the Assyrians who have still to leave Iraq — makes an express reservation to this effect necessary.

In view of the British proposal that the League should contribute towards the financing of the scheme, the Council of the League referred the draft plan to the Assembly in September. The discussions in the Assembly and, in particular, its favourable decision in regard to the above proposal will be described in a later chapter.

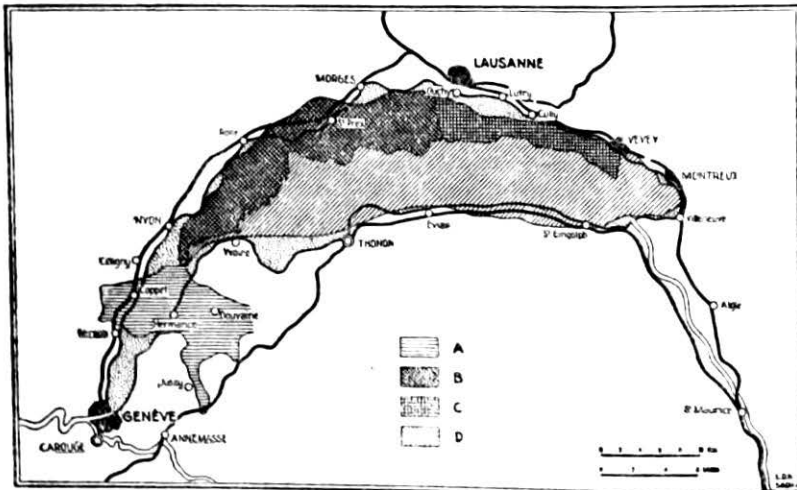
A. THE GHAB AND THE RECLAMATION SCHEME

The Ghab is a sparsely inhabited and marshy plain, lying some twenty-five miles to the north-west of Hama and about the same distance from the sea (see maps on the following pages). Through this plain, which is about forty miles long and from five to six miles wide, the River Orontes winds tortuously. The right bank of the river lies in Syria and the left bank in Latakia, a separate State administered by a French Governor and inhabited almost exclusively by Alawites and other



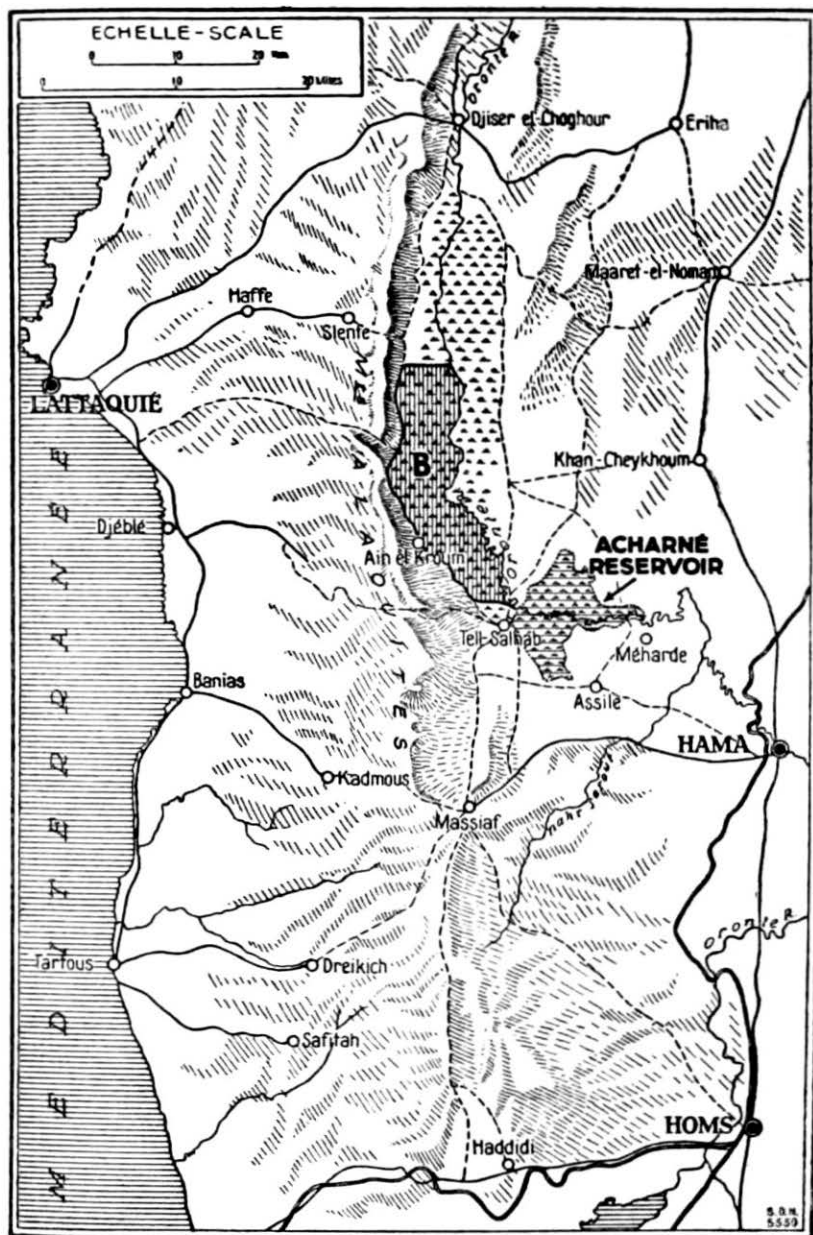
1. Pre-war home of the Ottoman Assyrians
2. Pre-war home of Assyrians in Persia
3. Site of Assyrian Refugee Camps, 1918-20
4. Area of attempted settlement in Iraq before 1933
5. Site of provisional settlement on the Khabur
6. Site of permanent homeland for the Assyrians

**AREA EQUIVALENT ON THE LAKE OF GENEVA
TO THAT OF THE RESERVED LANDS IN THE GHAB**



- A Area equivalent to that of the Acharne reservoir (10,000 hectares)
- B Area equivalent to that reserved for the Assyrians (15,000 hectares)
- C Area equivalent to that of the additional land contingently reserved for the Assyrians
- D Area equivalent to that of the land still to be reclaimed in the Ghab

POSITION OF THE RESERVED LANDS (KEY-MAP)



B. Lands reserved for the Assyrians

non-Moslem groups. On the Mediterranean side, the plain is bounded by the tree-covered Alawite mountains (Jebel Ansariéh), rising steeply 4,000 feet above it, and on the east by a lower range known as the Jebel Zewiye.

To the formation of the marshes, which cover the greater part of the Ghab, two factors contribute. At the upper end of the plain, the banks of the Orontes have been raised above the surrounding land by alluvial deposits and serve as dykes, behind which the water from the numerous mountain springs accumulates. At its northern and lower end, where the mountains converge, the natural outlet for the river is partly blocked as a result of a volcanic upheaval, and the winter floods spread over the whole surface of the plain. The Ghab, lying in the midst of a land of frequent droughts and almost waterless desert, has thus been choked by its very riches.

The climate of the Ghab is similar to that of other parts of the hinterland of the Phœnician coast. From November to March the temperature is cool and there are heavy rains ; the rest of the year is practically rainless and in summer the day temperature is high — though not nearly so high as in the Mosul Liwa or the Djezireh.

The soil, now mostly abandoned to forests of reeds, is very fertile and suitable for the raising, not only of the usual cereals — wheat, sorgho and maize — but also of rice, green vegetables and commercial crops, such as cotton and tobacco, for all of which a market exists in the interior — particularly in Hama and Aleppo, both of which towns are accessible to the Ghab by motor-track.

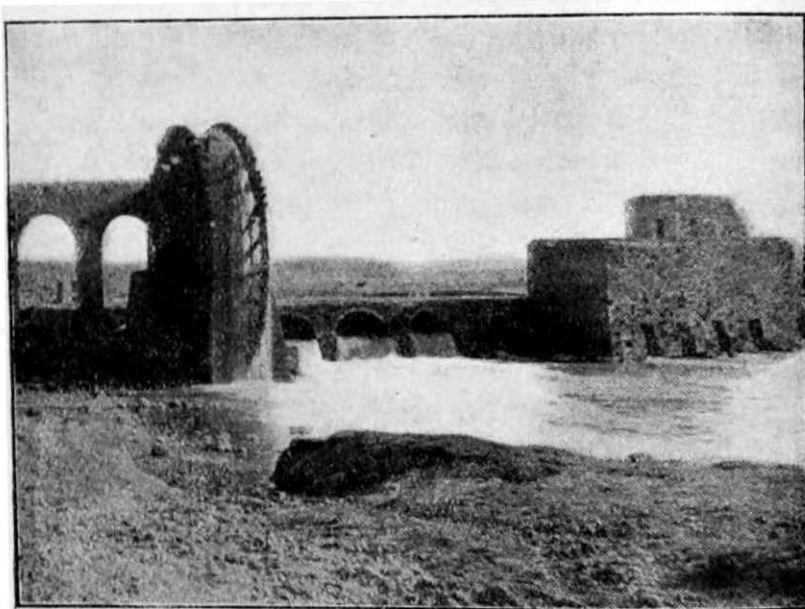
In ancient times, the Ghab was partially drained and — judging by the extensive ruins of Apamea and other

cities bordering the plain — must have supported a considerable population ; the Public Works Department of the French High Commission in the Levant has for many years past been preparing a plan for its reclamation. That plan is now to be put into execution, not in its entirety, but to the extent required to provide the Assyrians with sufficient land for cultivation. Fifteen thousand — or, if necessary, as much as twenty thousand — hectares (37,000 or 50,000 acres) of scientifically drained and irrigated land will be made available for this purpose on the western (Alawite) side of the river against payment of the engineering costs involved. In view of the fact that part of the engineering scheme will serve in due course to put into condition the remainder of the Ghab, the mandated territories are bearing a proportionate share of these costs.

The engineering plan provides, first, for the draining and, secondly, for the irrigation of the plain. At the upper end of the plain, by the village of Acharne — whose lovely old noria-wheel, shown on page 32, will be put out of use — a large barrage is to be constructed to form a reservoir, which will accumulate the surplus water during the winter season and provide an additional supply for irrigation in summer. At the lower end a tunnel will be pierced through the obstructing rock to permit of the thorough drainage of the plain at all seasons ; and over a distance of some eighteen miles, the Orontes will be deepened and its course straightened.

These essential operations having been completed, the area set aside for the Assyrians will be rendered fit for intensive cultivation by means of a network of drainage

and irrigation canals, which will be spanned by a chain of small bridges. The total length of the canal system will be more than 140 miles and the maximum area of the Acharne reservoir will be little less than 40 square miles — figures which illustrate the magnitude of the whole scheme.



Noria and Mill on the Orontes at Acharne (northern end of settlement area)

Unless certain preparatory works were undertaken by the middle of October 1935 — that is, before the rainy season — a delay of nearly a year in the completion of the engineering scheme was anticipated. In view of the serious political risks of such delay, the Committee decided to make available the funds required to start the work and the engineering programme has accordingly been launched.

* * *

Some of the advantages of the Ghab as the permanent home for the Assyrians are apparent from what has been said early in this chapter. But two or three points may well be emphasised.

It has been the constant desire of the great majority of the Assyrians to be settled on the land in a compact group ; the area contemplated in the Ghab is large and fertile enough to permit the realisation of this wish, and it will be possible to allot to each family holdings of sufficient size to enable it, not only to support itself, but also to make some contribution towards the costs of its settlement. Secondly, the immediate neighbours of the Assyrians will be Alawites, and the administrative authority to which they will be ultimately subject is non-Moslem. Finally, certain of the Assyrian tribes are pastoral and own large herds. It is therefore of particular importance that a wide tract of upland and mountain rising immediately from the irrigated plain — country suitable for grazing and bearing not a little resemblance to that to which they have been accustomed in the past — is to be put at their disposal.

B. SETTLEMENT AUTHORITIES

The engineering scheme will naturally be carried out under the direction of the Public Works Department of the French High Commission. But an autonomous body is to be set up by the Council of the League in the Levant States to co-operate with the French authorities in all that concerns the installation of the Assyrians and

the administration of the settlement, to undertake responsibility for all expenditure in connection therewith and to hold — and ultimately dispose of to the Assyrians — the Ghab land that is being made available. This body, known as the “ Assyrian Settlement Trustee Board ”, will consist of three members, one of them a representative of the High Commissioner. The precise distribution of functions between the Board and the High Commission, as the executive authority of the mandated territories, has not yet been worked out ; but, in view of the close liaison necessary between them, it is proposed that the former body should appoint an expert in settlement questions to collaborate with the officials of the High Commission.

C. THE TRANSFER AND TEMPORARY SETTLEMENT HEALTH AND EDUCATION

The Ghab reclamation scheme will take four years to complete. It was considered very desirable, on the other hand, that the transfer of the Assyrians should not be delayed, and arrangements for their provisional settlement in the mandated territories have accordingly been made. A property of some 20,000 acres — large enough for the provisional settlement of as many as 20,000 persons — stretching to within a few miles of the southern end of the Ghab, has been reserved for this purpose and the Government of Latakia has offered, in case of need, additional land for the pastoral tribes at the foot of the mountains not far to the west. To these lands, the bulk of the Assyrians will be directed, though

a certain number may be moved, to join relatives or to complete their tribes, to the Khabur settlement, which will be kept in being until the Ghab land is ready.

It is hoped to begin the big transfer in March 1936 and to complete it in as large a measure as possible



A group of settlers

before the next rainy season. As on previous occasions, the Assyrians and all their movable property will be taken by lorry to the Syrian frontier, each convoy being accompanied by a member of the Local Committee in Iraq and a suitable guard. This time, however, they

will follow a more northerly route to Tell Kotchek, the frontier town which is the present terminus of the railway. Thence they will travel by rail to Hama, a distance of some 400 miles, and from Hama to the settlement ground — a mere twenty miles — by lorry. Each convoy will be met at Tell Kotchek by one of the officials concerned with the settlement and accompanied and assisted by him to its destination.

The organisation of the temporary settlement in the neighbourhood of the Ghab will follow closely that adopted on the Khabur. On arrival, the Assyrians will be put under canvas — through the kindness of the French authorities, army tents are being lent for this purpose ; but the task of building houses — two-roomed houses of pisé bricks — will be begun immediately. Doors and windows are to be provided, and the assistance of a few skilled hands will be necessary — above all for the construction of the roofs — but the bulk of the work the Assyrians will do themselves. At the same time, a large part of the land must be put under cultivation. The Assyrians who are unable to provide for themselves will at first have to be fed and maintained ; hence the importance of making the community as soon as possible self-supporting as regards food. Two agricultural experts are to be attached to the settlement to organise the farming of the land on scientific lines, and up-to-date agricultural equipment and implements will be provided.

It is hoped that the reclamation scheme will provide employment for at least 1,000 Assyrian men not required for work in the fields. The temporary villages will be

situated at an easy distance from the site of the Acharne dam, which is to take three years to complete, and nearer still to Sedjar, where several roads and a large bridge will be submerged by the reservoir and have to be reconstructed.

As the time approaches for the move into the Ghab, the permanent villages will be erected, with their schools, their churches and their dispensaries, and, by gradual stages, the newly conditioned plain will be brought under the plough.

Care has been given to the problem of the health of the settlers and a considerable item on this account appears in the budget. This side of the administration of the settlement will naturally fall within the competence of the Public Health Service of the French High Commission, which intends to set up immediately five dispensaries with thirty beds apiece, staffed by Assyrian nurses and attendants — a large number of Assyrian dressers were and still are attached to the levies in Iraq — and under the direction of three or four doctors. It also contemplates mass treatment of the Assyrians against malaria.

As long as the Assyrians are exempt from taxation, education will retain its present community character. Later on, Government action will be taken and subsidies or official teachers provided for the Assyrian schools. From the beginning, however, the French authorities have considered it desirable that the Assyrians should learn Arabic — the *lingua franca* of the Levant. Teachers of Arabic, selected as far as possible from among the Assyrians, will therefore be appointed, and

instruction in Arabic—in addition to the Assyrian language—will be compulsory in the schools.

D. THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

It is proposed to construct the permanent villages on the lower slopes of the Alawite mountains as far as possible 300 feet or so above the plain, in proximity to supplies of spring water. Instead of building small scattered hamlets, several centres of 2,500 to 4,000 persons will probably be organised. This will make it easier to instal the non-agricultural elements, such as masons, blacksmiths, artisans and shopkeepers ; will reduce the number of schools, churches and dispensaries to be built ; facilitate the sanitary service and, in general, reduce overhead costs. The tribes will, so far as possible, be reconstituted under their chiefs ; tribes between whom friendly relations have existed will be settled together or near one another.

The irrigated land will be turned to account as and when the progress of the engineering scheme permits. Cereals, rice, lentils, beans and sesame will be the main subsistence crops, and barley and vetch the principal fodder. Attempts to grow cotton and the planting of fruit trees and vegetable gardens in the neighbourhood of the villages — where, incidentally, irrigation from the mountain springs should, in general, not be difficult — will be encouraged. A vast olive forest higher up the mountains will presumably also be exploited.

During the waiting period, the bulk of the farming will have to be organised on some form of communal basis ; but, as soon as the Assyrians move into the Ghab,

each family will have the opportunity of acquiring its own land. The experience acquired in settling the Armenian refugees has led the French authorities to propose that the normal family holding should, if possible, be of four hectares (ten acres); a holding of this



A typical Assyrian

size should yield, over and above the needs of the family, a considerable surplus, which should be easily disposed of on the Syrian markets.

The Committee has always considered that the Assyrians should be called upon to contribute in as large a measure as possible without involving undue hardship to the costs of the scheme that is being undertaken on their behalf, and it has reached the conclusion that the

most equitable and practical method of realising such a contribution would be to require the Assyrians to pay for the irrigated lands assigned to them. As the Committee is anxious to give every encouragement to them to settle permanently in their new home and to avoid imposing conditions which the poorest would find onerous, the Assyrians will be allowed to buy their land at a very low price and, if desired, by means of annual instalments, over fifteen years, representing only a small proportion of the anticipated money yield of their holdings.

The ultimate success of a transplantation of this kind may well depend on the after-care exercised by the settlement authorities. It is anticipated that, after the final installation has been completed, the Trustee Board will remain for some time to help the Assyrians to adapt themselves to their new environment—in particular, to farm their land and to dispose of their produce to the best advantage—and will continue to advise the High Commissioner in all that concerns the administration and welfare of the colony.

The French authorities propose to naturalise the Assyrians *en bloc* after a period of not less than five years. Until then, their position will be a special one, and they will be subject to certain restrictions; for example, they will not enjoy political rights and will not be allowed to reside outside the places set aside for their settlement. On the other hand, they will, from the beginning, enjoy all the public liberties and private rights of Syrian nationals, including free access to the courts, which will be provided with Assyrian interpreters. Further, during the waiting period and for some five

years after the final settlement, they will enjoy the valuable privilege of exemption from all taxation.

Under the terms of the mandate, the Assyrians, like every other religious community, will have the right to manage their own affairs and to maintain their own schools; and they will be allowed to settle all matters of personal status in accordance with their customs and usage.

For administrative purposes, the colony will be directly under the High Commissioner for a number of years and the chiefs will be the official intermediaries between the authorities and their people. It will ultimately be incorporated in the administrative organisation of Latakia on the same footing as the other religious groups in that State—Alawites, Armenians, Greek Orthodox, Ismailiehs and Sunnite Moslems.

E. THE FINANCING OF THE SCHEME

The cost of putting into condition 15,000 hectares for the Assyrians in the Ghab is estimated at 62 million French francs, of which the mandatory authorities are contributing 22 millions, leaving 40 millions (a little over £500,000) to be found through the League. This figure is a maximum, as the mandatory authorities have agreed to bear any excess over the estimate quoted and to share with the League fund any economies that may be realised.

For the settlement operation proper, the calculations are more complicated. It is estimated that the total expense on account of the present settlement on the

Khabur — including expenditure incurred up to date and that foreseen until the colony has become self-supporting — will amount to a little over 7 million French francs. General administrative expenses, including the cost of the various missions to Brazil, British Guiana and the Near East, will amount to something over 2 million French francs, and the installation and permanent settlement of the Assyrians still to be moved from Iraq (assuming the number to be about 15,000) to just under 18 millions, of which some 8 millions are for food, 3.5 millions for equipment and live-stock, 2 millions for health services, a similar sum for administration, and 1 million for houses. The spread of expenditure year by year is shown in the table on page 43.

The total thus reached for settlement proper is 27 millions, which may be reduced to 24 millions through certain incidental receipts — deduction, on account of maintenance, from the wages of Assyrians employed on the Ghab scheme and contributions by the Assyrians before leaving Iraq. If more or less than 15,000 Assyrians eventually have to be provided for, the estimates will, of course, be affected. The number is, in fact, more likely to be above than below that figure and for every additional thousand settlers, about 1 million French francs more will be required.

The payments to be made later by the Assyrians on account of the purchase of their land may amount roughly to between 15 and 20 million French francs, according to the length of time over which they are made. But they will not begin to be available until almost all the expenses of the scheme have been incurred ;

TABLE SHOWING ESTIMATED EXPENSES ON ACCOUNT OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ASSYRIANS OF IRAQ IN SYRIA
(French francs).

	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	Subse- quent years	Total
A. Ghab Reclamation Scheme								
Total expenditure.	1,000,000. —	10,000,000. —	21,000,000	20,000,000	10,000,000	—	—	62,000,000
B. Settlement Operations								
Expenses :								
(a) Payment of arrears of expendi- ture in respect of the pro- visional settlement on the Khabur	705,198.50	705,198.50	—	—	—	—	—	1,410,397
(b) Completion of the work of settlement on the Khabur of 3,600 Assyrians	1,752,000. —	1,577,000. —	141,000	140,000	140,000	—	—	3,750,000
(c) Settlement of 2,600 fresh arri- vals on the Khabur	390,000. —	780,000. —	390,000	260,000	130,000	—	—	1,950,000
(d) Cost of settlement and main- tenance of 15,000 Assyrians in the Ghab	—	7,170,000. —	4,655,950	2,353,700	1,518,450	1,006,700	1,184,103	17,889,603
(e) Administrative expenses :								
(i) Expenses already incurred by the League	—	525,000. — ¹	—	—	—	—	—	525,000
(ii) Salaries, etc., of certain officials	—	250,000. —	250,000	250,000	250,000	250,000	250,000	1,500,000
Total expenditure	2,847,198.50	11,007,898.50	5,436,950	3,003,700	2,038,450	1,256,700	1,434,103	27,025,000
Incidental receipts :								
(a) From Assyrians before leaving Iraq	—	1,000,000. —	—	—	—	—	—	1,000,000
(b) Deductions from wages in res- pect of maintenance	—	500,000. —	500,000	500,000	500,000	—	—	2,000,000
Total incidental receipts	—	1,500,000. —	500,000	500,000	500,000	—	—	3,000,000
Net expenditure	2,847,198.50	9,507,898.50	4,936,950	2,503,700	1,538,450	1,256,700	1,434,103	24,025,000
Total expenditure (A + B)	3,847,198.50	19,507,898.50	25,936,950	22,503,700	11,538,450	1,256,700	1,434,103	86,025,000

¹ Approximate figure.

and, for obvious reasons, they would not furnish by themselves sufficient security for a loan on a commercial basis. The Committee was thus faced a few months ago with the serious problem of finding from other sources the whole of the sum required for the scheme ; but the problem has now fortunately been reduced to more manageable proportions. As mentioned in a previous chapter, the Iraqi Government offered £125,000 in June. In September, when the detailed plan had been submitted, the United Kingdom Government offered £250,000 on certain conditions, among which were the contribution of an equal sum by the Iraqi Government and a contribution by the League itself. These conditions were soon fulfilled ; the Iraqi Government doubled its previous offer and the Assembly of the League voted a subsidy of 1,300,000 Swiss francs, or roughly £86,000. The French Government also offered, on behalf of the mandated territories, a further sum of 6.5 million French francs (£86,000) on a recoverable basis.

The decision of the Assembly to contribute to the financing of the settlement scheme — a vote of a combined contribution from all the States Members of the League — was significant, for it was unique in the history of the League. It is worth reproducing here the terms of the resolution of the Sixth Committee of the Assembly (political matters) on this subject :

The Sixth Committee,

Recognising the efforts made by the Committee of the Council for the Settlement of the Assyrians of Iraq to find a destination for those Assyrians who may wish to leave that country ;

Considering that the projected scheme of settlement in the Ghab area of the French mandated territories of the Levant offers the

prospect of a satisfactory and permanent solution of the Assyrian problem ;

Taking note of the extent to which the Iraqi Government, the United Kingdom Government and the authorities of the French mandated territories of the Levant are prepared to contribute to the realisation of this scheme and in the firm hope of contributions from private charitable organisations ;

Recognising that a considerable balance is nevertheless inevitable when all these contributions have been taken into account ;

Having regard to the special features of the problem and more particularly its humanitarian aspect, the deep interest which the Council has always taken in its solution, and, finally, the dangers to the tranquillity of the Near East which a postponement of a decision would involve :

Considers that the proposal of the United Kingdom concerning the financial participation of the League is worthy of the most sympathetic consideration of the Assembly.

The greater part of the funds required have thus been assured. But, on the basis of the cost estimates adopted above, there remain to be found at least 13.5 million French francs (£180,000), and the amount ultimately required may be considerably larger.

In January 1934, and again in July 1935, the League appealed through Governments to charitable organisations — Churches and others — the world over to assist financially in finding a home for the Assyrians outside Iraq. Now that Governments, individually and through the League vote, have made substantial contributions, the Committee relies on those organisations which have long expressed their interest in the welfare of the Assyrian community to play their part and make possible the realisation of the permanent and satisfactory solution that is now in sight.

F. THE RÔLE OF THE LEAGUE

In conclusion, a word must be said regarding the rôle of the League in the carrying-out of the scheme.

It has already been mentioned that a special body, the Trustee Board, is to be set up on the spot by the Council of the League to co-operate with the local authorities. Two of the three Members of the Board — including the Chairman — will be appointed (and be removable) by the Council, which will be kept periodically informed by the Board of the progress of the scheme and the condition of the settlers and may be appealed to if difficulties arise. The funds subscribed for the scheme will be held by the Secretary-General and released by him quarter by quarter to meet the requirements of the High Commissioner and the Board. The half-yearly budgets for the settlement operations and all transfers between chapters of those budgets will require the approval of the Council Committee ; and the detailed accounts of expenditure will be regularly audited by the League services.

Thus the League, which has for so long watched over the destinies of the Assyrians and has now initiated and helped to finance a scheme for their transfer from Iraq and settlement in the Levant States — a work of humanity and appeasement — will exercise a general supervision over the execution of that scheme and over the welfare of the Assyrian community during its first years in its new home.

INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

GENEVA 1937
INFORMATION SECTION

CONTENTS

I. HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

	Page
Intellectual Co-operation at the First Assembly of the League of Nations	7
Intellectual Co-operation and International Organisation....	9
Early Work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation	11
Founding of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation	14
The Technical Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation..	15
Findings of the "Committee of Enquiry" in 1930.....	18
Task of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation	19
National Committees.....	22
General Conferences	24
Committees of Specialists	25
The Intellectual Co-operation Section in the Secretariat of the League	27
The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation....	27
The International Educational Cinematographic Institute..	28

II. RESULTS

I. The Contribution of Intellectuals to International Life : "Conversations" ; Correspondence	31
--	----

	Page
2. Co-ordination of Intellectual Activities.....	38
Intellectual Rights	38
General Character of Administrative Co-ordination...	42
International Centres of Intellectual Liaison.....	43
Art Department of the Organisation.....	45
(a) International Museums Office	45
(b) International Commission on Historic Monu- ments	49
(c) International Office of Institutes of Archæology and History of Art	49
(d) International Committee on Folk Art.....	50
(e) Study Centre for Architectural and Urban Questions	51
Higher Education	52
Secondary Education	54
League of Nations Teaching.....	56
3. Permanent Conference of International Studies.....	58

In the civilised world, there has always been co-operation between thinkers; it has been conspicuous in the most brilliant periods of history and has led men from one discovery to another. But never has such co-operation required assistance and organisation so much as at the present time.

Formerly, a man of wide culture might attain eminence in all branches of learning. But now, the progress and future of knowledge depend in a large measure on a collective effort, necessary for preparing and sustaining the work of a few outstanding intellects. Specialised centres are required for the collection of information; such centres alone can keep up with the progress made in various branches and bring the results to public knowledge; they constitute living organs of information, in the highest sense of the term, for the specialist, the writer, the savant and the thinker.

The interdependence of different branches of learning necessitates new contacts and various exchanges of views; and these cannot take place unless they are thought out and prepared. The complexity of present-day life and the hesitation of the human mind before the difficulties of organisation experienced by the world in the political, social and economic field require the pooling of all intellectual resources, the comparison of work undertaken with results achieved and the formulation and general recognition of principles of law and conduct.

These needs of contemporary life could not be ignored by an international organ set up to establish new relations between peoples in all branches of activity. Such a body was bound to reserve a place for intellectual relations in its programme. Indeed, a firmer foundation for its enterprise could not be conceived.

It is the purpose of this pamphlet to explain what the League, with the aid of previously existing forms of intellectual co-operation, is doing to promote its work in the realm of thought.

I. HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION AT THE FIRST ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

During the League Assembly's first session, in December 1920, a resolution was voted asking the Council to associate itself as closely as possible with all efforts to bring about the international organisation of intellectual work.

The greater part of this session was devoted to the organisation of the newly founded League, the setting-up of its machinery and the application of the articles of the Covenant. It was at this moment that rules were adopted for the working of the League's technical organisations. Amongst the latter, intellectual co-operation was not included; several years had to pass before the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation was added to the list. But the Assembly of the Nations, meeting for the first time at Geneva, unanimously recognised that intellectual questions could not be neglected by it, any more than they can be neglected by the individual States that go to make up contemporary civilisation.

It is true that, in so doing, the Assembly was not relying on a provision of the Covenant. While the Covenant refers, if only briefly, to the other technical activities of the League, it is silent as to the organisation of intellectual work. But the Preamble and most of its articles imply the existence of intellectual *rapprochement*,

mutual comprehension and a firm desire for co-operation in all fields of international endeavour.

This was brought out on September 2nd, 1921, by the Council, which, in pursuance of a resolution of the first Assembly, adopted a report by M. Léon BOURGEOIS containing the following sentence: "No association of nations can hope to exist without the spirit of reciprocal intellectual activity between its members."

In this document were affirmed some of the principles that were, at a later date, to preside over the development of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. The League was to take the earliest opportunity "to show how closely the political idea which it represents is connected with all the aspects of the intellectual life which unites the nations"; it must examine "these great factors of international opinion — the systems and methods of education, and scientific and philosophical research"; it had to be careful not to destroy the originality of national workers, but, on the contrary, to enable each to develop his ideas with greater force and fidelity by making it possible for him to draw more fully upon the common treasure of knowledge, methods and discoveries; recourse must be had to the intellectual workers themselves to give life to the new undertaking, and order and scope to international intellectual exchanges.

In accordance with this last principle, the Council decided to set up the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which held its first session at Geneva on August 1st, 1922.¹

¹ The Committee elected as Chairman the French philosopher, Henri BERGSON; the following were its members: Mme. Curie,

INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION

The League of Nations was then in process of organisation. Many political questions arising out of the Treaties of Peace had been reserved for investigation and decision by other bodies. Pressing political or financial problems were soon to be entrusted to the League by the Governments themselves. But it retained, nevertheless, a certain freedom in the development of its system of committees, in drawing up their programmes and in providing their secretariat.

Full advantage was not taken of this first period to build up a solid intellectual co-operation undertaking; of this, the guiding principles were only outlined after some years. Considerations of finance — the Assembly's

member of the Academy of Medicine, Paris, and of the Polish Academy of Science, Warsaw; Mlle. Bonnevie, Professor of Zoology in the University of Christiania; Mr. Bannerjee, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Calcutta; M. de Castro, Professor in the Faculty of Medicine, Rio de Janeiro; Dr. Millikan, Vice-President of the United States National Research Council; M. Jules Destrée, member of the Belgian Academy of French Language and Literature; M. A. Einstein, of the Berlin Academy of Science; Mr. Gilbert Murray, Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford; M. G. de Reynold, Professor of French Literature in the University of Berne; M. F. Ruffini, President of the Royal Academy, Turin; M. de Torrès Quevedo, member of the Royal Academy of Science, Madrid. Soon afterwards it was joined by the eminent Netherlands man of learning, Professor LORENTZ, who succeeded M. Bergson as Chairman from 1925 to 1928, and by M. Paul PAINLEVÉ, who was to become the first Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

desire to limit the expenditure of the League and to retain funds for the settlement of political, monetary and commercial difficulties arising out of the war and likely to come to the forefront — largely explain the slowness in working out an idea that had been approved by the League at its first Assembly, mindful of post-war difficulties and desirous of giving a prominent place in its organisation to intellectual work.

It is true that such a scheme could not be launched without study and reflection ; it was a complicated matter for the League. Its importance, as a feature in the concrete development of international action, was far from being universally recognised. The League was an association of Governments applying the methods of international collaboration to the study of problems that concerned it as a whole ; and it might legitimately be asked what sort of bonds of union it would establish with or between intellectuals. Methods had to be elaborated. The League had to consider the aspirations and needs to which it might best respond.

Motives for action were, it is true, not lacking. Sometimes the intellectual workers themselves and their individualism have been rendered responsible for the difficulties of organisation in the field that specially concerned them. But this reproach is not justified at the present time. The members of intellectual professions have never suffered from the consequence of contemporary occurrences so directly as to-day. Never have they been called on so urgently by the facts themselves to reflect on the underlying causes of political events. Never have they played such a part in the

general life of their countries and of the world. The days are past when the philosopher could look with indifference on the issues of war or ignore the play of politics. Never, perhaps, have the leaders in literature, art and science exercised so wide an influence as now, thanks to the number of their pupils and followers, to the widespread application of their discoveries and the progress of general culture.

It may also be asserted that the need for international collaboration in all forms of intellectual activity is felt more keenly than of old. Laboratories and institutes for the study of the humanities demand opportunities for interchange of personnel and of information, and the necessary equipment to enable them to keep abreast of progress in their branch of study, to cope with the mass of written material and to ascertain and compare results. There has at all times been a marked need for intellectual contact in the field of art, and it is perhaps the most pressing problem of educational organisation with which teachers of to-day are faced.

EARLY WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

When the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation began its labours, it was well aware of these needs and of the difficulties likely to be met. On the Committee were members illustrious in all branches of learning, familiar with all the problems to which the organisation of intellectual work gives rise. They knew

what was desired by the League, not only from the Council report already quoted, but from that of their Vice-Chairman, Professor Gilbert MURRAY, submitted to the second League Assembly; in this the technical side of the work and its moral importance were both stressed. It was emphasised in the report that the League's future depended on the formation of a universal conscience, and an appeal was made to men of learning, thinkers and writers in all countries to spread throughout the world ideas that would promote peace among the peoples.

A large number of proposals and recommendations were soon laid before the Committee and obliged it, while seeking to lay down the general outlines of a programme, to comply with the most pressing demands.

On the morrow of the war, at a time when intellectual life was burdened with its consequences, which impoverished States, upset the exchanges, and interrupted former relations, it was natural that the Committee should try to help countries where intellectuals were specially handicapped; accordingly it instituted a general enquiry into the situation of intellectual workers, and was successful in setting on foot a great movement to assist certain countries. It also collected information showing the need for close touch with national centres of intellectual activity, and was thus led to recommend the formation of a national committee on intellectual co-operation in each country, as the official collaborator of the League in matters within its own province.

In 1923, contact with the first national committees was established, and the number of these continued to

grow. At the same time, the Committee embarked on a plan of work (of which the results will be seen later) for the defence of intellectual property in all forms — artistic, literary, scientific — and thus came into direct touch with organisations of intellectual workers, authors and composers.

This period covered the years 1923 to 1925, and in it were initiated schemes for inter-university co-operation, with the creation of an International Office of University Information ; plans for scientific co-operation ; work on analytical abstracts and on a bibliography of the physical sciences ; the first attempts at co-ordination between the great libraries of the world, and the outlines of a programme of action in the field of archæology and the history of art. Plans of work on these subjects were prepared by specialist sub-committees.

At the same time, the Assembly was anxious that the young should be educated in the cause of peace and should become familiar with the principles and work of the League. An enquiry undertaken in 1925 by the Secretary-General showed that instruction of this nature was already given in several countries, and that many private organisations favoured the teaching of the principles of international collaboration in the schools. The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was naturally asked by the League to consider the most appropriate methods of co-ordinating official and private enterprise. It accordingly took steps to secure improvements in history teaching and in school text-books by the removal from the latter of passages likely to sow the seeds of misunderstanding of foreign peoples in the minds of the young.

FOUNDING OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

When we turn back to the first sessions of the Committee, we are struck by the number and variety of the subjects discussed. Besides the activities already mentioned, which were subsequently to be carried farther, there were many suggestions which could not be dealt with during a short annual session and with the aid of a few sub-committees or expert committees and a secretariat consisting of a single League official. The Committee was painfully conscious that it was neglecting urgent needs and failing to satisfy the hopes awakened by the idea of intellectual co-operation, whose requirements were often misunderstood by politicians, in spite of appeals made by M. BERGSON on behalf of his colleagues to successive League Assemblies.

At this moment, on the generous proposal of the French Government, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was founded. Its purpose was to serve as the executive organ which the Committee required, to prepare its work and carry out its resolutions. The offer was made in September 1924 and examined first by the Assembly and then by the Council, which, in December 1924, gave its approval to a letter in which M. Edouard HERRIOT, President of the French Council of Ministers, laid down general rules for the Institute and defined its constitution.

The Institute was installed at Paris, in the Palais-Royal, and given an annual subsidy from the French Government, with a possibility of subventions from other

Governments. It was placed wholly at the disposal of the League, and especially of its International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The Committee, under the chairmanship of its French member, was to form the Governing Body of the Institute. The Committee had already had occasion to make an outline of its programme of work, and now had to draft its annual budget and supervise its administration. There was close contact with the League of Nations. Although an autonomous body, the Institute had none the less a place among the international organisations provided for by the Covenant.

In January 1926 it began work. Two years later, in 1928, the Italian Government founded under similar conditions the International Educational Cinematographic Institute at Rome. The services of this latter are also available to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

Such are the elements of the Organisation. We now propose to outline its working and programme and to show the main results so far achieved.

THE TECHNICAL ORGANISATION OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation became in 1926 one of the technical organisations of the League. We shall speak of its composition later. Its duties, which had already been defined, were manifold. It had to uphold intellectual interests and give its support to intellectual workers themselves and their organisations. It had, too, to obey the same rules as other bodies dependent

on the League Council and Assembly. These duties could only be carried out by adapting the ordinary methods of international co-operation to the results of experience, while maintaining sufficient flexibility in the organisation to enable it to perform the various tasks required of it.

Besides its political duties, the League's object is to supply Governments with the machinery for technical co-operation, enabling them to consider jointly problems capable of an international solution. In its early years, its work in connection with finance, trade, and maritime, land and river communications was rapidly successful. Some of it, on general lines, led up to the adoption of Conventions by diplomatic conferences ; other problems were special and urgent in character. It served thus as a means of liaison between Governments or between Government departments. In principle, the decisions taken on these technical subjects were within the competence of general Assemblies in which each country was represented, or of official committees also composed of delegates acting under instructions. But a certain relaxation of this rule was found necessary even on these subjects, and led to the formation of expert committees, appointed by the Council, to direct the work of certain technical organisations.

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is in some respects in the same position. But its duties cannot be limited to this liaison work. Of course, it could not exist within the League save with the support and co-operation of the Ministries of Education or of Fine Arts, nor without close contact on many points with Governments and their administrative machinery. The

Organisation draws round itself official representatives ; most countries have accredited to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation State delegates to keep their Governments in touch with matters that concern them.

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, like other Geneva institutions, prepares Conventions which sometimes affect the particular interests of individual States and may have a direct influence on inter-State relations. For instance, in September 1936, it secured the adoption by a Diplomatic Conference at Geneva of a Convention on Broadcasting and Peace, prepared by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation ; in this Convention, the contracting parties undertake certain specified obligations in the interest of international harmony. A Convention for facilitating the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character, prepared by the Rome Institute, was adopted some years before.

But there was a growing need for interchange and co-operation, not covered by agreements between country and country nor by understandings between existing bodies ; something was wanted to enable the representatives of thought to occupy their proper place in the contemporary world, to make their voice heard, to constitute in international life that intellectual " order " to which most nations owe the splendour of their culture, to ensure a disinterested study of the great problems of the hour, by calling freely on the resources of scientific knowledge ; and for these purposes the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation had to instal new machinery and employ new methods. It still remained true to the

principles laid down by it in 1922 : respect for the genius of the various nations, international co-operation, reliance on the scientific and cultural apparatus existing in each country.

**FINDINGS OF THE " COMMITTEE
OF ENQUIRY " IN 1930**

When, at a decisive moment in its history, the Intellectual Co-operation Committee decided in 1930 to make a clear statement of its programme and methods, it gave definitive approval to the above guiding principles. They were mentioned in the report by a Committee of Enquiry which was appointed by the Intellectual Co-operation Committee to look closely into the working of the whole Organisation, and especially of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation ; this report was approved by the Council and the Assembly.

The Committee of Enquiry's general definition of the Organisation's work was international collaboration with a view to promoting the progress of general civilisation and human knowledge, and notably the development and diffusion of science, letters and arts, and the creation of an atmosphere favourable to the pacific solution of international problems. The Committee accordingly asked the Organisation to develop the exchange of ideas and to effect personal contacts between intellectual workers of all countries ; to encourage and promote co-operation between institutions doing work of an intellectual character ; to facilitate the

spread of knowledge of intellectual work ; to study jointly certain major problems of international concern ; to support the international protection of intellectual rights, and to make known by educational means the principles of the League of Nations.

**TASK OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION**

To meet all these requirements, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation had to adopt a structure differing on several points from other League organs. At the head is the International Committee itself, with at present nineteen members, appointed in an individual capacity by the League Council.¹ This Committee is the authoritative body which reviews all work done, lays down the lines of future work and programme of action, and reports to the Council and the Assembly on the results. Each year, after its annual session, it submits to both these bodies a general report, which is discussed in detail by the Assembly's Sixth Committee.

¹ Members of the Committee : Professor Gilbert Murray (Chairman), Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford ; M. Anesaki, Professor of Science and the History of Worship at the Imperial University of Tokio, member of the Imperial Academy ; M. Czeslaw Bialobrzewski, Professor of Physics in the University of Warsaw ; M. José Castillejo, Professor of Roman Law in the University of Madrid, Secretary-General of the Junta para Ampliación de Estudios ; M. Julio Dantas, President of the Academy of Science, Lisbon, man of letters ; Count J. Degenfeld-Schonburg, Professor of National and Political Economy in the University of Vienna ; M. Francisco García Calderón, Peruvian

The League and the countries that compose it are thus kept aware of everything done by the Organisation. The Assembly may ask it to undertake other tasks in addition to the programme submitted to the Assembly, and has indeed done so several times — *e.g.*, in asking the Paris Institute to consider the use of broadcasting in the interests of peace ; in instructing it to examine a suggestion for an ethnographical and historical collection on the origins of Latin-American civilisations ; and in requesting the Organisation to prepare for its 1938 meeting a general plan of the action that might be taken to promote a *rapprochement* between peoples and to

Minister; man of letters ; M. Balbino Giuliano, Senator, President of the Italian Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ; M. Edouard Herriot, politician and man of letters ; M. J. Huizinga, Professor of History in the University of Leyden, President of the Literature Section of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Science ; M. N. E. Nørlund, Professor of Physics in the University of Copenhagen ; M. Valérien Obolenski-Ossinsky, member of the Academy of Science of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Moscow ; Mr. Sarva Palli Radhakrishnan, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Calcutta ; M. G. de Reynold, Professor in the University of Fribourg, Chairman of the Swiss National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ; Professor James T. Shotwell, Professor of History in Columbia University ; M. Joseph Susta, Professor of General History at Charles University, Prague, former Minister of Education ; M. N. Titulesco, Professor in the University of Bucharest, jurist, former Minister ; Mme. Cécile de Tormay, authoress ; M. Wu-Shi-Fee, of Peiyang University, Tientsin, and of the Nanyang College, Shanghai.

The members of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation form the Governing Body of the Institute ; of this body, M. Edouard Herriot is Chairman.

spread the League idea by means of modern methods such as the cinematograph, automatic speech-recording, gramophone records and broadcasting. Through the agency of the Assembly or of the Council, countries themselves may apply direct to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, as was done in 1931, when the Chinese Government asked that several professors might be sent by the Organisation to Nanking University, and especially that a mission of educationists might co-operate with the Government in planning the reorganisation of education.

Other League organisations can also apply to the Intellectual Co-operation Committee; on several subjects, contact has been established with the International Labour Office, since the late Albert THOMAS asked the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in 1931 to make an international enquiry into popular libraries and popular arts in relation to workers' spare time. The support of the International Labour Office is also shown in a vast scientific enquiry which the Institute is pursuing into Man and the Machine. Other and more permanent work also comes, in certain of its aspects, within the purview of the Labour Office — for instance, educational questions, the protection of intellectual rights, the preparation for the Permanent Conference of Higher International Studies; this last is an autonomous body for the study of major problems of international policy. The Institute of Intellectual Co-operation forms the secretariat of the Conference.

More recently, on the proposal of the League of Nations Health Organisation, the Council asked the

Institute to help in the preparation of a European Conference on rural life. The documentary material already collected relates to several interesting questions — for instance, the raising of the intellectual standard of rural populations ; the use of spare time with reference to the cinema, wireless, popular libraries, artistic amusements ; the buildings necessary for these purposes ; in short, “ruralism”, just as we speak of urbanism.

As has been said, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation forms, under the chairmanship of M. Edouard HERRIOT, the Governing Body of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. The Committee generally holds a session each year during July at Geneva, while to keep touch with work between sessions there are an Executive Committee and a Directors' Committee — small bodies which meet twice a year at the Institute and once at Geneva, before the Committee's plenary session.

NATIONAL COMMITTEES

Intellectual co-operation remains, by its very nature, outside the political difficulties which any form of international collaboration may involve. Its membership, like that of other technical organisations of the League, is therefore representative of almost all countries. Most non-members of the League are associated in its work ; several of these have delegates accredited to the Paris Institute and make grants to that body. The Organisation has accordingly a whole network of intellectual relations spread over the world. The field of

intellectual activities is rich, and thus these relations are highly developed. There is no provision for a General Assembly, composed of official delegations representing Governments and meeting periodically, like that which was proposed as the source of authority of the League's technical organisations. But the gap has been filled : close contact is maintained with the national centres of intellectual activity, mainly by the national committees existing in forty-four countries.¹

These National Committees are generally composed of representatives of different branches of learning, the departments of education and the fine arts, learned bodies and universities. They do the work of co-ordination in their own country, with the aid of the competent authorities and of the best-qualified experts : organisations of writers, authors, savants and intellectual workers in general. With them are sometimes incorporated national committees created for a special purpose, such as the revision of history books, wireless, the

¹ There are National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation in the following forty-four countries : Union of South Africa, Argentine, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Danzig, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, United Kingdom, United States of America, Yugoslavia ; and three International Committees : the Inter-parliamentary Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the Catholic Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Evangelical Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

cinematograph, libraries, museums, folk art, etc. The National Committees arrange for the participation of their country in the International Committee's work and they can also apply to their own Government departments, to private organisations and to representatives of research workers and thinkers.

National Committees may, without exaggeration, be called a sort of permanent assembly spread over the world. But the Organisation did not stop there : it united them in a genuine assembly at Geneva in 1928 ; a second will be held in Paris in 1937, to consider results so far achieved, the structure of the Organisation and its place in international life.

GENERAL CONFERENCES

General meetings of representatives of all countries are held for definite purposes. We have already spoken of the diplomatic conferences that may be summoned to adopt international Conventions. There are also big meetings of experts summoned, for instance, by the International Museums Office or by the International Commission on Historic Monuments, for questions concerning all countries from the technical point of view of the protection of art and the preservation of old masterpieces, and for preparing the legal agreements necessary for such purposes. Then there are Study Conferences, in which a particular class of savants from all countries meet to study a problem of common interest.

COMMITTEES OF SPECIALISTS

As the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation has relations throughout the world and is concerned with intellectual pursuits of every kind, it requires the assistance of a large number of international expert committees. Some of these are permanent and directly attached to the main Committee; for instance, the Committee on Arts and Letters, which, apart from the questions directly concerning its own domain, has to give opinions on matters affecting the progress of culture in general and the defence of the essential principles of international co-operation; the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching; the Scientific Committee, for regular co-operation with the world of science, with its associations of specialists and with the International Council of Scientific Unions.

In the same class of committees are the Directors' Committee of the International Museums Office, the Bureau of the International Committee on Folk Art, the Committee of the International Office of Institutes of Archæology and History of Art, and the Committee of Library Experts. These are convened by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

Permanent Committees are sometimes necessary to ensure contact with Government departments; in these Committees, official representatives meet one another to work out together problems connected with their particular branch. Such Committees also decide on the investigation of certain questions by enquiry, and help to direct the work of the International

Committee's Secretariat or of the Institute. The International Commission on Historic Monuments is a case in point.

Many other Committees meet to study particular questions or to give a reasoned opinion to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation before a question is included in the Organisation's programme, or to decide how a question shall be approached and to check methods of work. In this way, the Organisation's enquiries into such subjects as history teaching, education, university problems, exact and natural sciences, popular music, broadcasting, documentation and popular libraries have been directed by Committees of qualified persons. The tasks of some of these Committees extend over a long period, though they are not strictly permanent. Examples are : the Publication Committee for the Ibero-American Collection and the Committee of Directors of Higher Education.

There are also Liaison Committees for keeping in touch with large independent organisations that work with the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, such as the Committee of Representatives of International Students' Organisations and the Liaison Committee of Major International Associations, which includes the chief federations and associations of teachers. Other Committees, like that on Intellectual Rights, ensure contact between the official international organisations (International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Secretariat of the League, International Labour Office, Institute for the Unification of Private Law, Berne Bureau).

Finally, permanent and autonomous bodies, like the International Studies Conference, involve frequent meetings of technical committees of professors of political economy, sociology, history, international law and racial geography, and of writers specialising in the study of international relations.

THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION SECTION IN THE SECRETARIAT OF THE LEAGUE

This is the administrative Secretariat of the International Committee, in its relations with the Council and the Assembly and for official communications with Governments. It is also the channel of communication with the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the Educational Cinematographic Institute, and acts as the Secretariat of the Committee on League of Nations Teaching, for which it prepares the work and meetings.

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

As an executive organ of the Committee, the Institute carries out its decisions. It prepares for meetings of expert committees, arranges for enquiries that have been ordered, and publishes the results in periodical bulletins (*Intellectual Co-operation*, *Museion*, *Index Translationum*, etc.) or in books (Collections : "Cahiers", Series, Conversations, Correspondence, etc.).

The Institute is not divided strictly into departments, but it none the less forms the secretariat of a large number of international centres working under the responsibility of the International Committee — *e.g.*, International Museums Office, University Information Centre, Educational Documentation Centre, Folk Art, Archæology and History of Art, Exact and Natural Sciences, Literature, Statistics of Intellectual Employment, Intellectual Rights, etc.

THE INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL CINEMATOGRAPHIC INSTITUTE

This Institute is situated at Rome and depends on an international Governing Body.¹ Its purpose is to promote the production and encourage the circulation and exchange of educational films. It provides the secretariat of the special committees appointed to help in its studies and investigations, accounts of which are given in its publication *Interciné*. It issues a monthly bulletin of information and is completing a large work which is now being published, *The Encyclopædia of the Cinema*.

The work of the Institute includes theoretical enquiries into the value of the cinema, its use as a teaching medium and its social and educational aspects. It has prepared

¹ The Chairman from 1928 to 1935 was M. Alfredo Rocco, Minister of Justice, Rector of the University of Rome, and Italian member of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

a collection of laws and decisions on cinematographic questions and makes extensive investigations into the influence of the cinema and the results of its systematic use. It drafted the Convention for facilitating the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character. An international centre for the study of television questions is also working at the Rome Institute.

II. RESULTS

It is difficult to give an idea of the work done by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation without going into details. But, as illustrations, the following three main activities and the results obtained in each case may be indicated :

(a) The aim of the Organisation is to promote direct co-operation between the representatives of intellectual life and to serve the cause of intellect. The Organisation also proposes to enlist for international ends the support of the leading thinkers — of the “League of Minds”, to use the expression of M. Paul VALÉRY. The League of Nations has no doubt chiefly sought to base the relations between its Members on respect for legal rules. But agreements, treaties and other instruments are living organisms and must produce definite consequences. This naturally assumes the existence of a number of favourable conditions ; without these conditions, the best-framed agreement becomes a dead letter. It is to the representatives of intellectual life that the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation has turned for a definition of principles that can remove the deep-seated misunderstandings between peoples and mark out the path for the future. As we have seen, it has also asked the representatives of intellectual life to keep before them broad general ideas when carrying out technical work for the Organisation.

(b) The second line of action of the Organisation is wider and at the same time easier. It consists in doing

the kind of work that is done by other international technical organisations — namely, to establish contact between national bodies concerned with intellectual questions, to develop co-operation between them, and to co-ordinate their work with the help of small but active international secretariats. This is an activity with great possibilities for the relations between countries that share in modern culture and are well equipped with universities and other institutes of learning and research, laboratories, educational departments, museums and other associations for the advancement of science or for one form or another of educational work.

(c) In the third place, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, as it forms part of the general international system based on the League and is free from political preoccupations, was naturally led to use its contacts with the world of learning in order to secure the objective and disinterested consideration of various problems with which the League was dealing from a different aspect. The Organisation, relying on international co-operation, has developed the study of the economic, political and financial relations between peoples and has thus been able to secure a greater measure of mutual understanding and to contribute to progress in these intellectual fields.

I. THE CONTRIBUTION OF INTELLECTUALS
TO INTERNATIONAL LIFE : "CONVERSATIONS" :
CORRESPONDENCE

For the reasons given, intellectual co-operation could not, in the present state of the world, take refuge in

technical specialisation alone and rest satisfied with providing experts with a technical equipment and means of work. It could not confine itself to offering them a method and possibilities of collaboration within the limits of its very modest resources.

Accordingly, the Committee on Arts and Letters decided at its first meeting to submit for the consideration of the qualified representatives of intellectual life such questions as seemed calculated to serve the interests both of intellectual life and of the League of Nations. The Committee took the view that, at a time when the magnitude and prestige of technical progress seemed in danger of unsettling men's minds and were causing anxiety as to the meaning and future of civilisation, it was necessary to give more power, stability and coherence to the exchange of ideas. It accordingly recommended that the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation should organise a "Correspondence" between qualified representatives of intellectual life, similar to the relations in this domain that had existed in the great periods of European history. It further suggested organising "Conversations" on similar lines on subjects such as the nature and destiny of man and of civilisation.

The Institute has published a dozen volumes reporting the results of this activity. It may be said without exaggeration that they constitute most valuable material, which will in due course become indispensable, on the issues that are troubling men's minds to-day. They break new ground in bringing together the points of view of scholars who have had an equal training in reflection and thought but who come from different

countries, have been educated in different disciplines and represent traditions and views that are sometimes opposed although all are equally concerned with the future of civilisation. In these volumes an effort has been made to discuss essentials and to arrive at definitions of the most difficult problems.

The greatest names of the age may be found in the reports of these discussions. There is, for instance, the exchange of correspondence between Einstein and Freud, called "Why War?" The volume on "A League of Minds" contains a collection of the replies to the suggestions and to a letter of Paul Valéry. There is also the discussion between Rabindranath Tagore and Gilbert Murray on the contact between Western and Eastern civilisations, and there are the letters on "L'Esprit, l'Ethique et la Guerre".

The volumes of the Conversations are still richer in illustrious names. The Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters, in order to satisfy the demands made upon it by these Conversations, has drawn freely on the intellectual resources of the world in the domains of science as well as of philosophy, history and literature. After a first meeting at Frankfurt on the universal genius of Goethe, Mme. Curie-Sklodowska presided at Madrid in 1933 over a Conversation on the preservation of civilisation. The volume, rich in ideas and suggestions, which contained the results of this meeting, furnished the executive organs of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation with plans and material for much further work. It constituted an appeal to all the individuals

or organisations in the ranks of the intellectuals of all countries.

This volume insists on the view that the future of civilisation, even within the different national units, is bound up with the development of its universal aspect and with the organisation of humanity on the basis of a secure world peace as a moral and juridical unit. It recalls the conditions necessary for the progress of civilisation : full liberty for intellectual exchanges between men, nations and institutions ; limitation of the freedom of action of every nation by moral and juridical rules ; the establishment and extension to all of a broader human education founded on active initiation into the different disciplines, and familiarisation with the scientific method and the broad general view of the world which it implies, as well as on the development of the special aptitudes of individuals ; the ways of discovering intellectually qualified young people and developing their natural gifts ; the organisation of work on lines which would correct the defects of an inevitable specialisation by the sense of unity in every domain of the mind.

These few lines cannot hope to give a clear and full idea of the views put forward at this meeting. Their object is primarily to show how constantly the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and its eminent members keep in mind the great problems which dominate the world to-day, and among them the question of the ends of education. What will remain, in our industrial age, of man as he has been formed by the life and education of previous centuries ? What should

be kept of the previous types? Among so many other international problems, the international problem of education is now being raised. There is a danger that the difficulties caused in this domain by new circumstances may receive only partial, temporary and unstable solutions, unless the necessary steps are taken to prepare a better understanding between future generations.

Two other Conversations were accordingly devoted to this same subject: one at Nice on the education of modern man, the other at Budapest on the rôle of the humanities and the search for a modern form of humanism. At the first, after a critical study of modern man and after considering the whole problem of the individual or rather of the human personality in contemporary life, there was a discussion on the best type of education for enabling the individual to draw the maximum benefit from his membership of society and to give the maximum service to the society of which he was a member. The problems of the "education of the greatest number and the education of society"; "intelligence and irrationalism"; modern methods of forming public opinion; the part played by the State and, in the second place, by social and cultural traditions in education were all considered.

The records of these discussions contain considerations of great importance regarding the method of imparting the elements of culture to school-children (who are still fortunately increasing in numbers); regarding the dangers that must be avoided in discharging this delicate task, in particular by a judicious appeal to the natural

gifts of the growing child, and regarding the duty of teachers to develop a sense of responsibility in their charges and to make sure that the intellectual faculties of the individual are properly balanced and that instincts and impulses are carefully restrained.

Adult education was considered at great length. Attention was mainly directed to the distinction that must be made between the education of the masses and collective excitation of opinion, when the individual ceases to think for himself. Part of the Conversation dealt with the formation of public opinion — an opinion adapted to the present circumstances, which have been profoundly modified by economic evolution ; an opinion directed towards international co-operation. Suggestions were made for enlisting both reason and emotion in this cause.

The Budapest Conversation was of a more specialised character. It dealt with the classical humanities and the place which the classics should be given in present-day educational programmes because of their influence in developing a sense of order, method and aptitude for culture in the young. The Conversation, nevertheless, covered the whole field of education, and among those who took part were representatives of teachers of living languages and science. The speakers, indeed, recognised the important educational contribution furnished by recent intellectual advances, by the exact sciences in developing the natural powers of their students, and by the experimental method, which brings the student into close contact with realities.

In the course of this Conversation an effort was made to indicate what constitutes a well-balanced mind.

It is impossible to summarise, even very briefly, the other Conversations — at Paris, on the future of the European spirit; and at Buenos Aires, in the autumn of 1936, when eminent European and Latin-American writers met to consider the past and future relations of American and European civilisation.

Another meeting of the same sort, held at Venice, showed the fruitfulness of this method, which makes it possible to give unity and inner cohesion to the particular researches of technicians and specialists by subjecting them to a general discussion from a broad point of view. At the Venice meeting, artists, professors and men of letters met and considered the problem of the arts and reality, as well as that of art and the State. They suggested new activities for the corresponding sections of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. They also considered the teaching of art, the protection of art by the State, the formation of the artistic tastes of the public from school onwards by more systematic training, and emphasised the necessity for closer relations between the public and artists, of making works of art accessible and comprehensible to the maximum number of people, and of stimulating general interest in art.

Soon the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in the domain of literature will receive a fresh impulse through a Conversation on the "The Immediate Future of Letters", to which some of the world's leading literary men have been invited.

A scientific Conversation is being prepared on the progress of physics, the renewal of theories on the nature of matter and the immediate consequences for thought in general of these recent advances of human knowledge.

2. CO-ORDINATION OF INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITIES

Before illustrating by a few examples the nature of the extensive work of international co-ordination carried on by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, it is desirable, now that we have drawn attention to the assistance which the Organisation is asking of intellectual workers, to recall briefly what it has done in the last few years to defend their interests.

Intellectual Rights

The League of Nations felt bound to reserve a place in its programme of work for the study of legal measures and appropriate safeguards to promote intellectual activity. It desired to protect intellectual rights and to provide guarantees consisting of various moral or material privileges which are conferred on creative intellectual workers less in their own interest than in the interest of the community.

In most countries, the social importance of intellectual rights has been realised by the lawmakers. It may be said that the extent of the protection afforded to these rights is one of the criteria of the intellectual standing of a nation. Various international agreements had been concluded in this field, even before the existence of the

League. The best known were the Intellectual Property Unions established at Berne, one in 1883 for patent rights in inventions, the other in 1886 for the copyright of authors. A large number of countries became parties to these agreements. From the outset, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has worked in close touch with these two Unions for extending and consolidating such measures of international protection for scientists, writers and artists.

One of the first matters to engage the serious attention of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was the recognition of scientific property, or rather of the rights of scientists. Public opinion noted with concern that, whereas scientific discoveries were often the basis for industrial prosperity, the actual authors of such discoveries and the research institutes from which they emanated frequently did not benefit by them in any way. In the present state of the law, scientific discoveries can only seldom be patented as inventions.

The text of an agreement on this subject, that was finally concluded after elaborate consultation, endeavoured to reconcile two conflicting requirements : the first was the necessity for not compelling men of science to resort to complicated procedures, and the second was not to burden industrial enterprise with any charges which were impossible to foresee. The coming into force of this agreement will make it possible, thanks to the sums accruing, to subsidise scientific research and so to make a fresh contribution to the advance of science. Pending the adoption of this agreement at a diplomatic conference in the light of the comment on it by

Governments, national action has already been taken in accordance with its proposals. Again, it formed the basis, in 1934, of an interesting recommendation by the Diplomatic Conference in London for the revision of the International Convention on Industrial Property.

As regards the protection of literary and artistic works, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation began by trying to secure recognition for the moral rights of authors. In pursuance of proposals made by M. DESTRÉE in 1928 at the Rome Diplomatic Conference for the Revision of the Berne Convention, a clause was added to the latter, allowing an author to forbid any mutilation or alteration of his work that might be prejudicial to his honour or his reputation. A similar provision was adopted on the initiative of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in the Convention concluded in the same year at Havana between the States Members of the Pan-American Union.

This international recognition of the moral rights of authors has influenced the legislation of many countries. The major international associations constituted for the protection of authors' rights, such as the International Literary and Artistic Association and the International Confederation of Authors' and Composers' Associations, have taken up, in conjunction with the Institute, the study of the complex issues raised by the exercise of the moral rights of authors in such matters as translations, the cinematograph, broadcasting and mechanical reproduction. The fundamental idea in the solutions contemplated in these various spheres

is that it is essential, in the common interest, to maintain intellectual work unchanged.

The solution of other issues possessing a financial interest for authors is being pressed by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation at the periodical revisions of the Berne Convention. At the Rome Conference, international protection was secured for what are known as oral works (speeches, lectures and sermons). Further proposals which are to be submitted at the forthcoming Brussels Conference for the revision of the Convention suggest granting the same protection to newspaper articles as to other writings. They include a proposal to recognise the inalienable right of the authors of original works of art to receive royalties at all subsequent public sales of these works.

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is also concerned with seeing that international agreements for the protection of authors' rights are applied in the same way in all the countries concerned. It took the initiative, with the support of the Institute of International Law, in proposing the insertion in the Berne Convention of a provision giving the signatory States the right to appeal to an international authority against any signatory which appeared to be disregarding the obligations of the Convention.

At the same time as it thus endeavours to make the protection accorded by the Convention a reality within the countries concerned, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is trying to get it signed by all the countries of the world. In pursuance of a recommendation of the Rome Diplomatic Conference made on the initiative of

the Brazilian and French delegations, the League of Nations has invited the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the Rome International Institute for the Unification of Private Law to draft a text which should harmonise the Berne Convention with the Pan-American Convention adopted at Havana. The result has been a draft world Convention, which would secure recognition in both continents for a number of essential rules that were first adopted in 1933 by the Seventh Pan-American Conference at Montevideo. This draft has already been distributed by the Pan-American Union to all its Member States, together with another draft prepared by American jurists. The two texts will be considered at a World Conference which the Belgian Government proposes to summon immediately before the Conference for the Revision of the Berne Convention.

General Character of Administrative Co-ordination

Intellectual co-operation has a constructive side, the aim being to bring about regular collaboration between the principal intellectual organisations in the various countries. Every international community that is not content merely to negotiate has to create organisations which, though no doubt simple, must be permanent. It will set up secretarial bodies, but they must not take the place of the great national institutions; they will provide for contact and regular exchanges between the latter. This is a principle that will reconcile nationalism properly understood and internationalism, and will ensure the harmonious development of the world

community, without depriving it of the contribution which the individual nations are able to make.

This effort relates to everything connected with art, letters, science and, naturally, education. It is, of course, impossible for the Organisation to cover the entire field open to it. Fortunately, there have always been throughout the world intellectual exchanges and co-operation between scholars. Wherever such co-operation exists, it will be enough to offer new facilities, such as instruments of work, documentary material and bibliographical lists, and to secure the interest of scholars in general enquiries which often extend beyond the limits of a single branch of science.

On the other hand, where no such mutual understandings exist, they should be created without delay. This is a scheme with which the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, for material reasons, is still unable to cope, as it is obliged to select only the most urgent of many urgent tasks. Nevertheless, it has established numerous permanent liaisons, has successfully carried through collective research work, has created new ties between important organisations, and has occasionally called into being national organisations capable of helping it in its work.

International Centres of Intellectual Liaison

It would take too long to describe everything that has been accomplished ; we shall merely give a few examples in connection with art (we shall speak of the International Museums Office) and in connection with education.

The methods tried in these cases have proved equally useful elsewhere — for instance, as between the big organisations for the exact and natural sciences in the carrying-out of a programme (terminology, analytical bibliography) which has been taken up again and supplemented, thanks to a recent agreement between the scientific unions and their International Council; between the great libraries, for the study of their educational and social rôle; between the Ministries of Education through their national centres for educational literature, these being, as it were, “living archives” which collect complete information in all countries regarding primary and secondary education; for university courses in “International Relations”; for various enquiries in the field of social science (enquiry into certain effects of machinery); in literature (publication of the *Index Translationum*, the Ibero-American Collection and the Japanese Collection); for the revision of history textbooks by co-operation between the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation; for statistical information about universities and about unemployment of intellectuals; between administrations in charge of archives; for international school correspondence and interchange of young persons generally; for educational broadcasting; for the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace; for the study of the supply of information, which is one of the most urgent problems in connection with the organisation of intellectual life.

The monthly bulletin *Intellectual Co-operation* gives accounts from time to time of the progress of this work. The results of enquiries appear in the collection of

“Cahiers” or of “Dossiers” or are published separately, as in the excellent series of translations of classical Ibero-American authors or the collection of Japanese translations which has just been begun.

Art Department of the Organisation

The activities of the International Museums Office, which is now the Department of Art and Archæology of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, furnishes, in a technical field which is richly equipped from the national point of view, a very complete example of international liaison centres attached to the Institute and engaged in all the activities we have previously mentioned.

The Department includes the International Museums Office ; the International Commission on Historic Monuments ; the International Committee on Folk Art ; the International Office of Institutes of Archæology and History of Art, and a Study Centre for Urban and Architectural Questions.

(a) *International Museums Office.* — This Office, which was set up several years ago under the impulse of M. Jules Destrée, is specially concerned with museums and historical, archæological, ethnographical, art and folk-art collections. It is at the disposal of the authorities, organisations and persons who, in different countries, are responsible for administering and adding to these collections. It works in close contact with those persons and organisations in connection with all questions for which international co-operation is essential. These

questions come under the following headings : (1) International agreements ; (2) Administrative enquiries and technical research ; (3) Co-ordination work ; (4) International documentary material publications.

(1) International Agreements. — Relations between museums and public collections are sufficiently complex to-day to call for permanent agreements based on general principles accepted by all concerned and directed to the protection, conservation or wider dissemination of works of art. These agreements are of many types. Some take the form of a Convention between Governments concluded at a diplomatic conference. Others consist of understandings arrived at directly between Administrations or Departments concerned with the same technical subject. Or there may be recommendations to Governments drafted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and approved, on its advice, by the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations.

Below is a list of agreements concluded or on the point of being concluded by the Office : (a) an International Convention for the Protection of National Historic or Artistic Treasures, which provides for the repatriation of works of art that have been stolen, lost or illicitly alienated or exported ; (b) an International Convention on the Protection of Monuments and Works of Art in Wartime or in Time of Civil Disturbance ; such protection requires the putting into effect of various technical conditions and presupposes the formation of a public opinion in peace-time which would be favourable to the acceptance of such measures ; (c) an agreement between

national art departments and museums for organising international art exhibitions in order to provide both for the effective preservation of the exhibits and the interests of research and public education ; (*d*) recommendations of the Assembly of the League to Governments for international co-operation between States in the field of art and archæology ; (*e*) an agreement between studios for casts of sculptures ; (*f*) an agreement between national chalcographical institutes ; and (*g*) an agreement between museums to combat the practice of clandestine excavations which are damaging to the science of archæology.

(2) Administrative Enquiries and Technical Research.

— The Office, as a result of its investigations and liaison work, is continuously engaged in administrative and technical research. It deals with (*a*) the different disciplines that go under the general name of museography : the working of museographical institutes, the duties and training of their staffs, the organisation and structure of the museum, its architectural design, its equipment, methods of exhibiting, classifying and labelling works of art ; (*b*) technical methods for preserving antiques and works of art (this work is the logical outcome of the foregoing), the Office co-ordinating the activities of the various national laboratories and comparing the results obtained ; (*c*) the social and educative rôle of museums, their relations with schools, with adult education, lectures, organised visits, publications and publicity ; (*d*) museographical statistics.

(3) Co-ordination Work. — This heading furnishes an excellent example of how intellectual equipment can

be improved by division of labour and international co-operation, which place new instruments of work in the hands of specialists — *e.g.*, the *International Catalogue of Museums and Historical and Art Collections*, arranged by countries, and the international catalogues, arranged by subjects, giving the names of all collections dealing with the same branch of technique or civilisation or with the same category of objects.

(4) Bibliographical, Graphical and Photographic Material. — The co-ordination activities of the Office have made it necessary to establish a centre for documents and information, which is at the disposal of research workers and is also used for the publications of the Office. Some of these publications are periodicals, such as the scientific quarterly review *Museion* and its *Monthly Supplement*, an organ of information and bibliography; others embody the results of enquiries and research work: "Dossiers" of the International Museums Office giving the data collected in the course of administrative, legislative or technical enquiries; monographs on the technique of special collections or museographical institutions; treatises and manuals and, lastly, large-scale works embodying the results of close international co-operation devoted to the preservation and treatment of monuments and works of art. Two of these treatises have already appeared: "The Preservation of Historical and Artistic Monuments" (487 pages, illustrated), "Museography" (two volumes of 293 and 233 pages, illustrated). Another publication of the same size on the technical aspect of excavation work will shortly appear.

(b) International Commission on Historic Monuments. —

The International Commission on Historic Monuments consists of official delegates from both Members and non-members of the League. These delegates represent their Government departments. The Commission co-ordinates action through Governments for protecting and conserving the heritage of civilisation in art and culture. It frames the legislative and administrative principles which States may apply in organising their services or in preparing or amending laws for the protection of artistic and historic monuments. It studies the technical methods used in different countries for preserving and restoring ancient monuments and hopes in this way to arrive at a body of general principles dealing with the proper treatment of monuments and their place in modern life. It is also carrying out educational work ; it recommends Governments to inculcate respect for monuments of every period and every civilisation.

It organises large conferences from time to time in which the art departments of most countries are represented. The Athens Conference in 1931 studied the preservation of artistic and historic monuments from the point of view of legislation, administration, technical problems and international documentation. The Cairo Conference in 1937 dealt with different questions, both, national and international, concerning the legislative administrative and technical aspects of excavation work.

(c) International Office of Institutes of Archæology and History of Art. — This Organisation co-ordinates the research work of university institutes in the field of art, promotes co-operation between them and seeks

to improve their equipment. Its programme includes the following subjects : (a) study material, such as establishing a list of mutilated works of art and their reconstitution by photography or by casts ; lists of collections according to their subjects and of collections of photographic reproductions or of casts or prints of works of art ; making a technical dictionary of art and archæological terms in several languages ; (b) technique of gathering and distributing information ; field work ; principles for reproducing works of art ; methods of identification ; making sales catalogues and museum and exhibition catalogues ; problems of terminology and classification ; iconographical and museographical problems peculiar to archæological collections and collections of sculpture, from the point of view of scientific research ; co-operation in establishing national and international bibliographies ; (c) co-ordination of research work ; methods used for different disciplines in the programmes of archæological institutes and of those concerned with the history of art ; joint study of certain subjects of general interest.

The publications of the Office consist of : (a) a periodical bulletin ; (b) monographs ; (c) bibliographical bulletins.

(d) *International Committee on Folk Art*. — This body is organised on a federal basis. It comprises the various national societies for folk art under the direction of an International Bureau with its seat at the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation ; the Institute is responsible for the technical and administrative secretarial work of the Committee.

Research in this field has a scientific interest in the study of folk art in all its forms, and also a social motive — namely, to help in popular education by giving each people a better knowledge of its own origins and characteristic features, and of the common traits that are found in different peoples.

The programme includes a general study of the sources of information available in the different countries as well as special research work into various departments of folk art and folk lore. The results of the scientific investigations carried out are not only valuable in themselves; the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has made practical use of them in connection with the question of workers' spare time.

The Committee has published documentary material on popular art grouped according to countries and districts as well as according to technique and subjects (two illustrated volumes of 700 pages), on folk music and folk songs, and on folk art and workers' spare time.

(e) Study Centre for Architectural and Urban Questions. — The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation has taken up the question of how to reconcile the conservation of historic monuments with the needs of the modern city and modern architecture.

The Centre, which has been set up for this purpose at the Institute, studies the legislative and administrative measures of the different countries on urban questions. It gathers information on the relevant problems of urban and rural architecture and is preparing a form of international regulation for national architectural competitions. An important problem to be considered is that of the

means which should be employed by administrations on the one hand and experts on the other to satisfy the needs of living art in a world that has changed completely as a result of constant scientific progress.

Higher Education

One of the most striking illustrations of the way in which the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation co-ordinates national activities in the domain of education is afforded by the Committee of Directors of Higher Education of a number of countries representing the chief university systems of the world.

Through this Committee, detailed studies have been made on the way in which higher education is organised in various countries, its evolution, the principles on which it is based and the tendencies it reveals to-day. This study has cast light on the advantages and disadvantages of the various systems, has made possible the comparison of the results of experience in a number of countries and has shown the way in which Anglo-Saxon and Continental views of higher education are drawing closer together—on the autonomy, for instance, of institutions of higher education. The result of these investigations has been a volume which contains a good deal of hitherto unpublished information, indicating the essential features of the university system and throwing light on the chief problems raised by the great development of higher education in modern times.

An important place has been given in this volume to the question of the organisation of scientific research,

with a view to ascertaining the spirit animating the great national undertakings that support this work and that would be called upon to draw up, in each country, a programme to meet the needs of its intellectual, economic and political life, to execute the programme and to recruit young university men for disinterested research work.

A larger meeting was accordingly prepared for 1937 — the Conference on Higher Education, representing all the great universities of the world. Its study programme included the organisation of university faculties and the new relations that are being created between them, the growing interdependence of the subjects taught, the new specialised institutes which are now recognised as indispensable adjuncts to universities, and the improvement of laboratories, libraries and other instruments of work. One section of the Conference was concerned with the recruitment and the training of the teaching staff, these being matters which are of fundamental importance at a time when it is becoming more and more necessary to secure the ablest teachers for the universities. The question of selecting students, of their conditions of life and work, and of the steps that must be taken to safeguard their future, was also on the agenda of the Conference.

The Conference further dealt with international university relations (relations between universities, exchanges of professors and students, the student working abroad), this being permanent international work coming under the Organisation.

Secondary Education

Another interesting instance of the work done by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is afforded by its activities in connection with secondary education. The attention of the Organisation had been frequently drawn by the international students' associations to the question of unemployment among intellectuals. The investigations into this subject undertaken in conjunction with the International Labour Office led to recommending two categories of permanent measures. In the past, the decisions taken on this subject had too often been hasty, and sometimes even unfair. It was now proposed, on the one hand, to obtain information in all countries as to the possibilities of intellectual employment, so that young students could prepare themselves in time for careers in which they could earn a livelihood and, on the other hand, to provide an intermediate or secondary education before entering the university which would be more elastic than in the past and so serve to prepare youth for the greatest possible number of careers.

On the first point, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has co-ordinated the work of existing university statistical offices. It is trying to persuade as many countries as possible to set up such offices, not only in order to gather and disseminate information on the national employment market, but also to facilitate exchanges of intellectual workers, particularly with new countries.

Nevertheless, the increase in the subjects of study, the educational difficulties thus created and the growing numbers of university students make further reforms essential. The time has gone when the numbers attending secondary schools were small and when it was sufficient to provide them with a very limited educational equipment.

To-day, those responsible for secondary education have not only to give increasing numbers of pupils instruction in a great variety of subjects ; they must also pay special attention to developing their understanding, their critical faculties and their ability to verify facts. The value of guidance in the choice of a career — this is both an administrative and a scientific problem — is now fully appreciated. For all these reasons, the question of developing and reorganising secondary education — that is, the schooling which comes between primary education and the university — urgently requires solution in every country.

How are we to guide children leaving the elementary schools or actually studying at secondary schools to the kind of education best suited to their needs without giving them the wrong idea that the instruction they are receiving is of less value than that which would fit them for entrance into the faculties of law, literature or science ? How is too early specialisation to be avoided ? And how can all students be given a broad general education ? It ought to be possible to alter the curriculum of pupils attending secondary schools and to transfer them, at different ages, to classes where the work is better suited to their aptitudes. To do this and ensure

that the change should be made without detriment to the educational development of the pupils would require some very delicate adjustments and various reforms that might occasionally have to be of a radical character. The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has asked the Institute to undertake the important work of co-ordination and the comparative researches that would be involved, in conjunction with the competent authorities of the different countries and with educational experts and teachers.

League of Nations Teaching

Special mention should be made of the instruction given to young people in the aims of the League of Nations.

As early as 1923, the Assembly itself showed its concern for the future of international co-operation and invited the Governments of States Members to make provision in their respective countries for teaching children and young people about the existence and aims of the League of Nations and the terms of the Covenant.

Soon this programme was extended by the addition of the study of international co-operation "as the best method of conducting world affairs", and the setting-up of a School Information Centre to keep in constant touch with this programme of educating public opinion. The work of this centre is carried on at the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and at the Secretariat at Geneva. The latter is entrusted more particularly with all questions relating to instruction in the League of Nations and it

also provides the Secretariat for the Committee of Experts which, under the chairmanship of Professor Gilbert Murray, is in charge of the work in this field.

Tangible results have been obtained. Practical recommendations made by the Committee have been enthusiastically received by many States and have been embodied in official circulars to educational authorities. In this way it has been possible to introduce into schools instruction in the most modern ideas about the interdependence of peoples, the respect due to other nations and the pacific settlement of international disputes.

The Secretariat of the League of Nations has published a handbook entitled "The Aims, Methods and Activity of the League of Nations", to meet the needs of the teaching profession. This volume takes the place of an earlier and less detailed work now out of print, "The Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations", which was formerly issued in more than thirty different languages. The Secretariat publishes annually a *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*, which gives, over the most authoritative names, educational studies on the inculcation of the idea of international co-operation by the study of living languages, history and geography. The *Bulletin* contains accounts of the chief activities of the League of Nations, particularly in the field of intellectual co-operation, with a view to the results obtained being utilised by school or university authorities. It includes a number of official documents on these subjects and describes the activity of the League broadcasting station, "Radio-Nations".

Notwithstanding the difficulties occasionally encountered under present conditions in carrying out this work, it is being vigorously prosecuted and it can count on a strong body of public opinion. In particular, it enjoys the support of all the great international federations and associations, with their millions of members, whose aim is peace through education.

3. PERMANENT CONFERENCE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

One of the best examples of adaptation to the exigencies of modern intellectual life is furnished by the creation and development of the Permanent Conference of International Studies.

A real international institution, with complete autonomy, has been created within the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. It combines in a common enterprise a number of national centres of research, all of which retain their full freedom of action. This Conference has effectively helped the cause of peace in many ways.

The idea of periodically bringing together a number of institutions devoted to the study of present-day international relations, economic science, finance and foreign policy arose naturally from the example furnished by other cases of administrative co-ordination in connection with intellectual co-operation. Since 1928, representatives of these institutions in a number of European countries and in the United States of America have met annually in different capitals. Their object

was to ensure regular co-operation and arrange for meetings of teachers and the exchange of bibliographies and documentation. The secretarial work for these meetings is undertaken by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

The first Conferences were administrative in character. Soon, however, the idea arose of extending these to include Study Conferences. The decision to develop the work in this way was taken in 1931 at a meeting held at Copenhagen, and the following year a first Study Conference was held at Milan. The Conference was devoted to a special subject which had been prepared during the previous months — *i.e.*, the intervention of the State in economic life.¹ Since that time, Study Conferences have led to closer contact among national institutions, have developed the habit of common action and have extended the system of co-operation to countries where no institutions or centres engaged in this kind of research had previously existed.

Since 1931, this work has developed greatly with the assistance of funds furnished by the Rockefeller Foundation. The number of the original members of the Conference has been augmented by the addition of numerous national study centres. Most European countries, as well as the Dominions, now possess groups which take part in the common work. In 1937, the

¹ "The State and Economic Life". 2 volumes, large 8vo, 210 and 450 pages. International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 2, rue de Montpensier, Paris, I.

Conference will be attended for the first time by representatives of several South-American States. From Asia, Japanese scholars come to the Conference, and representatives of Chinese institutions are likely to follow soon.

This is a typical example of service rendered by the mere existence of co-operation in the study of a given problem. New institutions have been modelled on the example of those that are best equipped. The mere fact of creating contacts and exchanges has considerably increased the facilities at the disposal of any given branch of research.

Moreover, it was thought highly desirable to create the same kind of contact between the social sciences as has for centuries existed between the exact sciences. The former are of more recent growth and have developed mainly within national limits, whereas they urgently require international exchanges, comparison and mutual assistance.

Intellectual co-operation was thus able to render a double service. On the one hand, it helped in the advance of a particular science ; on the other, it promoted mutual understanding by contributing to the enlightenment of the responsible circles and of the public at large. These results are obtained both by the separate work of each of the institutes that send representatives to the Conference and by their joint efforts. Apart from the subject which is chosen by the Conference itself, the member institutes conduct a great deal of special research work. They are of considerable assistance to scholars in providing them with a source of documentation, and

in some cases they even grant material aid ; in this way they facilitate individual work and make it possible for students to conduct long-term researches.

The Institutes represented at the Conference deal with subjects which form part of different disciplines and which, in the universities, are represented by a number of different chairs. Their studies often refer at one and the same time to international law, political economy, finance, sociology, contemporary history and human geography. The system of research by study groups has therefore naturally developed within the member institutes of the Conference. This system is dictated by the complexity of contemporary problems. By bringing together differing theories and convictions, it also ensures the greatest possible impartiality of treatment.

The group method of study was first developed chiefly in Anglo-Saxon institutes, but it is now largely used in every country. As a rule it leads, as does individual research, to the publication of copiously documented volumes. The most important present-day questions of foreign, social, commercial and monetary policy, the philosophy of international relations, important subjects of common concern connected with the functions of the State, the value of new theories of the functions of Government and labour problems, are being studied continuously by these modern laboratories, the centres and institutes of international relations.

A more direct influence is being exerted through these bodies on public opinion. They show an increasing tendency to follow the practice of the Royal Institute

of International Affairs in London and the Foreign Policy Association in New York of regularly publishing pamphlets in which information is presented objectively. Instead of the superficial and tendentious information which is too often put before the public, they provide readily accessible material based on serious investigation. Most of the pamphlets attempt, moreover, to consider the future and deal with the most urgent political problems. An increasing number of countries issue periodical reviews as well.

These manifold activities necessitate a system of liaison and exchange between the institutes concerned, and this system the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation is endeavouring to develop. But the international action of the Conference is manifested principally in its concerted work on the subject of general interest which it chooses from time to time. It has been seen that its first effort in this direction dealt with the intervention of the State in economic life — a problem that is always of interest. The enquiry covered a period of two years, and since then the methods of the Conference have taken clear shape. The Conference still takes two years to carry out a general enquiry. In the interval it holds a general meeting at which all the groups are represented, but where discussion is of a preparatory character. Its Executive Committee, composed of representatives of some ten institutions, supervise the work as a whole; numerous advisory committees arrange successively for the scientific co-ordination of the research work, and assist a General

Rapporteur who is responsible for bringing the question before the plenary meeting.

In this way the various aspects of the subject selected can be assigned to national groups and centres best qualified to deal with them. The points of view of the different countries, which (although the Conference insists on strict scientific objectivity) may vary, are certain to be represented. If there is a danger of any particular aspect of the problems not being brought out with sufficient clearness, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, after consulting the preparatory Committees of Experts, entrusts the study of this aspect to an expert acting in an international capacity. With the period of two years allotted to the Conference, all those taking part can send in their books or memoranda in time to enable the General Rapporteur, with the help, if necessary, of specialist assistant rapporteurs, to consider the whole of the material, to collate it and to submit a general survey.

The separately conducted studies are then completed by a final discussion, in which each institution is represented by several delegates. This process of "international comparison" constitutes the concluding stage of the study. This method was followed in the years 1934 and 1935, when the problem of "Collective Security" was studied.¹ The discussion of this question in plenary session led the Conference to devote the two

¹ "Collective Security". 1 volume large 8vo, 530 pages. Published under the direction of Maurice Bourquin, International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 2, rue de Montpensier, Paris, I.

following years, 1936 and 1937, to a study of "Peaceful Change". The Conference had already reviewed the various aspects of collective security : national attitudes and reactions ; the philosophic bases of the problem ; the prevention of war (pacific settlement of international disputes ; reduction and limitation of armaments, the repression of war, prohibition of resort to force and determination of the aggressor ; sanctions and measures of mutual assistance ; regional pacts ; neutrality in a system involving the punishment of a resort to war). The question of the pacific adjustments that may be necessary to prevent international disputes was raised in the course of the discussion. Only the principle of the question was considered. But though it met with general acceptance, the Conference did not think it could deal with the subject without very thorough preparation.

It would have been possible for the Conference, in view of the many authorities present, to discuss the legal aspect of this problem, but it desired to base its discussions on concrete cases and to approach a controversy which is dominating foreign policy with well-established conclusions. For this reason, the subject of the new enquiry was defined in the following terms : methods of peaceful settlement, with reference to certain specific cases ; difficulties of principle and procedures applicable in the pacific settlement of economic, social and territorial problems, with special reference to the following questions : (a) population, migration, colonisation ; (b) markets and the distribution of raw materials.

For the full Conference (Paris, 1937), abundant documentary material has been placed at the disposal

of the General Rapporteur and the four assistant rapporteurs by the twenty-six national institutes or committees and the five international institutes that are members of the Conference. The detailed plan of research and discussion was drawn up by a preparatory conference held in Madrid in May and June 1936. This plan comprises a number of successive sections.

“ Questions of Population ” have given rise to studies on the idea of over-population ; the optimum population ; areas which seem to be specially well suited for settlement by different peoples ; difficulties raised by the problem of migration considered from the point of view both of countries of emigration and of countries of immigration, and methods of overcoming these difficulties ; domestic remedies for over-population, either by internal colonisation or by an increase of resources and colonial markets.

With regard to the problem of “ Raw Materials ”, the raw materials which are considered to be essential were ascertained, and it is on these that the enquiry will centre. There will be a detailed examination, based upon statistics of the impediments to the free supply of raw materials, the economic advantages and disadvantages of the different methods of procuring supplies, and an enquiry into the different policies which enable a given country to secure these essential commodities.

Under “ Markets ” have been studied the changes in the organisation of production and of international trade, existing impediments, the methods of commercial agreements, cartels, credits and international loans.

With regard to "Colonial Questions", the preparatory conference emphasised the importance of an enquiry into the value of colonies ; the advantages and disadvantages resulting from the possession of colonies ; the interests of the native populations as an element in the problem of methods of peaceful change ; contemplated solutions of a non-territorial nature (Conventional Basin of the Congo ; system of colonial mandates ; status of foreigners ; investment of foreign capital) or of a territorial nature.

The enquiry into "Danubian Questions", finally, gave rise to an interesting example of regional co-operation between the economic experts of Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. These experts will submit to the Conference scientific documentation drawn up on a common plan in each of these six countries after a number of meetings held by the experts themselves.

Thus, continuous investigation into international problems is being carried on as a part of Intellectual Co-operation. The methods employed have nothing in common with the research that experts belonging to a national administration might carry out on Government instructions as a preliminary to the holding of partial or general conferences or the drawing-up of agreements or treaties. The Conference takes no vote and adopts no recommendations or resolutions. Its conclusions must have the same objective character as the material prepared for it — that is to say, they must be the outcome of a study of the facts of the case.

* * *

At first sight, the task which Intellectual Co-operation has set itself in the field of international relations appears extremely difficult. The confusion which exists to-day in general policy implies a lack of mutual understanding among the different Governments and among the peoples for whom they speak. Conflicting ideas would appear to prevent any intellectual *rapprochement*. International rivalries are so intense that there seems to be no room for anything but the most immediate political action and limited and hasty efforts intended to prevent war.

But it would be a mistake to ignore the influence which public opinion can exercise in the cause of peace. The work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation brings it constantly into touch with the elements that are striving for *rapprochement* and mutual understanding, with all those who represent and appreciate the need for international co-operation.

It thus obtains greater support and meets with fewer difficulties than might at first be expected. It also has opportunities for rendering service, for satisfying needs and for participating actively — even though it must confine its efforts to a narrow field — in the organisation of international relations.

In spite of appearances, a vigorous movement does exist to increase intellectual contacts and to bring together, regardless of frontiers, workers engaged in similar pursuits and men of goodwill. Whenever there is a possibility of common action in the field of intellectual co-operation, it is comparatively easy to arrange for

such action. The support of Governments themselves and of official departments can be counted upon whenever organisation seems likely to furnish solutions for the difficulties they experience. In addition to this, official circles realise that only by an effort of comprehension will it be possible to deal with the new and complex conditions and create a well-ordered society. A growing number of countries are seeking to conclude agreements, nearly all of which now bear the name of "intellectual co-operation agreements" — clear proof of the progress which this idea is making. These international instruments are being steadily extended to cover every aspect of intellectual life. They imply a recognition of common principles and they help in this way to strengthen the action pursued for several years past at the international meetings summoned at the instance of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation for the purpose of defining and upholding a doctrine of international relations.

But this recognition of the importance of intellectual interests is not confined to official departments. All the activities grouped together for educational purposes, professional protection, intellectual propaganda and mutual assistance are being organised efficiently. Convinced that they represent important intellectual movements common to all mankind and that they derive strength and expansive force from their international connections, these groups know how to utilise the abundant and varied support they receive; they rely upon regionalism and apply in their special spheres the acknowledged principles of international organisation.

A close network of voluntary co-operative effort is thus being spread over the whole world, and the activities included in this system, the conferences and congresses dealing with international problems, and the collective studies successfully completed form a surprisingly long list.

It has not been possible in this pamphlet to set out in full all the assistance thus rendered to intellectual co-operation. Such assistance creates favourable conditions for co-operation ; it helps to establish the contacts sought by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and promotes the success of its undertakings. Even now the number of these undertakings is, as we have seen, considerable. But, notwithstanding the results obtained, it is still compelled to forgo many opportunities of assisting in the organisation of intellectual work, in the promotion of research and in the establishment of principles. It is obliged to choose and to reject, and this is frequently a difficult matter.

Even in the present state of its work, the Organisation is entitled to say that machinery has been created and placed in the service of peace. International co-operation in the intellectual field is a reality, and is gradually creating the habit of concerted action for the solution of problems that are often found to be of vital importance for all countries.

Intellectual co-operation thus has its place in the general scheme of the League of Nations, which, contrary to the widely accepted political maxim that prestige depends on might, owes its entire authority to its moral prestige.

**NEW TECHNICAL EFFORTS
TOWARDS
A BETTER NUTRITION**

**GENEVA 1938
INFORMATION SECTION**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Chapter I. — THE PROBLEM OF NUTRITION</i>	5
The First Studies	9
Public Discussion of the Problem	11
The Mixed Committee of Experts	12
<i>Chapter II. — THE INTERIM REPORT — PUBLIC HEALTH</i>	13
Diet and Health	14
Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy	15
Other Organs help	17
<i>Chapter III. — TECHNICAL ADVANCE</i>	19
National Nutrition Committees	20
Programme of Future Study	22
Assessment of the Nutritional State of Children	23
<i>Chapter IV. — THE FINAL REPORT : HEALTH, AGRICUL- TURE, ECONOMIC POLICY</i>	25
Agriculture and Nutrition	25
Adaptation, not Revolution	26
Assist the Farmer	29
Farmer—feed Thyself	31
Poverty and Ignorance	32
Food Prices	33
Food and Prosperity	33
The Challenge and the Opportunity	34

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM OF NUTRITION

In September 1935, the Assembly of the League of Nations set on foot an enquiry into one of the most fundamental of modern social problems—that of popular nutrition.

Every survey conducted by the relief and social assistance authorities of Western countries since the onset of the economic depression has brought to light signs of malnutrition—lowered resistance, susceptibility to disease, and even deficiency diseases themselves. Study of these symptoms made it clear that malnutrition was not a problem merely of the present crisis ; on the contrary, it is now shown to be a condition tragically common in every country and in many ranks of society. While it is true that the most glaring evidence of habitual under-feeding is to be found among the victims of unemployment and within the poverty levels, it is equally true that hundreds of thousands who possess ample means of livelihood fail to purchase good health because they do not know what foods to buy.

The widespread lack of public instruction about food values constitutes an unfortunate gap in the general advance of medical knowledge during recent decades. The progress made in medical science and hygiene in the second half of the nineteenth century led to the realisation that great possibilities for the improvement

of health lay within the reach of mankind. The knowledge of the infective nature of many maladies indicated ways of stamping out epidemic diseases. Means were discovered of making the human environment more healthy by sanitation and building, and of fortifying the body by physical training. It was confidently hoped that the ancient ideal of *mens sana in corpore sano* would become the heritage of all human beings, if the knowledge being discovered were faithfully applied.

But this advance of medical science has also served to reveal the extent of the ills with which it has still to deal. In spite of the application of existing knowledge of medicine and hygiene, the physical condition of a large portion of the human race is still far below the accepted standard ; and recent investigations have established the fact that this inferiority is largely due to imperfect feeding.

In the great war, Governments that were obliged to enrol large numbers of young soldiers were dismayed at the poor physical quality of the recruits who presented themselves for service. Medical inspection in the schools revealed, and continues to reveal, the existence of large numbers of sickly children below the normal standard of development for their age. The considerable decline in infant mortality in some countries only renders more impressive the persistence of high infant mortality in others. Certain epidemics display a destructive power that seems due, not solely to the virulence of the diseases themselves, but also to a serious lack of resistance in the population.

A the same time, the discoveries of the past thirty

years, leading to the newer knowledge of nutrition, show with ever-increasing certainty that inadequate nutrition plays an important part in infant mortality ; it accounts for the excessive proportion of under-developed school-children and adolescents ; it is responsible for prevalent poor health and lack of energy in adults. Diseases due to deficiencies in diet are to be observed, not only among urban populations, but even among the producers of foodstuffs in rural districts ; not only in poor or primitive countries, but also in the rich nations of old and highly developed civilisation. Indeed, the wide investigation being made at present into standards of nutrition and food habits has led to the conclusion that a large part of humanity is ill-fed or under-fed.

But this is not all the story. Students of world affairs to-day are confronted with a strange paradox ; that while a substantial part of mankind is suffering from under-feeding, agricultural products are everywhere a glut upon the market. While health experts are saying " hundreds and thousands of human beings are under-developed, their health and efficiency are being impaired because they are short of milk, meat, fresh vegetables and fruit ", while, indeed, a state of semi-starvation prevails in some parts of the world, in others food is being destroyed. While the health expert is complaining that the essential foods are not available at economic prices, the agricultural producer is discovering that there is over-production in agriculture, prices are collapsing, and his work is no longer remunerative.

After 1929, world prices of agricultural products, especially cereals, dropped heavily. Production exceeded

actual consumption, and exceeded, too, the production of previous years. In Europe, Governments decided upon measures of protection—tariffs and quotas—in the interests of the peasant population, the backbone of their social structure. These protective measures were a serious blow to the countries whose economy depended upon the export of their agricultural produce to the industrial countries of Europe. Being restricted in the sale of their cereals and other agricultural products, these countries were forced to curtail their purchases of the manufactured products of industrial countries.

In those countries that had formerly been buyers of cereals and other foodstuffs from abroad, a policy of protection brought about an increase in their local agricultural production without reducing production in the rest of the world. Policies of protection thus aggravated that apparent over-production of agricultural products which was at that time looked upon as the source of the economic disequilibrium. The industrial countries in some cases carried their policy of increasing local production so far as to become actual exporters of agricultural products. The former agricultural countries felt forced to intensify their industrial efforts, and began to produce at high cost the manufactured goods they had been wont to import.

In both agricultural and industrial countries there was a sharp decline in purchasing power ; trade was paralysed. Agricultural distress brought industrial distress and unemployment in its turn ; this in turn aggravated the crisis in agricultural production, and so the vicious circle went on.

From this vicious circle, the nations are still struggling to escape. The movement to make widely known the new discoveries with regard to food values and to improve diet has much to offer to the solution, not only of problems of health and resistance to disease and fatigue, but also of the problems of apparent over-production of agricultural products and inadequate rewards to the agricultural producer.

THE FIRST STUDIES

This movement was begun by the League of Nations ten years ago when the Health Committee made its first enquiry into popular nutrition. A first study was made of dietary standards and food habits in Japan, where a large section of the population was evidently suffering from malnutrition. The next step was an enquiry into the production and distribution of one of the food-stuffs most essential to mankind—milk. In 1932, a study was made of the influence of the world economic depression on public health, with particular reference to nutrition. Finally, in 1935, the Health Committee appointed two experts to prepare a general report on "Nutrition and Public Health".¹

This enquiry set out to answer three questions : (1) What quantitative and qualitative standards of food requirement should be laid down for various stages of bodily development? What, in particular, are the food requirements of the working man, and how can these

¹ This report appears in the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Health Organisation*, Vol. IV, No. 2, June 1935.

be ascertained? (2) What resources are available in the different countries to meet these requirements? How may the production, preservation and distribution of foodstuffs be organised in the light of the nutritional needs of different sections of the population? (3) How can the essential foods be brought within the means of every citizen? How does income affect the daily diet? How does income—how do wages—affect food habits? The world economic depression and the necessity which every country has had to face of administering relief have shown the basic relationship between diet and income.

The final question was whether or not the State should adopt a policy of improving nutrition. Both directly and indirectly, Governments are obliged to deal with diets and food habits. Directly, the authorities are concerned with the feeding of various groups of persons—prisoners, the army, school-children and students. They take measures to prevent and cure deficiency diseases, no less dangerous than infectious epidemic diseases : scurvy, pellagra, rickets and beriberi. As measures of relief for unemployment, they have organised communal meals or have supplemented the diet of school-children by means of school meals or the distribution of milk in schools. Indirectly, the State has many opportunities of educating its citizens in the principles of good nutrition ; in schools, from the elementary schools to the technical training schools and medical faculties ; among the population, by means of visiting nurses, public health officials and social assistance authorities. Numerous surveys conducted in many countries have made it clear that

increased purchasing power and improved distribution of foodstuffs cannot alone suffice to improve diets hitherto limited by poverty ; public education is essential.

PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEM

Public discussion of various aspects of the problem of nutrition in League bodies has constituted a first step in instructing the public about the essential connection between diet and health.

The gravity of the problem of malnutrition was first made the subject of discussion in an Assembly of the League in 1935. Here the question was stated by Mr. Bruce, the Australian delegate, in terms of a world situation. He pointed out the tragedy of the existence in the same world, and even, in some cases, in the same country, of malnutrition and over-production of foodstuffs. The world has just experienced the evils of a long and severe economic depression. The production of all kinds of foodstuffs had been steadily increasing ; markets were glutted and producers were faced with ruin. At the same time, careful enquiries in a number of countries had shown how extensive was the failure to satisfy normal nutritional requirements. Indeed, while some owners of food stocks were unable to find markets, some parts of the world were suffering from famine, and in others large sections of the population from malnutrition. Wherever this state of affairs was found to exist, it caused the most serious apprehension, not only on humanitarian grounds, but because of its possible effect upon the social structure and the internal peace of the countries concerned.

Hence the question first raised by the Health Organisation's enquiries came to the fore again—viz., whether it was not the duty of public authorities to adopt a "nutrition policy" for their respective countries. The discussion in the Second Committee¹ of the Assembly drew attention to the gap between wholesale and retail prices of foodstuffs, and urged the importance of reducing obstacles to trade and distribution.

THE MIXED COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

With all these considerations before it, the 1935 Assembly decided to make an international enquiry into the existing state of nutrition and the methods by which it might be improved. For this purpose, it created the Mixed Committee of Experts on the Problem of Nutrition, consisting of agricultural, economic and health experts, and including representatives of the Advisory Committee on Social Questions, the International Labour Office and the International Institute of Agriculture. This Committee the Assembly instructed to "submit a general report on the whole question (of nutrition) in its health and economic aspects" to the next Assembly.

¹ The Second Committee of the Assembly reviews the work of the technical organisations of the League (Health, Economic and Financial, Communications and Transit, Intellectual Co-operation) and submits resolutions on these subjects to the plenary Assembly for adoption.

CHAPTER II

THE INTERIM REPORT — PUBLIC HEALTH

The Mixed Committee's Interim Report appeared in July 1936, and at once aroused wide interest in the Press and public opinion of many countries. The report appeared in four volumes : Volume I, the Report proper ; Volume II was the report on the Physiological Bases of Nutrition as defined by the special Committee of Health Experts which had been set up by the Health Organisation to define nutrition standards in terms of bodily functions ; Volume III contained a digest of the information supplied from various countries on standards of nutrition ; Volume IV, entitled " Statistics of Food Consumption, Consumption and Prices ", was compiled by the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome. The Interim Report was designed, not to cover the whole field of nutrition, but to deal with the most immediate problem—that of the relation between food habits and health. It was the hope of the Committee that a first report emphasising this aspect of the problem would arouse public opinion to some realisation of the importance of food habits, and to the seriousness of disregarding rules for proper feeding. They went one step further and drew up a series of recommendations which they submitted to Governments as general guiding principles for national policies on nutrition. These recommendations were, of course, not intended to be taken as absolute rules for every country and every situation ;

they were meant to serve as suggestions for the public health authorities of different countries.

DIET AND HEALTH

The report, which the Mixed Committee endorsed, on the Physiological Bases of Nutrition had been drawn up by a body of health experts of international reputation. It deals, not in generalisations, but in concrete terms and furnishes a guide to nutrition standards for practical people—relief authorities, social workers, public health officers, heads of institutions, teachers, medical doctors, nurses, housewives. It defines in terms of age and bodily function the minimum requirement of the mineral salts and vitamins which science has shown to be closely bound up with the principle of growth. It describes in terms of foodstuffs easily available in the Western world the food needs of infants in the first year of life, young children, adolescents, adults performing heavy manual labour, adults engaged in sedentary work, pregnant women and nursing mothers. The experts emphasised the importance of the expectant mother maintaining a proper diet, since the kind of food she eats will determine whether her child is to set out in life with a well-balanced organism or a handicapped physique.

The experts drew attention to the special value of certain foods which they called “protective” foods—termed thus because they have been shown by the biochemists to contain the minerals and vitamins essential for healthy growth in sufficiently large quantities to

enable the body to build up reserves of these important commodities against the threat of disease. These protective foods are : of first importance, milk—and it would be difficult to exaggerate the beneficial effect of this “ perfectly balanced food ”, particularly in the diet of children and nursing mothers—then, other dairy products—butter, eggs, cheese. Fresh meats and fresh fish are valuable sources of protein and some minerals ; fresh green leafy vegetables, fresh fruits, particularly the citrus fruits, tomatoes, potatoes, carrots. Potatoes, whose popularity has suffered at the hands of the “ slimming ” experts, should not be omitted from diets since they are shown to be valuable sources of calcium and the only vegetables that retain their vitamin C content unimpaired after cooking.

The Mixed Committee of Experts considered it of the greatest importance that these “ protective ” foods should be made available everywhere at economic prices. One of their most important recommendations was that Governments should see to it that they are brought within the means of every citizen.

WORKERS' NUTRITION AND SOCIAL POLICY

Meanwhile, the International Labour Office had also taken up the problem of nutrition and had examined certain of its aspects from its own special point of view. In pursuance of a resolution adopted at the nineteenth session of the International Labour Conference, June 1935, it published in May 1936 a general report on

“Workers’ Nutrition and Social Policy”.¹ In this report, emphasis is laid on the fact that “large numbers of the working population, not only in impoverished or depressed areas, but even in the most advanced industrial countries, are inadequately nourished. Such malnourishment and under-nourishment are not the result merely of temporary dislocation due to an industrial depression, though a depression usually has an aggravating influence. It is a condition found among many employed workers in times of normal business activity.” The report enquires into the causes of this state of affairs, and describes what has been done to mitigate it.

Delegates to the International Labour Conference meeting in June 1936 discussed this report from the different points of view of the bodies which they represent—Government authorities, organisations of employers of labour and labour organisations. The conclusion of all was “that the nutrition of workers should be considered one of the most important problems which the International Labour Organisation has to solve”. The Labour Office was accordingly instructed to continue its studies of nutrition, and has been doing so in close co-operation with the Mixed Committee of Experts on Nutrition.

¹ **Workers’ Nutrition and Social Policy : Studies and Reports (Social and Economic Conditions), No. 23, International Labour Office, Geneva, 1936, 249 pages.**

OTHER ORGANS HELP

A number of other international organisations had at the same time shown their concern about the problem of nutrition and indicated their desire to co-operate with the Mixed Committee in seeking solutions. For example, a delegate of the International Committee on Inter-Co-operative Relations was asked to attend the 1937 meetings of the Mixed Committee. That body has issued a report describing the means employed by co-operative organisations in different countries to enlighten and guide their members, both producers and consumers, on nutrition questions. Such organisations can be of great assistance to the public authorities in their efforts to spread information about food values and the importance of diet, and to suppress fraud in the representation of foodstuffs to the public.

The League's Advisory Committee on Social Questions, which is represented on the Mixed Committee, is particularly concerned with the social effects of malnutrition in children and young people of both urban and rural populations. They have also given some attention to the question of alternative sources of the elements necessary for balanced nutrition, an important problem in every country where the ideal foods may not be within the reach of every purse. An illustrative case was described at a recent meeting of this body, where the public authorities in a certain district were faced with serious cases of rickets among children. Citrus fruits, which would have been probably the ideal food in this case, were beyond the means both of the authorities and

the people concerned ; but the local social workers and public health nurses dealt successfully with the epidemic by administering cod and other fish liver oils. Similarly, experiments are every day being made with other " alternatives " for the essential food values.

Private organisations and societies, many of whom have given ample evidence of their interest in questions of diet and food habits, have shown themselves particularly well placed to study this important aspect of the problem—the adaptation in terms of the foodstuffs most readily available in given local areas of the principles of proper nutrition.

The International Commission of Agriculture, at a meeting held in Oslo in June 1936, stressed the economic importance of the problem, and the need for a thorough study of the diet available for agricultural populations in view of the present agricultural depression and unemployment.

The General Assembly of the International Institute of Agriculture held in October 1936, decided to strengthen its collaboration with the Mixed Committee and laid down the lines of its own future work and investigations in this field.

All these various bodies and interests, inspired by a common aim, have given valuable support to the Mixed Committee. It has been the aim of the latter in publishing its reports to furnish all interested bodies, official and voluntary, with a basis for a working programme designed to secure greater health and prosperity.

CHAPTER III

TECHNICAL ADVANCE

The seventeenth Assembly of the League (September 1936) endorsed the guiding principles of policy put forward by the Mixed Committee and recommended their adoption by Governments. At the same time, it decided to give a fresh impetus to the studies undertaken, both those devolving on the Mixed Committee and those of a more specialised nature which fall to the Health Organisation.

As a result, the League now has before it a long list of subjects, some of them quite technical, related to nutrition, upon which study is still to be done. Here, as in the work of the Mixed Committee, it is no part of the League's intention to suggest absolute rules or remedies for the problem of under-feeding in different countries. Its purpose is rather to make known the findings of science in so far as it has advanced in this field, and to furnish an impetus both for further research and for the application of our present knowledge to the special problems of each country and locality. If food habits are to be improved and the general standard of public health thereby raised, a number of different factors must be taken into account—custom, tastes, traditions, economic resources, standards of living, occupation and income. These factors vary from country to country, from district to district, from family to family. It is obvious that the final responsibility for solving

malnutrition in terms of all these factors must lie with the local and Government authorities.

In the light of this conclusion, the Mixed Committee of Experts recommended that Governments should “ co-ordinate the work done by different authorities which affects the nutrition of the people and, in the absence of a central authority, set up a special body for this purpose in order to secure unity of policy and direction ”. With a view to co-ordinating the activities of these national committees—some of which had already been set up—the Assembly suggested that it might be well to arrange for an exchange of views and experience between their leading members.

NATIONAL NUTRITION COMMITTEES

A first meeting of representatives of a number of national committees was accordingly held at Geneva on February 22nd to 26th, 1937, under the chairmanship of Lord Astor. The agenda was confined to the following points :

(1) Status and composition of national committees ;

(2) Work already done and in progress ; methods employed in order :

(a) To assess the state of nutrition of the national population ;

(b) To spread the principles of improved nutrition among the population.

Each of these points afforded an opening for interesting discussions. Those present at the meeting described

what had been done in their respective countries to introduce new food consumption habits and to improve the standard of public health and maintain the improvement when secured. A wide variety of methods had been employed, but there was general agreement on the need for spreading a knowledge of the value of protective foods and of the importance of a correct balance in the daily diet. Much striking evidence was produced of the effect of such a balance on health and growth, especially in the case of children, but there is, unfortunately, equally abundant and striking evidence that an "optimum condition" is rare, not to say exceptional.

The composition and status of national committees vary in different countries ; indeed, rigid standardisation would make them unadaptable to national conditions. The members of the meeting unanimously agreed, however, that those bodies should be so constituted as, in the Assembly's words, "to secure unity of policy and direction". One essential condition for this would seem to be that they should be incorporated in the State administrative organisation. A national committee that depends entirely on private initiative for its driving power and its finances, as some of them do, is undoubtedly not in a position to perform its functions satisfactorily.

It is plain that a national nutrition policy must be based on periodical enquiries into food consumption habits. The methods generally employed to determine the state of nutrition of the population were discussed at length and a number of principles and rules for guidance embodied in a memorandum which will, it is hoped, be elaborated by a technical committee of the

League's Health Organisation. As long ago as 1926, the International Labour Organisation held a conference of labour statisticians, and published a report on methods of securing and analysing data on consumption of foodstuffs and other goods and services by workers. The expert members of the Committee advising the International Labour Office on nutrition have recently recommended to the Governing Body of that Organisation to arrange for a further international discussion on the subject in collaboration, especially, with the experts of the League Secretariat and of national nutrition committees. The Committee attaches importance to effective co-operation between these organisations in the improvement of the methods used in such investigations and, in the interest of international comparisons, to secure their greater uniformity.

PROGRAMME OF FUTURE STUDY

After the publication of the Mixed Committee's interim report, the Health Organisation of the League of Nations undertook a series of connected studies. It is thus making a specially valuable contribution to our knowledge of the general problem, the scientific aspect of which still offers great openings for research.

The authors of the report on "The Physiological Bases of Nutrition", already mentioned, recommended, when submitting their conclusions, the following ten problems for further study :

- (1) Assessment of the nutritional state of children ;
- (2) Nutritive food requirements during the first year of life ;

- (3) Minimum vitamin and mineral requirements ;
- (4) Minimum fat requirements ;
- (5) The nutritive and “ supplementary ” values of the different protein-containing foods, to determine to what extent and in what forms animal protein is necessary for growth and health ;
- (6) The relative nutritive value of different cereals according to the degree of milling ;
- (7) The extent to which the increasing consumption of sugar is detrimental to health ;
- (8) Influence of climate on food requirements ;
- (9) The extent to which diets in common use fall below the standards recommended in this report ;
- (10) The optimum amounts of milk required at the different ages.

This list was later amplified by a proposal for special investigations on the subject of milk, more particularly the additional nutritive effects of the reciprocal action of the dietetic elements contained in milk on the one hand and cereals and potatoes on the other.

ASSESSMENT OF THE NUTRITIONAL STATE OF CHILDREN

The first of the subjects mentioned above—assessment of the nutritional state of children—was considered at a meeting of health experts held in Geneva in December 1936. These experts recommended the use of several types of enquiry, according to the number of children whose state of nutrition was to be examined.

As a first type of enquiry, aiming at the rapid classification of a large number of individuals, they suggested that cards should be compiled showing age, sex, physical appearance, weight, height and the results of a simple clinical examination. A second type of enquiry, involving more thorough examinations and covering a smaller number of individuals, includes, in addition to the tests employed in the first type, an economic and social investigation (more especially into the diet of the family and the child), a thorough medical examination and a series of tests, particularly tests for latent pre-deficiency in vitamins A, C, and D. A third type of enquiry aims at the scientific study of the influence of a quantitatively or qualitatively deficient diet on all the functions of the organism, both physical and mental. Enquiries of all these kinds are now being conducted in certain countries. In Sweden, they are to cover 50,000 children ; in Czechoslovakia, 10,000 and, in Austria, 20,000. Similar investigations have also been in progress for some time in the United States, the United Kingdom, Poland and Norway.

A second group of experts, which consisted chiefly of paediatrists, devoted its attention to determining the nutritional requirements during the first year of life, more especially in calories, proteins, carbohydrates, fat, mineral salts and vitamins. It set out its findings on the length of the period of breast-feeding and of artificial feeding, on the administration of orange juice, tomato juice and cod liver oil, and on the use of cereals, broth, vegetables and eggs in the diet of infants.

CHAPTER IV

THE FINAL REPORT : HEALTH, AGRICULTURE, ECONOMIC POLICY

The League's final report on nutrition was published late in August 1937, on the eve of the meeting of the eighteenth session of the Assembly. This report amplified and brought up to date the experts' first conclusions published in their interim report about the bearing of food habits upon public health. It went on to discuss the relation between the problem of nutrition on the one hand, and, on the other, agricultural policy and economic relations.

One of the questions to which the experts had addressed themselves was this : supposing that, in every country of the world, food habits improved, this would mean a greater demand for dairy products, for garden produce, for fruits and fresh meat. What effect would this change in demand have upon agricultural production in different countries ? What effect upon economic relations ?

AGRICULTURE AND NUTRITION

Their report shows how the movement towards better nutrition is actually proceeding in different parts of the Western world. Nutrition policy naturally varies a good deal from country to country, since the conditions to which it must refer—economic resources, social customs and traditional food habits—differ widely.

But the ultimate goal of such policy must be everywhere the same : to ensure that all sections of the population obtain an adequate diet, that is, a diet which provides in adequate amounts and in correct balance the energy-bearing and the protective foods.

In many countries, efforts are being made to improve by direct methods the nutrition of certain sections of the population. For example, the experiment of the provision of milk to school-children is being tried in many areas ; and efforts to improve diet are being made by public authorities charged with the administration of relief or social assistance, by public institutions, such as maternity clinics or welfare centres, by private societies interested in welfare centres and by camps, etc. Experiments in supplementing diet by local production are being made in garden allotments and in the production or preparation of food on co-operative lines.

In nearly every country, some effort is being made to instruct the public in the important connection between diet and health. There is room in every economic group for such education. It is, of course, important not to lose sight of the relation of adequate shelter and clothing, fresh air, sunshine, exercise and living conditions generally to the nutrition policies adopted to improve general health. But it may be said that the first objective remains proper feeding, especially in early life.

ADAPTATION, NOT REVOLUTION

The Mixed Committee's final reports shows how the demand for " protective " foodstuffs has grown in recent

years and how agricultural production is gradually adapting itself to supply this demand. In general, it is true to say that an increase in the demand for foodstuffs (of whatever kind) implies an increase in agricultural activity. The fact that some emphasis is being laid upon a special group of foodstuffs—the protective foods—means that agriculture must adapt itself to produce these in relatively greater quantities than heretofore. The experts, however, consider that this does not imply a revolution in agricultural production. Any change in food habits which may be anticipated will be gradual, and local production, as well as production for the market, will have time to adjust itself to changes in demand. Indeed, as the majority of the protective foodstuffs for which demand will increase are perishable, the change to produce relatively more of these will benefit agricultural production for the local and national market in all countries by giving it the natural protection which variety of production always affords.

One should not conclude that the producers of the energy-bearing foods, the most important of which are the cereals, would suffer by this change. Although the first tendency of the movement for improved nutrition was to place special emphasis upon the consumption of the protective foods, it is, of course, recognised that the energy-bearing foods still remain and will remain the basis of human diet.

In the more advanced countries, the great majority of the people obtain sufficient energy foods, but quite half the population of most of the advanced countries do not receive sufficient of the protective foods (milk, fruit,

vegetables, etc.). In the less advanced countries of Europe, there is not only a very serious lack of the protective foods, but even need for a greater consumption of bread. In the Far East, the conditions are too often such as are described by the Chinese Government in their report to the Committee, which states that most Chinese suffer from malnutrition all the time.

It is clear that an improvement in the nutrition of these groups should benefit the arable farmers. If the world problem of nutrition be viewed as a whole, the enormous scope for increase in the consumption and production of cereals and certain other foodstuffs valued chiefly for their energy-yielding qualities becomes at once apparent.

Thus, while national agriculture will benefit by the growth in demand for protective foods, countries producing for export will benefit as the primary needs of the poorer classes for energy-bearing foods are more adequately met.

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The League's experts show that agriculture has in fact been able to adapt itself successfully, though not without some difficulties, to changes in the structure of demand during the past twenty-five years. They are of the opinion that the adaptation which will be required in the future in response to the movement to improve food habits will not involve a rapid transformation of the whole structure of agricultural systems, but merely the gradual re-orientation and expansion of production to meet the new requirements. They suggest that agricultural policy should be directed towards the formulation of measures to facilitate the orderly adaptation and expansion of production to the changing demand.

The possibility of such an adaptation in agricultural production is clearly indicated by a reference to what has actually occurred in Denmark. During the past sixty years, the agricultural economy of that country has been changed from the production of cereals for export into animal husbandry based on the production of large quantities of cereals for animal fodder. Denmark has become an exporter of dairy products. This has not, however, resulted in any decrease in the quantities of cereals produced from Danish soil ; indeed, the national production of cereals has doubled, but its product is used chiefly as fodder to support an increased export of dairy products.

ASSIST THE FARMER

An important section of the Mixed Committee's final report discusses measures which the experts propose for assisting agriculturists in their efforts to adapt production to the new demands. Of first importance is the problem of how to make available the capital required for any scheme of adaption and expansion, whether in industry, commerce or agriculture. In general, industry and commerce have readier access to capital than agriculture. The Mixed Committee shows the importance of assisting the necessary adaptation of agriculture by means of developing and strengthening agricultural credit systems.¹

¹ In this connection, reference might be made to the recommendations on agricultural credit systems made by the League's Financial Committee during its recent session : " The experience of recent

The Mixed Committee's report urges, as another way of helping agriculturists to meet changing demands, the encouragement and development of agricultural co-operative enterprises. Adjustments which are difficult for an individual producer may be facilitated by joint action. Agricultural co-operative societies have rendered real services in the past by helping farmers to improve their methods, by arranging for the joint use of machinery, by distributing scientific knowledge and information about market conditions and organising marketing. There is room in every country for a useful extension of such co-operative enterprises.

Practical assistance to the farmer might usefully take the form of an information service. Governments which are pursuing a policy of improved nutrition can further this policy and at the same time materially assist the adaptation of agriculture by disseminating information regarding the general trends to be anticipated in the demand for foodstuffs.

years has gone to show, too, that the systems of agricultural credit in many countries have been particularly vulnerable to the shock caused by wide fluctuations in the prices of agricultural products. The Committee suggests, therefore, that any enquiry into national agricultural credit systems with a view to laying down certain fundamental principles might yield valuable results. Such an enquiry should cover mortgage legislation and co-operative credit systems, and might with advantage be accompanied by a parallel enquiry into agricultural insurance." Report on the work of the sixty-fourth session of the Financial Committee (document C.221. M.161.1937.II.A).

The International Institute of Agriculture (Rome) is also dealing with problems of agricultural indebtedness, insurance and credit.

FARMER—FEED THYSELF

The problem of diet among rural populations—a very serious problem, particularly in areas where one or two crops only are grown for national or export trade—can to a large measure be met by inducing farmers to grow as much protective food as possible for their own use. It is a sad paradox that, in many countries, malnutrition is particularly serious among the producers of food.

Since better nutrition implies diversified diet, the general movement for improved nutrition will force farmers to produce a greater variety of foodstuffs, and their own nutrition cannot fail to benefit from this. The League's experts on nutrition attach special importance to the education of the small farmer to the nutritive value of dairy produce, vegetables and fruit, so that he will not direct his energies too exclusively to production for sale, but will produce as much as possible of foods of high nutritive value for consumption in his own household.

Other measures which State authorities should consider as a means of protecting and assisting the farmer during this period of adjustment are : machinery for keeping him informed of the latest developments regarding agricultural methods and processes, and market developments ; assistance in the combat of animal disease ; the purchase of better seed and the buying of fodder and fertiliser at economic prices ; improvement of transport facilities ; strengthening of the agricultural credit system and stimulation of national consumption.

POVERTY AND IGNORANCE

Both the Mixed Committee of Experts and the International Labour Organisation have considered the important bearing on diet of food prices in comparison with income and standard of living. The experts' report contains the results of studies of family budgets in different countries which show how diets have improved as income has increased. A comparison between the existing distribution of incomes and the costs of minimum nutritionally adequate diets shows that malnutrition of important sections of the population, even in such relatively prosperous countries as the United States of America and the United Kingdom, can be traced directly to poverty. In every country, malnutrition is most acute among the poorer people, and particularly where the wage-earner has to support a large number of children. However important it is—and it has been shown to be of great importance—to educate the public in dietetics and food values, the report makes it clear that the basic cause of malnutrition is poverty.

The problem of how to deal with this cause of malnutrition—*i.e.*, how to raise the level of income—is essentially a matter for the different national authorities. The Committee of Experts could, therefore, make no direct recommendations. They did, however, draw attention to some measures which might be applied as palliatives, if not remedies. The social services, they suggest, might be employed to mitigate the malnutrition due to poverty by providing school meals, milk in clinics for expectant and nursing mothers, or family allowances.

At the same time, the experts did not undervalue the need for education in food values. Their report contains examples showing how enormously the quality of diets may vary even among families living on the same income. Their review of the various educational methods tried in different countries is well worth notice by anyone interested in this way of improving food habits.

FOOD PRICES

In connection with their consideration of income and food costs, the experts describe how food prices are determined by different factors connected with supply—technique and costs of production, commercial policy, market organisation and distribution costs. They have drawn attention to the fact that co-operative schemes of production and marketing have been found to result in a reduction of retail food prices. They point out that there is often much scope for a reduction in the margin between wholesale and retail prices, and suggest that this possibility should be carefully considered by every Government interested in maintaining supplies of good food at economic prices.

FOOD AND PROSPERITY

It was impossible for the nutrition experts to discuss the supply of nutrition food without taking into account the fact that most countries must import some of the foodstuffs required to maintain a properly balanced diet among their citizens. They have shown that where extreme policies of protection of agricultural products

are in force, foodstuffs are made dearer, and this cannot but have a detrimental effect upon food consumption habits. They suggest, therefore, that Governments should reconsider their agricultural tariffs and quotas in the light more especially of the nutritional needs of their citizens. A freer exchange of food products could not fail to make the essential foods more easily available in every country. Further, it could not do other than improve economic conditions.

It is, indeed, the thesis of the League's experts on nutrition that the adoption of sound nutrition policies by many Governments would result, first, in a marked improvement in national health; and, secondly, in an improvement in the position of both national and world agriculture. This, in turn, would increase the purchasing power of agricultural populations for manufactured foods. Improved nutrition should thus bring about a marked improvement in the world economic situation.

THE CHALLENGE AND THE OPPORTUNITY

The general conclusions reached by the experts are that food habits in Western communities have been tending to change in the right direction, and that, not only world agriculture, but also the various national agricultural systems should benefit from the increased demand resulting from an extension of the movement towards better nutrition. They nevertheless bring forward an important collection of evidence relating to food habits and diets in various parts of the world, which shows that in spite of the considerable progress which has taken

place in recent decades, the problem is still urgent and one which should receive first attention from authorities everywhere.

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“ The malnutrition which exists in all countries is at once a challenge and an opportunity ; a challenge to men’s consciences and an opportunity to eradicate a social evil by methods which will increase economic prosperity.”

NUTRITIVE VALUE OF FOODS

(From "Nutrition"; final report to the Assembly of the Mixed Committee of the League of Nations (document A.13.1937.I.A).)

Food	"Good" protein	Minerals	Vitamins			
			A	B	C	D
Milk	++	+++	+	+	+⊙	+⊙
Cheese	++	++	+	+	-	-
E Eggs	++	++	+	++	-	++
E Liver	++	++	+	++	-	+
E Fat fish (herrings, etc.)	+		+	+	-	++
Green vegetables, salads	+	+++	+	+	++	-
Raw fruit, fruit juices		+++	+*	+	++	-
E Butter	-	-	+	-	-	+⊙
Cod liver oil	-	-	+++	-	-	+++
Yeast	+	+	-	++	-	-
Meat (muscle)	+	⊥	-	+	⊥	-
Root vegetables, tubers			+*	+	+	-
Legumes (dry peas, lentils)			-	+	-	-
E Cereals, bread (wholemeal)	+	⊥	⊥	+	-	-
E Cereals, bread (white)			-	-	-	-
E Cereals, rice (polished)			-	-	-	-
E Nuts	⊥		-	++	-	-
E Sugar, jam, honey			-	-	-	-
E Margarine, olive oil and other vegetable oils			-	-	-	-

Highly protective foods

Less protective foods

Non-protective foods

- E = foods of high energy or caloric value.
- +++ signifies very rich.
- ++ signifies rich.
- + signifies present.
- ⊥ signifies present in small amount or traces.
- signifies absent.
- ⊙ signifies in summer, when the cows are on pasture.
- * signifies if yellow in colour.

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN IN THE EAST
WORK OF THE
BANDOENG CONFERENCE

GENEVA 1938
INFORMATION SECTION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	5
I. CAUSES OF PROSTITUTION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE EAST	7
II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND :	
What is meant by Traffic in Women and Children?	12
Enquiries in Different Parts of the World :	
(a) Europe and America ; (b) the East.....	13
Changes in the Trend and Volume of the Traffic in Women and Children.....	17
International Legislation in the Field of Traffic in Women and Children (Agreement of 1904, the Term "Central Authority" ; the Con- ventions of 1910, 1921, 1933 ; Next Stage)..	19
III. FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE	24
Composition	24
Agenda	27
IV. CLOSER COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE AUTHORITIES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PREVENTION OF TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.....	28
Suggested Establishment of a League Bureau ...	28
Regional Conferences	33
Lack of Co-operation between Chinese Author- ities and the Administrations of Foreign Settlements	34

	Page
V. PROTECTION OF MIGRANTS AGAINST TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN	36
The Most Important Distributing Centre—Hong-Kong	36
Proportions of the Sexes among Migrants	38
Problem of Female Migrants from Hainan.....	41
Tiochiu Troupes.....	41
Collaboration between Shipping Companies and the Authorities	42
VI. ABOLITION OF LICENSED BROTHELS IN THE EAST :	
The Brothel in International Traffic in the East..	44
Situation as regards Abolition	44
The Brothel : Medical, Ethical and Social Aspects	46
Different Approaches to Abolition	49
Practical Experience	51
Abolition, the Final Goal	53
VII. CLOSER CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE AUTHORITIES AND PRIVATE ORGANISATIONS IN THE EAST	55
Rôle of Voluntary Organisations in the East....	56
Best Type of Co-operation.....	58
VIII. EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN OFFICIALS	60
IX. WOMEN REFUGEES OF RUSSIAN ORIGIN	63

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Annexes

1. Map of the Territory covered by the Conference.....	68
2. List of Central Authorities in Eastern Countries.....	72
3. Position as regards the Signature of, Accessions to and Ratifications of International Instruments relating to Traffic in Women and Children.....	75
4. Resolutions adopted by the Conference.....	79

INTRODUCTION

“In the social sphere there are problems — and even primary problems — which no longer present any difficulties in the West but which are still awaiting solution in the East.”

These words, spoken by Dr. Enthoven, Director of the Department of Justice in the Netherlands Indies, in the address with which he opened the Conference of central authorities at Bandoeng, reflect the background against which the work of that Conference has to be considered. Moreover, in the social, as in most other spheres, there is no single and indivisible East. The social problems of Singapore and Hong-Kong are only in part those of Bangkok, and in social structure Malaya differs more widely from China than Italy from France or Europe from North America. In the following pages, the term “East” is used in a geographical sense and not as indicating spiritual or social unity.

The purpose of the present booklet is not to present the whole question of traffic in women and children in the East — that has been done in the comprehensive report of the Commission of Enquiry on Traffic in Women and Children in the East¹ — but to give a condensed account of the work of the Conference, utilising also such relevant information as has come to the knowledge of the Secretariat

¹ League of Nations document C.849.M.393.1932.IV.

of the League of Nations since the publication of the report. This publication has been issued at the special request of the Conference, which asked that "a report be prepared by the Secretariat of the League of Nations suitable for distribution to a wider public".¹

The work of the Conference, which was convened under the auspices of the League of Nations, was carried on from the very first in a spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding. In his concluding speech, the representative of the Netherlands Indies Government declared himself "deeply impressed by the fact that it has been possible for such a diversity of Eastern nations to co-operate so intimately that many tangible results have been achieved".

There were differences of opinion, of course; but at no single moment did such differences lead to serious difficulties. All the recommendations and suggestions were adopted unanimously, even those relating to the abolition of licensed brothels, a question which only a few years before could perhaps not have been raised at all at a Conference in that part of the world.

The aim of the Conference was to give a new impetus to the forces working in the East against the traffic in women and children. That impetus may prove to be especially valuable because it seems to have come at the right psychological moment; public opinion is definitely on the move, and the Governments are ready for international action in this field.

¹ See Annex 4, page 86.

I. CAUSES OF PROSTITUTION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE EAST

There are two general causes leading women into prostitution which may be considered independently of the particular country in which prostitution is carried on and of the social structure of the community. Those causes are poverty and ignorance. Their relative importance, however, varies in different parts of the world. Thus M. Chen, of the Chinese delegation, referred to ignorance as a cause of prostitution and stated that :

“Out of 500 prostitutes in Peiping, only eleven could read and write and only two had received any higher education. The study made of 3,000 prostitutes at Tientsin showed that only thirteen — *i.e.*, 0.04% could read and write; a large number, estimated at about 40% of the prostitutes, were also found to be feeble-minded.”

Whilst it would appear from a study now being made by the League that the school-leaving age of prostitutes in Europe is also abnormally low, no such percentage of illiteracy has been found among them. If illiteracy is taken as an index of ignorance, it may safely be assumed that ignorance as a contributing factor to prostitution is far more important in the East than in Europe.

On one important point, however, prostitution in the East is quite different from that in Europe and America. In vast territories, it is the consequence of social habits

rather than of individual failings, and for whole groups of women it is the inevitable outcome of circumstances. Certain recent studies of the antecedents of prostitutes have shown that social customs in Europe are contributory rather than determining factors.

Such information as the League has obtained during previous enquiries and at the Conference shows that there still exist in the East, especially in India, whole groups of women actually destined for prostitution. A note forwarded by the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, in 1937, stated that there were "certain classes in India (viz., Naiks of Kumaun, Kalawant, etc.) amongst whom the females usually take to prostitution as a profession." Kumaun is a remote hill district in the United Provinces. It has also to be kept in mind that, among some of these castes, there has never been registered marriage in the Western sense.

A report which reached the League Secretariat in 1936 from the Government of the United Provinces stated that there was "at least one caste in the United Provinces, the Naiks of Kumaun, the hereditary occupation of whose women was prostitution. An act has been passed for the protection of minor girls of the caste from being brought up as prostitutes." A report from the Government of Orissa states that prostitutes "are generally from families who have adopted this profession for generations". A report from Bengal states "girls married at the age of 7 years or less often find themselves widowed before they reach the age of 15... Generally speaking, a young widow is ill treated both by her own family and her husband's family and is therefore

continually seeking an opportunity to remove herself from her environment. Only one profession is open to her, and her entry into the ranks of prostitution may be said to be entirely normal and inevitable.”¹

The delegate of Portuguese India at the Bandoeng Conference gave the following account of the position :

“Apart from the general causes of prostitution in Portuguese India, there was a cause of religious origin in that country—namely, Devadasism—which was a social, semi-ritual and semi-traditional institution compelling women of a certain caste to become prostitutes.

“The bayaderes did not marry. They were attached to the service of the pagodas... The children born of these women did not belong to any caste. If they were girls, they became bayaderes like their mothers...”

On account of “precocious marriages, girls became widows when they were scarcely nubile or still in their childhood. Widows, whether children or adults, could never re-marry. Moreover, they became the drudges of all the members of the deceased husband’s household.

¹ In the case of India, there is the further factor that the strong prejudice felt against women who have been prostitutes makes a return to normal life well-nigh impossible. One report from India states that, “once having taken to this unhappy mode of living, they find it impossible to give it up because they are regarded as social and moral outcasts”. The unfortunate position of widows has been a feature only among certain classes in Hindu communities. The modern educational movement is seeking to create from among these unfortunate women the first trained nurses, teachers and social workers.

The hardest duties were reserved to them and they had no comfort or rest. They had only one extremely simple meal per day. They had to submit to strict fasts, to shave their heads, to abstain from all ceremonies or rejoicings, marriages or religious festivals. They had to keep out of sight of women in labour or any person who might be injured by their evil eye. Under these circumstances, it was not astonishing that these young widows should form a large proportion of the inmates of brothels ; according to certain figures, they represent 30% of the total number of prostitutes."

The Portuguese delegate pointed out that, as a result of the policy of religious tolerance practised in the Portuguese colonies, the Hindus had been allowed to maintain the prostitution of the bayaderes.

Thus, for whole groups of prostitutes in the East, personal responsibility on the part of the victim is to a large extent practically non-existent, and circumstances over which she has no control force her into prostitution quite independently of her own disposition. Hence it is evident that a greater share of responsibility falls upon society, which must employ different measures to deal with prostitution in the East from those employed in other parts of the world. In Europe and America, prostitution, though a definite social phenomenon, is not a group phenomenon. But this is the case in parts of the East, and it is therefore natural that the exponents of society—the authorities—should play a far more important rôle in dealing with this problem than is the case in other parts of the world.

Signs are not lacking that public opinion in this part of the world is awakening to the importance of improving social conditions. The Sarda Act prohibiting child marriages, the Devadasism Bill and the Re-marriage of Widows Bills, all applying to British India, show how social thought is advancing in modern India.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

WHAT IS MEANT BY TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN ?

The expression "traffic in women and children" has replaced the former designation of "white slave traffic" which is to-day used only colloquially. The latter term was current in official language until the creation of the League; both the 1904 International Agreement and the 1910 International Convention refer to the "suppression of the white slave traffic". It has, however, been gradually abandoned, as it became clear that traffic in women was not confined to women of the white race, but that the scourge appeared all over the world and included women of all races.

Many attempts have been made to define "traffic in women and children". It has of course different aspects according to whether it is regarded from the legal, criminal or social standpoints. Generally speaking, traffic in women can be defined as the procurement for gain of girls and women for immoral purposes. The League of Nations, however, did not deal originally with the traffic in women in this wide sense but with one of its aspects—the international traffic. This has been defined in one of the League's reports as "meaning primarily the direct or indirect procurement and transportation for gain to a foreign country of women and girls for the sexual gratification of one or more other persons".

From the beginning, it has proved difficult, if not impossible, to “isolate the international question entirely from various forms of commercialised vice where there is no transportation to a foreign country”. The League could therefore not always avoid dealing with national traffic in women and children, but great care was always taken to do so only with the approval of the authorities concerned.

ENQUIRIES IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD

One of the League's first tasks in the campaign against traffic in women and children was to ascertain how far the facts warranted further activities in that field. For this purpose, the League undertook a number of enquiries, two of which are especially relevant in connection with the Bandoeng Conference.

A. Europe and America

The first enquiry took place in the years 1924-1926 and resulted in the report of the Special Body of Experts on Traffic in Women and Children.¹ It covered a number of European countries — Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany and others — as well as some non-European countries, especially in Central and South America. This report had far-reaching repercussions, since it proved the existence of an extensive traffic in women, chiefly from Europe to Central

¹ League of Nations documents C.52.M.52.1927.IV, and C.52(2).M.52(1).1927.IV.

and South America, and also to Egypt and various regions of North Africa. In addition, it proved that licensed brothels constitute one of the principal factors in the promotion of the traffic. A new impulse was thus given to public opinion and to Government action for the abolition of licensed brothels, especially in Europe.

Since this enquiry was made, the situation has changed considerably for the better. Several countries have abandoned or restricted the system of regulation, and the consequent breaking-up of the chain of licensed houses which before the war existed practically throughout Europe, coupled with the decrease of illiteracy in various parts of Europe and the stabilisation of currencies in a number of countries most affected by the economic consequences of the war, has led on the whole to an improvement in the situation. In addition, such measures as stricter enforcement of immigration and emigration regulations, the provision for control of passports, the extension of unemployment benefits to new categories of workers, especially women workers, etc., had a salutary effect. The cumulative result of all these and other factors was a distinct decline in the international traffic in women in Europe itself and from Europe to America. How far the economic depression, which held Europe and indeed most of the world in its grip between 1929 and 1932, directly influenced this development is difficult to ascertain. The evidence is conflicting. While the general impoverishment resulting from the crisis has undoubtedly increased the number of women liable to fall into prostitution, it has at the same time diminished

the purchasing power of the potential clients of prostitution. The situation seems to have varied from country to country and even from town to town.

B. *The East*

In 1929, the League of Nations Assembly, the highest authority of the League, decided that an enquiry into the traffic in women and children should be extended to the East. This decision was taken after the Governments concerned in the East had declared themselves prepared to collaborate in such an enquiry. The organisation entrusted with the investigation consisted of (a) a travelling Commission of Enquiry of three members appointed by the Council of the League, (b) a Committee to which the Governments having delegates on the Traffic in Women and Children Committee appointed representatives. The countries represented on this Committee were the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Poland, Roumania, Spain, Uruguay. The Commission studied the position in the following territories : the Far East—Japan, China, Hong—Kong, Macao, the Philippine Islands, Indo-China, the Netherlands Indies, the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, the Unfederated Malay States, Siam ; the Middle East—India, Ceylon, Iran ; the Near East—Iraq, Near—Eastern territories under French mandate, Palestine.

The results of this, the first comprehensive enquiry into the question of traffic in women and children in

the East, were submitted to the Council in an exhaustive report.¹ They were published in 1933 and aroused great interest throughout the world.

The chief results of the enquiry have been authoritatively summarised as follows² :

“The essential facts which the report discloses are that there is an international traffic in oriental women and girls in the Near, Middle and Far East ; that the number of women and girls involved in this traffic is, in the aggregate, large ; that the bulk of this traffic is traffic in Asiatic women from one country in Asia to another ; that the largest number of such victims are of Chinese race ; the next in numerical importance are women of Japanese nationality — that is, Japanese, Korean and Formosan—followed in very much smaller number by Malayan, Annamite, Siamese, Filipino, Indian, Iraqui, Persian and Syrian.

“As regards traffic in Occidental women to the East, the Commission reports that this traffic, which once was considerable, has markedly decreased... With certain exceptions to be found chiefly in the Mediterranean Near East, prostitutes who go to the Middle or Far East seek their clients almost solely among clients of their own race. Even Occidental prostitutes who go to the Middle or Near East seek their clients almost solely among Occidental men.”

¹ Commission of Enquiry into Traffic in Women and Children : Report to the Council — League of Nations, document C.849. M.393.1932.IV.

² Document C.T.F.E.594, C.P.E.420.

“The report indicates that some of the more important causes which underlie the traffic in the Occident operate also in the Orient, but in a different manner.”

These enquiries in Europe, America and the East were made possible by generous grants from the American Social Hygiene Association.

CHANGES IN THE TREND AND VOLUME OF TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN

In a questionnaire which was sent to all the countries interested in the Conference of Central Authorities in Eastern Countries, the Governments were invited to state, *inter alia*, whether the trend of the traffic in women and children had undergone any change, whether the volume had increased or decreased and whether they were in a position to give a general résumé of the situation. The answers to this questionnaire referred to changes that have taken place since the end of 1931—*i.e.*, to developments subsequent to the investigation of the Commission of Enquiry into the Traffic in Women and Children in the East.

From the replies, it appeared that traffic had declined in the majority of Eastern countries. Statements to this effect were made by the Government of the Straits Settlements and by the Government of Hong-Kong, the latter expressing the opinion that the traffic from Hong-Kong to the South Seas had practically ceased. Siam pointed out that the traffic from China had declined. The report of the Government of the Indo-Chinese Union stated that, in the cases detected, only isolated

individuals had been concerned, while the Governments of Macao and Portuguese India and the reports of most of the Indian Provincial Governments stated that external traffic in women and children was practically non-existent.

As to general development, the International Criminal Police Commission stated in a memorandum that "traffic in women and children, and all offences connected with the traffic, such as those concerning *souteneurs*, procurers and other persons exploiting immorality are on the decline".

This general statement is not disproved by the fact that there seems to be some slight increase in certain places in the East. The following paragraphs contain various observations from Governments' replies relating to particular areas.

The Netherlands Indies stated that the traffic had increased.

The report from the Straits Settlements contends that the sex ratio for Chinese in Malaya is tending gradually towards equalisation. "This affects traffic in prostitutes in two ways : first, more locally-born Chinese women take to prostitution, leaving less demand for prostitutes from China ; and, secondly, more Chinese men in Malaya are married, so that there is less demand for prostitutes altogether. The working of the Aliens Ordinance since the beginning of 1932 has made the examination of passengers easier and more effective, and has therefore made traffic more difficult and risky."

As the report from Hong-Kong states, "the closing of tolerated houses in Hong-Kong and Malaya, together

with the fact that, at the examination of deck passengers at the Secretariat for Chinese Affairs, known prostitutes are not allowed to proceed abroad, has been responsible for the decrease. The economic depression in Malaya has possibly been a contributing factor.”

These two statements show that the decrease in international traffic in this part of the world is due, at least in part, to the same factors which contributed to such a definite decrease in the traffic between Europe and South America—namely, the strengthening of official measures and stricter control.

As regards the nature of the traffic, all the evidence available points to the fact that, in almost all cases, the traffic was the work of individuals who delivered up individual women to prostitution for the sake of gain. The notion that it has invariably been carried on by organised gangs of traffickers and that whole groups of victims were involved seems not to be warranted by the facts as they exist in the East.

INTERNATIONAL LEGISLATION IN THE FIELD OF TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The Conference of Central Authorities in Eastern Countries forms part of the general social and humanitarian activity of the League of Nations. These are based on Article 23 (c) of the Covenant, which entrusted the League, *inter alia*, “with the general supervision of the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children”.

The League first concentrated on the ratification by its Members of the international instrument concluded before its foundation—*i.e.*, the 1904 International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic and the 1910 International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic.

Since the foundation of the League, the international legislation in this field has been extended by the conclusion of three further international instruments : the 1921 International Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children, the 1923 International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in and Circulation of Obscene Publications, and the 1933 International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age. The following are the chief provisions of these Conventions as far as they deal with traffic in women and children.

The Agreement of 1904

The Agreement of 1904, which to-day seems a timid endeavour, but which, at the time of its conclusion, constituted a great step forward, contains an undertaking on the part of the contracting Governments to “establish an authority charged with the co-ordination of all information relative to the procuring of women and girls for immoral purposes abroad. The Governments undertake to have a watch kept for persons in charge of women and girls destined for an immoral life. The arrival of persons who appear to be principals, accomplices in or victims of such traffic shall be notified to the authorities of the place of destination.”

Establishment of Central Authorities

The 1904 Agreement is of special importance for the present study, as it created the central authorities which are charged, in the different countries, with the duty of combating the traffic in women and children.

Article I of the Agreement states that each of the contracting Governments undertakes to establish or name some authority charged with the co-ordination of all information relative to the procuring of women or girls for immoral purposes abroad. Since the conclusion of the Agreement, practically all the countries of the world have created or named such offices, and their collaboration has played a considerable rôle in the diminution of traffic in women, especially in Europe. The question of how co-operation between the central authorities in Eastern countries¹ could be made closer was one of the chief problems with which the Bandoeng Conference was faced.

The Convention of 1910

The International Convention of 1910, on which the further international legislation in this field is based, covers the offence of "procuring, enticing or leading away for immoral purposes in order to gratify the passions of another person, a woman of full age when there is fraud, violence and any measures of compulsion". It also covers the offence of procuring, enticing or leading

¹ See Annex 2, page 72.

away for an immoral purpose, under the same conditions, a woman under the age of twenty, even with her consent

The Convention of 1921

The International Convention of 1921, the first drawn up in this field under the auspices of the League, raised the age of protection to 21 and extended the protection to minors of either sex.

The Convention of 1933

The last Convention, that of 1933, covers the offence of procuring, enticing or leading away, even with her consent, a woman or girl of full age for immoral purposes in another country.¹ Under the Convention of 1933, the term "country" includes "the colonies and protectorates of the High Contracting Party, as well as territories under his suzerainty and territories for which a mandate has been entrusted to him".

Next Stage

As the last stage in this development, a Convention for the Suppression of the Exploitation of Prostitution by Other Persons (*Souteneurs*) is being prepared. This international instrument is intended to fill the gap left in the former Conventions by providing for the protection

¹ The position as regards the signature of, accession to and ratification of these international instruments by the countries which participated in the Conference will be found in Annex 3, page 76.

of persons of full age and of either sex against being procured for profit, even with their consent and when they are not taken abroad, and also against any other form of exploitation of their prostitution.

III. FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE

Conferences are not isolated events. If they are not to be foredoomed to failure, thorough and careful preparations must be made for them, leaving as little as possible to chance. They represent in themselves the culminating stage in the development of a problem—political, economic, financial, social or health. If successful, they are the starting-point for new developments.

The Conference of Central Authorities held at Bandoeng, Java, in February 1937, forms no exception to this general rule. Its debates were the climax of many years of research, study and discussion, and it concluded by unanimously adopting an important set of recommendations and resolutions designed to stimulate public opinion, Government activity and League action.

COMPOSITION

The Conference was convened by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations in accordance with a Council decision of October 10th, 1936, authorising the issue of invitations to the Governments which had declared their readiness to participate in the Conference, to the missions and international organisations whose participation had been agreed upon by the majority of the countries taking part, to such national, regional or local organisations as had been proposed by the participating Governments in whose territories they

operate, and to experts whose participation was considered desirable for the success of the Conference.

It was composed as follows : The Governments of the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, Hong-Kong, China, France (for the Indo-Chinese Union and the French Concession of Shanghai), India, Japan, the Netherlands (for the Netherlands Indies), Portugal (for Portuguese India and Macao), and Siam: The representative of the United States of America attended in the capacity of an observer. Thus the nine countries which had shown an active interest in the Conference all sent representatives to Bandoeng.

As regards missions and international voluntary organisations, the Sacred Congregation "De Propaganda Fide" was represented by an observer, and the International Mission Council and the following international voluntary organisations were represented by delegates :

The Salvation Army, the Pan-Pacific Women's Association, the World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations, the World's Young Women's Christian Association.

The national, regional and local organisations were composed of organisations from India, China and the Netherlands East Indies.

These national, regional and local organisations were :

China. — The World Red Swastika Society of China,

The Children's Home, Hsiang-Shan, Peiping,
The China Child Welfare Association.

India. — Association for Moral and Social Hygiene.

Netherlands Indies. — Association “Ati Soetji”, Indo-Europeesch-Verbond Vrouwen-Organisatie, Perkoempoelan Pembasmian Perdagangan Perempuan dan Anak-anak.

The International Criminal Police Commission was represented by a Commissioner of Police from Middle Java acting as expert. The Conference also invited Miss M. Malthe, a former member of the Commission of Enquiry into the Traffic in Women and Children in the East, to sit as an expert.

Some of the delegates of the national, regional and local organisations attended in a dual capacity as Government experts and as representatives of those associations, and two representatives of international voluntary organisations were accredited to different associations. The actual number of delegates, experts, advisers, etc., at the Conference was sixty-one.

It appeared probable before the Conference met that the voluntary organisations would be particularly well represented and, in fact, there were fourteen delegations representing non-official bodies as compared to nine Government delegations. The voluntary organisations were able to give most valuable assistance in the discussions on questions in which they had specialised, and their contribution to the work of the Conference was generally appreciated. Resolution No. IV on the co-operation of Governments and voluntary organisations¹ is certainly due in part to the fact that collaboration

¹ See Annex 4, page 84.

between Governments and voluntary organisations proved very satisfactory at the Conference itself.

The Conference was presided over by Jonkheer A. T. Baud, first delegate of the Netherlands, while Mrs. C. Mukerjee, Chairman of the All-India Women's Conference, delegate of India, acted as vice-president.

AGENDA OF THE CONFERENCE

The Conference discussed the following agenda :

I. Closer collaboration and wider exchange of information between the police and other authorities in the different countries who are responsible for measures concerning the prevention of traffic in women and children in the East.

II. Migration, in so far as this question affects the protection of migrants against traffic in women and children.

III. Possibility of abolishing licensed or tolerated brothels in the East.

IV. Closer collaboration between police and other authorities and private organisations in the East.

V. Possibility of employing a larger number of women officials by the authorities responsible for the welfare of women and children.

VI. Problem of women refugees of Russian origin in the Far East who have been or are in danger of becoming victims of the traffic.

IV. CLOSER COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE AUTHORITIES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PREVENTION OF TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN

It was one of the main contentions of the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Traffic in Women and Children in the East that collaboration and exchange of information between the police and other authorities in the different countries responsible for measures concerning the prevention of such traffic was not in every instance proceeding satisfactorily. The report gives a number of actual cases to prove its contention, and these findings have never been challenged.

The chief purpose of the Conference was to find ways and means of remedying this state of affairs. This it did either by making suggestions of a comprehensive character or by recommending specific action on different aspects of the question.

SUGGESTED ESTABLISHMENT OF A LEAGUE BUREAU

The chief suggestion in this direction was made as early as the second meeting of the Conference, when the delegate of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States gave an account of the technique of the traffickers and of the measures at the disposal of the authorities for combating the traffic. "It was true",

the delegate stated, "that a trafficker who had once succeeded in deceiving the authorities would make a fresh attempt, but if he were caught, or if the victim were discovered, he was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment and deported. That measure, which at first sight appeared to be satisfactory, was only so to the State which applied it ; for if the trafficker returned to his own country—for instance, to Kwantung—there was nothing in the provisions at present in force to prevent him from resuming his traffic in the direction of India, China or Siam, since he was not obliged, in order to send women to those countries, to pass through Singapore or any other port in which he was forbidden to stay.

"In order to do really useful work, therefore, the competent officials should inform the authorities of the trafficker's country of origin of the measures taken against him, and they should send all particulars necessary for his identification. Moreover, this would not be sufficient—a Central Bureau should be opened in order to collect all data regarding Eastern traffickers."

The delegate of the Straits Settlements then pointed out certain analogies between the problem of fighting the traffic in women and children and the campaign against counterfeiting currency. As the outcome of a regional conference held in Singapore some years ago, an office was opened at Singapore for the exchange of information regarding the counterfeiting of currency, and since that system had been applied, there had been a marked decline in those offences. "The action taken against coiners", continued the delegate, "can be taken

with greater justice against persons engaged in the traffic in women and girls. If the Conference considered that the proposal he had just made had any practical value, he would suggest that it should consider the possibility of opening a Far-Eastern Bureau... under the auspices of the League, for the exchange of information in regard to traffic in women and children... This Bureau should be placed under the auspices of the League, as the latter had successfully organised a Bureau for the exchange of epidemiological information at Singapore.”

This suggestion met with the general approval of the Conference, which sent it to its Bureau for technical consideration. It was finally adopted by the Conference in the terms of a resolution¹ in which the Conference recommends “that a Bureau of the League of Nations should be created in the East to receive regular reports from all participating countries in regard to traffic in women and children and to circulate such reports to all participating countries”. These reports should contain information concerning the following classes of individuals :

Men and women convicted of trafficking in women and in children ;

Men and women deported or banished from the territories of participating countries for offences referred to above, whose conviction in court has been impossible for some good reason, but whose guilt has been

¹ See Annex 4, page 79.

established to the satisfaction of the Government concerned, and, lastly :

Men and women who are wanted in connection with such offences but who have made their escape before the warrant of arrest issued against them could be executed.

Detailed particulars of each individual would be given. The Conference considered that these should include, in addition to the name, sex, date of birth, and nature of the offence, the guilty person's photograph and fingerprints.

The Bureau should also suggest any measures which might facilitate the collection and distribution of information, and generally promote collaboration between participating countries in such ways as might appear desirable to those countries.

The Information Bureau would make annual reports on its work to the League of Nations.

As will be seen from the text, this resolution consists of three main suggestions : (1) that the League Bureau to be opened in the East should regularly receive reports from all participating countries and should circulate such reports ; (2) that besides this task, which, though highly important, is of a routine character, the Bureau should assume a more active rôle in liaison work, and (3) that the Bureau should make annual reports on its work to the League of Nations.

The following case discussed at the Conference may be quoted to illustrate the type of work to be undertaken under (1).

The regional Conference at Hong-Kong had raised

the problem of the position of a girl sent back to Macao at the expense of the authorities of that port. What was to prevent the trafficker from sending her to Bangkok or elsewhere under another name? The delegate of the Straits Settlements thought that this difficulty would disappear if the proposal to create an information bureau were adopted by the Conference. The parties to the agreement would receive detailed information, the authorities of the State to which the girl was repatriated would be kept informed of the matter, would know the name of the trafficker and could consequently prevent him from sending the girl under another name to a different territory.

In addition to its purely technical duties, it was the Conference's intention that the Bureau should also be responsible for liaison work (2). It was understood that the importance of this type of work would depend upon the manner in which the work of the Bureau was carried out, upon what measure of confidence it could win from the Governments and upon a number of other technical and psychological factors.

The hope was expressed that this Bureau, which would have to begin on a modest scale, would subsequently become an important centre for the campaign against the traffic in women and children, and, as one of the delegates put it, "a kind of general staff of the army fighting the traffic in women and children in the East". This is particularly evident if the above is considered in conjunction with the suggestions contained in the following sections.

The Assembly of the League of Nations in September 1937 dealt with the resolution of the Bandoeng Conference with regard to the creation of a bureau of the League of Nations in the East and considered that "the details of this scheme require fuller examination"; it therefore asked the Council of the League of Nations "to appoint an expert adviser to discuss the matter as soon as possible on the spot with the competent authorities of the Governments interested".

REGIONAL CONFERENCES

In the course of the Conference, the suggestion was made that conferences of a similar kind should meet at regular intervals—for instance, every three years—to deal with the question of the traffic in women and children in the East. The suggestion was not retained in its original form, as the Conference was of the opinion that it would not be possible to convoke regularly such a representative assembly. It did agree, however, that some of the Eastern countries might usefully hold regional conferences on specific points arising out of the local situation. The Conference therefore recommended that the League of Nations should approach the interested Governments "with a view to the holding of local conferences, where necessary, for the consideration of more effective measures for the prevention of traffic in women and children"¹, it being understood that the instrument through which the League would act would

¹ See Annex 4, page 81.

be the League of Nations Bureau to be established in the East.

LACK OF CO-OPERATION BETWEEN CHINESE
AUTHORITIES AND ADMINISTRATIONS
OF FOREIGN SETTLEMENTS

The report of the Commission of Enquiry had pointed out that "a regrettable example of the lack of co-operation in the fight against traffic in Chinese women and children is to be found also in respect of measures taken by Chinese authorities on the one hand and the administrations of foreign settlements in China on the other. This is particularly noticeable in Shanghai, where the authorities of the Chinese City, the French Concession and the International Settlement have no agreement whatever amongst themselves with regard to the prevention of traffic."¹

As the situation does not seem to have improved since the publication of the report, the suggestion was made that a liaison officer should be appointed whose chief purpose would be to assist in the co-operation between the authorities. He should not be stationed at any one point, but should visit various places. This suggestion was not accepted by the Conference. It was understood, however, that the League Bureau to be established in the East would undertake what action was needed for this problem as part of its general task of promoting collaboration between participating countries in such ways as might appear desirable to those countries.

¹ League of Nations document C.849.M.393.1932.IV, page 91.

The holding of local conferences, wherever necessary, for the consideration of more effective measures for the prevention of traffic in women and children was especially recommended by the Conference in view of the lack of co-operation between the police authorities of China and those of the foreign concessions and settlements on the Chinese coast.

V. PROTECTION OF MIGRANTS AGAINST TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The Conference had to deal with migration only in its relation to traffic in women and children.

The report of the Commission of Enquiry had shown, and the discussion of the Conference confirmed this, that it is the traffic in Chinese women to which the migration problem east of Singapore chiefly relates. From the examples given by the report, it appeared that traffickers were not deterred by even the most stringent regulations, such as existed in Singapore, the Netherlands East Indies and the Philippines.

With regard to the Philippines, the report gives an example showing the lengths to which traffickers will go. Chinese girls intended to be smuggled into the Philippines as children under age of Chinese already settled in the Islands were actually made to live for as long as two years in the village in China which they would later be required to state as their birthplace, and were regularly drilled in the answers they were to give to the questions of the migration officials at Manila.

THE MOST IMPORTANT DISTRIBUTING CENTRE—HONG-KONG

The discussion confirmed the impression received from the report of the Commission of Enquiry that Hong-Kong is to be regarded as the strategic point for the traffic east of Singapore, which is almost entirely

confined to women from South China. It was pointed out that action should be taken, not only at Singapore, the distributing centre for girls intended for the Malay Archipelago, but also at Hong-Kong, the collecting centre for all the girls whom the trafficker wished to place, not only in Malaya, but also in China and in the Philippines.

In dealing with the situation at Hong-Kong, the regional Conference held at the Secretariat for Chinese Affairs at Hong-Kong in 1935 adopted the recommendation that police officers on anti-piracy duty should be instructed to keep a watch for apparent cases of traffic in outgoing ships. As the Government of Hong-Kong stated in its reply to the questionnaire, such instructions were given to its police officers on anti-piracy duty.

The Conference showed general appreciation of the work of the Hong-Kong authorities. This was apparent from the fact that, after having taken note of the measures in force at the port of Hong-Kong for the examination of female and minor emigrants and for the provision of photographs for identification, the Conference "expressed the hope that similar measures might be adopted at other ports in the East at which it is reasonably suspected that traffic in women and children is taking place".¹

After a very full discussion, the Conference came to the conclusion that, in view of the special importance of Hong-Kong, further measures would be advisable.

¹ See Annex 4, page 82.

As the delegate of Hong-Kong observed, the examination at Hong-Kong related only to emigrants—that was to say, passengers on so-called “emigrant ships”. There was no inspection of vessels proceeding to the ports of China or Indo-China, and there were loopholes in the system. The Conference, in its resolution dealing with this question, recommended “that the Hong-Kong Government be requested to consider the extension of the provisions in force regulating the control of migration to cover the cases of female and minor passengers on other than emigrant ships”.¹

In explaining the term “emigrant ships”, the delegate of Hong-Kong pointed out that “for instance, a vessel transporting less than twenty Asiatic passengers was not examined. In addition, first- and second-class passengers were not regarded as emigrants. Moreover, emigrants arriving from Chinese ports and passing through Hong-Kong were not examined there.” The delegate explained that the reason for the incompleteness of the examination was that something like 10,000 persons entered and left Hong-Kong every day and that a large staff of officials would be required if stricter control were instituted.

PROPORTIONS OF THE SEXES AMONG MIGRANTS

In connection with the discussion of the relationship between migration and traffic, an account was given by the delegate of the Straits Settlements and the Federated

¹ See Annex 4, page 82.

Malay States, showing how by direct Government action “conditions which are favourable to the traffic might be changed and replaced by conditions which were unfavourable to the traffickers”.

By utilising the immigration machinery to change the proportion of men to women (sex ratio) of a certain group of immigrants, the composition of the Chinese population of the Malay States had been definitely changed. Under the old Chinese Empire, the emigration of women from China was discouraged and sometimes even forbidden. The Chinese emigrant had therefore normally been an unattached male—either a bachelor or a married man who had left his wife in China. Such a situation created a persistent demand for prostitutes. In the census year 1911, the sex ratio for Chinese in the Straits Settlements was 358 females per 1,000 males, and in the Federated Malay States, 188 per 1,000 males.

Between 1911 and 1921, no attempt was made to alter the sex ratio. It was felt that the ratio would be corrected by the gradual opening-up of the country, improvement in social conditions, better health conditions, etc. As a matter of fact, in 1921 the ratio for Chinese was 479 women to every 1,000 men in the Straits Settlements and 351 in the Federated Malay States. These figures had been to some extent affected by the catastrophic change in economic conditions, which had two main effects on migration. It had caused the return to China of emigrants and had brought about Government restriction of the number of immigrants admitted into the country.

The emigrants returning to China consisted mostly of unattached males. A restriction was imposed on incoming Chinese in 1930 which applied only to males, no restriction being placed on females. There was no census figure for the whole country later than 1931, but the census of the municipality of Singapore taken in 1936 was considered to be typical of the conditions in the rest of the country. It showed a ratio of 698 women to every 1,000 men. The rising proportion of locally-born Chinese had of course its influence on this development.

These figures showed, in the opinion of the delegate of the Straits Settlements, how the economic conditions could affect migration if these induced the authorities to set out deliberately to influence sex ratio. A change in this ratio from 358 in 1911 to 698 in 1936 must have indirectly affected the traffic in women.

Whilst the Conference agreed on this latter point, no recommendation was made for the general adoption of a similar policy in the East, it being understood that such a policy could be applied only in the case of minorities which preserved their racial independence and where the question of assimilation of the minority was not desired either by the authorities or by the minority itself. A country such as Siam, for instance, as was pointed out by the delegate of that country, was not in the same position with regard to this problem as some of the other countries in the East.

PROBLEM OF FEMALE MIGRANTS FROM HAINAN

In this connection, the delegate of the Straits Settlements drew attention to a special problem, that of the Hainanese communities. Until 1917, Hainanese custom did not allow Hainanese women to emigrate with the men, who came to Malaya in large numbers. In 1917, the arrival of the first Hainanese woman in Malaya created such consternation in the community that she had to return ; but from 1923 onwards, Hainanese women began to emigrate freely. The situation seems to have been similar in Siam, which reported that, the number of Hainanese female emigrants having increased, the men have become more domestic in their habits. This is believed to have an indirect effect on the traffic.

TIOCHIU TROUPES

The Siamese delegate drew the attention of the Conference to a type of entertainment troupes, travelling from town to town and from country to country, which caused certain difficulties to the authorities. The delegate of the Straits Settlements further explained that these troupes of boy actors came from the hinterland of Swatow and were known in Malaya as Tiochiu troupes. They toured Malaya, Siam, Sumatra, and elsewhere wherever Tiochiu communities were to be found. When in 1931, on account of the slump, the living conditions of these boys became very precarious, the Malayan authorities decided to prohibit the admission of such troupes into that country. This measure

having caused some stir among the Tiochiu Communities, an agreement was reached by which the heads of the Tiochiu communities and the impresarios in Malaya agreed not to bring Tiochiu actors into Malaya, but to recruit them locally. Definite terms of engagement were prepared and accepted by the heads of the communities.

The Conference recommended that special measures should be taken by Governments both by control at frontiers and by supervision within their territories to provide for the protection against traffickers of women and children who belonged to or accompanied travelling troupes of entertainers.¹

COLLABORATION BETWEEN SHIPPING COMPANIES AND THE AUTHORITIES

The report of the Commission of Enquiry deals with certain cases in which collaboration between authorities either existed already or was desirable, with reference to arrangements with national shipping ; but the report contained no concrete suggestions on the matter. The Conference, when discussing migration, had its attention drawn to this question by the delegate of Siam, who, after having reminded the Conference of a certain loophole in the system of control noted by the report, stated that the only remedy would lie in co-operation with the steamship companies, and expressed the hope

¹ See Annex 4, page 83.

that the companies would realise the necessity for granting their assistance.

In respect of this matter, the Conference recommended that Governments should make arrangements or, if necessary, regulations under which their national shipping should collaborate with port authorities generally, in order to prevent traffic in women and children.¹ The Conference especially recommended that precautions should be taken by steamship companies to prevent evasion by female and minor emigrants of any examination instituted with a view to the protection of such persons by the authorities at the ports of departure or on the arrival of ships.

¹ See Annex 4, page 83.

VI. ABOLITION OF LICENSED BROTHELS IN THE EAST

THE BROTHEL IN INTERNATIONAL TRAFFIC IN THE EAST

The question of the possibility of abolishing licensed or tolerated brothels in the East was included in the agenda because the chief purpose of the Conference was to give a new impulse to the campaign against traffic in women and children in the East. The report of the Commission of Enquiry had shown how close the connection was between the traffic and licensed brothels. It stated :

“The observations of the Commission have shown that the existence of licensed or recognised brothels in an Eastern country is a determining factor in making the country a place of destination for international traffic and that, immediately recognition is withdrawn from brothels, the amount of incoming traffic shows a marked decrease...

“Recognised brothels in an Eastern country naturally tend to facilitate also outgoing traffic, but even then such traffic can only be improved in extent and capable of development if licensed houses are equally available in the country of destination.”

SITUATION AS REGARDS ABOLITION

In connection with this item of its agenda, the whole question of State control and of State intervention in the

matter of prostitution was raised, as indeed was to be expected.

In order to give an adequate idea of the background of this discussion, it may be useful to present a rough outline of the position of the countries represented at the Conference with regard to regulated prostitution. Of these nine countries, the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, Hong-Kong, the United States of America, India¹ and the Netherlands Indies may be classified as totally abolitionist, as they have neither regulation of prostitution nor licensed brothels. In China², licensed or tolerated brothels are prohibited in principle, but the principle of abolition has not yet been fully applied by the Government itself. The Indo-Chinese Union, Japan, Portuguese India, Macao and Siam are regulationist, but in different degrees. The future of regulation in the Indo-Chinese Union and in the French Concession of Shanghai, where regulated prostitution and licensed brothels exist, will depend on the progress of the abolitionist legislation in France which has been laid before Parliament. Should the bill in question (the Sellier Law) be passed in France itself, its subsequent enforcement in the Indo-Chinese Union may be anticipated, since, in the words of the

¹ Tolerated brothels exist in certain parts of India.

² In a report submitted by the Chinese delegation to the Conference of Central Authorities in Bandoeng, it is stated under the heading "Suggestions concerning the elimination of traffic", that prostitution should be abolished according to the Chinese law, but before it is put into effect all prostitutes must be licensed and must be gradually withdrawn.

French delegate to the Conference, France has always tried to bring her colonial legislation into line with the law of the mother-country.

In Siam, the question has been studied by a Government Committee, which reported in favour of abolition, and the Siamese delegate at the Conference was one of the most consistent advocates of abolition.

In Japan, the abolitionist movement is progressing, and in a growing number of prefectures licensed brothels have actually been closed. Moreover, a full abolitionist policy is foreshadowed by Government statements made at Geneva at the Advisory Committee on Social Questions.

Portuguese India and Macao are fully regulationist.¹

THE BROTHEL : MEDICAL, ETHICAL, AND SOCIAL ASPECTS

The Conference dealt with the question of licensed brothels from various aspects—medical, ethical and social.

As to the medical side, it was interesting to note that, at this gathering of representatives of Governments, of which only about half had introduced abolition, all the

¹ The answer of the Government of Macao to the questionnaire transmitted to the Governments in July 1936 states, however, that, in spite of the disadvantages which, in the opinion of the Government, might ensue from the suppression of brothels, the Portuguese authorities of the Colony were studying a Bill on the suppression of brothels, which will be put into force after approval by the Portuguese Government.

delegates, with one exception, seemed to be in favour of abolishing licensed prostitution.

The intervention by one of the experts on the occasion of this discussion is noteworthy, coming as it did from an army doctor, as showing that, even under such different conditions as those prevailing in the Netherlands Indies Army, experience of venereal disease has been very similar to that in Europe.

Dr. P. L. Tiberghien de Moulin, First Class Army Medical Officer, of the Netherlands Indies delegation, submitted to the Conference two graphs showing the incidence of venereal disease in the Netherlands Indies Army among European and native troops respectively.

Abolition had been introduced in the Netherlands Indies in 1911-1913, when treatment of syphilis was still very inadequate. Dr. Tiberghien de Moulin observed that the syphilis rate for native soldiers showed no appreciable change until 1914. "Among Europeans... the maximum was reached in 1912 and the curve fell rapidly until 1914, when it reached a figure below that of 1911. In 1921, personal prophylaxis had been introduced, and after that venereal disease had shown a decrease, but at the present time there was a slight tendency to increase."

"The upward movement of the graphs relating to syphilis and gonorrhœa from 1914 to 1921 is possibly explained by the fact that, as many experts admitted, in times of prosperity and in war-time the increase in venereal disease was to be expected. Opinions regarding the effect of prosperity were not, however, unanimous. It was nevertheless a remarkable fact that, after 1921

(a period of prosperity)—that was to say, after the introduction of effective prophylaxis treatment, regular medical examination of the men and propaganda in respect of morals—all the graphs showed a considerable drop and in most cases declined below the figures of 1903.”

Dr. de Moulin summarised the position as follows :

“It must be admitted that, while abolition had not at the beginning brought about a decrease in venereal disease, it had not caused an increase of this disease in the Netherlands Indies Army. It was necessary that abolition should be followed by medical, social and legislative measures, in order to bring about a decline in venereal disease.”

As to the ethical side of the question, in the East the position is not quite comparable with that in Europe or in America. While all the members of the Conference individually agreed with the criticism of brothels on ethical grounds, several members pointed out that, in some of the countries concerned, such standards would apply only to a minority ; that public opinion would not yet condemn brothels on such grounds as, for instance, that to be kept in a brothel was against the human dignity of a woman ; and that, in some countries, public opinion has only just begun to count in this question.

As to the social aspect of the question, which, as already observed, is closely bound up with the ethical aspect, no comparison is possible between the position in most of the European and American countries and that in the majority of the countries represented at the Conference,

especially in India, Portuguese India, Indo-China and, to a certain but decreasing degree, in China.¹

DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO ABOLITION

The ideas which underlie the actual enforcement of abolitionist measures and which determine their character can perhaps be divided into two groups. There is the point of view, chiefly represented in the East by Anglo-Saxon authorities, that regulation of prostitution being an evil in itself, no compromise should be admitted on that point; abolition should not be conditional. Hence the enforcement of abolitionist measures is considered to be rather a problem of public order and security, deriving from police powers, than a social problem in the strict sense of the word. In these countries, therefore, it is preceded or accompanied by a number of processes of an essentially *technical* character. They are usually applied in several pre-arranged and carefully planned stages.

When, for instance, brothels were closed in the Straits Settlements in 1929, in the Federated Malay States in 1931, and in the various Unfederated Malay States at different dates, long notice was given beforehand that steps would be taken. The first step was to prohibit professional prostitutes from landing at Malayan ports. The next step was the enactment of legislation making the keeping of a brothel an offence. The third and last step consisted of a final notice to brothel-keepers

¹ See Chapter I of this publication.

and prostitutes that by a certain date brothels must be closed. Experience showed that the landing prohibition had already resulted in a diminution of the number of these women, and in consequence the many brothel-keepers found that it no longer paid to run them. From the time the final notice was given, prostitutes left the brothels in increasing numbers. Some of them returned to their home-country (China); others moved to other premises in the same or another town in Malaya. Some of them turned to normal work as sempstresses, washer-women, etc. The Government admits, however, that the scheme was made more practicable in Malaya by the fact that the inmates of the tolerated brothels were almost exclusively aliens.

Similar steps were taken and similar experience gained in Hong-Kong, where the closing of licensed houses had been effected according to plan, the last of the forty-three houses affected having been closed in June 1934.

The other school of thought moves on somewhat different lines. For them the question of regulation and abolition is not one in which there is any "categorical imperative"; it is rather a question of expediency. They agree that abolition is the ideal state; they accept abolition as the final goal; but they consider that its application should be conditional upon the fulfilment of certain essential conditions, not so much of a technical nature as the measures enumerated above, but of a fundamental character. They hold that abolition presupposes changes in social circumstances. This approach to the question is reflected in the statement of the French

delegate, in whose opinion abolition has to be preceded, in some Eastern countries, especially Indo-China, by changes in what he called the *milieu social*. In Indo-China, for instance, there is no registration of births, marriages, etc. Local custom regards the birth of a girl as an unlucky event, while in Annam births of girls are not reported at all. Women are socially and legally in an inferior position, and are also illiterate. In his opinion, abolition, to be successful, presupposes not merely the general education of women and the raising of their legal status, but also the establishment of a whole series of medical, social and other measures.

The delegate of Siam agreed that, before legislative steps were taken to abolish brothels, the protection of women should be organised. He thought that women's possession of the suffrage in some countries reflected an improved status for women, which was a necessary preliminary to further progress.

PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE

That the Conference's proceedings were eminently practical is illustrated by the following circumstance : As some of the countries in the East had abolished licensed brothels and the registration of prostitution and had gained valuable information on this subject, the French delegate asked that these experiences and the steps taken in the preparation for and enforcement of such measures might be put before the Conference. The Conference therefore heard a number of statements on the subject from the delegates of the Netherlands Indies, the Federated Malay States and Hong-Kong. From these

statements, as well as from previous information communicated to the League Secretariat, it appeared that neither in Hong-Kong, Singapore nor the Netherlands East Indies had public morality suffered to any appreciable degree from the dissolution of licensed brothels. The gist of the statements may be summarised as follows : (1) that the chief evil after-effects of abolition in these countries consisted in a certain increase of soliciting and street-walking ; (2) that there was no evidence of any increase in venereal diseases as a consequence of abolition, but rather the contrary ; (3) that certain types of *souteneur* (brothel bullies, protectors of brothels), who used to provoke fights with rival gangs, had disappeared ; (4) that it was important to organise strong police action against clandestine brothels, which, as experience showed, were apt to spring up when the licensed brothels were closed.

Besides these points, a number of general measures were indicated which had accompanied or should accompany the closing of licensed brothels, as regards immigration, the protection of girls, etc. The French delegate pointed to the particular value of such information concerning past experiences in view of the effort which was being made in Indo-China to bring about the gradual abolition of licensed brothels.

This example shows how the Conference directly helped to bring about a pooling of experience which, in present circumstances and especially in view of a certain lack of routine collaboration between the authorities in this part of the world, would otherwise not have been effected.

ABOLITION, THE FINAL GOAL

But the Conference did not confine itself to hearing descriptions of the special circumstances attending prostitution in Eastern countries, or to accounts of the steps taken in abolitionist territories, or to taking note of the different possible methods of abolition. It went a step further and declared itself in favour of abolition "as a final goal". This formula reflects the common ground which existed amongst the delegates.

Realising, however, that abolition pure and simple would be doomed to failure, the Conference established two desiderata : that a public opinion favourable to abolition should be formed in countries in which tolerated brothels still existed ; and that abolition should be preceded or accompanied by administrative, medical and social measures. It was on this latter point that great stress was laid by those delegates whose countries still upheld the system of regulation ; a delegate of an Eastern Power, quoting an English poet, warned the Conference against hurrying the East. But it was evident from his own statements and that of a number of other delegates that developments in the East in the social field were such that what had taken decades in the past was now becoming a question of years.

From an immediately practical point of view, the declaration in favour of establishing a League Bureau in the East might be considered the most important decision of the Conference ; but, from a general point of view, the declaration of principle regarding the abolition of tolerated brothels might well be held to be the most

important single declaration made by the Conference. It was characterised by the delegate of the Straits Settlements in his concluding speech, in which he endeavoured to gauge the value of the results achieved by the Conference, as signifying “the dawn of a new era in the East”.

VII. CLOSER COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE AUTHORITIES AND PRIVATE ORGANISATIONS IN THE EAST

The report of the Commission of Enquiry referred to the fruitful activities of the missions and private organisations, especially in the field of preventive and rescue work in connection with prostitution and traffic in women, and paid a tribute to the work of the associations of women in the countries in question.

It pointed out that missions and private organisations engaged in preventive and rescue work in connection with prostitution and traffic in Asia were to be found working in practically all the countries where the Commission carried out its enquiry. In many instances, missions and private organisations had been responsible for the inauguration of efficient Government measures introduced to combat prostitution and traffic. The report expressed the hope that the combined efforts of the organisations which helped victims of the traffic and of the authorities who combat the traffic with administrative measures would be effective in reducing it to a noticeable extent.

The importance attached by the Governments to the goodwill and collaboration of the organisations in this field, previous to the convocation of the Conference, was reflected by the fact that most of the Governments interested in the Conference had expressed themselves in favour of inviting missions and international and national voluntary organisations to attend the Conference.

From a number of statements made by representatives of voluntary organisations, it appeared that the opportunity of meeting in this conference was much appreciated by them and it was felt that the contact between private agencies and authorities afforded by the conference had strengthened the feeling of solidarity and would also help to increase in the future mutual social responsibility.

Indeed, the collaboration of the voluntary organisations was much appreciated by the Conference and, when it later adopted a resolution welcoming the practical co-operation of these organisations, this was due in no small measure to the co-operation which the Governments received at the Conference.

RÔLE OF VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS IN THE EAST

In considering the rôle to be attributed to voluntary organisations in the East, the differences between these associations and those existing in Europe and in America must be kept in mind. While some international bodies are actively engaged in certain countries, they still have very little influence in others. While national, regional or local organisations are actively at work in some countries, they are practically non-existent elsewhere. This is to some extent due to the differences in social, economic and political development reflected in the difference in the position of women in the different countries. Again, the problem differs to some extent in those parts of the East which are under foreign rule as compared with self-governing communities, where

the women of the country concerned have to frame their own activities and find ways of collaboration with the authorities. Accordingly, the problem of the relation of voluntary organisations with the authorities should not be considered as a whole for the entire East.

This inference is clear from the replies to the questionnaire received by the League Secretariat from different Governments, in which the latter were asked to give information as to recent developments in collaboration with the local authorities and voluntary organisations.

The Netherlands Government, for instance, stated that the private organisations operating in the Netherlands Indies were chiefly concerned with giving women their proper place in society and preparing them more thoroughly for family life. The questions of the suppression of the traffic in women and of prostitution were therefore of secondary importance for them. Moreover, those organisations did not at present want Government intervention in matters with which they were dealing themselves.

Wherever private organisations are influenced by British or American ideas or have the personal help of British (and in some cases American) social workers, the collaboration resembles more closely that existing in Europe. From the answers received from a number of Indian Provinces, it would appear that the different vigilance associations have considerably developed of late years ; that the associations keep in very close touch with the police and that women representatives have been selected for full time duty with the police force.

The hope was expressed by other countries (*e.g.*, Siam) that certain existing women's associations may interest themselves in the traffic in women and prostitution. The report from Indo-China, on the other hand, stresses the spirit of absolute co-operation between the authorities and private organisations wherever such private or semi-official organisations exist.

In nearly all parts of the East, the Salvation Army helps the authorities in its usual way, and these themselves give full support to the officers of the Army.

BEST TYPE OF CO-OPERATION

Before formulating its recommendations on the collaboration between voluntary organisations and the authorities, the Conference discussed very fully the problem of "ideal" co-operation between the two. This discussion may be summarised as follows :

The rôle of the welfare organisation is threefold : (1) to reflect and stimulate public opinion ; (2) to do social work which cannot be undertaken by the State ; and (3) to advise Governments on certain definite subjects of which voluntary organisations have special experience.

At this point, it was noted by the representative of the Salvation Army that social work was a matter for the State, but that officials could certainly never deal with all the details of such work ; they must have recourse to the services of the private associations, and the latter must bring their conduct into line with the principles adopted by the Government. In his opinion, it was not for the private organisations to force doors which the authorities considered should be closed to them.

A suggestion was made by the representative of the Salvation Army that there should be organised collaboration between the voluntary bodies and the authorities in the sense that a Bureau should be opened or an official be appointed for each competent administration, to establish and maintain liaison between the department in question and the private organisation. As, however, a definite organisation of collaboration would not have accorded with the actual situation in all the countries, the suggestion was not retained in this form; it was suggested that the League of Nations Bureau to be established should deal with the question.

The representative of the Salvation Army also pointed out that he had found the co-operation between the voluntary organisations and the Japanese Government particularly satisfactory; the latter asked the voluntary organisations almost every year for an account of their programme of work.

The Conference eventually adopted a resolution recommending that "Governments should welcome practical co-operation with organisations established in their territories, in the belief that such action will be of value in securing progress along the right lines"¹.

The suggestion that all the Governments should consider the possibility of organising periodical consultation of this kind was noted by the Conference, which, however, did not make any definite recommendation.

¹ See Annex 4, page 84.

VIII. THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN OFFICIALS

The report of the Commission of Enquiry had stated as follows :

“ With regard to the composition of the staff of authorities which are specially concerned with combating traffic in women and children, be it central authority, or police, or another department of Government, the Commission believes that the collaboration of women as officials is very helpful, especially in cases where the victims of traffic for whose benefit they are functioning are distrustful of men officials and make it difficult for them to gain their confidence.”

From the answers to the questionnaire and the statements made at the Conference, it appeared that, in the majority of the countries represented at the Conference, women officials were employed in some capacity by the Governments. This applies especially to China, India, the Federated Malay States, the Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong, Japan, the Philippines and the Netherlands Indies ; whilst, on the other hand, there appeared to be no women officials in Indo-China, Siam, Portuguese India or Macao.

It was evident from the discussion on this item of the agenda that the question of the possibility of the employment of more women officials by the authorities responsible for the welfare of women and children was closely related in the minds of the delegates to the

question of the collaboration of authorities and voluntary organisations, in the sense that the extent to which the voluntary organisations of a country collaborated with the authorities also reflected the general social development of the country. In other words, the countries in which the voluntary organisations were active were those in which women officials were likely to be employed by the Governments, as is proved indeed by the fact that a good many of the women to be found in Government employment were originally representatives of voluntary associations.

There was no dissentient voice at the Conference as to the usefulness of employing women officials, and it was pointed out that certain duties could best be performed by them, such as timely intervention and useful action in the case of girls beginning to engage in prostitution. It was further pointed out that women can be usefully employed in connection with the immigration services when the women officials belonged to the same race and spoke the same dialect as the women they had to examine.

Again, women probation officers, police-women, women judges in children's courts and the employment of women in administrative work connected with the protection of certain groups of women, women Customs and excise officers (*i.e.*, almost the whole range of work undertaken by women in Europe) have been suggested for the East. Whilst there was general agreement in principle, the difficulties of the social structure and development led to differences of view on the practical side of the question. The French delegate, for instance,

speaking on behalf of Indo-China, pointed out that, on account of social conditions and of the position of women in Indo-China, the assistance of women officials would not give good results at present. He was prepared, however, to consider the incorporation of women for administrative work on behalf of women and children.

Another practical difficulty was raised by the delegate of the Straits Settlements, who pointed out that it was not only a question of numbers, but also of quality—a point which found expression in the resolution adopted by the Conference. In the opinion of this delegate, some authorities were anxious to employ more women provided they could find fully qualified candidates; but they were hard to find.

The resolution referring to this point recommended that Governments should consider the possibility of employing a larger number of women officials on work connected with the welfare of women and children “as women with the necessary attainments and training become available”.

IX. WOMEN REFUGEES OF RUSSIAN ORIGIN

From what had been reported to the League Secretariat in answer to the questionnaire, and from what was said at the Conference, it appeared that the problem of women refugees of Russian origin scarcely existed in any of the countries represented at the Conference, except China and the foreign concessions and settlements of that country. It was therefore dealt with as a question chiefly of interest to the Chinese Government and the countries possessing extra-territorial rights in China.

It will be remembered that, in 1934/35,¹ the League of Nations, acting on the recommendation of its Assembly, made further enquiries into the position of the women of Russian origin stranded in the East. From these enquiries, which were carried on with the help of a great number of authorities and voluntary organisations, it appeared that the situation had grown even more serious since the Commission of Enquiry into Traffic in Women and Children in the East had made its investigations on the spot in 1930/31. The chief feature of the development since that time was considered to be not so much "the absolute increase in professional or casual prostitutes of Russian origin as migration of the women from Manchuria to Shanghai and other big cities of Central and Southern China". From supplementary information submitted to the League Committee on

¹ League of Nations document : "Position of Women of Russian Origin in the Far East", A.12.1935.IV.

Traffic in Women and Children, it appeared that the key to the whole situation was in fact to be found in Manchuria, especially in Harbin and Mukden, and that it was specially important to deal with these women individually on the spot, and as soon as possible before they penetrated further into China. Apart from Manchuria, however, the situation in Shanghai must be considered as needing chief attention.

In the conclusions of the League memorandum of 1935, it was stated that : "While the situation of the individual women of Russian origin may be equally bad in other big towns, it is only in Shanghai that the question has assumed the dimensions of a social mass problem. Here it... calls for collective effort."

Generally speaking, the situation seems to have remained stationary during the last two years, though with a tendency to deteriorate rather than to improve. In Shanghai and other towns with foreign concessions and settlements, a slight increase in the number of women refugees of Russian origin seems to have taken place. This, however, is probably due rather to the influx of women of Russian origin from "Manchukuo" than to an absolute increase in the number of such refugees in this part of the world.

The Chinese delegate pointed out that China had lately adopted strict measures in respect of Russian immigrants, in order to avoid anything that might aggravate the situation. Any Russian desiring to enter China had to present some credentials to the effect that he was a relative of some Russian already domiciled in China, or that he would be employed.

It was generally recognised that the problem arose mainly through the impossibility of assimilating this foreign population into the Chinese population and that, therefore, the granting of the right of citizenship to them was not likely to solve this problem, as it would solve it in Europe.

Since they or their parents have been deprived of their original nationality, they were at present without proper civil status.

Information with regard to the social background of these women is somewhat contradictory. It had been assumed, on the basis of information received by the League within the last year, that the majority of women of Russian origin stranded in the East came from middle-class and to some extent from upper-class families. One delegate, however, who had special knowledge of the situation in Shanghai, pointed out that women who came to the Employment Bureau of the Y.W.C.A. in Shanghai were "mostly of the peasant type from Siberia . . . were unemployable as they had no training in any useful work in cities and knew no language but their own".

The discussion, in which a number of persons experienced in dealing with the problem took part, confirmed on general lines the previous findings of the League on this subject. In particular, it confirmed the fact that the private relief organisations were giving a great deal of assistance, but that the problem had assumed such proportions that the demand for relief had gone beyond the scope of their resources. Furthermore, there was a lack of cohesion and co-ordination among the organisations.

In the circumstances, the Conference decided to approve the line taken by the League, the Assembly of which in 1935 had adopted a resolution authorising the Secretary-General to secure the services of a competent person who could act as agent of the League of Nations, and had requested the Council "to appoint the selected person as agent of the League of Nations for the purpose of encouraging and co-ordinating efforts to improve the position of women of Russian origin who are engaged or likely to become engaged in prostitution"; it was understood that this appointment should not, however, involve in the present circumstances any financial charge upon the League. The Conference therefore decided to back the League's appeal for funds. It adopted a resolution describing the question of women of Russian origin in the East as "a challenge to the social conscience of right-thinking people", appealing to the voluntary organisations and impressing upon them "the absolute necessity for raising funds of an amount which will enable an agent of the League of Nations to be appointed in the Far East to take special charge of the co-ordinative measures necessary to secure the future of these women of Russian origin"¹.

This recommendation, it will be noted, does not go beyond the scope of a similar resolution adopted by the League Assembly in 1935.

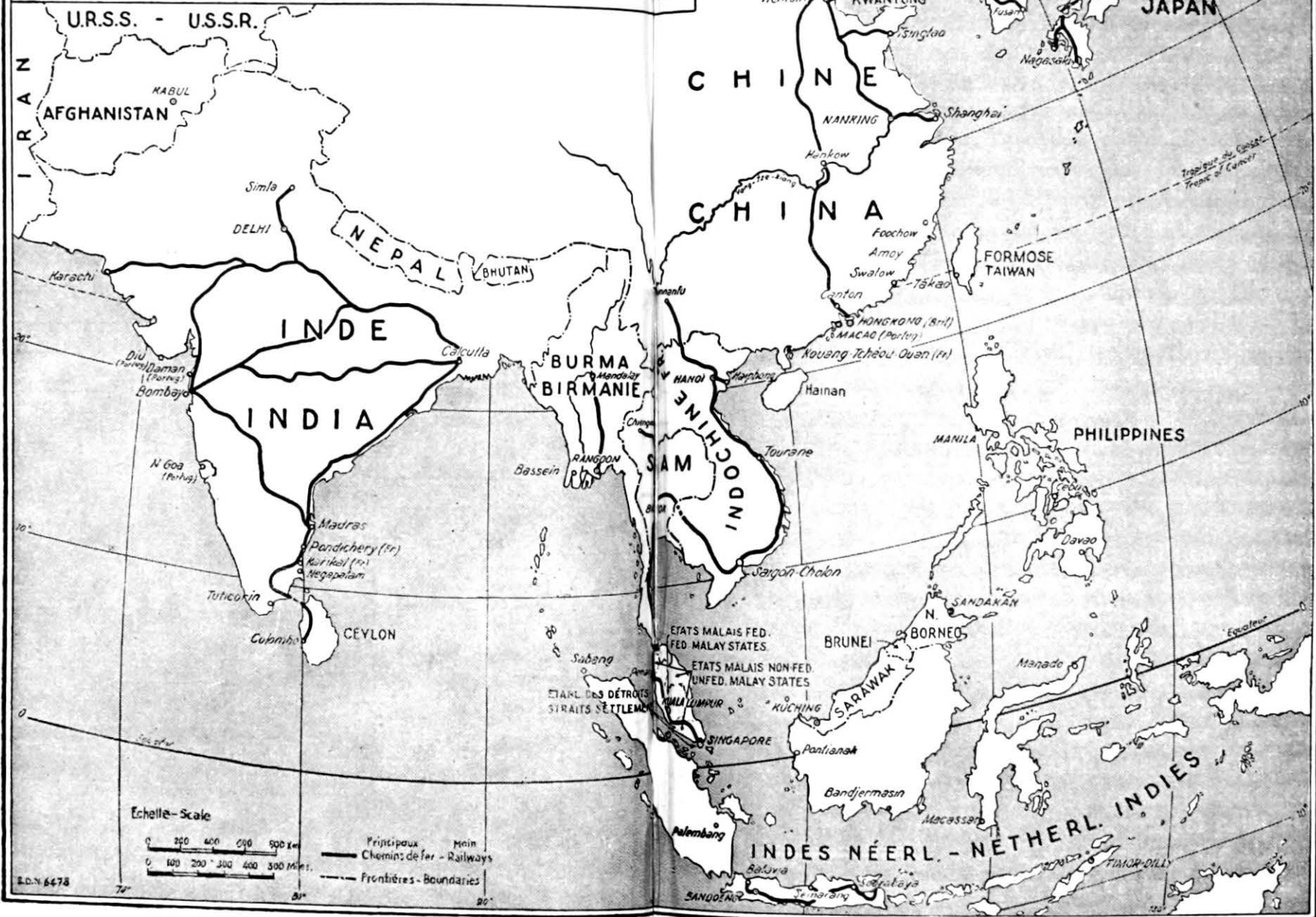
A new element was introduced into this question during the deliberations of the Advisory Committee

¹ See Annex 4, page 85.

on Social Questions, when the suggestion was made that the head of the League Bureau in the East should temporarily undertake the work originally intended to be assigned to the special agent of the League mentioned in the Assembly and Conference resolutions.

ANNEX 1

CONFÉRENCE DES AUTORITÉS CENTRALES DES PAYS D'ORIENT
 CONFERENCE OF CENTRAL AUTHORITIES IN EASTERN COUNTIES



ANNEX 2

CENTRAL AUTHORITIES

By the term “central authority” is to be understood the “authority charged with the co-ordination of all information relative to the procuring of women and girls for immoral purposes abroad”, within the meaning of the 1904 International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic.

The situation with regard to central authorities in the Eastern countries (Middle and Far East) is as follows :

UNITED KINGDOM. — *British colonies and protectorates :*

Ceylon. — Inspector-General of Police, Colombo, and the Deputy Inspector-General, Criminal Investigation Department.

Straits Settlements } The Secretary for Chinese Affairs,
Federated Malay States } Singapore.

Unfederated Malay States :

Brunei. — The Chief Police Officer, Brunei Town.

Johore. — Protector of the Chinese at Johore.

Kedah. — The British Adviser, Kedah.

Kelantan. — The British Adviser, Kelantan.

Perlis. — The British Adviser, Kangar, Perlis.

Trengganu. — Commissioner of Police, Trengganu.

Hong-Kong. — Inspector-General of Police, Police Headquarters, Hong-Kong.

CHINA : Ministry of the Interior, Nanking ; the other responsible local authorities are the police services of the various provincial, municipal or district governments.

FRANCE. — *French Colonies and Protectorates* : Ministère de l'Intérieur, Direction de la sûreté générale, Contrôle des recherches judiciaires, Paris (Minister of the Interior, Central Police Department, Criminal Investigation Section, Paris).

INDIA :

Bombay. — Secretary to the Government, Home Department, has been appointed as the central authority ;

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay, is responsible for measures concerning the prevention of traffic in women and children in Bombay City.

Madras }
Bengal } Commissioner of Police, Madras City and Calcutta.

United Provinces }
Bihar }
Central Provinces } No central authority.¹
Orissa }
Delhi }

Punjab }
North-West Frontier Provinces } This is considered a question for the Government of India.

Burma. — Authorities responsible for measures concerning the prevention of traffic in women and children are the police and the Vigilance Society.

Sind. — Ordinary police force responsible for measures concerning the prevention of traffic in women and children.

IRAQ : Director-General of Police, Baghdad.

JAPAN : Addresses of central authorities in the home territory :
Ministry of the Interior, No. 1 Sakuradacho Kojimachi-ku,
Tokio.

¹ The Government of the United Provinces states that such questions are dealt with by the Police Department of the Government of the United Provinces, in consultation with the Judicial and Education Departments.

For the prefectures of police and all the offices of the prefectures of Hokkaido, Kyoto, Osaka, Saitama, etc. :
1201 police stations and 24 maritime police stations.

Addresses of the central authorities in the dependencies and mandated territories :

- (1) *Chosen* : Police Section of the office of the President of Chosen, Keijo (Chosen).
- (2) *Taiwan* : Police Section of the office of the President of Taiwan, Taihoku (Taiwan).
- (3) *Karafuto* : Police Section of the prefecture of Karafuto, Toyohara (Karafuto).
- (4) *South Sea Islands* : Police Section, Korrór, Palao.

NETHERLANDS :

Netherlands Indies. — The Government Bureau for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children and of Obscene Publications, Batavia.

PORTUGAL :

Portuguese India. — Director dos serviços de Administração Civil, Goa.

Macao. — Head of the Police, Macao. (Special branch dealing with women and girls.)

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS : Commissioner-General of Immigration in the Department of Labor, Washington.

SIAM : The Director of Gendarmerie and Police, Bangkok.

ANNEX 3

This annex aims at giving the present state ¹ of signatures, accessions and ratifications of the various international instruments concluded with regard to the traffic in women and children—*i.e.*, the International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, 1904 ; the International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, 1910 ; the International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, 1921 ; and the Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age, 1933.

It should be noted that the 1904 Agreement and the 1910 Convention were concluded before the foundation of the League of Nations, although many of the ratifications were only effected after that date. The 1921 and 1933 Conventions were concluded under the auspices of the League. Ratifications of these two instruments are deposited with the League, while ratifications of the first two and declarations relating thereto are deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic.

¹ September 1st, 1937.

**POSITION REGARDING ADHESIONS TO THE AGREEMENT OF 1904 AND THE CONVENTIONS OF 1910,
1921 AND 1933 RELATING TO THE SUPPRESSION OF TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN**

TERRITORY	1904 AGREEMENT	1910 CONVENTION	1921 CONVENTION	1933 CONVENTION
<p>UNITED KINGDOM : <i>Hong-Kong</i></p> <p><i>Straits Settlements</i></p> <p><i>Federated Malay States (Perak, Selangor, Negri, Sembilan, Pahang)</i> <i>Unfederated Malay States (Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Treng- ganu, Brunei)</i></p>	<p>The United Kingdom acceded for Hong-Kong</p> <p>The United Kingdom acceded for the Straits Settlements</p> <p>The accessions of the United Kingdom do not include these Malay States</p>			<p>Signed by the United Kingdom ¹</p> <p>Signed by the United Kingdom ¹</p> <p>Signed by the United Kingdom ¹</p>
CHINA	Adhered		Ratified	Signed
<p>FRANCE — <i>Indo-Chinese Union</i> <i>(Cochin-China (Colony), Cam- bodia, Annam, Tonkin, Laos</i> <i>(Protectorates))</i></p>	France's accessions included colonies but not protectorates of Indo-China		France's definitive accession did not include colonies or protectorates	Signed by France ¹
INDIA	Adhered		Ratified, reserving the right at its discretion to substitute the age of 16 years or any higher age that may be subsequently decided upon for the age limits prescribed in paragraph (B) of the Final Protocol of the Convention of May 4th, 1910, and in Article 5 of the present Convention	Not signed

JAPAN	Acceded ^a (not including Chosen, Taiwan, the Leased Territory of Kwan- tung, and the Japanese portion of Saghalien Island)		Ratified (not including Chosen, Taiwan, the Lea- sed Territory of Kwan- tung, the Japanese por- tion of Saghalien Island and the Japanese Mandat- ed Territory in the South Seas)	Not signed
NETHERLANDS — <i>Netherlands Indies</i>	Netherlands acceded on behalf of Netherlands Indies		Netherland's ratifications included Netherlands Indies	
PORTUGAL — <i>Macao</i>	Portugal acceded on behalf of Macao		Ratified by Portugal	Signed by Portugal ¹
SIAM	Acceded		Ratified with reservation as to age limit prescribed in paragraph (B) of the Final Protocol of the 1910 Convention, and Article 5 of the 1921 Convention, in so far as concerns the nationals of Siam	Not signed
U.S.A. — <i>Philippine Islands</i>	The acces- sion of the Uni- ted States in- cluded the Phi- lippine Islands	Not acceded to by the United States of America		Not signed by the United States of America

¹ In application of Article 10 of the 1933 Convention, the signatories of this Convention may, at the time of their signature, ratification or accession, declare that they do not assume any obligation in respect of all or any of their colonies, protectorates, overseas territories, territories under their suzerainty or territories for which a mandate has been entrusted to them.

^a These territories became parties to the 1904 Agreement under Article 8, paragraph 3, of the 1910 Convention.

Accession to the 1910 Convention necessarily entails accession to the 1904 Agreement¹.

The information given in the table on pages 72 and 73 covers all the countries and territories which were represented at the Conference.

¹ Paragraph 3 of Article 8 of the 1910 Convention states :
“Accession to the Convention shall necessarily entail, without special notification, a concomitant accession to the Agreement of May 18th, 1904, in its entirety, which shall take effect on the same date as the Convention itself throughout the territory of the acceding State”.

ANNEX 4

TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS

I.

The Conference,

Being convinced that a closer co-operation between the authorities which, in each country, are entrusted with the duty of dealing with the international traffic in women and children is the most essential factor of successful action against this evil ; and

Wishing to ensure a more effective co-ordination of the steps already taken or to be taken in this connection by the Governments concerned :

Adopts the following resolutions :

1. The Conference recommends that a Bureau of the League of Nations should be created in the East to receive regular reports from all participating countries in regard to traffic in women and children and to circulate such reports to all participating countries.

The reports would be held to be confidential and not to be published outside the official circles of the countries concerned.

They should contain information concerning the following four classes of individuals :

(a) Men and women convicted of trafficking in women and girls ;

(b) Men and women convicted of trafficking in children ;

(c) Men and women deported or banished from the territories of participating countries for offences referred to in (a) and (b) above, whose conviction in court has been impossible for some good reason, but whose guilt has been established to the satisfaction of the Government concerned ;

(d) Men and women who are wanted in connection with the offences referred to in (a) and (b) above, but who have made their escape before the warrant of arrest issued against them could be executed.

With regard to each man and woman whose name is sent by the Government of a participating country to the Information Bureau, it is desired that the following data should be given :

Full name and any known aliases.

Sex.

Age.

Birthplace.

Nature of offence for which the conviction has been obtained or on account of which the man or woman has been deported or banished, together with the length of any sentence of imprisonment he or she is serving for this offence.

Photograph of the culprit.

Finger-prints of the culprit, if available.

The Conference recommends that it should also be the duty of the Bureau to suggest, for the consideration of the Governments concerned, any measures which might facilitate the collection and distribution of information, and generally to promote collaboration between participating countries in such ways as may appear desirable to these countries.

The Information Bureau should make annual reports on its work to the League of Nations.

2. The Conference,

Noting that the Commission of Enquiry into Traffic in Women and Children in the East has drawn attention to the lack of co-operation between the police authorities of China and the police authorities of the foreign concessions and settlements on the coast of China in the fight against traffic in women and children, and that the Chinese delegation and the French delegation desire that closer collaboration should be brought about between their respective police authorities :

Recommends that the League of Nations should approach all interested Governments with a view to ensuring closer co-operation between the police authorities of all Governments concerned and with a view to the holding of local Conferences, where necessary, for the consideration of more effective measures for the prevention of traffic in women and children.

3. The Conference recommends that adequate provision should be made, by legislation, by inter-

national arrangements or otherwise, to enable the proper authorities to arrest traffickers on board vessels when actual attempts are being made to land their victims.

II.

The Conference,

Having taken note with great satisfaction of the efforts made by the Governments of various States taking part in its discussions with a view to dealing more effectively with the traffic in women and children, not only by the adoption of more stringent measures against traffickers, but also by striking at the fundamental causes of the traffic :

Adopts the following resolutions :

1. The Conference,

Having noted the measures taken at the port of Hong-Kong for the examination of female and minor emigrants and the provision of photographs for their identification :

Expresses the hope that similar measures may be adopted at other ports in the East at which it is reasonably suspected that traffic in women and children is taking place.

2. The Conference recommends that the Hong-Kong Government be requested to consider the extension of the provisions in force regulating the control of emigrants to cover the case of female and minor passengers on other than "emigrant ships".

3. The Conference recommends that special measures should be taken by Governments, both

by control at frontiers and by supervision within their territories, for the protection against traffic of women and children who belong to or accompany travelling troupes of entertainers.

4. The Conference recommends that Governments should make arrangements or, if necessary, regulations under which their national shipping should collaborate with port authorities generally in order to prevent traffic in women and children, and especially to secure that reasonable precautions are taken by steamship companies to prevent the evasion by female and minor emigrants of any examination instituted with a view to the protection of such persons by the authorities at the ports of departure or arrival of the ships.

III.

The Conference,

Recalling the resolutions concerning the abolition of licensed or tolerated houses adopted by the Traffic in Women and Children Committee of the League of Nations in 1934 ;

Considering that the Assembly, when adopting the report of the Fifth Committee in 1934, invited Members to give their earnest consideration to the resolutions of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee :

- (1) Declares itself in favour of abolition as a final goal ;
- (2) Recommends that educational measures be taken for the formation of a favourable public opinion in those countries in the East in which tolerated brothels still exist ;

(3) Recommends that abolition should in all cases be anticipated or accompanied by administrative, medical and social measures in order to guarantee the permanence of its success.

IV.

The Conference,

Having noted with approval the part that the voluntary organisations have played in forming the more enlightened public opinion which has influenced the policies followed by Governments in social questions to-day ;

Having heard statements setting forth some of the beneficial activities of a number of these organisations ;

Understanding that the organisations are willing to give their co-operation in ever greater measure in future and to extend their activities :

Recommends that Governments should welcome practical co-operation with organisations established in their territories, in the belief that such action will be of value in securing progress along the right lines.

V.

The Conference,

Having learned with interest of the success which has attended the appointment of women officials in a number of countries in the East :

Recommends that Governments should consider the possibility of employing a larger number of women officials on work connected with the welfare of women and children as women with the necessary attainments and training become available.

VI.

The Conference,

Recalling that the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1935 adopted a resolution authorising the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to endeavour to secure the services of a competent person (preferably a woman), resident in the Far East or in a position to proceed there, who could act as agent of the League of Nations, provided that such an appointment involved no financial charge upon the League ;

Noting with great appreciation the efforts that have been made by the voluntary organisations to achieve this end, but regretting that these efforts have had so far only a partial success ;

Realising that this problem of the future of women of Russian origin is of the greatest importance, that it is a challenge to the social conscience of right-thinking people and that it has been especially brought to the attention of this Conference by the Assembly of the League of Nations :

Desires to impress on the voluntary organisations and on other bodies and individuals interested in their work the absolute necessity of raising funds of an amount that will enable an agent of the League of Nations to be appointed in the Far East to take special charge of the co-ordinative measures necessary to secure the future of these women of Russian origin.

*Resolution on the Printing of the Conference Minutes
and of a Special Report*

The Conference,

Considering that this is the first international meeting of Government representatives of Eastern countries and of other experts convened to deal with the very important social problem of combating traffic in women and children ;

Recognising that the information placed before the Conference is of great value for future work in this sphere ;

Conscious of the necessity of enlightening and stimulating public opinion by the distribution of suitable material and information :

Requests that the Minutes of the Conference be printed for reference and for the use of the authorities and that a report be prepared by the Secretariat of the League of Nations suitable for distribution to a wider public.

*Resolution of Thanks to the Netherlands Government,
the Government of the Netherlands Indies and the
League of Nations.*

The Conference wishes to express to the Netherlands Government its deep appreciation for the invitation to hold the Conference of Central Authorities in Eastern Countries at Bandoeng, and to express its gratitude to the Government of the Netherlands Indies for the generous assistance afforded by its officials to the Conference.

The Conference also wishes to convey to the League of Nations the expression of its gratitude for the work done in combating the traffic in women and children.

THE REFUGEES

GENEVA 1938
INFORMATION SECTION

CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	5
THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES : POST-WAR SETTLEMENT	8
DEVELOPMENT OF LEAGUE MACHINERY, 1921-1935.....	29
THE NEW PROBLEM	36
THE EVIAN CONFERENCE	50
PLANS FOR THE FUTURE.....	51

PREFACE

When the Assembly of the League of Nations met in Geneva in September 1938, it was called upon to "determine the general principles which, after that year, should govern the attitude of the League towards the refugee problem as a whole".

The League's action on behalf of refugees was at that time conducted through two organs : the Nansen International Office for Refugees, technically an autonomous body established under the auspices of the League with offices separate from the League Secretariat, but required to make reports to the annual meetings of the League Assembly ; and the High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) coming from Germany, appointed by the League.

The Nansen Office was, in accordance with resolutions adopted by previous Assemblies, to be closed at the end of December 1938. It has been concerned with the repatriation, emigration or settlement in new countries of refugees rendered homeless and Stateless by vicissitudes of political and social movements in different countries during the past seventeen years — Russia, Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey, Iraq, Syria. It has been instrumental in obtaining legal status for thousands and has helped them find courage to take up life again in new circumstances. The report of the Office to the 1938 Assembly showed the position with regard to emigration and settlement schemes in two hemispheres

and indicated cases for which provision was still to be made.

The mandate under which the League's High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany had been working was to expire in December 1938. He has been concerned with this special category of refugees, dealing in particular with questions of their legal and political protection. He has maintained close contact with a Liaison Committee set up by a group of some twenty-five voluntary organisations devoted to the relief and assistance of refugees, and has helped them draw up and co-ordinate plans for emigration and settlement. His report to the Assembly set forth the nature of the problem before the League in this matter.

It had been hoped, and the provision made by the League since 1923 had assumed, that work for the assistance of refugees would be but a temporary charge upon the budget of the League. Thousands indeed have ceased to be a problem, having been enabled to establish themselves happily and usefully within the social economy of countries of refuge. Special difficulties — economic, social and political — have, it is true, hampered the settlement of some groups of Armenian, Russian, Turkish and Assyrian refugees; but it was not expected that these would finally defeat the efforts of those concerned with their welfare.

A much more serious problem arose, however, when events in Germany created new categories of refugees, and cast them out, stripped of legal title and material resources, upon a world where free emigration no

longer exists and where the right to work is jealously guarded for the citizen against the stranger.

This, then, was the position when the Assembly of the League met in September 1938. The present pamphlet sets forth briefly what the League has done in the past to further international assistance to refugees, and what provisions have been made for that work in the future.

THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES : POST-WAR SETTLEMENT

The problem of refugee peoples is no new one. Recorded history and the traditional lore of every continent on earth abound in tales of people, rendered homeless by calamity, driven forth to seek shelter and friendly country. Invasion, war, civil conflict, religious dissension, famine and pestilence, fire and flood — all these have resulted in flight, wanderings and, for a happy remnant, the slow and painful putting out of roots into strange soil in new lands. It would be difficult to exaggerate the privation, loneliness and insecurity that have ever been the lot of the refugee. Modern society has added another burden. The loss of the title of citizen and of the right to carry a passport is, in the modern world, an immeasurable calamity.

The question of the relief and settlement of different groups of refugees after the war was one of the many problems of post-war appeasement. In mediæval times, the sanctuary was built above the altar. In modern times, it has fallen to the States Members of the League of Nations to devise means of providing refugees with a temporary haven and opportunities for permanent settlement. Russian refugees rendered homeless and Stateless by civil upheaval, obliged to leave their country for ever and fit themselves for life in new surroundings ; Greek, Bulgarian and Turkish refugees forming the vanguard of national expansion turned back in thousands to seek their own people ; remnants of peoples like the

Armenians and the Assyrians in Iraq allowed to claim no natural home ; Saarlanders who dared not remain a minority in the country after the plebiscite ; Jews, non-Aryans and others denied the style and rights of nationals in Germany — all these constituted problems of peace and order with which the League has felt bound to deal.

These problems are not yet solved. Their solution still requires much effort in view of the tendency everywhere apparent to restrict immigration and to harbour resources and the fruits of labour in the interest of nationals.

But the League's work has not been fruitless. The fact that it has continued year after year in Assemblies and Committees to review the position of refugees has kept their plight before the world and enlisted its sympathy. It has further encouraged voluntary philanthropic organisations in their invaluable work of relief and assistance, has helped them to co-ordinate their efforts to avoid overlapping and wastage and has afforded them assistance. Above all, the League of Nations has helped thousands of refugees to obtain a legal status recognised by the authorities dealing with aliens the world over.

The first problem with which the League of Nations was faced in its efforts to make an orderly settlement in post-war Europe was the repatriation of prisoners of war. New frontiers had been set up, new nationalities created and, in the confusion, particularly of the last two years of the war, thousands of people found themselves after the armistice far away from their own homes

and cut off from their own people. In April 1920, the Council of the League of Nations decided to undertake the tremendous task of repatriating prisoners of war and asked Dr. Nansen to direct this work. Within two years, prisoners of twenty-seven different nationalities, to the number of 427,386, have been restored to their own homes. The greatest confusion reigned in the Eastern part of Europe, where new countries had been created and where civil strife succeeded the war itself.

It was in this area that the League was first called upon to deal with the problems of refugees. Russian refugees, both civilian and military, fled from their country following the revolution, civil strife and famine. The expansion of Greece was arrested by the defeat at Smyrna ; and, as a result, a way had to be found for the return of Greeks as refugees from Asia Minor to their own people. Later, the League organised exchanges of population with the agreement and co-operation of the Governments concerned, bringing back Greeks and Turks to their countries of origin. The downfall of the old Ottoman Empire and the rise of the modern nationalist Republic compelled Armenians and Assyrians to seek new homes. The plebiscite held under the auspices of the League of Nations in the Saar, which resulted in that territory's choosing German nationality, obliged a minority opposed to the new political regime to flee the country and seek new homes. Finally, within the past five years, a new and more difficult refugee problem has challenged efforts to establish order and security — the flight of Jewish, non-Aryan and political refugees from Germany.

I. RUSSIAN REFUGEES

Revolution, civil war and intervention in Russia drove out of the country nearly two million men, women and children of every class and walk of life, and scattered them over all Europe and Asia. Some were civilians who left after the March and October revolutions. But many were remnants of the armies of Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, Wrangel and other White leaders. Hundreds of thousands of Russian refugees fled to Germany, Poland and the Baltic States, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Austria, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey and China. Some had means or influential connections, but the great majority were utterly destitute and dependent upon charitable aid to keep them from starvation. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the countries to which they fled were themselves suffering from acute economic depression, unemployment and the pressing problems of post-war reconstruction. Therefore, although the refugees were generally able and anxious to work, it was next to impossible to find employment for any considerable number. Nor could they travel to look for work because the Soviet Decree of December 15th, 1921, had deprived the great majority of nationality; they had no legal status and could not therefore obtain the permission of Governments to enter or leave their territory.

A number of private organisations were doing their best to cope with the situation. Among these may be mentioned the International Committee of the Red

Cross, the League of Red Cross Societies, the American Relief Administration, the American Red Cross, the International "Save the Children" Fund, the Russian Relief Association, the Jewish Colonisation Association and other bodies.

In February 1921, the International Committee of the Red Cross suggested to the League Council that it should appoint a Commissioner for Russian refugees, who should do for the refugees what Dr. Nansen had so successfully undertaken on behalf of prisoners of war. The League High Commissioner's duties would include : (a) the definition of the legal position of the refugees ; (b) their repatriation to Russia or employment outside Russia ; and (c) the co-ordination of the efforts already undertaken for their assistance. After certain preliminary enquiries and studies by the Secretariat, the Council, in June 1921, decided to appoint a High Commission to co-ordinate the action of Governments and private organisations for the relief of Russian refugees, and summoned a Conference in August attended by ten Governments and representatives of the principal private organisations. The Inter-Governmental Conference recommended co-operation with the International Labour Organisation in preparing a census of refugees and their classification according to occupation as the first step towards finding them work. It asked Governments to supply the High Commissioner with full information regarding the possibilities of employment in their countries, with the aid of the International Labour Organisation. Those refugees who so desired should be assisted to return to Russia.

In September, Dr. Nansen accepted the post of High Commissioner and immediately set about the preliminary measures proposed by the Conference. A census was taken with the help of the International Labour Organisation; Russian refugee offices were set up at Athens, Belgrade, Bucharest, Budapest, Istambul, Helsingfors, London, Paris, Riga, Sofia, Vienna, Warsaw and other centres, and labour exchanges organised in as many places as possible.

2. "THE NANSEN PASSPORT"

The Governments taking part in the Conference agreed to recognise an identity document to be issued by the Nansen Office to refugees. They prescribed a uniform procedure for its issue. By September 1923, thirty-one States had adopted this plan for the Nansen passport, and the first important step toward the resettlement of refugees was accomplished.

But, while the initial measures were being taken and the machinery built up for dealing with the problem, a sudden crisis arose at Istambul, owing to the threatened withdrawal of further support by the French Government and the American Red Cross, which had hitherto been feeding some 25,000 refugees. Dr. Nansen overcame numerous difficulties, secured further support from the French Government, and raised emergency funds with which he shipped 400 tons of rye to Istambul. The American Relief Administration and the American Red Cross then undertook to continue feeding the refugees for four months and to contribute 25,000 dollars towards transporting them to countries where they

could find work, if the League found a sum of £30,000. The major portion of this sum was raised by a grant of £10,000 by Great Britain and a further contribution from the American Red Cross and from Governments. In due course, work for 25,000 refugees from Istambul was found in America, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary and Yugoslavia. About a thousand found work locally, and the crisis was tided over, although for some years the problem of refugees in Istambul continued to be acute. Indeed, as Dr. Nansen's report to the Fifth Committee of the fourth Assembly in September 1923 put it :

“During the last few years, three separate hordes of miserable human beings — 170,000 Russians, 75,000 Turks and 155,000 Greeks and Armenians — driven from their homes by fear of death, weakened by epidemics and deprived of their power of economic production, have descended upon Constantinople, which, under the Allied occupation, at least offered them a certain amount of security.”

Evacuation on a huge scale was continued through the years 1922 and 1923. Funds were raised for transport, and various Governments offered to receive and settle certain categories of refugees. The first groups were sent to Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Palestine, the United States of America and France. France was the chief European country of immigration, having received, according to some estimates, over 100,000 refugees. By 1924, the large-scale evacuation operations from Istambul were completed. Since

that time, groups of Russian refugees have tended to stabilise themselves within the social economy of the countries of refuge. Their legal status was defined first by the Nansen passport system and later by the Convention of 1933, which regulated the international status of Russian refugees and others to whom the "Nansen" treatment was accorded.

The Russian *émigrés* consisted of military and civilian groups and, most important of all, a large proportion of "intellectuals". The latter have brought pre-war Russian culture into every part of the Western world. Music, the drama, arts and letters have been enriched by their enforced flight.

There was also a flight of Russians into Asia, where certain problems of settlement and absorption still remain unsolved. In 1934 and 1935, the Advisory Committee on Social Questions discussed the unfortunate position of Russian women refugees in Harbin and other cities, who, being destitute, were in danger of falling a prey to the traffic in women.

3. TURKISH REFUGEES

The period following the Russo-Turkish war of 1877/78 witnessed the breaking-up of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of modern Turkey. The early years of this century therefore saw successive movements of Moslems of Turkish origin from different parts of the new Balkan States back to Turkish territory. The Lausanne Convention of January 30th, 1923, under which a compulsory exchange of Greek and Turkish nationals took place, increased this movement, but made it more

orderly. The Turkish Government further encouraged it by the Turco-Roumanian Agreement of 1935. It has been estimated that between 1921 and 1929 some 578,000 Moslems entered Turkey, more than half of these under the Lausanne exchange arrangement, and in 1936 and 1937, some 60,000 more found their way back. The Turkish Government has set up machinery to assimilate these people into the social economy of the country.

The rise of the Turkish Republic has thus resulted in a concentration of Moslems of Turkish origin within the modern State. It has also created refugees. In the summer of 1922, with the Turkish victory in Asia Minor, 1,500,000 Greeks, 300,000 Armenians and 30,000 Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish refugees proscribed by the Angora Government were suddenly flung on the shores of European Turkey (then in Allied occupation) and Greece, or driven into Syria. An urgent appeal was wired by the Greek Government to the fourth Assembly, which immediately voted 100,000 gold francs for emergency measures, and requested Nansen's relief organisation to deal with the crisis. Camps and soup-kitchens were organised, food and medical aid rushed to the spot, shipping provided to bring refugees from Turkey to Greece and, in a few weeks, thanks to the joint efforts of the private organisations and the League, the refugees were saved from starvation and epidemics, and it became possible to take up the task of settling them permanently.

The measures adopted to deal with these different national groups are briefly described in the following

pages. The case of Turks proscribed by the new Republic was one of the most difficult. In 1928, however, under the Geneva Arrangement, the protection of the Nansen Office was extended to some of these refugees and it was provided that they might hold the Nansen passport. These refugees included "any person of Turkish origin, previously a subject of the Ottoman Empire, who under the terms of the Lausanne Protocol of July 24th, 1923, does not enjoy, or no longer enjoys, the protection of the Turkish Republic and who has not acquired another nationality".

In the history of the Balkans during the early years of the nineteenth century, many migratory movements occurred, the immediate cause of which was political dissension or the transfer of territory. The first treaty to embody the idea of exchanging minorities was the Turco-Bulgarian Treaty of September 1913. An exchange was arranged — voluntary in theory, although in practice carried out with a certain amount of compulsion — by which the Bulgarians of Thrace went to Bulgaria and an almost identical number of Turks living in Bulgarian territory were transferred to Turkey. A Mixed Turco-Bulgarian Commission, sitting at Adrianople, supervised the process of evacuation and the liquidation of abandoned property. The task of this Commission was interrupted by the world war.

A second attempt, on a larger scale, was made by the Convention of Neuilly of November 27th, 1919, which related to the voluntary emigration of Bulgarian and Greek populations. Under the terms of that

Convention, the Mixed Commission which supervised its application arranged for the migration of about 82,000 people (52,000 Bulgarians and 30,000 Greeks) and the liquidation of their property.

The last example is the compulsory exchange prescribed by the Lausanne Convention of January 30th, 1923. Under the auspices of the Mixed Commission for the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations, which had jurisdiction over more than a million people who had left their homes, 357,647 Moslems and 192,336 Greeks were exchanged. This Mixed Commission consisted of four members from each of the contracting parties and two members selected by the Council of the League of Nations from among the Powers which had not taken part in the war of 1914-1918. The functions of the Commission were to supervise and facilitate the emigration provided for by the Convention and to liquidate the real estate and personal property of the populations exchanged.

Following a report by Viscount Ishii, the League Council, on September 17th, 1923, expressed the opinion that the neutral members of the Commission received their authority from the Convention and must act in conformity with the views of the two contracting parties, as laid down therein.

From the constitutional point of view, the Mixed Commission was an autonomous body deriving its powers from an international instrument which it was its task to apply. In the field of activity devolving upon it, its connection with the League of Nations was limited formally to the fact that the League Council appointed

the neutral members of the Commission. It was therefore not a Commission which represented the League of Nations, such as, for example, the Saar Commission.

The work of the Lausanne Convention of January 30th, 1923, was afterwards completed by two further Conventions, one signed in 1930 and the other in 1933, which finally liquidated the questions which had arisen from the compulsory exchange of Greek and Turkish populations and those concerning the property of the exchanged populations.

4. GREEK REFUGEES

As a result of the events of 1922, when the Greek army was obliged to evacuate Asia Minor and Thrace, about a million and a half Greek refugees of Turkish nationality had to leave their homes for Greece.

The organisation of relief and settlement of the Greek refugees was undertaken by the Refugee Settlement Commission, an autonomous body set up by the Council of the League and the Greek Government and required to make quarterly reports to the Council. With the help of the League's Economic Organisation, an international loan was raised and a refugee settlement scheme devised in the agricultural districts of Macedonia and Thrace and in urban centres. The League's Health Organisation organised a campaign of vaccination and inoculation which prevented any serious outbreak of epidemics ; it introduced a successful anti-tuberculosis campaign and helped the Greek authorities, not only

to fight the epidemics which threatened at the moment, but to establish a permanent public health service for the future in Greece.

The Settlement Commission handed over its work to the Greek Government at the end of 1931. Greece could then count as gain from her refugee settlement new agricultural enterprise in country districts, public works which had provided employment for both refugees and Greek workers, new industries and trades, particularly the carpet industry which refugees brought from Asia Minor, small craft and handiwork shops and the co-operative trading enterprises which the Commission had established in the new rural settlements. In return for the settlement of her refugee fellow-nationals, Greece obtained economic benefits and improved public health services.

5. BULGARIA

The war and the wave of "self-determination" which followed it resulted in a racial concentration within newly erected frontiers. The movements of Bulgarian refugees seeking to enter the territory of fellow nationals was part of this reorganisation of Balkan peoples. Bulgarians came in great numbers from Roumania, from the parts of Macedonia in the possession of Greece and Yugoslavia and from Thrace in the possession of Greece and Turkey. The Convention of Neuilly (November 27th, 1919), which provided for a voluntary exchange of population between Greece and Bulgaria, resulted in the transfer of 55,000 Bulgarians and

30,000 Greeks to their own countries. The migrants were allowed to take their movable property with them, thus avoiding the extreme destitution which was the unhappy lot of so many others. The transfer was organised by a Mixed Commission consisting of one Bulgarian, one Greek and two persons appointed by the League of Nations. This Commission continued, until 1932, to supervise the movements of populations and to assess the value of property that had to be left behind.

The Bulgarian Government, however, found itself unable to provide for settlement, especially as its economy was hampered by the presence of Russian and Armenian refugees as well. Private organisations gave as much assistance as they could, but large-scale settlement was made possible only after a loan had been raised under the auspices of the League (May 3rd, 1926). At Bulgaria's request, the League sent an officer to help her administer the loan and plan settlements in arable parts of the country. There were many difficulties. The Commission had to build roads and a railway, to undertake big drainage, irrigation and afforestation schemes and to fight malaria in swampy country. The refugees have suffered in common with the inhabitants of the country from the economic crisis, and from disasters such as the earthquake of 1928 ; but in spite of this, it can be said that much has been done to achieve the results forecast by a League official in 1926 : " The transformation of the impoverished refugees into contented agricultural producers ; the increase in the social and political stability of Bulgaria ; the development of her economic resources and the improvement of her

external relations". A recent estimate shows that Bulgaria has received a total of 251,309 refugees, of whom 121,677 came from Greece, 31,427 from Yugoslavia, 70,294 from Turkey and 27,911 from Roumania.

6. ARMENIANS

As a result of the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Armenians who were Turkish subjects were obliged to leave the territory of the Empire, where they had been settled. This migration movement became a headlong flight when Asia Minor was evacuated by the Allied troops, some of the Armenians being forced to seek refuge in Greece, Bulgaria and other parts of the Balkan peninsula, while others fled to Syria, Iraq or Palestine. In addition, many sought Erivan, the small territory which had been organised as an independent Armenian republic within Russian territory during the war and which had sided with the Allies. They were utterly without resource and completely at the mercy of whatever authority they might encounter. Voluntary organisations, in particular the Near East Relief, were set up to rescue Armenians in Turkey from starvation.

In 1921, the attention of the League was drawn to their wretched state : there were at that time 30,000 in Russian Armenia and 7,000 in Greece. The League Council appointed a commission to reclaim deported women and children in Turkey, and " neutral houses " were set up at Istanbul and Aleppo to afford temporary shelter while schemes of more permanent settlement were devised. The burden of organising this relief

fell upon voluntary associations, especially American and British, and the Governments of Bulgaria and Greece.

When the League Council met in September 1923, it asked Dr. Nansen to extend to the Armenian refugees the services which he had set up for the Russians. A Nansen passport for Armenian refugees was created on May 31st, 1924. Dr. Nansen proceeded to draw up a plan for settlement. This has not unfortunately entirely succeeded, but it has been found possible to arrange for the assimilation of some Armenians in Erivan and in certain countries of refuge, especially Syria and Greece.

For two years (1924-1926), a League Commission worked at the problem of settling homeless Armenians. As compared with the Greek, Bulgarian and some of the Turkish refugees, they presented tremendous difficulties. The former were seeking their own nationals and going to countries where they were wanted, so that, however great the material difficulties, success was in the long run assured. The Armenians could claim no natural home, except Erivan. This was now situated within Soviet territory, and so special difficulties arose, for example, over the problem of guaranteeing loans for settlement. When the League Commission submitted its report in 1926, the Assembly decided that the £300,000 necessary to settle Armenians in Erivan would have to be raised privately. Dr. Nansen made heroic efforts to do so, appealing to Governments and to private organisations : but he failed, and the scheme for settlement in Erivan had to be abandoned in 1929.

Although this scheme was unsuccessful, some Armenians have been repatriated to Erivan from their first country of refuge. In 1927, an agreement was made between Greece and Soviet Russia to this end, and, in 1936, the Nansen Office brought back more than a thousand refugees who had settled temporarily in France.

Armenian refugees also sought haven at Beirut, Aleppo and Alexandretta. Various efforts have been made to obtain sufficient funds, both through private organisations and from Governments, to build houses and settle them more permanently. Dr. Nansen began a scheme for building houses and making more permanent settlement. This has been carried on by the Nansen Office through its local representative in Syria in co-operation with the French mandatory Government. By October 1937, 1,357 persons had been established in agricultural districts and 35,653 in urban settlements. In June 1937, the Chairman of the Governing Body of the Nansen Office estimated that only some 1,000 families were still without homes. This number has since been decreased.

The Greek authorities received a good many Armenian refugees, of whom about a half — some 25,000 — still remain in the country to-day. Early in 1937, however, they decided to demolish the thousands of insanitary huts in which miserable remnants of Armenian and Greek refugees from Asia Minor were still living. The Assembly of 1937 was told that over 2,500 Armenian families would shortly be homeless. The Nansen Office entered into negotiation with the Greek Government and secured the grant of 40,000 square metres

of land. It has since been trying to raise the funds necessary to provide adequate housing accommodation. For the past year, the representative of the Nansen Office in Greece has been engaged, in conjunction with delegates of the Armenian organisations, in drawing up plans for a re-settlement scheme. It is expected that the Office will have completed 250 new dwellings by the middle of the present year at a cost of about £6,000, where refugees may at length find permanent homes.

7. ASSYRIANS OF IRAQ

Before the war, the Assyrians were living on the borders of Turkey and Persia, and during hostilities they fought with Russian troops on the side of the Allies. After the Russian armistice of 1917, they were left exposed and fled to British protection. Some 30,000 survivors from this retreat were placed in refugee camps in Iraq. As the Turkish Republic grew stronger, further measures were taken against Assyrians and Chaldean-Assyrians on the Turkish borders, and Iraq again became the country of refuge. It was thought for a time that it would be possible to settle the Assyrians in the Hakkari mountains in northern Iraq, but, in December 1925, the League Council assigned this territory to Turkey. It had been assumed that the Assyrians would be allowed to stay, but the Turkish Government refused to extend their amnesty law to them, on the ground that they had fought against Turkey in the war. They thus became a charge upon the mandatory Government in Iraq,

and between 1926 and 1929 the British authorities endeavoured to settle them in that country and to promote their assimilation with the Arab population.

The British Government surrendered their mandate for Iraq in 1932. When Iraq applied for membership of the League of Nations, she was required, as a condition of membership, to make a declaration guaranteeing the rights of minority peoples. This, however, was not enough to satisfy the Assyrians ; and, in any case, relations between them and the Arab population of Iraq were very strained, partly because of the protection the Assyrians had enjoyed under the British mandate. In July 1933, 800 Assyrians left Iraq for Syria in the hope that the French mandatory authorities would allow them to settle there and bring their families. The Syrian authorities sent them back ; there was a clash with local detachments of the Iraqi army and most of the Assyrians who survived went back to Syria, where they were interned. This incident provoked great agitation in Iraq and led to such strong feeling that the Iraqi Government urged the League Council to find a new home for the Assyrians " who wished to leave or were unable peaceably to be incorporated finally in the Iraqi State ". The Council, meeting in December 1933, set up a Committee to prepare a scheme for emigration and settlement.

Temporary settlement was permitted by the French authorities in Syria on the Khabur river. By December 1935, this settlement numbered almost 6,000. The League Committee investigated a number of possibilities for final settlement in Brazil, British Guiana and

elsewhere, but none proved promising. For a time, it had under consideration a plan to drain the Ghab Plain in Syria and transport refugees thither from Iraq and from their temporary haven in Syria. Arrangements were made for joint financial contributions from the League and the British, Iraqi and Syrian Governments. This scheme was abandoned, however, in July 1936, because the French Government was applying for the termination of its mandate over Syria and it was felt that the new Syrian State might not be willing to accept the settlement of a Christian minority. The following year, when further searches for a permanent home for the Assyrians in the British colonies and dominions proved fruitless, it was decided to stabilise the Khabur settlement and admit to it further Assyrians coming from Iraq. Financial arrangements were made with the Governments concerned both for this purpose and for the permanent settlement of the Assyrians who wished to remain in Iraq. There are at the present time some 9,000 Assyrians settled in fifteen villages in the Khabur district and some 20,000 who have remained as inhabitants of northern Iraq. The latter have become a Christian minority within the Iraqi State.

8. REFUGEES FROM THE SAAR

Refugees from the Saar might more properly be called optants, since they comprised the minority of the population who voted against inclusion in the German Reich during the plebiscite of January 13th, 1935. The League, which was responsible for the orderly conduct

of this plebiscite, made an arrangement with the German Government before the voting actually took place, under which persons wishing to leave the Saar were allowed to take with them their movable goods and to sell their immovable property. The Saar refugees thus faced the world with more resource than the average refugee from Germany.

Since the League had been responsible for the administration of the Saar Territory, refugees after the plebiscite were placed under the protection of the Nansen Office. Nansen certificates of identity were provided for them and the Office approached the authorities of the countries of refuge in order to secure for them as favourable treatment as possible. A large proportion were miners and industrial workers and the question of employment is the most important one for their future.

The majority of Saar refugees are still in France, where, thanks to the generous treatment accorded by the authorities, they are rapidly being assimilated into the life and economy of the country.

In 1935, the Nansen Office devised a scheme for settling refugees from the Saar in rural districts in Paraguay; 200,000 Swiss francs were devoted to this purpose from the League's budget, and 158 refugees have already gone to Paraguay. With much courage and hard work on the part of the emigrants, a rural settlement is being built up.

It is probable, however, that only a relatively small number of Saarlanders will choose to go to this settlement, since few of them are fitted for farming or rural life.

DEVELOPMENT OF LEAGUE MACHINERY, 1921-1935

The League's organisation was devised primarily for the Russian refugees, but was early extended to meet the needs of others as well. Its story is one of response to repeated emergencies as they arose, rather than of development according to plan. There were no precedents or models for League intervention to mitigate the sufferings of refugees and give them hope of new security. The League has always been hampered by slender resources which have obliged the Assembly repeatedly to declare that League funds must be confined to meeting the costs of maintaining the organisation which assured the legal and political protection of refugees : there was little left for food, clothing, temporary shelter, medicines, and the thousand immediate necessities of homeless, destitute people. The League's work has been supplemented by the devoted efforts of a large number of voluntary organisations, which have supplied immediate relief and material assistance in connection with schemes for emigration and settlement.

The High Commissioner for Russian Refugees, Dr. Nansen, soon found that this work had to be extended to include Armenian refugees, Greeks and Bulgarians, and the arrangements for the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. Large groups of Russian refugees were concentrated in and about Istambul and it was from this centre that the work of organisation and the co-ordination of the relief work of private organisations was directed.

As time went on, it became clear that the refugee problem was not so much political as economic and that, in particular, questions of migration and employment were inextricably bound up with the fate of refugees. For this reason, the League Council in June 1924 recommended that the technical services for Russians and Armenians should be transferred to the International Labour Organisation. This new arrangement, which came into force on January 1st, 1925, incorporated Dr. Nansen's staff in the International Labour Office as the Refugee Service, whose duty it would be to co-operate with the Migration Service of that Office in making occupational surveys and seeking promising fields for emigration. The various local agents in countries where refugees were seeking shelter and employment were required to report to this Office. The League's High Commissioner himself continued to be responsible for the legal status of refugees and for political problems connected with their movements, and for this task had the assistance of the League Secretariat. It was during this period that the census of 1925 was taken in an attempt to estimate the total number of unemployed refugees and their capacity to work. During this time, too, Dr. Nansen drew up his scheme for the repatriation of Armenian refugees in Erivan, a scheme that was destined to partial failure.

In May 1926, an Inter-Governmental Conference was held which arranged for a new source of revenue to be devoted to the work of settlement. The countries which had accepted the arrangement governing the issue of the Nansen identity certificate (the Nansen passport)

agreed to affix to each certificate, as it was issued, a stamp for which the holder would be charged 5 gold francs. This payment was to be made annually when the certificate came up for renewal and thus refugees who have been helped contribute to the rescue and settlement of others less fortunate, and a relatively small but constant revenue has been obtained.

The following December (1926), the Council asked Dr. Nansen to consider what other groups of refugees should be included in his service, and the Assembly of the following year, in September 1927, decided to bring within the scope of the League Refugee Service the Assyrians, the Assyro-Chaldeans and Turkish refugees.

It was not an easy matter to administer refugee work from the offices of the International Labour Organisation. The service itself was assimilated with the ordinary office staff, but its work was directed, not only by the resolutions of the Governing Body of the Labour Office and the Assembly of the League, but also by the recommendations of a special Inter-Governmental Advisory Commission which the League Council set up in 1928. For this reason, the Governing Body of the Labour Office decided, in the spring of 1928, that it would be best to simplify this organisation by entrusting the whole of the refugee service to the High Commissioner. The League Assembly which met in the following September thereupon decided to include the service in the League Secretariat for a temporary period of one year, in order to review the situation and provide for the organisation of refugee work in the future.

In May 1930 Dr. Nansen died, and the person who had the most intimate knowledge of refugees and their problems was lost to their service.

After the experimental period, the Secretary-General recommended that the work of political and legal protection for refugees should be separated from immediate relief and assistance with a view to permanent settlement. The Assembly which met in September 1930 accepted this suggestion and decided that the League of Nations should, in future, be responsible for obtaining a legal status for refugees and dealing with the difficult political questions connected with the search for settlement. It was hoped that this work would be merely a temporary charge upon the League; that it would be possible to find satisfactory solutions for each of the refugee groups and thus conclude the work. The Assembly of 1931 entrusted the humanitarian side of the work for refugees to the "Nansen International Office for Refugees" until December 31st, 1938, when it was to be liquidated.

THE NANSEN INTERNATIONAL OFFICE FOR REFUGEES

The Nansen International Office for Refugees was set up in September 1930 and began its work on April 1st of the following year. Under the new organisation, the post of High Commissioner was eliminated. The Office, which would receive a grant from the League budget for its administrative expenses, was to be autonomous and to have a Governing Body. The Governing Body consisted of a president, nominated by the League Assembly; the chairman and three representatives of

the Inter-Governmental Advisory Commission for Refugees ; a nominee of the Secretary-General of the League and a nominee of the Director of the International Labour Organisation ; three members to represent the Advisory Committee of private organisations and two members of the principal international relief organisations, who were to be co-opted by a majority vote of the other members of the Governing Body. The first President was Dr. Max Huber, President of the International Red Cross Committee.

THE 1933 CONVENTION

The newly established Office entered upon its work with the knowledge that its task was to end in nine years' time. It seemed clear, therefore, that its first duty was to establish legal protection for refugees by an international convention which would still remain after the Office had disappeared. For this reason, an Inter-Governmental Conference was held on October 28th, 1933. This Conference resulted in the Convention of 1933, which defines the international status of refugees. This Convention embodied previous agreements concerning the issue of Nansen passports, provisions relating to the legal status of refugees and the stipulation that refugees should receive the same treatment as nationals or, at any rate, as foreigners enjoying most-favoured-nation treatment with regard to matters of employment, welfare, relief, education and taxation. The 1933 Convention came into operation in 1935, when it was ratified by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Norway. It

has since been ratified by Denmark, France, the United Kingdom, Belgium and Italy. Most Governments, however, have attached important reservations to their signatures. It applies only to the so-called "Nansen refugees" — Russians, Armenians, Assyrians, Assyro-Chaldeans, Turkish and assimilated, and Saar refugees.

The first President of the Nansen International Office for Refugees resigned at the end of 1932 and was succeeded by Professor Georges Werner, who died in 1935. The work was then taken over by Judge Michael Hansson, former President of the Court of Appeal in Egypt, whose final report was submitted to the 1938 Assembly.

In May 1935, the League Council decided to place refugees from the Saar Territory under the Nansen Office. A special arrangement, made on May 24th, 1935, extended the Nansen identity certificate to them, and a representative was appointed in France to supervise their settlement there, in agreement with the French authorities.

The League's organisation has rendered other services to refugees which cannot be fully described in this brief survey. For example, questions of nationality and "Statelessness" were discussed and solutions prepared at the Conference for the Codification of International Law held at The Hague in 1930, and the third Conference of the Organisation for Communications and Transit (1927). Technical experts from the Health Organisation, the Economic and Financial Organisation, and the Migration Service of the International Labour Office have worked at special problems within their

own fields. The League's good offices have been used to obtain the services of outside experts, to secure the goodwill of Government authorities, and to co-ordinate the efforts of private organisations. Financial assistance in the form of international loans raised under the auspices of the League of Nations has in some instances been the essential condition for the success of schemes for settlement.

The League's service has been a service of organised international assistance ; countries that have not been in a position to offer direct relief by receiving refugees have nevertheless participated in the work on their behalf by contributing to the administrative expenses of the League offices set up to organise relief.

Above all, the League's organisation, with the opportunities it provides for the public discussion of questions of international well-being, has kept the problem of refugees before the conscience of the world.

THE NEW PROBLEM

Early in the year 1933, a new refugee problem was created by the coming into power of the National-Socialist party in Germany. From 1920, a tenet of the Nazi creed had been that "none but members of the nation may be citizens of the State : none but those of German blood, whatever their creed, may be members of the nation. No Jew, therefore, may be a member of the nation." The application of the creed in political practice obliged some 80,000 persons — Jews, "non-Aryans", and others not in sympathy with the Government's policy — to leave Germany within the first three years of the Nazi regime.

The early flights of refugees from Germany were unorganised. The frontiers about that country were open, and Germans threatened by the new regime fled to the nearest haven. They were at that time still in possession of passports ; many of them believed or hoped that the conditions from which they fled were but temporary, and so they sought refuge or relief until the danger should have passed. As time went on, however, and the application of the "racial theory" became more regularised and thoroughgoing, emigration became more organised. Voluntary organisations sprang up in surrounding countries to assist refugees, to provide immediate relief and to seek fields for permanent settlement.

The question of the legal status of refugees from Germany became urgent. It was in these circumstances

that the League of Nations was called upon to solve the economic, financial and social problems of these refugees.

A petition on behalf of the Jews in Germany was first brought before the League Council in May and July 1933. The International Labour Conference in June of that year had been informed of the presence of German refugees seeking work in the Netherlands, France and Belgium. During the ensuing meeting of the League Assembly (September 1933), the Netherlands delegate raised the question as a technical problem, in order to avoid any discussion of internal affairs in Germany. In 1922, when minority problems were being discussed, the Assembly had adopted a resolution expressing the hope that "States not bound by specific legal obligations in the matter of minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their own minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by the treaties in question". The Assembly of 1933 discussed the action being taken against the Jews in Germany in connection with its discussion of the problems of minority peoples. It reaffirmed its resolution of 1922, and added further that the principle embodied in that early resolution "must be applied without exception to all classes of nationals of a State which differ from the majority of the population in race, language and religion".

The German delegation opposed the suggestion made during the Assembly's discussion that a League High Commissioner should be appointed for refugees coming from Germany, on the ground that his periodical reports

to the League might provide the opportunity for discussion of internal affairs in that country. Instead, it was decided to appoint a High Commissioner who should report, not to the League, but to a High Commission for Refugees coming from Germany. The Council Committee set up for this purpose appointed a citizen of the United States of America, Mr. James G. McDonald, High Commissioner and invited the United States to send a representative to the High Commission. Lord Cecil was appointed Chairman of the Commission, which was formally set up in December 1933.

The League made an initial loan of 25,000 Swiss francs toward the administrative expenses of the High Commission, but apart from this, financial support was to be sought from private sources. Many people believed that the separation of the High Commissioner's office from the League would facilitate the difficult task entrusted to him — viz., "to negotiate and direct the international collaboration required for the solution of the economic, financial and social problems resulting from the presence of refugees in various countries". Events were, however, to prove them mistaken.

When Mr. McDonald resigned his post three years later, his letter to the Secretary-General made it clear that he considered his independent position a handicap.

During those three years, the work of emigration and settlement abroad was begun. The High Commissioner co-ordinated the work of voluntary organisations, first in order to provide temporary relief and assistance to refugees who had fled leaving all their possessions

behind them, and later to prepare for their emigration by seeking suitable refuge and employment for them outside Germany. Planned and organised emigration began to succeed the first desperate flights. The people concerned began to direct their efforts to assist refugees, not only towards the provision of temporary relief or refuge, but also towards their permanent settlement in another country.

Mr. McDonald reported that by the end of 1935 more than 80,000 people had left the Reich. Of these, approximately three-fourths had found new homes — more than half of these in Palestine — or had been repatriated to their countries of origin. This accomplishment, he said, had been “ primarily the work of the refugees themselves and of the philanthropic organisations, Jewish and Christian, whose devoted labours have been ceaselessly carried on in many parts of the world ”.

But the High Commissioner and his Commission felt that the difficulties were too great to be surmounted by a body acting outside the League, and Mr. McDonald resigned at the end of 1935.

When the League Council met on January 24th, 1936, its members realised that the most urgent problem was to secure a legal status for these refugees who had been deprived of German nationality, and this they were particularly anxious to do. They accordingly provided for the appointment of a High Commissioner of the League of Nations to deal with questions relating to refugees coming from Germany. On February 14th, 1936, Major-General Sir Neill Malcolm was

appointed High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany. He was to receive funds for administrative expenses from the League budget ; he was to have the assistance of the League Secretariat in arranging the inter-Governmental conferences which the Council directed him to convene : he was to submit reports periodically to meetings of the League Assembly. Sir Neill Malcolm's initial term of office was from February to September, 1936 ; the Assembly of 1936 extended this term to December 31st, 1938.

The Council which appointed Sir Neill Malcolm defined his duties as follows :

(a) To prepare and arrange, in agreement with the Secretary-General, for the meeting of an Inter-Governmental Conference with a view to arranging a system of legal protection for refugees coming from Germany.

The States Members of the League of Nations, as well as the United States of America and the United States of Brazil, shall be convened to this Conference by the Secretary-General in agreement with the High Commissioner.

(b) To undertake consultations by the most suitable method with the different Governments regarding the possibilities and conditions of placing refugees and finding employment for them.

(c) To establish such liaison as he may consider desirable, and in the manner which may appear most suitable, with the private associations dealing with assistance to refugees and with their emigration and employment, the activities of these associations being recognised to be useful by the League of Nations.

On this occasion, the Council defined the competence of the League with regard to the problem :

(i) The action of the League of Nations in favour of refugees should be confined to persons having left their country of origin ;

(ii) The High Commissioner's mission should be confined to seeking the assistance of Governments in order to find solutions for the problems raised in connection with the legal status of the refugees, and to studying the conditions of placing them and finding them employment ;

(iii) The various tasks connected with the assistance of refugees are in the province of the private organisations, with which, however, the High Commissioner may set up any system of liaison which he may consider effective.

PROVISIONAL ARRANGEMENT CONCERNING THE STATUS OF REFUGEES COMING FROM GERMANY

The urgent question of a legal status for refugees was the first to be broached, and, on July 2nd, 1936, an Inter-Governmental Conference was convened for the adoption of a legal status for refugees coming from Germany. Representatives of the following countries took part : Belgium, the United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Irish Free State, Latvia, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Roumania, Sweden, Switzerland and Uruguay.

The Provisional Arrangement was based upon the Convention relating to the International Status of Refugees (October 28th, 1933) and provided for the temporary adoption of certain provisions concerning the status of refugees coming from Germany. The Arrangement was signed by six Governments : Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway and Switzerland, and came into force on August 4th, 1936. The United Kingdom later signed the Arrangement, and, in addition, certain Governments which have not

signed have applied it in practice. It provided for the issue and renewal to refugees coming from Germany and lawfully residing in the territory of the signatory State of an identity certificate drawn up on the model furnished by the "Nansen passport". It formulated certain general rules relating to expulsion and reconduction and contained a chapter laying down principles to govern the personal status of refugees.

The High Commissioner, in making his report on this Provisional Arrangement, was careful to note "that the questions dealt with therein by no means exhaust the whole problem of refugees coming from Germany. The questions relating to the conditions under which permission to work may be obtained and to the various measures of social assistance and welfare (assistance to the sick, to old people, women and children, facilities for study, protection and assistance of workers) have not yet been settled." ¹

Discussions at this Conference had made it clear that the ultimate problem was that of permission to work. "This" — said the High Commissioner — "is a question of fundamental importance from the point of view of the rational liquidation of the problem, since, however long it may take to settle the refugees, they should not all be left on the hands of the welfare organisations which are looking after them. The discussion of the refugees' economic and social rights which took place at the Conference showed that, although Governments are not as yet prepared to conclude a Convention,

¹ Document A.19.1936.XII. Geneva, September 1st, 1936.

they are one and all willing to examine this problem in a most liberal spirit. It should be remembered, however, that at the present time economic conditions compel Governments to act with great caution whenever there is a question of granting rights in this sphere to non-nationals.”

The most useful feature of the Provisional Arrangement was its provision for the personal status of refugees. It left two important gaps in the defence of refugees : it made no provision for Stateless persons ¹ (that is, persons coming from Germany who had, while living in that country, no right to German nationality), and it did not attempt to deal with economic and social rights, as the 1933 Convention had done for the refugees coming under the Nansen Office.

In the course of the Inter-Governmental Conference which resulted in the Provisional Arrangement, it was brought out that those countries which were prepared to take a share in the international settlement of the problem of refugees from Germany felt that the application of all the provisions of the 1933 Convention to these refugees would be premature. The Provisional Arrangement did not constitute a complete international instrument, since it contained no provisions concerning economic and social rights. The Assembly, therefore, at its seventeenth ordinary session, instructed the High

¹ Under the terms of Article 1 of the Arrangement, in order to be deemed a refugee coming from Germany, a person must possess either no nationality other than German or have lost German nationality by reason of his leaving that country.

Commissioner to convene an Inter-Governmental Conference for the adoption of a convention on the status of refugees coming from Germany. A preliminary draft Convention prepared by the High Commissioner was submitted to Governments, and the Assembly took note of it at its eighteenth ordinary session. That body instructed the High Commissioner, "in agreement with the Secretary-General, to summon, for the beginning of 1938, an Inter-Governmental Conference for the adoption of an International Convention for the benefit of refugees coming from Germany". The Assembly further expressed the hope that "the Inter-Governmental Conference will adopt a definition of refugees which will permit of extension to Stateless persons coming from Germany of the provisions of Article 1 of the Agreement of July 4th, 1936".

The Conference was held at Geneva from February 7th to 10th, 1938, and gave effect to this resolution. The Conference adopted as a basis of discussion the proposal previously submitted to Governments for their examination and drew up, on February 10th, 1938, the terms of the Convention, which was signed by the representatives of seven Governments : Belgium, the United Kingdom, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway and Spain. This Convention combines the provisions of the Provisional Arrangement of July 4th, 1936, relating to the status of refugees coming from Germany with those of the Convention of October 28th, 1933.¹

¹ Under Article 1, the term "refugees coming from Germany" is deemed to apply to :

The Convention of February 10th, 1938, was ratified by Belgium and the United Kingdom and came into force on October 26th of that year in accordance with Article 22 of its provisions.

A recommendation which was inserted in the Final Act on the proposal of the Norwegian delegation suggests that Advisory Committees should be set up in the different countries to ensure co-operation between Government authorities and the private organisations concerned with providing relief and assistance for refugees. Such Committees already exist in some countries, such as, for example, Belgium and France, where they consist of permanent members belonging to the different Ministerial departments and of variable elements representing the refugees. Other States, like the United Kingdom, have encouraged the formation of Co-ordination Committees, which collaborate with the competent services. An organ for dealing with refugees has been set up in Sweden, and it is expected that other countries will adopt a similar procedure in the interest both of the refugees and of the countries of refuge.

“(a) Persons possessing or having possessed German nationality and not possessing any other nationality, who are proved not to enjoy, in law or in fact, the protection of the German Government ;

“(b) Stateless persons not covered by previous Conventions or Agreements who have left German territory after having been established therein and who are proved not to enjoy, in law or in fact, the protection of the German Government.”

This definition refers only to Stateless persons who were settled in Germany and not to all Stateless persons. Moreover, paragraph 2 of this article expressly excludes persons who have left Germany for reasons of purely personal convenience.

LIAISON WITH PRIVATE ASSOCIATIONS ASSISTING REFUGEES

As was the case in its early work on behalf of refugees, the League Assembly has decided, in dealing with refugees coming from Germany, to allocate the funds voted by it exclusively to the administrative expenses of the High Commissioner's Office. This Office was instructed to deal with the fundamental problem of refugees — their legal and political protection. All matters of immediate relief and assistance had therefore to be left to the voluntary organisations. It was they too who undertook the tremendous task of helping refugees to plan for the future by seeking suitable employment in countries where they will be allowed to settle and build up their lives anew.

The High Commissioner, wishing to establish the closest possible collaboration with the many voluntary organisations which sprang into being in the years following 1933, requested the latter to link themselves together and appoint co-ordinating committees with which he might keep in constant touch. Accordingly, the Council for German Jewry was established in London to co-ordinate the existing organisations working on behalf of Jewish refugees. Liaison between the organisations for the assistance of non-Jewish refugees was established through the International Christian Committee for Refugees from Germany, whose object it is to assist non-Aryan Christian refugees, and political refugees, both Catholic and Protestant. Finally, an Advisory Committee was set up in London, under the

chairmanship of Lord Samuel, to maintain contact among these various groups. This was enlarged during 1937 and, under the title "International Liaison Committee", now consists of twenty-six national and international organisations, including those of the refugees themselves. These organisations co-ordinate, under the auspices of the League's High Commissioner, plans for humanitarian assistance to be rendered to refugees. The International Liaison Committee is composed as follows :

- American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (Paris);
- Council for German Jewry (London);
- Hias-Ica Emigration Association (HICEM) (Paris);
- International Christian Committee for German Refugees (London);
- Jewish Agency for Palestine (London);
- Jewish Colonisation Association (Paris);
- Jewish Refugees Committee (London);
- The Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (London);
- The Society of Friends, Germany Emergency Committee (London);
- Comité d'aide et d'assistance aux victimes de l'antisémitisme en Allemagne (Brussels);
- De Samvirkende Danske Emigranthjaelpekomiteer (Copenhagen);
- Comité d'assistance aux réfugiés (Paris);
- Comité voor bijzondere Joodsche Belangen (Amsterdam);
- Schweizerische Zentralstelle für Flüchtlingshilfe (Basle);
- Comité central tchécoslovaque pour les réfugiés provenant d'Allemagne (Prague);
- Zentralvereinigung der Deutschen Emigration (Paris);
- Bureau international pour le respect du droit d'asile et l'aide aux réfugiés politiques (Paris);
- Congrès juif mondial (Paris);
- International Migration Service (Geneva);
- International Students Service (Geneva);
- International "Save the Children" Fund (Geneva); Inter-Aid Committee for Children from Germany (London);

Comité international pour le placement des intellectuels réfugiés
(Geneva) ;

Alliance israélite universelle (Paris) ;

Joint Foreign Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews
and the Anglo-Jewish Association (London) ;

Agudas Israel World Organisation (London) ;

Notgemeinschaft Deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland (London).

Apart from helping the voluntary organisations to co-ordinate relief and assistance to refugees, the High Commissioner was also authorised to arrange for the study, if necessary, on the spot of any concrete plans for emigration and colonisation which these bodies might bring forward. Unfortunately, within the last two years, new restrictions on immigration have greatly narrowed the field for emigration. In September 1937, the High Commissioner had to report that there had been during the preceding twelve months no mitigation of those restrictive measures which prevented emigration.

One practical effort at co-operation between the High Commissioner and the private organisations has already begun to bear fruit. During the past year, the organisations have supplied the High Commissioner with lists of specialists, qualified agriculturists and other technicians desiring to emigrate from Germany. He has entered into negotiations with Governments on behalf of these persons and has succeeded in ensuring the emigration of a number of refugees specialising in various branches of industry and agriculture. Schools of professional re-adaptation will increase the numbers of technicians who, thanks to this system of co-operation between the High Commissioner and the organisations

for assistance, will be enabled to find permanent homes abroad.

At the present time, the chief concern of the voluntary organisations is that funds may be maintained and opportunities for immigration remain during the next few years, in order that the movement of refugees out of Germany may be one of emigration towards permanent settlement, not of refugees seeking temporary shelter.

THE EVIAN CONFERENCE

On the initiative of the United States Government, an Inter-Governmental Committee met at Evian from July 6th to 15th, 1938, to consider questions relating to refugees coming from Germany (including Austria). That Committee adopted a resolution recommending full co-operation with the services of the League of Nations. The following is the text of the resolution :

“ The Inter-Governmental Committee, recognising the value of the work of the existing refugee services of the League of Nations and of the studies on migration made by the International Labour Office, shall co-operate fully with these organisations, and the Inter-Governmental Committee in London shall consider the means by which the co-operation of the Committee and the Director with these organisations shall be established.”

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

Since the first problem of refugees was brought before the League in 1921, it had always been hoped that it would be possible to treat the question as a temporary one ; that, in the future, refugees would come in manageable numbers ; that it would be possible to place them in countries where they might be absorbed and take a useful part in the life of the people about them. Further, the Assembly has, on different occasions, directed that money voted by the League should be used for the administrative expenses of the offices concerned with the legal and political protection of refugees, and not for buying food, clothing or equipment for actual settlement.

Under present arrangements, the two organs established by the League to deal with different categories of refugees — the Nansen International Office for Refugees and the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany — are to be “ liquidated ” at the end of the present year. In anticipation of this, the Assembly of September 1937 asked the Council to study what was to be done in the future. The number of refugees in Europe was increasing, while opportunities for emigration and employment were diminishing. It was impossible to ignore the fact that the presence of homeless and often Stateless people wandering from one frontier to another constituted a problem that affected international relations.

The Council, which met on January 28th, 1938, noted that the number of refugees at that time was 600,000. The problem could not therefore be regarded as solved ; indeed, many States Members of the League which have refugees within their territory considered that co-operation within the framework of the League was still indispensable. The Council therefore decided to transmit to the Governments of the States Members of the League and, in addition, to the United States of America and the United States of Brazil a plan for future action. These Governments were asked to comment on this plan. The Council also instructed the Secretary-General to submit to the Assembly a detailed report on international assistance to refugees, based on the Council's proposals. When the Assembly met in September of this year (1938), it was asked to consider this report together with the observations which the Governments had put forward, and to reach a decision as to the principle upon which the League's work for refugees should be based in the future.

The Assembly decided to appoint a new High Commissioner to deal with refugees hitherto coming under the Nansen Office and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany (and from former Austria)¹. It specified that this should represent a new appointment entirely independent of the institutions which are to be discontinued at the end of this

¹ The Council on January 17th 1939 extended the powers of the High Commissioner to refugees from the territories known as the Sudetenland which Czechoslovakia ceded to Germany in 1938.

year. In particular, the new High Commissioner is not the legal successor of those institutions.

The High Commissioner's duties were defined as follows :

(a) To provide for the political and legal protection of refugees, as entrusted to the regular organs of the League by paragraph 3 of the Assembly's decision of September 30th, 1930 ;

(b) To superintend the entry into force and the application of the legal status of refugees, as defined more particularly in the Conventions of October 28th, 1933, and February 10th, 1938 ;

(c) To facilitate the co-ordination of humanitarian assistance ;

(d) To assist the Governments and private organisations in their efforts to promote emigration and permanent settlement.

He was directed to keep in close touch with the Governments concerned and to maintain relations with the Inter-Governmental Committee in London set up by the Evian Conference. He is to establish contact, in such manner as he may think best, with private organisations dealing with refugee questions. He will be required to make annual reports on his work to the Assembly of the League.

The following financial arrangements were made for his office :

The grant from the League of Nations shall be appropriated for the High Commissioner's administrative expenses, including the emoluments of the Deputy High Commissioner, the staff and the representatives, if any. It may in no case be employed for the relief and settlement of refugees. It shall be fixed by the Assembly year by year.

The High Commissioner may accept funds from Governments or private sources ; he may likewise accept any sums that may be offered to him by the Nansen International Office for Refugees.

He shall not himself directly provide assistance to refugees, but shall allot the aforesaid funds among such organisations and such official bodies, if any, as he may consider best qualified to administer such assistance.

The accounts in respect of these funds shall be periodically audited by the Auditor of the League of Nations. For the information of the Assembly, the High Commissioner shall include in his annual report a statement of his activities in this field.

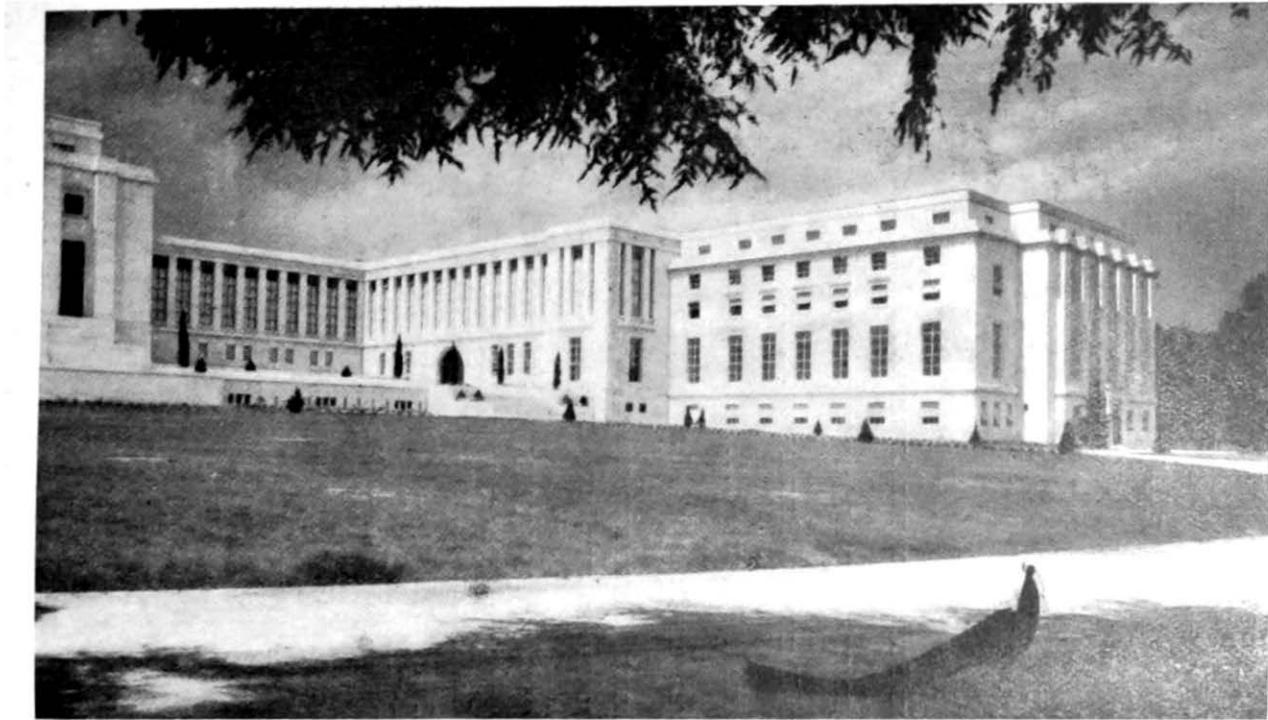
Sir Herbert Emerson, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., C.B.E., was appointed High Commissioner of the League of Nations for refugees for a term of five years as from January 1st, 1939. His headquarters are to be in London. He has appointed as Deputy Commissioner, Dr. Gustave Kullmann, a Swiss national, formerly a member of the League Secretariat. He will consult the Governments of the principal countries of refuge to see whether they wish to have representatives of the High Commissioner appointed in their countries to assist the authorities in dealing with problems of emigration and settlement.

THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS
LIBRARY

GENEVA 1938
INFORMATION SECTION

CONTENTS

	Page
RÔLE AND PURPOSE OF THE LIBRARY.....	5
THE LIBRARY AS AN INFORMATION CENTRE	7
A BRIEF HISTORICAL RETROSPECT	8
THE LIBRARY PREMISES	10
THE COLLECTIONS OF THE LIBRARY	17
THE VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF PRINTED MATTER RECEIVED AND SORTED BY THE LIBRARY	23
Books	25
Periodicals	26
Government Documents.....	27
Texts of Laws and Treaties	31
Newspapers	33
CATALOGUES	36
THE LIBRARY STAFF.....	38
ANNEX	39



General view of the Library (right wing of the League buildings)

RÔLE AND PURPOSE OF THE LIBRARY

The League Library has a two-fold object and serves a double purpose.

In the first place, it supplies the League with printed matter containing information about the various States and their mutual relations in the recent past and at the present time.

Secondarily, it provides facilities for outside readers, who can be sure of finding there valuable material on the subjects in which it specialises.

So far as its main purpose is concerned, the members of the permanent Secretariat are, of course, the chief users of the Library. As the technical activities of the League take shape and expand, the Secretariat is coming to rely even more, if possible, on the abundant material classified and catalogued in the Library, on which the numerous and varied publications of the League are based. For instance, the data given in the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* and the *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations* are obtained by collating hundreds of publications received by the Library from every country in the world.

Apart from the permanent Secretariat, Government delegations, Committees of experts meeting at Geneva, and even the Governments or Ministries of the various countries also make extensive use of the Library. Not only do a growing number of Governments and national Ministries ask for recent and reliable documentation of

an international character for legislative or other purposes, which the Library is best, or alone, able to provide, but some Governments, either through their permanent delegates accredited to the League at Geneva, or by sending officials from their capitals, have studied the organisation of the League Library with a view to possible improvements in their ministerial libraries or in their national centres of economic or financial documentation.

At the same time, the Library is tending to be increasingly used by outside investigators — professors, lawyers, historians, publicists, journalists, financiers, specialists of big industrial firms, advanced students preparing theses for their doctors' degrees, members of the permanent bureaux maintained at Geneva by some sixty international institutions, etc.

There can be no doubt that international problems, the burning questions of peace and war, are affecting to an increasing extent, not only big undertakings, but even individuals in every country. Hence, no doubt, the growing volume of private studies on certain international questions which are *par excellence* in the province of the League of Nations.

THE LIBRARY AS AN INFORMATION CENTRE

As a rule, the more important official users of the Library need information immediately. A Committee meeting at Geneva for a few days only has no time to wait.

From the outset, therefore, the League Library was intended to be, not merely a storehouse for books and periodicals, but also an information centre — that is to say, an institution which itself looks through the mass of material in its possession and supplies the desired information. Specialised librarians, who are used to documentary and bibliographical work, not only help supply the desired book or periodical, but, if the information required calls for search, also furnish the proper text or statistics or even the right map.

This, of course, saves the user a great deal of time. In that respect, the League Library differs from the majority of European libraries, and is more akin to the American concept of a library — that it should, as it were, “ break the back ” of the work for its users, instead of leaving them to find out everything for themselves, as they formerly had to do. This conception is gaining ground in Europe as well, chiefly because the growing complexity of documentation now makes the assistance of a specialist with a thorough knowledge of the available material practically essential.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL RETROSPECT

The League Library, which was established at the same time as the League of Nations itself, forms part of its Secretariat.

At first, in 1920, it was housed in London, at 117, Piccadilly; it was transferred to Geneva at the same time as the Secretariat. It was allotted a few offices, the old dining-room, and the cellars, in the famous Hôtel National, on the Quai Wilson, where the life of the League was concentrated for the first fifteen years of its existence.

The Library soon began to play an important part in the work of the League. In 1923, a Committee of Librarians set up by the Council of the League of Nations pointed out the great advantages of setting up a world centre for the study of international affairs at the headquarters of the League.

Shortly after the League had decided to construct its own buildings, it received and accepted (September 1927) a generous offer from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., of two million dollars for building and endowing a library. It was the donor's intention that the library should serve as an information centre, both for the Secretariat and for students and scholars engaged in research work on questions within the League's province.

As the President of the Council pointed out at the time, not merely was the donation materially a large one, but this gesture on the part of an American citizen was of the first importance from the social and moral points of view.

A Committee of experts, consisting of statesmen and librarians, under the chairmanship of M. Scialoja, representative of Italy on the Council, was shortly afterwards appointed to draw up the main outlines of the scheme.

THE LIBRARY PREMISES

The foundation-stone of the League building was laid at an official ceremony on September 7th, 1929. Seven years later, in the autumn of 1936, the Library was transferred to its new premises.

The League building is situated in the Ariana Park, about a kilometre away from the Lake of Geneva, towards which the ground gently slopes. It consists of four blocks : the Secretariat, the Council, the Assembly, and the Library buildings. The front elevation faces the lake, and is 400 metres long.

The Library forms the exact counterpart of the Council building, from which it is separated by the entire width of the Court of Honour. Its volume is about 60,000 cubic metres. The main façade is 48 metres long, the central part 23 metres high, and the total area covered about 3,000 square metres.

The Library consists of two separate parts, the book stacks and the main building.

The *book stacks*, with their ten floors of shelving, cover an area of 17 metres by 38 metres. On two of the floors — those containing the comprehensive collections of laws, statistics, periodicals, etc. — there are a number of small cubicles, so that work can be done on the spot.

There is a lift in the centre for the conveyance of passengers and book-trucks. An electrical book-conveyor is provided for the rapid transport of the volumes required ; the books can be automatically unloaded at

each floor. This conveyer makes practically no noise, and is perfectly safe.

The light green colour of the enamelled steel, the linoleum-covered floors, and the special lighting give a pleasant appearance to these spacious storerooms, which have accommodation for a million volumes — about 100,000 on each floor.

At the present time, the Library possesses nearly 280,000 volumes, and the number is increasing at the rate of 15,000 to 20,000 a year. The accommodation will therefore last for thirty or forty years. If necessary, moreover, it could be enlarged without affecting the general layout.

The *main building* is simply planned.

On the ground-floor, there are the offices of the Administrative Services, directly connected with the Secretariat building by a tunnel running under the Court of Honour.

The first floor is set aside for general subjects and contains both the general catalogue and the works of reference most in demand (national encyclopædias, dictionaries, etc.). The first floor also includes several large rooms, two stories high. One of them, which is decorated with a fresco painted by a Norwegian artist, M. Henrik Sørensen, is to be the Historical Museum of the League.

The third floor contains, in addition to a number of offices for the Library officials, the three so-called "special" reading-rooms.

The first room is for political and legal questions. The shelves contain about 5,500 volumes and the current



General Catalogue-room and Loan-desk
This room also contains a collection of general works of reference

numbers of 200 periodicals, which can be consulted by readers.

The second is for economic, financial, and transport questions. It contains the current numbers of about 200 periodicals dealing with such questions, a complete collection of the Customs tariffs and statistical year-books of all the countries in the world, and a collection of 3,500 volumes, including special dictionaries, hand-books, and the most recent works on the various subjects to which the room is devoted.

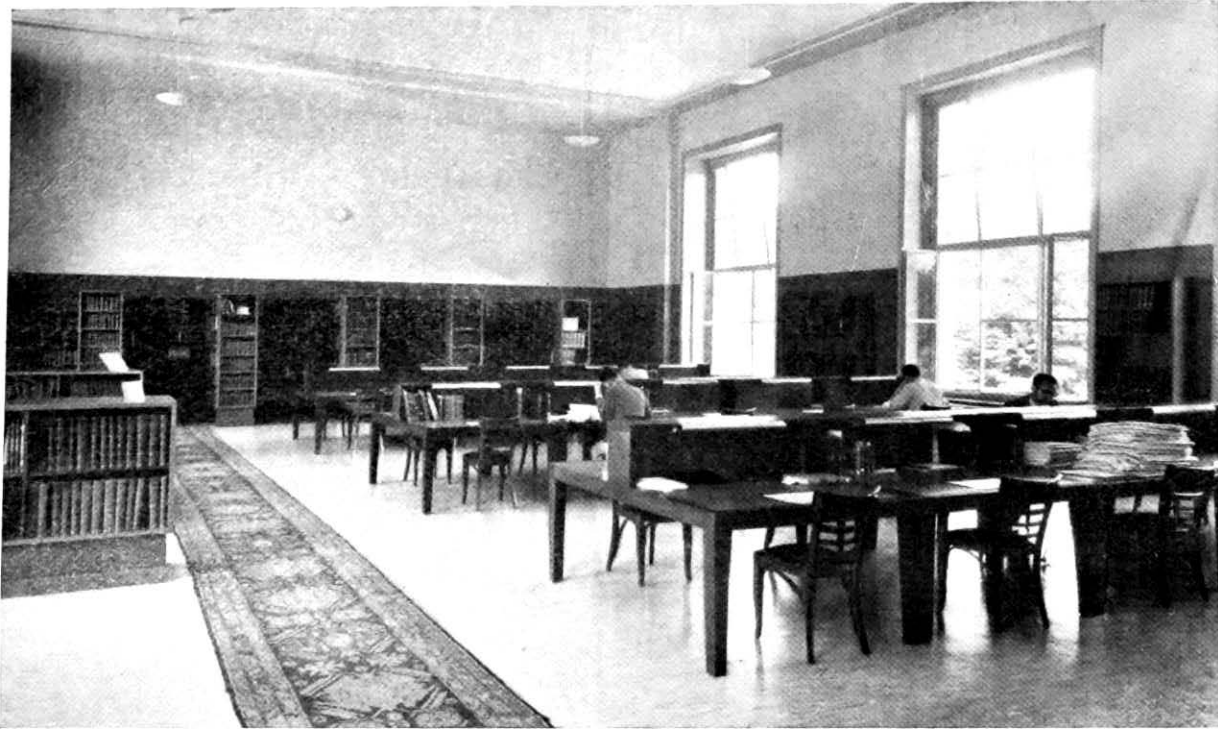
The third room is for the social and humanitarian questions with which the League is called upon to deal in accordance with the Covenant — child welfare, traffic in women and children, and the campaign against opium and other narcotic drugs. This room contains about 2,000 volumes and the current numbers of 100 periodicals.

Most of the offices and reading-rooms are provided with modern built-in steel shelving. This arrangement protects the books from dust, saves space, and adds to the appearance of the rooms.

The Library is heated from the main furnace under the Assembly Hall. A special regulating plant has been installed.

No artificial ventilation has been provided, as the rooms are lofty, well-lighted, and easy to ventilate. Air-conditioning is unnecessary in such a spacious building, with its bay-windows looking on to the magnificent Ariana Park, the Lake, and the Alps beyond.

A very simple system has been employed to ventilate the book stacks. Openings have been made in the



Political and Legal Room

Readers have free access to its collections of treaties, legal codes, etc., from all countries of the world

floors, in front of the windows, allowing the air to circulate freely from top to bottom and *vice versa*. The stacks are heated, not by radiators, but by a series of pipes running along the walls and in front of the windows. This system increases the circulation of the air, and the penetrating, characteristic smell of dusty books is nowhere to be found.

In short, the new building has borrowed the best features of American technique and experience in regard to library construction, which have been successfully adapted to the special requirements of the League Library and the site and architectural conception of the buildings as a whole.



Economic and Financial Room

Readers are provided with every facility, and a carefully chosen collection of books, together with detailed catalogues, are at their disposal

THE COLLECTIONS OF THE LIBRARY

Before turning to the interesting question of the subjects covered by the Library's collections, we would explain that these collections are mainly of current interest. The League deals with present-day problems. It needs information about things that have happened quite recently, so as to turn it to account with a view to promoting closer international co-operation and improving living conditions in various countries, especially the more backward.

In the last resort, the nature of these collections is determined by the articles of the League Covenant (1920), which defined the various tasks of the League. The contents of the Library can therefore be deduced from the Covenant.

In the first place, the Library possesses one of the most complete collections of *general reference works* (encyclo-pædias, dictionaries, year-books, etc.) in Europe; information is needed quickly on a wide variety of subjects, and that information is to be found in works written in many different languages.

The collection of modern and contemporary *historical and geographical works* is likewise very extensive. It forms the basis of certain studies of general questions undertaken by the League. As a rule, the Library makes no attempt to collect older works. For one thing, it is rarely necessary for the purposes of the League's work to go back to the remote past; and, besides, the Geneva University Library is very rich in

such works, and is always willing to lend the necessary books or documents. Moreover, the inter-library loan service is very efficiently organised in Switzerland, so that the chain of libraries in the large towns of the country constitutes to all intents and purposes a single library very well equipped.

The League Library does, however, collect all books, pamphlets, and printed matter of any value relating to the history of international organisations, the problems of war and peace, pacifism, etc.

It comprises a collection of *works* on international, constitutional, administrative, etc., *law*, and of codes in force in the various countries, and commentaries thereon.

The *geographical collection* includes a very large number of maps (more than 25,000 sheets), geographical works and dictionaries, etc. It is frequently consulted by the Secretariat in its work. This collection, which is very complete, includes copies of the most recent maps of all the countries in the world.

The Library's collection dealing with *economic and financial questions* is in every respect the most complete — that is to say, the most truly international — in Europe. Some of the most important technical work entrusted to the League relates to questions of this nature. The collection contains books, pamphlets, periodicals, Customs tariffs, reports, statistics, etc., from all over the world.

Transport questions are an important feature of the League's work. The Library's collections in this field also reflect the various problems studied by the League,

such as passports, tonnage-measurement, the unification of river law, large-scale public works, road traffic, air navigation, broadcasting, etc.

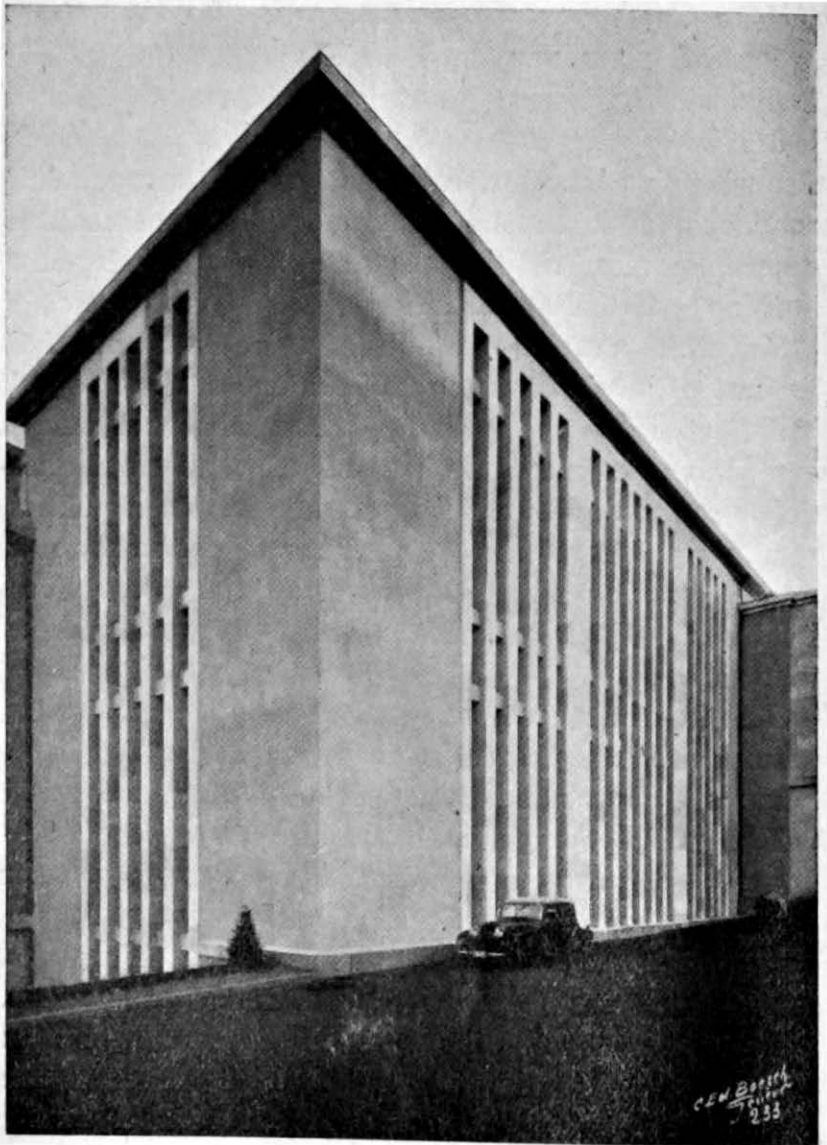
Medical works and works dealing with public health also occupy an important place in the Library, which contains abundant material on questions such as malaria, cancer, sleeping-sickness, tuberculosis, rural hygiene, housing, popular nutrition in various countries, etc.

Since the crucial question of *armaments* and their limitation has for many years been one of the League's main political concerns, the Library has collected a vast amount of material on all military and naval questions, considered either from a technical or a political standpoint. Such important League publications as the *Armaments Year-Book* and the *Statistical Year-Book of the Trade in Arms and Ammunition* are based on that material.

The League's work in regard to *colonial mandates* has naturally led the Library to collect and classify a large amount of material on colonial policy and administration.

For many years past, the League has been endeavouring to promote *intellectual co-operation* between individuals and institutions in different States, and hence the Library also contains a great deal of material on education, intellectual work, etc., in various countries.

In the *social sphere*, the work entrusted to the League by the Covenant has vast ramifications, covering the questions of opium and other dangerous drugs, traffic in women and children, and child welfare in general. Here again, the Library is well equipped with the necessary books and periodicals.



Book stacks (exterior view)

To provide for an increase in the size of collections, the dimensions of these stacks were calculated so as to allow their ten floors to hold 1,000,000 volumes

One of the Library's most natural tasks was, of course, to make a complete and up-to-date collection of *publications issued by the League's organs*.¹ From the outset, efforts have been made to collect and arrange the material in such a way as to guide the various libraries and others who subscribe to these publications with a view to the arrangement of their collections.

Each special room contains the group of League publications relating to the subject dealt with. For instance, the League's documents on social questions are to be found on the shelves of the social reading-room.

¹ The use of this very varied collection is facilitated by the following works :

(1) *Catalogue of Publications (1920-1935)* issued by the Publications Department, League of Nations (with annual supplements) ;

(2) Marie J. CARROLL : *Key to League of Nations Documents*. World Peace Foundation, Boston (with supplement), 5 vol., 1920-1936 ;

(3) A. C. BREYCHA-VAUTHIER : *La Société des Nations centre d'études et source d'informations*. Paris, Pédone, 1937.



Book stacks (interior view)
Their shelves already contain 280,000 volumes,
arranged according to subjects

THE VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF PRINTED
MATTER RECEIVED AND SORTED
BY THE LIBRARY

The Library is increasing its stock at the rate of some 15,000 volumes a year. About a third of these are books, another third volumes of periodicals,¹ and the remaining third Government publications.

The Library's acquisitions are obtained by purchase, exchange, or gift.

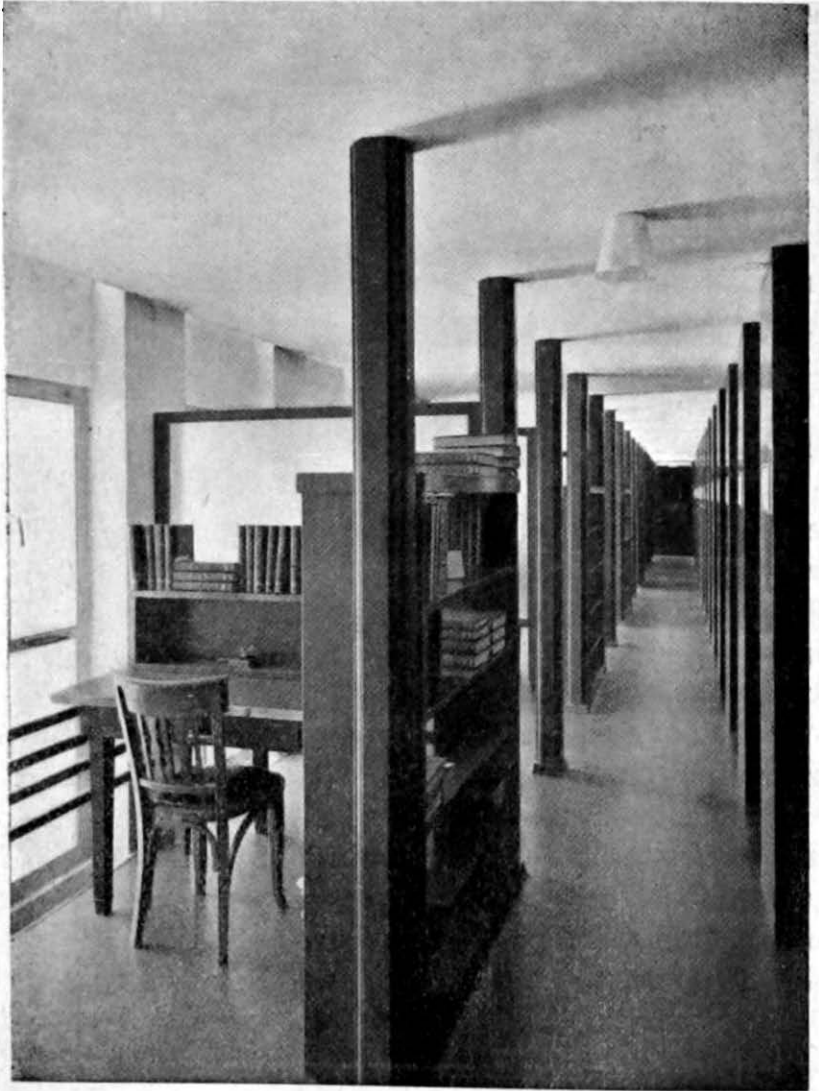
Purchases, though greatly helped by the Rockefeller endowment, represent barely a quarter of the acquisitions.

The greater part is obtained by exchange. It is naturally profitable for the League to print some tens or hundreds of additional copies of its own publications, of which it has an extensive series, in order to procure periodicals that it would otherwise have to buy.

Gifts come from Governments, big national or international associations, banks, etc., and authors who have worked in the Library and are aware of their indebtedness to it. The Library, of course, accepts only gifts which are of real use to it.

In order to make its material more readily accessible to Governments and others who are unable to consult it on the spot, the Library publishes, as and when it

¹ On an average, two bound volumes per annum have to be reckoned for each periodical.



On the third and sixth floors of the Book stacks there are twenty-six cubicles where work can be done within immediate reach of the main collections

acquires new volumes, a *Monthly List of Works catalogued in the League of Nations Library*.¹

This list summarises the chief works that have recently appeared on various international questions. It is compiled with care and discrimination, and some libraries now use it as a guide for their own purchases.

BOOKS

In comparison with most libraries, books play a relatively small part in the League of Nations Library.

In the case of the Secretariat, the coefficient of utilisation of books is comparatively low. The reason for this is evident. All the questions which the League is called upon to study or deal with — political, legal, economic, financial, etc. — are essentially questions of current world interest ; and these are dealt with much more in general or special reviews, in periodical Government publications, or even in some of the principal daily news-papers of various countries, than in books. They will only be embodied in books after some years have elapsed, and then only in a somewhat condensed form.

In order to obtain the best possible coefficient of utilisation of its books, the Library must give the preference, in purchasing books or accepting gifts, to those written in the most widely known languages — English, French, German, Spanish, and Italian. It has not yet been able to acquire many books in such important languages as Russian, Arabic, or Chinese ;

¹ Twelfth year, 1939.

but all the more important languages are represented, so that a Hungarian, Brazilian, or Japanese visitor, for instance, is sure of finding a nucleus of publications in his own language.

PERIODICALS

The 2,700 odd ordinary periodicals received by the Secretariat are either independent periodicals for which their own editors are responsible, or the publications of national or international institutions, various organisations, universities, etc.

These periodicals contain a very large number of articles. Most of these have nothing to do with the League's current work, and are therefore of no use to the Secretariat; but some are not merely useful but essential to it. The Library therefore has to go through these periodicals and make a selection, so as to give the reader ready access to this considerable minority of useful articles.

That is why the Library publishes a regular *Monthly List of Selected Articles*.¹ This list makes it easy for readers to find important articles containing fresh data which have appeared in any review on subjects within the League's province. For greater convenience, this list is at once cut up by entries, and each of these is pasted on an index-card. The index-cards are then put in a classified catalogue, which is available to the Secretariat and the public.

¹ Eleventh year, 1939.

This list and catalogue are of importance partly because they are always up to date, and partly because, being based on a very large number of periodicals, they have a wide international foundation.

As the catalogue of selected articles has already been in existence for some ten years, it gives access to a very complete world documentation on such subjects as coal, oil, wheat, minorities, shipping, road, railways, and air traffic, etc.

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

The Secretariat receives some 5,000 volumes of Government documents each year. These publications appear either occasionally or at annual, quarterly, monthly, weekly or daily intervals. This latter category includes, in particular, official journals, gazettes, etc.

The current files of the Library contain about 2,500 annual publications, 1,300 monthly or weekly publications and about 125 official journals of States or colonies, territories, etc., forming administrative units.

This category of publications tends to increase regularly from year to year, as Governments are led to intervene in fresh spheres of national life. The gradual hold which State control is gaining over the most liberal economies has now become a universal phenomenon quite independent of the form of government in each State.

In order to intervene, Governments must possess data, facts, statistical material, etc., which they are showing a growing tendency to collect for themselves.



The Library receives some 2,700 periodicals. It examines them and publishes a *Monthly List of Selected Articles*, which is presented in a systematic form enabling the reader to find his way through the vast amount of material.

One or two typical facts may be quoted to give an idea of the growing importance of this category of publications.

In 1921, the number of pages of United States Government publications issued at Washington ¹ was 1,625,000. In 1937, it had increased to 2,385,000, or by nearly 50%.

The various State administrations now prepare and publish so many documents that certain Governments issue at the end of the year detailed annual catalogues of all their publications. The annual catalogue prepared by the Netherlands Government has over one hundred pages of titles for 1936.

Every week, the Library compiles and classifies, by subjects, in a *List of Additions to the Government Document Collection*, the titles of some eighty or more new acquisitions.

Some of these documents are sent direct, free of charge, by the Government services, who know how useful they are to the League of Nations. The Governments themselves need the synthetic publications on an international basis which the Secretariat compiles from these national documents. Sometimes the Secretariat has to ask for them by letter ; sometimes, too, an exchange is arranged.

These documents include publications of national statistical offices, Customs services or Ministries of Commerce, in which the country's foreign trade is classified by imports, exports and re-exports, and by

¹ Excluding the *Congressional Record* and the specifications of patents, trade-marks, etc.

countries of origin or destination ; statistics relating to immigration and emigration, taxes, etc. ; annual reports on prisons, irrigation, national education, railways, etc. ; estimates of Government expenditure and receipts, audited State accounts, etc.

The Library sends its *Weekly List* to those members of the Secretariat who need it. The latter are thus enabled to ask that the Government publications which bear on their work should be sent to them immediately.

This is naturally the category of documents of which the Secretariat makes the largest use. From June 1st, 1937, to June 1st, 1938, it borrowed no fewer than 13,138 Government documents,¹ but only 6,200 books and periodicals.

The greatest user is the Economic Intelligence Service of the Secretariat, whose publications are based on data extracted from a large number of these Government documents.

Having early been obliged to devote special care to this category of printed matter, which constitutes the very foundation of the League's technical work, the Library now possesses by far the largest collection of Government documents in Europe.² It is no exaggeration to say that, for certain States, the Ariena collections are an improvement on those to be found in their own

¹ Exclusive of the automatic circulation of official journals to officials who have to peruse them regularly.

² Its principal rivals are, in Europe, the London School of Economics and, overseas, the Library of Congress at Washington, which early realised the growing importance of this type of publication.

capitals, because they are all kept in one and the same building instead of being scattered.

TEXTS OF LAWS AND TREATIES

A large part of the League's work consists in comparing national legislations and drawing attention to those laws which, being more advanced, may serve as models to other countries on certain points. Again, international treaties and agreements, political and commercial, form the essential material of the League's work.

The Library has therefore made a special effort from the outset to form as complete a collection as possible of texts of laws and treaties from every continent as fast as they appear. It has also endeavoured to make this very comprehensive collection easily accessible to students and to sections of the Secretariat that may need to consult it.

While it is comparatively easy to find in printed collections texts which are already fairly old, it is often much more difficult to get hold of more recent texts just when they are wanted. They have to be looked for either in national official journals or in the documentary annexes to certain periodicals, or again in the slip laws which appear during the year. This mass of documents has to be analysed with a view to extracting those treaties and conventions and those legislative acts (laws, decrees, ordinances, etc.) which are of any international interest.

Treaties and legislative texts which the specialised Library staff regards as of sufficient interest and importance are dealt with in the monthly publication entitled *Chronology of International Treaties and Legislative Measures*.¹ This Chronology, too, has been cut up by entries and filed in a catalogue. The data covered by the catalogue are classified first by countries, in alphabetical order, and secondly by subjects, also in alphabetical order, so that it is easy to find the most recent treaties or essential legislation on the most varied subjects.

The *Chronology of International Treaties* is primarily intended for use at Geneva ; but it has been found, in practice, that the Chronology and the *Monthly List of Selected Articles* are of interest, not only to Governments, but also to a large number of research institutions, universities, banks, libraries, etc., and some 800 copies of these publications are sent to addresses outside Geneva (including 200 to Governments).

NEWSPAPERS

Apart from official gazettes — which are Government publications, and perhaps the bulkiest of those — the Library keeps for three, six, nine, or twelve months, according to requirements, a certain number of daily newspapers from more than twenty-five countries, naturally selecting those which are most serious and most representative, and which give the most space to national and international politics, economic and financial affairs, etc.

¹ Tenth year, 1939.

Permanent collections of a dozen particularly important daily newspapers¹ are kept in bound volumes, so that the Library is able to meet requests for information from the Secretariat and to supply the actual number of the newspaper, which may contain, not only the desired information, but also comments or other necessary particulars.

One difficulty that arises, however, is to find the exact date of the event, political speech, official statement, or exchange of notes wanted. Two leading dailies — *The Times* and the *New York Times* — do indeed publish indexes at regular intervals; but other newspapers provide no such help. There are, of course, annuals and other publications giving the dates of recent important political, economic, and other events, or even summarising them, but as the questions the League of Nations Library has to answer are often of a special character, it has been necessary to establish machinery appropriate to research of this kind.

This machinery takes the form of the *Fortnightly Survey of Political Events*,² which gives an outline of events in foreign or commercial politics and some important events in home politics in the principal countries (elections, changes of government, etc.). By recording the dates, it enables the reader to find details of these events in the newspapers. It is thus a sort of index of the sources available in the Library.

¹ Including the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, *Le Temps*, *The Times*, the *New York Times*, the *Corriere della Sera*, the *Pester Lloyd*, etc.

² Fifth year, 1939.

All the events recorded in this survey are classified by countries and chronologically in a catalogue, which also names the paper or papers from which the item was taken.

This system has proved extremely useful during recent years.

CATALOGUES

A passing reference has already been made to certain catalogues in the Library. A complete list will now be given. After all, leaving out of account the wealth of the collection — a factor of primary importance — good catalogues may be said to make a good library.

1. The Library has, of course, a *general catalogue*, covering all the material in its possession. This is to be found on the first floor, in the large catalogue and loan room. It has been drawn up on the American system known as the “dictionary catalogue” — that is to say, the authors’ names, book-titles, and subjects dealt with are all classified together in alphabetical order. In other words, the number of a book may be found under either the author’s name, the title, or the subject dealt with.

2. This room also contains the *shelf list*, which reproduces the classification and arrangement of the books in the stacks and in the special rooms. As the books are arranged on the shelves by subjects, the shelf list is also a classified catalogue.

3. Each of the special rooms has its own shelf list. The rooms dealing with economic and social questions likewise possess catalogues, arranged by author and by subject, of all the printed matter on those special subjects to be found in the Library.

4. The special rooms possess catalogues of the most useful articles selected from about 1,500 periodicals which are regularly indexed.

5. The legal and political room contains a catalogue, indexed by subjects and also by countries, of laws and treaties regarded as of sufficient importance to be included.

6. The legal and political room contains a card index of recent political events, classified by countries.

7. There is also an alphabetical list of all periodicals received by the League Library up to May 1st, 1938. Needless to say, this list is kept regularly up to date.

THE LIBRARY STAFF

The Library staff consists of about twenty-five persons of fourteen different nationalities. Although the official languages of the League are English and French, an international staff — preferably polyglot — is required for the work of the Library. The proper handling and sorting of the books, periodicals, and official documents, and the receiving of visitors of all nationalities who come to the Library, call for a staff familiar with a large number of languages. Fifteen languages are actually used : English, French, German, Danish, Dutch, Hungarian, Italian, Lettish, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Serbian, Spanish, and Swedish.

* * *

Such is, briefly, the work of the League of Nations Library, and such are the facilities it offers to Governments and individuals.

The unanimous opinion of the students of all countries attracted by the wealth of its collections and its efficient organisation is that it is a good place to work in.

It will have been seen what an increasingly important part the Library is playing in collecting and placing at the disposal of users the more and more complex material required to conduct the technical studies jointly undertaken by the Members of the League and also by several non-member States.

ANNEX

FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS LIBRARY

HOURS OF OPENING

The Library is open on week-days from 9 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. and from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. A reduced service is functioning on Saturday afternoons, except in July and August.

APPLICATIONS FOR ADMISSION

The Library is open to members of Government delegations, the Secretariat, and other organs of the League of Nations.

Persons interested in international problems can also secure admission. They should apply in writing to the Librarian, stating for what reason they wish to work in the Library, and enclosing a letter of recommendation — in the case of students, from their professor.

A reader's card, renewable at the beginning of each year, is issued to persons whose applications are accepted. This card entitles the holder to enter the Library premises (from the park and lake side), but not the Secretariat buildings.

Outside readers are requested to sign an attendance register.

Smoking is prohibited on the Library premises.

LOANS

Books which are kept in the stacks can be borrowed, but only by members of the Secretariat or other League organs.

Books belonging to the reference collections in the special reading-rooms must not be taken out of the Library.

ACCESS TO COLLECTIONS

Readers have free access to the shelves of the various reading-rooms. They may select the books they need for their work, but are not allowed to put the books back.

Access to the stacks is, in principle, prohibited. In exceptional cases, permission to consult the series of periodicals and the series of laws and Government documents on the third and sixth floors respectively may be granted. In no case is access allowed to the other floors.

Readers wishing to consult works kept in the stacks should fill up the application forms obtainable from the Librarian of each room, specifying the room in which they wish to consult the book or books applied for.

There are no restrictions as to the number of books which a reader may consult. They may be held on reserve for a fortnight and can be renewed for an additional period.

THE LIBRARY SERVICES

On the first floor of the Library there is a catalogue-room containing the general card catalogues (Dictionary Catalogue and Shelf List) of the Library.

Dictionaries, encyclopædias and other general reference works are also at the disposal of the readers.

The loan desk is also in this room and readers can apply to the assistant in charge for any general information they may require. Should the reader ask for special information which that official is unable to supply, the latter directs the reader to the special librarian.

The Library has several special reading-rooms on the third floor for technical or special enquiries and research.

There is at present :

One room for legal and political questions (Legal and Political Room) ;

One room for economic, financial, and transport questions (Economic and Financial Room) ;

One room for humanitarian and educational questions (Social Room) ;

A geographical service.

Readers are at liberty to consult the special librarian in charge of each room.

These rooms contain and offer to readers :

(1) A collection of reference-books, text-books, recent acquisitions, etc. ;

(2) The current numbers of periodicals on the special branch concerned ;

(3) A few complete collections of important periodicals ;

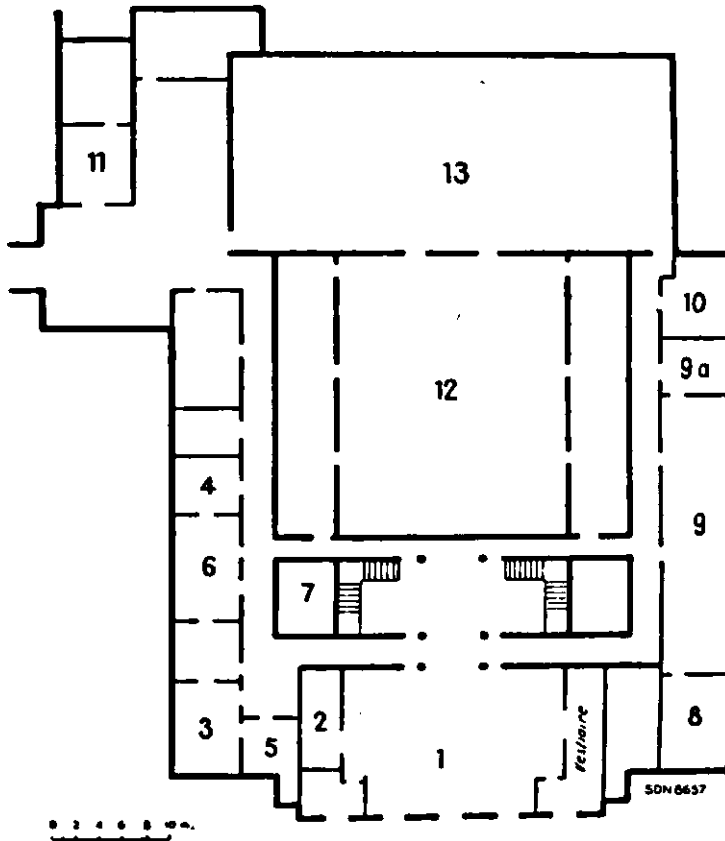
(4) The appropriate publications of the League of Nations ;

(5) Collections of pamphlets and loose-leaf material, which often contain the most recent information on a given subject.

(6) Card-index catalogues on the special branch concerned.

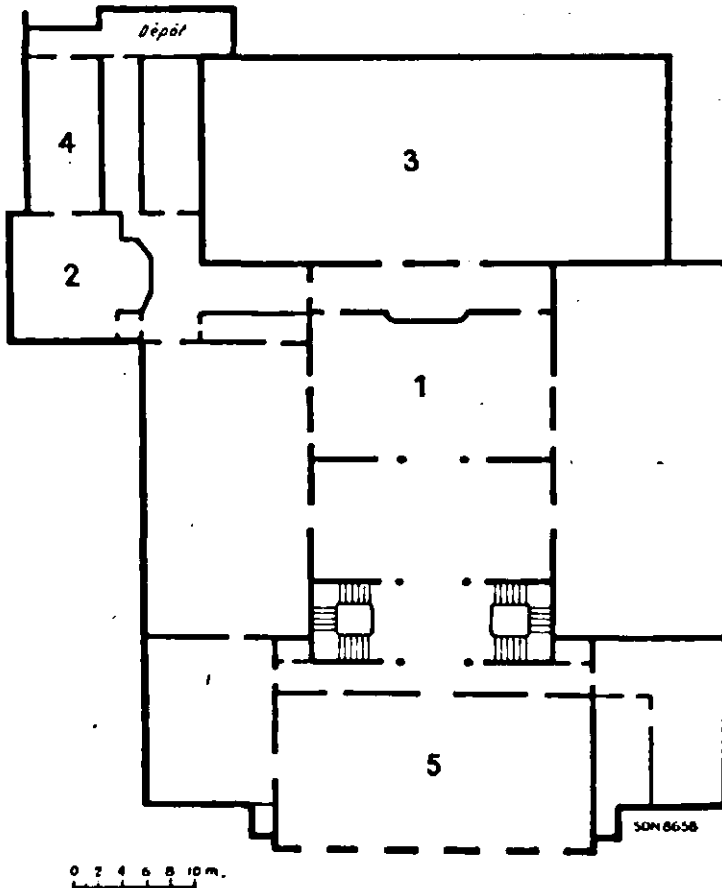
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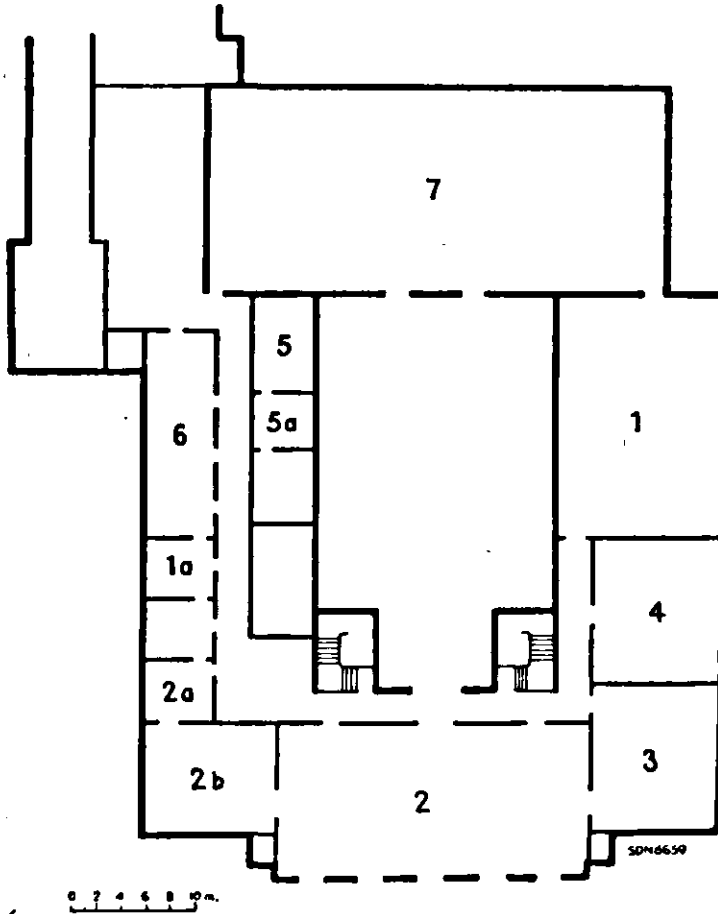
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TOWARDS A BETTER ECONOMIC WORLD

GENEVA 1939
INFORMATION SECTION

CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	5
I. EARLY ACTIVITIES AND METHODS OF WORK	18
Brussels Conference, 1920	18
Financial Reconstruction of Austria	19
Other Financial Reconstruction Work.....	24
Early Work of the Economic Committee.....	26
Attempts to increase Liberty of Trade through Col- lective Agreement	32
Recent Work of the Economic Committee.....	39
II. PRESENT WORK AND NEW METHODS OF APPROACH.....	43
New Methods of Work	44
Clearing Agreements and Exchange Control	45
International Loan Contracts	51
Controlling Depressions	52
Financial Problems of Primary Producing Countries.	58
Raw Materials	60
International Migration and Population Movements .	62
Nutrition	63
Housing	70
Agricultural Credit	71
Standard of Living	72
III. THE ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE SERVICE	75

INTRODUCTION

A business man unconnected with the official world may perhaps wonder to what extent he is directly concerned in the technical problems which are dealt with by the Financial and Economic Organisation of the League of Nations. But such a man, even living, for example, in a small American city, apparently far removed from international political dangers, is intimately affected by events all over the world. He looks at the stock-exchange lists in his newspaper : he finds his oil and steel shares have risen because of international competition for the materials of rearmament, and the whole list reflects the political uncertainties of Europe. At his factory, he finds the costs of his raw materials changed because of market movements 5,000 miles away. His sales are affected by the prosperity of the foreigners who sell him his raw materials or sell them to other customers. The varnish on his desk owes its hard lustre to oils from China, and the attempt of European nations to grow their own wheat has damaged his Western markets.

For a business man in Europe, dependence on world conditions is still more striking, for trade, which in the United States would be inter-State, is in Europe international, and his interest in international events and problems becomes more vivid in consequence.

The citizens of the modern world are more than ever members one of another, and the effects of their good or ill fortune are quickly transmitted across the frontiers, there to spread from one group to another. In the nineteenth century, people rejoiced in this fact and exaggerated it. To-day, on the contrary, while the links steadily multiply, many deplore the fact and deny or minimise it. But the process continues. The world has shrunk, so that men fly round it in a few days and talk across it in next to no time at all. This has both eased and aggravated its problems. The pace is swifter, the means of contact are greater, but so also are the chances of friction, unless and until the new possibilities are wisely used, for the world's compression makes relations more intense. Events and tendencies can no longer be allowed to take their course, as chance may decide if the nations are to remain at peace and to prosper.

The most difficult economic problems of our generation are not those connected with the production of goods, but with their distribution. There is an adequate production of raw materials for all normal requirements ; there are sufficient means of supplying the manufactured goods that are commonly needed, and there is no longer anxiety lest food production should be unequal to the growth of world population. Science has increased the earth's abundance, and the development of communications and transport makes it available to an extent never before possible. In the matter of foodstuffs, for example, the seasons, so to say, have been virtually abolished, for the processes of food

preservation and transport make delivery possible from one end of the earth to the other at most times of the year.

Not only do adequate productive resources lie at hand, but one of the problems of recent times and in recent conditions has been over-production of various commodities, including food, which has sometimes been destroyed in large quantities when parts of the world have been in great need of it. The production and distribution of food, raw materials and manufactured goods could be so organised as to banish want and foster increased consumption of supplies of every kind, so that the standard of life and work could be raised to higher levels. Take, as an example, the present researches of the League into the problem of nutrition, to be described in greater detail later on. The League has been conducting an expert enquiry, in order to determine what foods are necessary to health, how they can be provided, what obstacles stand in the way and how they could be removed. It has further indicated the economic advantages to be derived from raising the level of food consumption to the point which modern science regards as adequate. Agriculture would benefit; the demand for manufactured goods would expand; purchasing capacity, in general, would be stimulated; and the health and well-being of the community would be generally improved.

These simple propositions involve wide economic and social considerations, which cannot be disposed of in haste. The fact that the consumption of goods falls short of what industry and agriculture are capable

of producing is due to defects in financial and economic organisation, and these defects have, in a large measure, social and political origins. Social, political and economic policies have not kept abreast of scientific advance, and often run counter to it. National self-sufficiency is sought for military purposes; closed or closing doors are swung across the path of natural international exchange by countries acting in what appear to be their own vital interests; uneven levels of progress in different parts of the world affect their commercial relations. For reasons such as these, the rational adjustment of world bounty to world needs has been retarded. The process of supplying men with what they require is one to which all corners of the world contribute. To avoid a perpetual scramble for seeming advantages in one quarter or another, with recurrent dangers of scarcity and even of war, there must be a more liberal understanding of common needs and a co-ordinated effort to make use of the methods and machinery — political, scientific and technical — by which they can be met.

The approach to the problem may be general or piecemeal. This is largely a matter of expediency. But the difficulties of our time are in themselves an object lesson and a warning of the risks of delay. We must help to shape events or become their victims. The technical aspect of the task is complicated, but it is not unmanageable. The human element is more complex and less accountable. There may be historical prejudices and traditions that adapt themselves slowly, and often only after much travail and controversy, to

changing times. Alternatively, there may be such drastic changes of policy in some countries that co-ordinated international action is harder to secure because of the wide margin of differences. These technical and political forces react upon each other, helping or hindering. By conscious endeavour, both must be brought more effectively together into the wide stream of concerted effort.

These economic and financial problems are of primary importance to every ordinary person. His manner of living, his supplies, his food, his health, his conditions of work, his profits — all these things are sooner or later influenced by the work of the League in dealing with them, by policies pursued outside the League and by the march of events, controlled or uncontrolled. Economic processes may often, to the ordinary man, seem abstruse and their subject matter remote from his everyday concerns. But they affect him none the less.

If events are to be consciously shaped, it is obviously necessary to have some pooling of experience and information and some centralisation of action. This does not preclude periods of trial and error, but it can and does, in some degree, control events and make orderly advance more likely. That, broadly, is the sense in which the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League was designed and has worked. It offers a meeting-ground for statesmen and specialists to exchange ideas and information in a steady search for action along common lines. Their consultations range from general analyses of international needs and shortcomings to detailed consideration of specific problems

within the general framework. The scope is wide, the methods are elastic and the basis of fact is objective. There is within the Organisation a concentration of scientific documentation such as did not previously exist.

* * *

During the last twenty years, economic, financial and political conditions in the various countries of the world have varied enormously. The Economic and Financial Organisation has adapted itself to these variations. The nature of the problems with which it has been required to deal have been different at different times ; its procedure and constitution have changed to meet changing conditions. Broadly speaking, there have been two main periods in its history, marked by two different methods of approaching international economic and financial problems and of assisting Governments in their solution.

At the outset, the Organisation, in addition to undertaking specific work to relieve countries whose economic and financial vitality had been impaired, or in some cases almost destroyed, by the world war, devoted itself mainly to the framing of international conventions designed to facilitate economic and financial relations between nations. In framing these conventions, the Organisation aimed at fulfilling the economic obligation laid upon Members of the League by the Covenant, which was to secure equitable treatment for the commerce of all its Members. The international Conventions concluded during this period covered a wide

range of subjects, such as the simplification of Customs formalities, the general adoption of arbitration clauses to be inserted in commercial agreements, measures to repress the counterfeiting of currency, and regulations to be applied to bills of exchange.

This attempt at international legislation on economic subjects and the method adopted in framing it were appropriate to the conditions then prevailing. The tendency of countries to adopt a policy of economic self-sufficiency and planned national economies had not yet made itself seriously felt; and the great economic depression, which has since so deeply affected not only the economic and financial problems to be faced, but also the method of facing them, had not yet occurred. The natural method of approach in these early years was to assume that States were prepared to adopt and apply general international agreements which would free international commerce from avoidable restrictions. The aim was to make these conventions as universal as possible and their terms identical for all States.

Even during these early years, however, certain disadvantages inherent in this method of approach became apparent. Conventions intended for general acceptance had necessarily to be framed in very general terms. Important provisions, in regard to which general agreement could not be secured, had either to be omitted or were subject to reservations and exceptions. The agreements reached could never be more than the greatest common measure of the principles and tendencies which the contracting parties were prepared to accept; and their stipulations were frequently determined by the

requirements and conditions of the States which were least advanced in their national economies or most reluctant to sacrifice what they conceived to be their national interests in the attempt to reach a general solution. Countries, moreover, which approved and signed such conventions sometimes failed to ratify them.

Accordingly, it soon appeared that the method of procedure by general international conventions, even in favourable circumstances, was not always the most effective way of dealing with complicated problems which must, of necessity, very differently affect the countries concerned and for which no generally applicable solution in detail could therefore be found. This older method, however, was not abandoned. There were two obvious ways in which it might be usefully modified to meet special circumstances. One was to confine conferences convened by the League to a limited number of States specially concerned in any particular problem, with a view to framing agreements limited to those countries. Thus, in August 1933, a Conference was held in London between representatives of the principal wheat-exporting and wheat-importing countries, with a view to securing their co-operation in the marketing of that commodity. Such conferences represented a movement from a system of general conventions, covering a wide field and intended for universal application, towards a system intended to secure practical results, not universally, not even between or as regards all States Members of the League, but between those States where there was a desire to secure immediate results.

A second modification of the older method was to frame conventions which were not intended to be signed and ratified by Governments, but to be accepted by them as models or standards in negotiating and drafting such agreements as they might feel it necessary to make on their own responsibility with other countries.

A good example of this procedure is afforded by the work of the Organisation in dealing with the question of double taxation. Different Governments apply different methods of tax assessment, with the result that individuals and companies frequently find themselves subject to taxation, not only in the countries in which they are domiciled, but also in countries in which their income is earned. The question as to how far such double taxation may be avoided involves very great technical difficulties, complicated by the fact that national revenue departments are most reluctant to make concessions.

A Committee of Experts was instructed to study these difficulties, and it drafted a series of model treaties, each dealing with a distinct group of taxes. There was naturally a desire in certain quarters that these conventions should be generally approved as binding agreements between the signatories, but wiser counsels prevailed, and the conventions were finally offered as models to Governments, who were invited, in conducting bilateral negotiations with other countries, to use them as far as possible and to the extent to which they might be adapted to their local conditions. The League refrained from endeavouring to induce Governments by the pressure of a public conference to sign a

collection of formal undertakings which they might, on further consideration, find themselves unable to ratify. It preferred to furnish them with a series of instruments which could be adapted to the needs of each individual case. The result of this timely modification of the older method was gratifying; between 1929 and 1935, some sixty new Conventions dealing with double taxation, and very largely based on the model Conventions drawn up by the League Committee, were signed, and since 1935 a further twenty Conventions have been concluded — an astonishing achievement during a period when the world was suffering from the most serious economic depression in history.

Such a system cannot, of course, be applied in all cases, but when it is applicable, it has very real advantages. It achieves exactly that measure of uniformity which is compatible with national peculiarities and with unavoidable differences in economic structure and financial practice. Moreover, it is dynamic: as one country or another develops, it is able to apply to an increasing extent the principles laid down in the models.

Concurrently with these modifications of the older method of procedure by conference and convention, a more fundamental development in the work of the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League, corresponding with the change which was occurring in economic and political conditions throughout the world, was proceeding. It consisted in the organisation of enquiries into specific economic subjects, the collection of information in regard to them, and the framing

of statements or reports which might assist Governments in dealing with these subjects in their own countries. This new method is better adapted to present political conditions. The Organisation, applying the older method of procedure by convention, had moved from the general to the particular, from universal to limited conferences, from preparing the way for multilateral conventions to preparing the way for bilateral conventions. The second and more important change now under consideration was hastened by the fact that, owing to political developments, Governments, or certain Governments, were less prepared to make binding agreements of any sort for the time being. But the development was a natural one and desirable in itself. Rapid changes in economic conditions and a growing social consciousness of defects in economic organisation made it necessary for Governments in all parts of the world to face and to solve new problems at home. What could be more natural than that they should look to the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League for information on the methods applied in other countries for dealing with such problems, and for guidance as to the principles which had been successfully applied elsewhere to achieve the objects in view?

The newer method of work has been applied both to new problems of international commercial relationships and to problems which appear, at first sight, to be mainly of domestic concern. In the former group, the work of the Organisation in connection with clearing agreements and exchange control is worthy of particular

mention, because it shows that effective work can be done, even in a field where political considerations are, at the moment, predominant. In a later chapter, details will be given of the work of the League in this field. Here, it is sufficient to stress that the Committees which studied the question did not attempt to secure immediate agreement on a programme of action which, in the existing political circumstances, they were forced to recognise as impossible. Instead, they analysed carefully and objectively the origins, functioning and economic consequences of the systems of clearing agreements and exchange control. They pointed out the economic disadvantages of certain policies and indicated ways of removing them. They suggested solutions of technical difficulties and laid down general lines of policy for adoption by Governments or for their guidance, as the circumstances of the moment might permit, in the belief that collective action would be taken as soon as there was a collective desire for it on the part of the countries concerned.

The Organisation, in applying this new method of work, may not only be called upon to indicate disadvantages inherent in the policy or action followed by many Governments to-day, but, in a more positive direction, it may be invited to assist Governments to deal with national problems concerning which they are often anxious to obtain information based on the experience of other countries. This type of work may be approached in different ways. A question of common interest to a number of Governments may be submitted to an expert committee. The object, in this case, is to

obtain an authoritative opinion from experts acquainted with the subject as it affects different parts of the world. Governments, in other cases, may not be seeking an authoritative opinion but may merely desire to know how other countries are dealing with some particular question in which they are especially interested. The League, in such an event, is asked to make an enquiry and to furnish evidence. The evidence, when collected, may show that an exchange of views between experts working in the same field may be desirable or even necessary. Examples of these various ways in which the new method of work of the Organisation is applied to problems of present concern to many countries will be mentioned in due course.

* * *

The aim of this pamphlet is to show how the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League has developed at every stage of its history to meet practical needs and existing conditions. To describe it, from the outset, as a complicated system of committees working through conferences and meetings of experts is not only unnecessary; it would be misleading. The reader who requires a general view of the Organisation and its various bodies may consult the descriptive list of committees printed as an appendix. Each of these bodies will be mentioned in its historical context and in reference to the special problems with which it was called upon to deal.

I. EARLY ACTIVITIES AND METHODS OF WORK

The early work of the League in the economic field was conditioned by the legacy of the great war. The enormous war expenses had put an intolerable strain on the budgets of most countries. Resort to the printing press led in several parts of the world to chaotic inflation and the virtual disappearance of the exchange value of the currency in foreign markets ; even many of the stronger currencies were of uncertain value. Production was disorganised and had fallen in most countries ; international trade remained largely subject to war-time restrictions and prohibitions ; whole populations were without essential commodities. Realising that the restoration of normal economic and financial conditions required organised co-operation between nations, the Council of the League decided, in February 1920, to convoke an international conference to consider the financial situation.

BRUSSELS CONFERENCE, 1920

The Financial Conference held at Brussels in 1920 was the first important conference held under the auspices of the League. It was attended by delegates from thirty-nine countries, including Germany and the United States of America. The delegates were nominated

by their respective Governments, but they attended the conference as experts and not as representatives. The Conference adopted a number of resolutions which subsequently exercised a powerful influence upon Governments and public opinion. It urged that Governments should make every possible effort to effect economies in expenditure, to balance their budgets, to check inflation, to return to the gold standard, to abolish impediments to international trade and to afford increased facilities for transport. It is worth noting that the Conference recognised that purely financial reforms could not be permanently successful unless existing restrictions upon commerce and industry were progressively removed, the movement of goods and capital facilitated, and something like pre-war liberty of trade restored. The recommendations of the Conference offered a standard of financial and economic reform endorsed by the authority of financial experts to which members of Governments might appeal in recommending unpopular measures to their colleagues and to their nationals. As time went on, they exercised a powerful influence in bringing the world back to the strait and narrow path of financial solvency.

FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF AUSTRIA

The League soon had the opportunity of applying in particular concrete cases the financial principles laid down by the Brussels Conference. The economic and financial difficulties inseparable from the transition period after the war were especially complicated in the

countries of Central Europe. More particularly, there was the problem of how the new republic of Austria was to be put on a solid economic basis. Vienna, with two million inhabitants, had become the capital of a small agricultural community subject to indefinite liabilities for reparations under the Peace Treaty. The problems to be solved in Central Europe were not merely financial : serious political consequences were involved. The League of Nations alone could offer disinterested help and advice.

The problem of Austria was referred to the League of Nations in March 1921. Attempts to solve the problem by means of charitable relief or loans by individual Governments had broken down. Loans amounting to £25 million sterling had been raised by France, Great Britain, Italy, the United States and other countries, supplemented by charitable donations estimated at £10 million sterling. All this money had disappeared, and the position had not been materially improved. The four principal ex-allied Powers accordingly decided to release the assets which they had taken as security for the loans already granted and to ask the League of Nations to propose a general scheme of reconstruction.

The Council of the League had already, as a result of a recommendation of the Brussels Conference, set up a body endowed with the necessary competence and authority to deal with this problem. This was the Financial Committee (a part of the Provisional Advisory Economic and Financial Committee nominated by the Council in October 1920), composed of some ten or

twelve persons appointed in their individual capacities from a number of different countries. The majority of its members were well-known bankers, two or three of them being high officials of central banks and two or three being Government officials from Ministries of Finance. As experts representing technical opinion and experience rather than official policies, they very shortly acquired an authority respected, not only by public opinion, but by individual Governments and the Council of the League.

This scheme was embodied in three Protocols, which were ready for signature in October 1922. The first Protocol was a declaration that the signatories would respect the political independence, the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of Austria — in other words, that they would not make use of the scheme to obtain any special advantage for themselves, and would accept the decisions of the Council of the League in any difficulties that might arise. The second Protocol stated in detail the programme of reconstruction which was the conditions of the loan to be accorded to Austria. The currency must be stabilised on a gold basis; a central bank of issue must be established under carefully specified conditions; the budget must be balanced and a programme of retrenchment executed extending over at least two years. These measures were to be carried out under the supervision of a resident Commissioner-General, whose duties, confined to advice and supervision, were set out in the third Protocol. The entire responsibility for the execution of the scheme rested upon the Austrian Government.

A sum of £26 million was raised by public subscription in the markets of ten different countries. The loan was issued to give effect to a scheme of reconstruction elaborated by the Financial Committee and accepted by the Austrian Government. It was guaranteed, not, as is sometimes believed, by the League of Nations, but by eight individual States in the following proportions : Czecho-Slovakia, France and the United Kingdom, 24½% each ; Italy, 20½% ; Belgium and Sweden, 2% each ; Denmark and the Netherlands, 1% each. In addition, the Spanish Government guaranteed the portion of the loan issued in Spain, and the Swiss Government made a direct advance to the Austrian Government as part of the same issue.

The success of the scheme is well known. The fall of the Austrian crown was immediately checked, capital returned to the country, the budget was soon balanced, domestic savings increased, and the ground was laid for the economic reconstruction of the country.

This reconstruction proceeded so rapidly that the League was able to withdraw its Commissioner-General from Austria in July 1926. However, the world economic depression which began in 1929 led to a financial collapse in Central Europe and the Austrian Government again sought the advice of the Financial Committee of the League in September 1931. At the request of the Austrian Government, the Council appointed a representative of the Financial Committee to reside in Vienna, and a foreign adviser to the National Bank ; during the next five years, intimate contact was

thus maintained between the Financial Committee and the Government. Tangible evidence of the value of this contact is to be found, not only in the disinterested advice given in the solution of the peculiarly complicated financial problems of Austria, but also in the fact that access was thus provided to the resources of foreign capital markets. Thus, in virtue of the Geneva Protocol of 1932, Austria was able to raise an international loan in six countries, guaranteed by the Governments of the countries of issue, to an amount of about £8 million. In 1934, she was able to convert the 1922 loan to lower rates of interest.

The economic recovery of Austria — one of the countries most severely hit by the international financial crisis of 1931 — was, on the whole, probably more rapid than that of any country of Central Europe. By 1936, a stable currency had been re-established, exchange control largely relaxed, the claims of foreign short-term creditors settled ; the budget practically in equilibrium ; foreign trade was expanding, tourist traffic developing, industrial activity increasing ; at no time during the crisis had there been any default on foreign State loans. At the end of that year, the Council decided to terminate the appointments of the representative of the Financial Committee and of the adviser to the National Bank. Before her absorption by Germany in 1938, Austria had thus shown herself capable of existing as an economic unit.

OTHER FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION WORK

The Hungarian Government, a year after the Austrian, approached the League with a similar demand for assistance. The scheme of reconstruction devised by the Financial Committee presented substantially the same features. A plan of budgetary and currency reform and financial reorganisation was worked out by the Financial Committee, and a foreign loan (in this case unguaranteed) of £10 million was raised by the Hungarian Government in 1924. The success of the scheme was again immediate. Capital returned to the country, the currency was stabilised, the budget was balanced within a few months. At the end of two years, in June 1926, the Commissioner-General who had been appointed to supervise the execution of the scheme was able to relinquish his post.

In 1931, however, during the financial crisis, the Hungarian Government again applied to the Council for advice, and once more the expert knowledge and experience of the Financial Committee were placed at its disposal. At the request of the Hungarian Government, the Council appointed a permanent representative of the Financial Committee and a foreign adviser to the National Bank. In December 1937, the Financial Committee was able to report to the Council that the budget was balanced and that Hungary had reached agreement with her creditors as to the bulk of her foreign debt, including the loan issued in 1924 under the auspices of the League. The Committee accordingly took the initiative in suggesting that it was no longer

necessary for it to maintain a permanent representative in Hungary.

In the early post-war years, a serious economic problem, involving political considerations and likely to be a source of unrest in European affairs, had arisen in Greece as a result of the war between Greece and Turkey at the beginning of the post-war period. Greece, a country of some 5 million inhabitants, was faced with an influx of 1,400,000 refugees in a state of destitution.

The Financial Committee framed a scheme for the settlement of refugees, the stabilisation of the drachma and the general improvement of the financial situation. As one part of this scheme, a Refugee Settlement loan of £9,700,000, raised abroad, was administered by an independent Settlement Commission, consisting of two members appointed by the Council of the League and two by the Greek Government. The monies were to be spent in such a way as to render the refugees self-supporting and subsequently able to repay the advances which they received. The refugees were from all classes and occupations, and their settlement involved the introduction into Greece of new industries and agricultural colonies. The success of the scheme was shown by the fact that, of the loans advanced to the agricultural refugees, only 4% were left unpaid at the date fixed for their redemption.

The Financial Committee, in December 1926, was called upon to undertake similar work for the settlement of refugees in Bulgaria, which in the previous ten years had been obliged to receive some 220,000 refugees, of

whom only some 30,000 were self-supporting. A scheme was elaborated which included the issue of a foreign loan of £2,225,000 by the Bulgarian Government, to be devoted exclusively to land settlement, and administered by a Resident Commissioner responsible to the Council of the League. The Financial Committee also gave technical assistance to the Bulgarian Government in stabilising its finances.

The success of the Financial Committee in dealing with these important schemes of settlement and reconstruction induced other Governments to appeal to the League of Nations for assistance and advice. Thus, in 1923, a financial adviser was appointed to the Albanian Government and draft statutes prepared for a bank of issue; in 1927, the Financial Committee was consulted concerning monetary and banking reform in Estonia; advice and assistance was given to the Free City of Danzig in 1925 and 1927 in the establishment of a separate currency and of a central bank and the issue of a currency loan. During the great depression, technical advice was given, not only to Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria and the other countries mentioned above, but also to Greece and Roumania.

EARLY WORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

The Economic Committee, originally appointed by the Council in 1920 as part of the Provisional Advisory Economic and Financial Committee, consists largely of high officials from Ministries of Commerce who are appointed as individuals in close touch with their

respective Governments. During the first few years of its activity, the Economic Committee confined itself to certain definite problems on which practical results seemed likely to be achieved, reserving larger questions of policy for a time when economic conditions might become more normal.

Among the subjects chosen for consideration during this period were Customs formalities, methods of unfair competition between traders, the equitable treatment by Governments of foreign nationals or enterprises, the abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions, commercial arbitration, legislation on bills of exchange and cheques, the protection of foreign buyers against goods of inferior quality, and statistical terminology.

Through its work in these fields, the Economic Committee has contributed to building up a basis of law or custom relating to the non-tariff provisions of international exchanges. This work flows directly from Article 23(e) of the Covenant of the League, under which the Members of the League undertook to establish and maintain equitable treatment of commerce among themselves.

One of the first questions taken up by the Economic Committee in virtue of this general obligation was that of the simplification of Customs formalities. Work in this field resulted in the convocation of a diplomatic conference in 1923 in which thirty-one States Members and five non-member States took part. An international Convention for the simplification of Customs formalities was drawn up and came into force at the end of 1924.

At the present time, thirty-five countries have ratified or definitely adhered to this Convention.

Before the war, certain international Conventions relating to unfair competition (*i.e.*, the improper use of trade-marks or indications of geographical or commercial origin, or the false description of goods) had been entered into, but the Economic Committee took the view that the protection thus afforded was inadequate, because not all States were parties and because the instruments did not clearly define the kinds of unfair competition against which they were aimed and the procedure for obtaining redress. The Committee therefore worked out, with the assistance of experts, amendments and additions to the Conventions, which were to a very large extent incorporated in the new instruments drawn up at the Conference held under the auspices of the Industrial Property Union at The Hague in 1925.

The unjust or repressive treatment by any Member of the League of persons, firms or companies of any other Member, carrying on business within its territory, also constitutes a violation of the principle of equitable treatment of commerce laid down by the Covenant. The Economic Committee endeavoured to formulate principles which should be observed in the treatment of foreign persons and companies, with a view to protecting them from arbitrary fiscal treatment and unjust discrimination. These principles were embodied in a series of proposals which the Council of the League submitted to all States Members with a recommendation that the States should be guided by these principles both

in their internal legislation and their international agreements.

The Economic Committee also considered the conditions on which foreigners legally domiciled in a country should be permitted to carry on a profession or occupation, and its conclusions in this matter were also communicated to the Members of the League by the Council. The International Chamber of Commerce also prepared a preliminary draft international Convention on the subject, which was further discussed at the World Economic Conference of 1927.

The work of the Economic Committee in the matter of import and export prohibitions and restrictions led to an international diplomatic conference, held in 1927, to consider the draft of a Convention drawn up by that Committee. Thirty-four States were represented, including several non-member States, and the Conference adopted a Convention on import and export prohibitions and restrictions providing, subject to certain reservations, for their abolition. This Convention came into force at the beginning of 1930. Twenty-one ratifications or definite accessions were made. A certain number of States, however, made their execution of the Agreement dependent upon the ratification of certain other States. As a result of the development of the economic depression and the measures taken by many Governments to restrict imports, the Convention lapsed into desuetude.

One special aspect of the question of import and export prohibitions and restrictions — that concerned with hides and bones — was studied separately and gave rise to the signature of two Arrangements under which

the contracting States agreed not to introduce any prohibition or restriction on the export of these products, and in certain cases to reduce export duties. These two Arrangements came into force in October 1929 and have been ratified by twelve States.

During the years 1928 and 1929, the Economic Committee took up, with the assistance of experts, the detailed study of certain other commodities, and agreements were discussed for regulating the trade in cement, sugar, coal, hops, etc. Except as regards hides and bones, as just mentioned, however, no progress was made in relaxing the restrictions of international trade through this method. The different national producers of the groups of commodities directly affected were in certain cases able to agree on arrangements satisfactory to them all, but the scope of the groups of commodities covered was not broad enough from national points of view to enable compensations for concessions made with regard to the trade in one group of commodities to be found elsewhere.

The Economic Committee took up the question of commercial arbitration because the validity of arbitration clauses voluntarily included in commercial contracts between persons of different nationalities had been in dispute. It was generally thought that such clauses had a good deal of practical value and afforded a means of avoiding costly litigation and loss of time, and that they provided an incentive to commercial integrity. The Economic Committee endorsed the view of its Committee of Experts, which pronounced in favour of the validity of such clauses, and studied the methods which

might be employed to compel merchants who had adhered to an arbitration clause to respect and comply with it. They recommended that States should remove from their laws anything which would allow merchants to break their engagements in this respect. A Protocol to this effect was produced and ratified by several States, but its effects naturally remained uncertain so long as the contracting States had not given an additional undertaking on the execution of arbitral awards pronounced outside their own territories. A Convention on the execution of arbitral awards was accordingly drawn up in 1927 and came into force in 1929. It has been ratified by twenty-three States.

The Brussels Conference, to which reference has been made above, had recommended that progress should be made in the unification of the laws of different countries relating to bills of exchange. The Economic Committee, in considering this question, came to the conclusion that the solution of the problem would have the effect of promoting commercial relations between the various peoples but that the deep-lying differences between the principles of the so-called "Anglo-Saxon Law" and those of Continental Law, and above all the incongruous characteristics of the various systems of Continental Law, themselves made the establishment of a common system impossible. The conclusion was reached, however, that a good deal of progress might be realised in the direction of a progressive assimilation of the different national legislations, and particularly of those of the Continental type. It was felt, both by the Economic Committee and by the Committee

of Experts subsequently appointed, that this would greatly facilitate an eventual rapprochement between the Continental and Anglo-Saxon systems. Accordingly, the Economic Committee, with the assistance of experts, laid down a number of essential rules regarding bills of exchange, which States should undertake to embody in their respective laws by independent enactment.

At the diplomatic Conference held in 1930, three Conventions which are now in force were drawn up on the subject. The Convention providing a uniform law for bills of exchange and promissory notes has been ratified or definitely acceded to by nineteen States, and came into force at the beginning of 1934. The Convention for the settlement of certain conflicts of law in connection with bills of exchange and promissory notes has been ratified by seventeen States, and the Convention on stamp laws in connection with bills of exchange by nineteen States.

ATTEMPTS TO INCREASE LIBERTY OF TRADE THROUGH COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT

By 1925, considerable progress had been made in the codification of rules relating to the non-tariff aspect of international exchanges, and public opinion was calling for a more ambitious policy which would deal directly with the problem of securing greater freedom in the international exchange of goods. Ever since the foundation of the League, voices had been raised in favour of an international conference on a large scale,

and in May 1927, after nearly two years of preparation and discussion in a preparatory Committee of Experts and Officials, the World Economic Conference took place.

The purpose of this Conference was to ascertain to what extent there was, in fact, a consensus of opinion among the parties directly interested in tariff questions regarding the desirable future trend of world commercial policy. The Conference was not an intergovernmental meeting. Delegates came in their individual capacity, though most of them were nominated by Governments. The Conference consisted of 194 delegates, together with 157 experts from fifty States Members of the League and non-member States, including the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The wide range of interests and opinions which it was desired to cover is indicated by the fact that the members of the Conference included industrialists, merchants, agriculturists and financiers, officials with an experience of commercial policy, and representatives of workers' and consumers' organisations.

The Conference dealt with problems affecting commerce, industry and agriculture. Its discussions of commercial problems centred round the need for the lowering of trade barriers. Its main results were grouped under the heading "liberty of trade" and embraced all measures calculated to free international commerce from artificial restrictions and obstructions. The Conference was unanimously of opinion that the time had come to put an end to the increase in tariffs and to move in the opposite direction. As a means to this end, it suggested, first, individual action by various States ;

secondly, bilateral action through commercial treaties ; and thirdly, collective action through the League. In the field of industry, it was urged that the League should follow the development of industrial agreements as closely as possible ; and in the field of agriculture, emphasis was laid on the essential interdependence of agriculture, industry and commerce.

In order to maintain the stimulus to the direction of policy along the lines suggested by the Conference, it was decided to set up an Economic Consultative Committee, whose composition reflected that of the Conference itself — *i.e.*, it consisted of representatives of various interests and opinions. At first, it appeared that the deliberations of the Conference were bearing fruit in the field of commercial policy. The signature of the Franco-German Commercial Treaty in 1927 marked the return of France to the policy of most-favoured-nation treatment, thus bringing her into conformity with one of the principal recommendations of the Conference, and it seemed as though the Conference had not only arrested the proposed increase in the tariffs of certain countries but would also give a new stimulus to the policy of universal most-favoured-nation treatment, which, in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, had been so effective in reducing tariff barriers. Unfortunately, however, for reasons which will be set out below, these expectations were not realised. As early as May 1929, the Economic Consultative Committee was obliged to report that, whereas “ a year ago the upward movement of tariffs had been checked . . . and a beginning had been made with stabilising the

situation by means of commercial treaties . . . , during 1928, a check to the forces which are continuously being exerted in every country in favour of greater protection has persisted, but it cannot be said that there is, as yet, a movement in the opposite direction ”.

During the next few years, fresh restrictions of every sort were placed in the way of international trade : tariffs were raised ; quotas were introduced ; exchange controls restricted the freedom of purchase of foreign commodities. The volume and value of international trade sank to new low levels. The major reason for this development — so different from that foreshadowed by the Economic Conference of 1927 — was the emergence of a completely new factor of overwhelming importance — namely, the great economic depression. Beginning in 1929, contraction in industrial activity led to a sharp fall in the demand for raw materials ; prices collapsed ; the purchasing power of primary producers was reduced ; unemployment increased at an alarming rate ; the financial structure of many countries was impaired ; certain important currencies depreciated sharply. Producers in many countries demanded the application of exceptional defensive measures which took the form of high protective duties or the imposition of quotas ; in other countries, exchange control, originally imposed to protect national currencies against deterioration in the balance of foreign payments resulting from capital flight or other reasons, effectively restricted the import of foreign goods and rapidly became an important instrument of commercial policy. In these circumstances, it was inevitable that the volume and value

of foreign trade should be restricted, and by the beginning of 1933, the value of international trade in terms of gold was only a third of what it had been in 1929.

An attempt was made in 1930 to arrest the tendencies towards increased protectionism which were even then apparent — but without success. The Diplomatic Conference on Concerted Economic Action held at the beginning of that year was unable to agree on the proposal of a “ tariff truce ”. The idea of such a truce met with particular resistance from the agricultural circles of several European countries which desired an increase in the protection afforded them, and no concrete result came out of the Conference.

The new wave of protectionism, which was aggravated in the early years of the depression by the coexistence of three systems of currencies (the gold *bloc*, consisting of a small number of States ; a large number of depreciated currencies, including sterling, the most powerful ; and a group of currencies dealings in which were subject to rigid restrictions and control), gave rise to fresh difficulties and controversies in connection with the most-favoured-nation clause in commercial treaties.

The Economic Committee, in compliance with an explicit recommendation of the World Economic Conference of 1927, had undertaken to codify most-favoured-nation treatment. In 1928 and 1929, it agreed on a common doctrine with regard to this clause, including its drafting, its interpretation, its application, and the relations between bilateral agreements based on the clause and plurilateral economic Conventions. Subsequently, the Committee devoted its attention to certain questions

concerning the application of the clause and considered the compatibility of Customs quotas and anti-dumping and countervailing duties with the most-favoured-nation clause, the interpretation of the expression "like products" for the purposes of the application of the clause and the question of the nationality of goods.

In 1936, by which time trade over a large part of the world was subject to quantitative restrictions through quotas, foreign exchange control and clearing agreements, the Economic Committee issued a circumstantial report on the situation, dealing particularly with the effect of current disturbances of the economic mechanism on the most-favoured-nation clause, and with the divergent opinions and proposals for its revision or abandonment. The Committee came to the conclusion that this clause and the system of equality of treatment which it is designed to establish constitute an essential guarantee for the maintenance and development of world trade, but that it loses much of its effectiveness when international commerce is subjected to quotas and exchange restrictions, clearings and compensation arrangements, which are incompatible with a developing and prosperous trade. The Committee insisted, however, on the fact that the clause remains the underlying principle governing commercial relations between many countries, and that even where these special quantitative restrictions to trade exist, its effectiveness where Customs duties are concerned narrows the field in which it is necessary to devise other guarantees of equal, or at least equitable, treatment. Such guarantees were held to be essential if trade is to develop to the maximum extent possible

under the cramping conditions prevalent, and if the divergence of the currents of trade from their natural channels is to be avoided.

After the breakdown of the Tariff Truce Conference of 1930, no attempt was made, for more than two years, to stem the rising tide of protectionism by collective action but, in 1932, fresh hope for the settlement of economic difficulties through concerted measures arose. The Lausanne Conference, which effectively put an end to reparation payments, requested the League of Nations to convoke an International Monetary and Economic Conference. A few months before this Conference opened in London in June 1933, the dollar was detached from gold and depreciated to an extent comparable with sterling. The efforts of the gold group at the London Conference to secure the stabilisation of these two essential currencies did not succeed, and it soon became apparent that, failing an agreement on stabilisation, no action could be taken in regard to trade policy properly so called. The Conference endeavoured, none the less, to encourage the co-ordination of the production and sale of a large number of world commodities, restraining over-production by agreement between producers.

It is worth observing that, even though the Conference was unable to agree on a programme of stabilisation, it did reach agreement on certain permanent measures for the re-establishment of an international monetary standard. Thus it unanimously decided that it was in the interests of all concerned that stability in the international monetary field should be attained

as quickly as practicable, and that gold should be established as the international measure of exchange values, time and parity being for each country to determine. It was also agreed that, under modern conditions, monetary gold is not required for internal circulation but as a reserve against central bank liabilities and primarily to meet external demands for payments caused by some disequilibrium on the foreign account; and that it was consequently undesirable to put gold coins or gold certificates into internal circulation.

The Conference also recommended that greater elasticity should be given to central bank legal cover provisions, and suggested that, in so far as the system of percentage gold cover is applied, a minimum ratio of not more than 25% should be considered sufficient. It was considered essential that independent central banks with the requisite powers and freedom to carry out an appropriate currency and credit policy should be created in all developed countries, and stress was laid on the great utility of close and continuous co-operation between central banks. Certain general principles of central bank monetary policy were also laid down and secured the adhesion of almost all countries. A number of the monetary recommendations of the 1933 Conference, especially those relating to the cover requirements of central banks, have since been incorporated in the national legislation of several countries.

RECENT WORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

The work of the Economic Committee in dealing with the problem of Customs nomenclature provides

a good illustration of its procedure during the period when the framing of general international Conventions to be signed by Governments was replaced by the framing of model texts. The task before the Committee was to prepare a Customs nomenclature which might be adapted to the economic needs of any country. It was begun more than ten years ago on the recommendation of the Economic Conference in 1927. The plan seemed doomed to failure, for the methods of classifying commodities entering into trade varied even more widely than the economic systems which produced them. The attempt was made, however, because the complexity of tariff schedules and differences in the methods of classification caused every kind of difficulty, both for Government officials who had to negotiate commercial treaties or administer Customs tariffs and for traders or manufacturers who exported and imported products described in the schedules. The aim of the Customs experts was to devise a new nomenclature which would be simple and scientific and bring all products of the same nature together in one chapter, thus making it possible to compare the tariff items of one country with those of another.

An ingenious solution was found in a nomenclature which could be extended or compressed, according to the requirements of any country, in such a way that each separate item would always correspond to a given number in the tariff. Three types of item were created : principal items, numbering about 1,000, which would appear in every tariff ; secondary items, being subdivisions of the main classification ; and, finally, tertiary.

items introducing further distinctions. Thus, for instance, butcher's meat is a principal item; beef, a secondary item; and frozen as distinct from fresh beef, a tertiary item.

A valuable instrument of economic policy was thereby created. The question then arose how its general application could best be secured. The idea of holding a diplomatic conference for its adoption was rejected in 1931, but during the next five or six years it was observed that many Governments were, in fact, using the nomenclature and taking it as a basis when recasting their tariffs — *e.g.*, France, Italy, Denmark, Finland and the Baltic States, Uruguay and Colombia. The original nomenclature has been revised in the light of the experience of the past few years, and is now being again recommended as a model to Governments for their use.

A similar evolution of method is to be found in the work of the Economic Committee in connection with the group of problems arising in the international field for the prevention of contagious illnesses of animals, and to safeguard human health against the risks of consumption of unhygienic meat and meat preparations.

The work of the Economic Committee in this field goes back to the year 1928 and has resulted in the signing of three international Conventions. An international Convention for the campaign against contagious diseases of animals came into force in March 1938 and has been ratified or definitely acceded to by six countries. International Conventions concerning the transit of animals, meat and other products of animal origin and concerning

the export and import of animal products (other than meat, meat preparations, fresh animal products, milk and milk products) also came into force in 1938. In view of the small number of ratifications, however, the Economic Committee, in dealing with the complex questions of the export and import of living animals and the export and import of meat and meat products, is now confining itself to the drafting of recommendations, without, however, proposing that they should be incorporated in international conventions. The object of these recommendations is to devise the maximum guarantees which importing countries are justified in requiring from exporters as giving sufficient assurance that the imported commodities are not dangerous to man or beast.

The Economic Committee is of opinion that, when its work in this field has been completed, it will have laid down a set of principles which could fruitfully be employed to give effect to the desire for equitable treatment in matters which have hitherto been the subject of dispute. It is providing a kind of normal code of international relations with respect to veterinary nutritional hygiene which may be of great assistance to Governments either in national legislation or in bilateral agreements.

II. PRESENT WORK AND NEW METHODS OF APPROACH

At the present time, the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League devotes a large part of its attention and time to problems which are international, not in the sense that their solution involves bargaining between States, but rather in the sense that they are common to a great many countries. It is the principal aim of this chapter to describe and illustrate this aspect of the Organisation's work.

Before doing so, however, it may be well to summarise some of the contributions which the League is making in the field of international commercial relations. In the first place, it is collecting information, sifting it, analysing it impartially and objectively — information on all aspects of economic life, and not least on its international aspects : trade, balances of payments, currencies. The work of the Economic Intelligence Service is dealt with in the next chapter. Special mention must be made here of the periodical reports of the Economic Committee on the current state of international economic relations. This work of description and analysis may seem at first sight a meagre contribution in the field of commercial policy ; but, in the long run, our power to control economic events and to shape them to our purpose will inevitably depend on our knowledge and understanding of them.

Secondly, as shown in the preceding chapter, the Economic Organisation of the League — through its work on such questions as uniform Customs nomenclature and regulations for international trade in meat products and plant products — is shaping out a basis of law and custom for international commercial relationships.

Thirdly, the Economic Committee of the League provides an opportunity for frequent informal contacts among the people sharing responsibility for the commercial policy of their respective countries. It would be a serious mistake to assume that, because these meetings do not result in immediate agreements on commercial policy, they have no value or no influence on commercial policy. On the contrary, the value of such meetings lies to a large extent in the act of meeting, and this is particularly the case when the persons in question would only meet otherwise to negotiate. The members of the Economic Committee come together to discuss other subjects, but also to discuss commercial policy. There is a very real advantage in their coming together in this way, to sit round a table, instead of sitting on opposite sides of it, and to discuss their difficulties and preoccupations in common, not in competition. It smooths the way for later bilateral negotiations.

NEW METHODS OF WORK

While continuing to contribute in these ways to the regulation of international economic relationships through

inter-State agreements, the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League has, in recent years, adopted new methods of work. Economic and social conditions have been changing with such unusual rapidity that each Government is faced with a crop of new problems at home which it has to solve ; it is often anxious to obtain information on the methods used by other countries in solving them.

For these reasons — in part negative and in part positive — the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League has recently tended to take up problems which are common to many countries, not so much with a view to securing immediate international agreement on their solution through the old method of conference, convention and protocol, as with a view to contributing to knowledge and understanding, and so affecting national policies.

The methods adopted naturally differ from problem to problem. In some cases, what is wanted is an authoritative opinion of experts ; in other cases, evidence on methods and results ; in still other instances, personal and informal discussion among individuals working on the same problems in different countries.

CLEARING AGREEMENTS AND EXCHANGE CONTROL

Interesting illustrations of the application of the first method, which the Director of the Financial Section and Economic Intelligence Service has described

as "the Royal Commission type of work",¹ are furnished by the League's work in connection with clearing agreements and with exchange control.

When the question of clearing agreements was brought before the League in 1934, the world had had experience of these agreements for two or three years. They were an outgrowth of the system of exchange control which grew up during the economic depression. On account of the deterioration in their balance of foreign payments, which was due in part, in certain cases, to capital flight and the withdrawal of foreign short-term credits, many States had imposed restrictions on the right to convert domestic currency into foreign currencies — thus withdrawing their currencies from free circulation in the international orbit. Some creditor countries were willing to enter into clearing agreements (*i.e.*, a bilateral arrangement under which importers pay for imports from the other party to the agreement by making payments in their own currency into a special account at the central bank of their own country, and exporters receive payment from their own central bank, the two accounts being set off against each other) with the debtor countries applying exchange control, because they hoped in this way to get their short-term debts repaid more rapidly. By 1934, over a hundred of these clearing and compensation agreements had been signed. But it was felt that they were not working satisfactorily. The

¹ Alexander LOVEDAY : "The Economic and Financial Activities of the League", in *International Affairs*, November-December 1938.

Economic and Financial Organisation was therefore instructed by the Assembly to make an enquiry into the causes, scope, methods and results of these agreements ; and the task was entrusted to a special Committee set up for the purpose.

Countries which had concluded such agreements were asked to supply this Committee with information as to the causes, methods and results of the agreements, an analysis of their provisions, and particulars of the circumstances in which they had been concluded and of the results secured. The result of the enquiry was embodied in a report published in April 1935, which contains not only a summary of the general facts and arguments communicated by Governments, but also an analysis of the effects of these agreements on international trade.

Certain major conclusions emerged. It was recognised that the system had, in certain cases, helped to prevent a still more serious collapse of trade resulting from the introduction of foreign exchange control, but it was nevertheless felt that it should not be extended. Most of the Governments consulted considered that the system could only be regarded as a makeshift involving a number of drawbacks : the essential vice of the system was found to be the employment of an artificial exchange rate ; and it was felt that, so long as some such agreements were unavoidable, it was better to use payment agreements, under which the exporter is paid direct by the importer, usually in the latter's currency.

It is worth pausing at this point to ask what is the real effect of a report such as this. It would be a mistake

to suppose that, because the report is not immediately followed by dramatic action along the lines suggested, it has failed in its purpose. For one reason or another, Governments may not wish to advertise the fact that they are changing their policy as a result of a recommendation of a League Committee. But, in fact, if the report contributes to thought, Governments will be influenced by it to some extent. What is essential is that the report should really throw new light on the question, should marshal the evidence objectively and draw its conclusions from that evidence. League Committees have one great advantage — that they can collect evidence from all over the world. The recommendations they make are more likely than not to be based on what some Government has already accomplished. Thus, when the Committee recommended payment agreements in preference to clearing agreements, it did not invent the idea of payment agreements, which had already been successfully applied by some countries.

After the publication of the League report on clearings, several countries acted in line with its recommendations, abolishing or relaxing certain clearing agreements, substituting payment agreements or allowing greater freedom in the determination of the rate of exchange used. It is, however, impossible to assess accurately in any particular case the exact influence of such work. One can only know occasionally and by chance whether a League suggestion or some completely independent circumstances have led to any particular action's being taken by a Government. Moreover, the effect of a League report is, of course, likely to be dependent on whether

economic conditions at the moment are favourable to the adoption of the ideas expressed in it. Thus, had there not been a substantial improvement in economic conditions and in prices of raw materials, clearing agreements would very likely not have been modified in the way in which they were. Indeed, with the subsequent worsening in economic conditions, there was a tendency to tighten up again.

Clearing agreements are but one aspect of the tendency towards restriction which has characterised the commercial policy of many countries in recent years. Other manifestations are quotas and exchange control. For several years, the Assembly of the League, or its technical Committees, had argued against these quantitative restrictions, and in 1937 the Economic and Financial Organisation was requested by the Assembly to study and report on the methods which could be adopted to secure the relaxation of existing systems of quotas and exchange control, with a view to their abolition at the earliest possible moment.

The problem was studied by a joint Committee, consisting of members of the Economic and the Financial Committees, which issued a report on exchange control in 1938. The principal conclusion of the report was that joint action for the relaxation of exchange control was, for the time being, impossible. The principal difficulties were not mainly economic, but political. The system persists because there is a political will to maintain it. In some countries, it is an expression of the general political conception of autarky. Elsewhere, the sense of political insecurity makes it impossible to

remove the control without the serious risk of capital flight.

The League Committee did not, however, confine itself to these negative and disheartening conclusions. It did two additional things, the ultimate significance of which cannot yet be appraised. In the first place, it recognised and stated clearly that the responsibility for providing conditions which would enable the exchange-control countries that wish to do so to return to the free-currency system lies, not only with those countries themselves, but also with the creditor countries. "So long as the industrial countries of Europe consider it necessary to pursue a policy approaching self-sufficiency in agricultural products and to maintain high tariffs and rigid quota restrictions, the agricultural countries of Europe will remain impoverished and be unable to contribute to the general revival of European trade and prosperity. The industrial countries — with their more varied economies and larger resources — have therefore a responsibility in this matter, and the possibilities of a wide relaxation of exchange controls in South-eastern Europe depend largely on the extent to which those countries can take the initiative in expanding the markets for the produce of the agricultural countries, and in providing them with greater resources in free exchange."

In the second place, the Committee came to the conclusion that though the time was not ripe for collective action towards the relaxation of exchange controls, there was much that individual countries could do on their own initiative. The Committee therefore set out in detail the steps which certain countries had found it

possible to take to relax their controls and the principal obstacles to further abrogation. The report provides a systematic analysis of methods of relaxation and contains technical suggestions regarding methods which may be of great value to national authorities in securing a smooth transition from controlled to free currencies — whenever political and economic conditions permit this transition to be effected.

INTERNATIONAL LOAN CONTRACTS

The work now being undertaken by the League in connection with international loan contracts provides another example of the way in which assistance can be rendered by the provision of expert advice.

During the recent depression, the defaults which occurred in many international loans issued by Governments and other public bodies revealed the necessity for an authoritative pronouncement on the subject of loan contracts. No doubt many of the difficulties which arose were not due to defects in the contract, but to economic and political conditions. But the trouble was aggravated by ambiguities in certain contracts and by the difficulties experienced in securing the settlement of legal disputes between the parties to them.

A fertile source of difficulty in recent years has been the uncertainty which has prevailed regarding the law to be applied in the interpretation of international loan contracts — whether it was to be the law of the debtor, of the lender, of the place where the contract was made, of the place where it was executed, etc.

These questions of procedure have given rise to endless trouble in recent years. Another source of difficulty has been the fact that, in most cases, the contract between debtor Governments and lenders made no provision for an alteration in the terms of the contract by agreement between the parties concerned, or even for the discussion of new situations which might arise.

No doubt the report of the Committee which is studying this problem, and which is composed of leading financial and legal experts, will give consideration to these and many other questions. Their task is not to pass judgments on past disputes, but to make suggestions for the improvement of future international loan contracts, in the light of past experience and present difficulties. The suggestions made by this body are likely to be of very real importance if international long-term lending is to be resumed again.

CONTROLLING DEPRESSIONS

In the examples which have hitherto been given of the League's work of the "Royal Commission" type, the problems involved have been largely international in character — clearings, exchange control and international loan contracts. The Economic and Financial Organisation of the League has, however, also concerned itself with many other problems which, while having important international implications (and what economic problem in the modern world is free of international implications?), are, to a large extent, domestic in character.

Among the most important of these is the problem of trade depressions. This problem constitutes one of the greatest dangers to social tranquillity and political peace in the world to-day ; in the long run, we cannot hope to avoid social and political troubles of the most serious gravity, unless some means are devised of averting or lessening economic depressions. Unemployment is no longer merely a personal risk, but a national and international danger. To realise this fact, we need only ask ourselves what state Europe would be in to-day if an economic depression had not occurred in 1929.

For several years, the League has been dealing with this question from the angle of pure research. For the past five or six years, the Economic Intelligence Service, whose work will in due course be considered, has been engaged in an enquiry into the causes of the recurrence of economic cycles, assisted by generous grants from the Rockefeller Foundation. The work has been carried out by specialists who have had at their disposal the comprehensive statistics collected by the Economic Intelligence Service in the ordinary course of its work for the annual publications of the League.

The phenomenon of trade cycles has been studied in Europe and America for more than two centuries, but little real light has been thrown upon their fundamental causes. At one time, they were regarded as mysterious and accidental interruptions of normal progress. By some economists, they are thought to be so fixed in the nature of capitalist production that nothing can be done to deal with them short of revolution. Theories as to their origin and suggestions for their cure sometimes

appear to be in flat contradiction. A prominent English banker complained during the last depression that he appealed for advice to six economists and obtained seven different answers !

The first phase of the League's researches in this question resulted in the publication of the volume *Prosperity and Depression*, in 1937. In this volume, all the main theories relating to trade cycles were reviewed and, for all their variety, a considerable amount of common ground was discovered. In many cases, differences between experts which had hitherto appeared irreconcilable turned out, on close examination, to be largely differences of emphasis and exposition. The importance of this fact from the point of view of our ability to recommend definite lines of policy to cope with the evil is obvious. The significance of the League's contribution to thought on this subject was widely recognised in expert circles and in the Press of the world, and it has been necessary, within eighteen months of publication, to bring out two new editions of this volume.

The Economic Intelligence Service is now actively engaged in the second stage of its research work in this field — the statistical verification and mathematical testing of the alternative explanations of the recurrence of periods of depression. A study entitled *Statistical Testing of Business-cycle Theories* is being published in two volumes. The first, "A Method, and its Application to Investment Activity", describes the methods used and lays down a programme of further research. The second, entitled "Business Cycles in the United States of America, 1919-1932", gives the results of the

application of these methods to cyclical movements in that country.

The Economic and Financial Organisation has, however, by no means confined itself to academic work in this field. From time to time, the Economic and the Financial Committees have issued pronouncements on particular situations which, backed by the authority and objectivity of their members, could hardly fail to influence public thinking. Thus, in a special report dealing with the sharp business recession of 1937/38, the Financial Committee stressed strongly the necessity of each country avoiding measures which might give temporary relief at home, at the expense of other countries — measures which, as the experience after 1929 showed, would only provoke retaliation abroad and lead to a general contraction of trade from which all would suffer. It advocated the harmonisation of policies of national revival, too often pursued on a purely national basis, through a greater measure of international co-operation. To the objection that this was impracticable so long as certain great States chose to pursue policies of economic self-sufficiency, the Economic Committee, in its report issued simultaneously, answered that the countries co-operating through the League accounted for as much as 86% of world trade in 1937. For its part, the Financial Committee drew particular attention to the sharp increases in certain costs which had preceded the depression, and to the interferences with private enterprise, and urged that what was essentially required for rapid recovery was “a period during which private industry can carry on its affairs with a reasonable

expectation of reasonable profits, and with a minimum of disturbance from fluctuations in costs and from fears of international complications ”. It also drew attention to the extreme degree of variability which world prices of raw materials and foodstuffs had shown since 1928.

Meanwhile, the systematic study of the practical steps which might be taken by Governments to prevent the onset of depressions and to mitigate their effects has been under consideration since 1937 by a group of experts, composed partly of members of the Economic and the Financial Committees. This work is to some extent determined by the fact that the research work of the League referred to above showed greater agreement among the various explanations of the trade cycle than had been supposed. It is also determined by the fact that, during the last seven years, a great number of experiments have been made in many countries, and that every country should be able to learn something from the experience of its neighbours. Governments have been asked to inform the League of the measures which they have adopted in recent years with a view to checking depression and reviving business, and to add, if they so wish, their conclusions as to the results obtained. Something of value should emerge from the mass of experience thus acquired, and it should prove possible for Governments to avoid at least some of the mistakes of the past.

The report of the Delegation on Economic Depressions has not yet been published, and it is not possible to anticipate its conclusions. Discussions at Geneva in recent years have, however, laid emphasis, time after

time, on the necessity for some international co-ordination of national anti-depression policies. At the Assembly of 1938, for example, several delegations stated that they would prefer, when depressions occurred, to adopt policies designed to increase purchasing power rather than to impose restrictive measures (such as higher tariffs, etc.) were it not for the adverse effects on their balance of payments. Measures of expansion adopted by one country alone to revive its business may lead to heavy losses of gold and foreign exchange, with the attendant risk of currency depreciation or establishment of exchange control. Currency depreciation usually tends to lower world market prices and to intensify the depression in countries dependent on those prices. Exchange control involves a contraction of trade, with the same result. Such measures, which may in certain cases be justified as temporary expedients, are bound, in the absence of international co-ordination, to provoke retaliation and to have disastrous results. If, however, in a spirit of mutual helpfulness, the majority of nations were to apply recovery measures simultaneously, during an international recession, the risk of monetary disturbances would be much reduced, while the chances of causing a real improvement in employment and production would be greater.

One particular aspect of depression policy has been investigated separately by a special Expert Committee of the Economic and Financial Organisation — namely, the behaviour of tax systems. During the great depression, all countries were faced with difficult problems of public finance. With the shrinkage of production and

the fall in prices, taxable incomes were reduced, while certain categories of expenditures, such as those for the relief of distress, were increased and other categories could not be reduced in proportion to the fall in revenue. The problem of the proper budgetary policy to pursue in such circumstances gave rise to lively debate in most countries. One school of thought maintained that the annual balancing of the budget was essential, and another maintained that it was sound policy to allow deficits to occur during depressions. The whole subject of the relationship between taxation policies and economic fluctuations has accordingly been studied by experts in this field, and their report should help to form public opinion in this matter.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF PRIMARY PRODUCING COUNTRIES

Recent changes in the economic structure of primary producing countries have made it necessary for them to face new financial and monetary problems. On some of these, they have sought the advice of the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League. With the development and progressive industrialisation of these countries, the sources of national income have become more varied and numerous ; at the same time, State functions have been developed and have come to absorb a larger share of the national income. In consequence, the old and relatively simple financial systems which were frequently based upon indirect taxes have, in certain cases, been found to be inadequate to the new

economic structure and the new functions of the State. Many countries have been obliged to recast their tax systems to meet the new situation.

In doing so, they have been able to obtain the advice of the Fiscal Committee of the League, whose work in connection with double taxation has been referred to in an earlier chapter. This Committee is largely composed of taxation specialists ; through its members or corresponding members, it maintains direct contact with the tax administrations of most countries ; and it constitutes a unique depository of experience on the structure and management of tax systems.

The Fiscal Committee has, in the past, carried on studies on problems such as the determination of taxable income and methods of tax collection. Of even more direct concern to the primary producing countries faced with the necessity of basing their fiscal legislation on direct taxes to a greater extent than hitherto is the enquiry at present being pursued into the principles on which fiscal legislation dealing with the main categories of taxes, such as income tax, land tax, etc., should be based in countries at different stages of economic development.

With the growing complexity of the economic structures of primary producing countries, it has been necessary to devise new instruments of monetary and credit control, as is shown by the recent establishment of central banks in many such countries. The problem of credit control is one of peculiar difficulty for these countries. The instability in their balance of foreign payments, resulting from wide fluctuations in the world

market prices of their exports of primary products, constitutes a recurrent threat to their currency stability, domestic credit structure and national incomes ; and the fact that the markets of such countries are frequently undeveloped or dependent on special relationships with foreign countries renders domestic credit control exceptionally difficult.

The Economic and Financial Organisation has been asked to advise on the fundamental principles of monetary and credit policy which might be applied in agricultural countries with a view to diminishing the influence of fluctuations in the balance of payments on the credit structure and the rate of exchange, and the findings of the Financial Committee should be of great value to such countries in framing long-term policies.

RAW MATERIALS

In 1937, an Expert Committee was appointed to study the economic aspects of the problem of raw materials — a problem which had given rise to some political discussion. The Committee examined the principal causes of alleged inequalities in the commercial access of different States to raw materials and suggested some possible remedies. It found that prohibitions and restrictions on the export of raw materials were enforced only in cases which were justified by special circumstances, and it recommended that all nations should undertake not to employ such measures for uneconomic ends. The Committee also recommended that the Governments should be invited to make

declarations to the effect that they were prepared to facilitate the development of natural resources of territories under their control so far as possible consistently with the duty which they owed to the local inhabitants.

Special attention was devoted to the question of international cartels for the production and sale of raw materials. The Committee recommended that such organisations should provide for the effective representation of consumers, for adequate publicity and for effective Government control, and that they should be so constituted as to be able to ensure the stability of prices at a reasonable level by means of buffer stocks.

On the question of the difficulties in obtaining raw materials owing to inability to acquire the necessary foreign currencies in the requisite amounts, the Committee came to the conclusion that this demanded concerted action with a view to restoring the freer circulation of capital, goods and labour. Its proposals to this end were of a general character — that closer collaboration should be established between central banks ; that trade barriers should be reduced ; and that financial assistance should be given to countries desirous of abandoning their policy of exchange control.

The Economic Committee endorsed the conclusions of the Committee on Raw Materials and formulated certain principles with the object of facilitating commercial access to raw materials to the greatest possible extent. These principles were communicated by the Council to Governments. They related to freedom of export, equality of conditions for exploitation and the control to which the operation of international regulation

schemes relating to the supply of raw materials should be subjected.

The majority of Governments, in replying to this communication, expressed themselves as favourable, on the whole, to the recommendations of the Economic Committee, but were negative regarding the possibility of concerted action in the matter being taken at the present time.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND POPULATION MOVEMENTS

Scarcely less important than the questions raised by the periodic recurrence of economic depressions are the problems which have arisen owing to restrictions placed by Governments upon the movement of populations. Before the war, Europe exported her surplus population to employ the capital and work up the raw materials of non-European countries. After the war, American capital migrated to Europe to employ the surplus and enclosed populations of Europe. To-day, both movements have stopped ; and we have no solution for that problem, a problem which becomes more and more serious on the occasion of each depression.

A thorough study of the problem has for some time been felt to be necessary. The question of international migration and repatriation has been taken up by the International Labour Office, which, in 1938, convened a conference of experts to consider means of technical and financial co-operation with regard to migration for settlement. This conference, which was attended by

a representative of the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League, recognised that progress must depend upon close co-operation between emigration and immigration countries, and recommended that there should be a regular interchange of information between them, either directly or through the International Labour Office or an office to be created for the purpose. It asked the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to proceed with the consultations and other steps necessary for the establishment of a permanent international committee on migration for settlement, comprising representatives of all countries which declared themselves interested in the question and were prepared to join the committee, as well as experts on economic, financial and social questions.

Meanwhile, the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League has undertaken a study of demographic problems in their wider aspects. These problems play an important part, both in the national economies of the various countries and in the general economy of the world, and their economic aspects have hitherto been insufficiently studied. A special Committee of Experts, including experts from non-member States, has recently been appointed to study these problems and to submit a report which might be of practical value to Governments in determining their policy.

NUTRITION

Another recent shift in the emphasis of the work of the Economic and Financial Organisation is its

tendency to concern itself with problems lying on the border-line of social and economic policy. The growing complexity of economic life and the extending application of science to economic activities renders it increasingly important that there should be an international centre for the interchange of information upon problems of social-economic policy and for the joint study of these problems in the light of the progress achieved in the various countries concerned. Its present work in this general group of subjects includes studies upon nutrition, housing, conditions of rural life, agricultural credits and the standard of living.

The selection of subjects such as these for consideration by an international organisation represents a profound and important change in the general approach at present being made to economic problems. The application of science to agriculture and industry has greatly increased the world's productive capacity. The problem of production as an isolated activity needs at the moment little or no attention from economists dealing with the pressing questions of the day. The economics of production have, in fact, outstripped the economics of distribution and consumption, with the result that, in a world which is said to be suffering from over-production, and in which it has even been necessary to destroy surplus products in the absence of any effective machinery for their marketing and distribution, there remain millions of people unable to obtain the commodities which they desire or even to satisfy their minimum requirements. It has come to be realised that to bridge the gap at present existing between what nations can

produce and what they may be enabled to consume is the most fundamental economic problem of our time. Through its work on such subjects as nutrition, housing and the standard of living, the League is contributing to the solution of this problem. In particular, the work of the League in the field of nutrition has been universally received as a pioneer contribution to what has been called the economics of consumption.

The problem of nutrition, or rather of malnutrition, in a world where countries producing and selling foodstuffs are unable to find markets and get their commodities into the hands of the consumer, was first brought to the notice of the League as an economic problem by the Australian Government at the Assembly of 1935.

For ten years, the League of Nations, through its Health Organisation, had been engaged upon enquiries, frequently conducted on the spot, into the state of nutrition in various parts of the world, and these investigations had resulted in the publication of a general report on nutrition in 1935, which was intended primarily for national health authorities. It was devoted mainly to a consideration of the importance of nutrition in public health and preventive medicine. Nutrition, it was urged, could no longer be regarded as an exclusively physiological problem, but must be a matter of concern both to public health officers and economists.

Working through the Health Organisation of the League, physiologists had agreed upon a standard of reasonable feeding — a matter upon which they had long been divided. They had presented this standard

as an optimum instead of a disputable minimum upon which life might be supported. All the more important scientific aspects of the question had been considered. The needs of infants, children, adolescents, adults and expectant or nursing mothers had been distinguished, and allowance made for the effects of climate. By the standards thus laid down, it had become evident that a great part of the population of Europe was under-nourished. Even in the United States, whole sections of the community were inadequately fed, while the populations of the Far East were known to be suffering from malnutrition or living on the verge of famine.

The Assembly, as a result of the public interest which had been aroused in the question, decided in 1935 to appoint a mixed committee on the problem of nutrition, consisting of agricultural, economic and health experts. The International Labour Organisation and the International Institute of Agriculture were invited to co-operate. It was felt that the time had come to make a thorough investigation of the work actually being carried out for the improvement of food conditions in a number of countries, and that this investigation should cover both the dietetic and economic aspects of the problem.

The question inevitably arose whether it was not the duty of public authorities in the different countries to frame a considered policy in the matter of nutrition. It was realised that such a policy might be applied, so as to benefit agriculture and promote public health, especially by increasing the consumption of the so-called "protective" foods, which enable men, women and

children to obtain full physical and mental development, and which increase their resistance to many diseases.

The intention of the League in deciding to prosecute such an enquiry was not to supply the Governments with definite or uniform solutions, but rather to enable them to work out solutions for themselves by adapting the general conclusions reached as a result of the enquiry to conditions in their respective countries. It was further the intention of the enquiry to put at the disposal of Governments, experts and the public in general the most recent information on the subject, and particularly to indicate how the various national authorities were dealing with the problem.

The Mixed Committee entered upon its duties in February 1936, and in the same year recorded its initial findings in an interim report. This report was devoted primarily to the scientific aspect of the problem : it set forth the rules which should be observed in the consumption of foodstuffs, and the effects of disregarding them, and it issued a series of recommendations to serve as general guiding principles in the framing of national policies. Its principal concrete recommendation was that Governments which had not already done so should set up national nutrition committees to study and advise on this problem, and that an attempt should be made to co-ordinate the work being done by different national authorities. The publication of this report aroused general interest and strengthened the efforts of many national organisations which were beginning to take action in the matter.

As a result of this recommendation of the Mixed Committee, national nutrition committees were set up in several countries. It was felt that the movement would be strengthened by giving the representatives an opportunity to discuss their problems in common, and a first meeting of national nutrition committees was held at Geneva in February 1937. This meeting discussed the status and composition of the national committees themselves ; it reviewed the work already done or in progress ; and it discussed the methods to be employed in assessing the state of nutrition of national populations and in spreading the principles whose application was necessary for their improvement.

Meanwhile, the Mixed Committee on Nutrition continued its work and, in 1937, issued a final report on the relation of nutrition to health, agriculture and economic policy. This volume, which ran into a second edition within a few weeks of publication, had a very great influence on public opinion. It was widely read and reviewed ; a leading American journal said of it that, " judged by its bearing on the fundamental issues of our times, it is by all odds the most important book of the year ".

The evidence collected by the Committee showed that the tendency towards better nutrition in the countries covered was natural and strong, but that the movement was obstructed at certain points and required to be directed and encouraged. It was clear that, in countries with the most diverse economic structure and general level of consumption, appreciable sections of the population were failing to secure the food which

was essential to their health and efficiency. As a result of insufficient purchasing power or of imperfect distribution of resources between food and other objects of expenditure, or ignorance of food values or the maintenance of food prices at levels which involved hardship to large sections of the community, millions of people in all parts of the globe were found to be suffering from inadequate physical development or from disease due to malnutrition, or were living in a state of subnormal health. The Committee emphasised the fact that the existence of such a situation, in a world in which agricultural resources were so abundant and where supply frequently tended to outstrip effective demand, constituted a challenge to constructive statesmanship and international co-operation.

The Committee laid special stress on the value of the new method which had been adopted by the League of Nations of rendering assistance to Governments by the institution of enquiries and the framing of advice. In particular, it approved of the attempt to work through national committees adequately representing the various aspects of the problem and composed of scientists, economists, agricultural experts, teachers, administrators and consumers. It may be noted here that more than twenty countries have recognised nutrition as a problem of national concern and have set up special committees to deal with it. Following a recommendation of the Mixed Committee, the League arranges for annual meetings of representatives of these committees. The nutrition problem is a new concern of Governments. They are experimenting ; they are gaining experience.

They all face the same or similar problems at home, and it is of great value to them to meet with similar groups in other countries, in order to pool their experience and to discuss their difficulties, their successes and their failures.

An equally important result, perhaps, of the report of the Mixed Committee on Nutrition is the fact that it attracts attention to the problem and helps to create a worldwide movement for better nutrition. In this question, it is imperative to awaken the interest of the man in the street. It is he or his wife who decides what he will eat. The number of persons in the world who will read a League report is, of course, limited ; but it is not the number of its direct readers that really matters. Its real value is in giving information which can be used for all those innumerable pamphlets and articles on the subject that are being published to-day all over the world. The League has played an important part in making the world as nutrition-conscious as it is to-day.

HOUSING

Another example of the new methods adopted by the Organisation and of the increasing interest taken in problems directly affecting the welfare of national populations is the work recently undertaken by the League in dealing with the problem of urban and rural housing.

A general study is now in progress of the methods employed in various countries for improving housing conditions with special reference to the cost involved

and the results obtained. A stimulus has been given to national surveys of existing housing conditions and needs in relation to a national minimum standard of housing for cities, towns and country. In the League enquiry, special attention will be given to the financial aspects of town-planning.

Every sort of housing scheme — national, municipal or private — has been undertaken in various countries during recent years. The object of the League enquiry is to compare the aims of these various schemes, the extent to which these aims have been realised and the expenditure entailed. Evidence can thus be furnished to Governments concerning what other Governments have achieved or failed to achieve.

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT

The Economic and Financial Organisation has also undertaken the study of agricultural credits — another problem which affects consumers and producers alike, more particularly in countries where they are virtually indistinguishable. This is clearly the case in Eastern Europe, where the peasant proprietor produces most of what he consumes. The first stage of the enquiry was entrusted to an outside expert and was largely confined to special problems connected with rural resettlement or land reform in certain countries of Central and South eastern Europe. The Financial Committee has announced its intention of reporting on some of the wider aspects of the problem, particularly in relation to present world agricultural conditions. Moreover, the

delegates of certain Latin-American States have requested that these investigations should be extended to their own countries.

The object of the League's work in this field is not to suggest to any particular Government that it should adopt a particular solution, but, as in the case of the other studies already mentioned, to collect evidence on the various problems that present themselves and the manner in which they have been solved, and ultimately to lay down certain guiding principles which Governments may adopt as and when they decide to legislate.

STANDARD OF LIVING

The whole of the economic and financial work of the League is useful and significant in so far as it results in a general improvement in the economic welfare of the ordinary citizen in the participating countries. This is the ultimate object of all the efforts of the League, whether the problems are approached from the side of commercial relations or of such highly technical subjects as monetary policy, or more directly from the side of the consumer himself through such topics as nutrition and housing.

The object of the standard of living movement which is growing in force in a number of countries is to direct economic policy deliberately towards the provision for all classes of society of those goods and services which are essential for physical well-being. To achieve that object, many paths must be explored; indeed, all economic policy and all economics are, in the ultimate

analysis, primarily concerned with the problem of the size and the distribution of the national income and hence with the standard of living. The significance of the standard of living movement, as stimulated by the League, therefore lies rather in the directness of its approach to this object than in its basic concepts and postulates. As Professor Hall states in a pamphlet¹ on the subject prepared for the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League : “ It is only when the common aim of securing the well-being of their people is held with a deep sense of conviction that Governments are likely to find that persistent and unwavering support which will be necessary for them in withstanding the sectional interests which grow up beyond the shelter of protective devices. But this sense of conviction must remain feeble and vacillating, venting itself in internal discontents and dissatisfaction, and ineffective as a permanent basis of policy unless it can be particularised in a manner in which it can command the support of the masses of the people.”

The Economic and Financial Organisation is at present engaged in this task of “ particularisation ”. It is actively pursuing studies, for example, of consumption habits in relation to physiological needs, transport facilities, distribution costs and the effects of fiscal measures on consumption.

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¹ League of Nations, Economic Committee, “ Preliminary Investigation into Measures of a National or International Character for raising the Standard of Living ” : Memorandum prepared by Mr. N. F. HALL (Geneva, 1938).

To summarise the present position, it is clear that many of the questions with which the Economic and Financial Organisation is now concerned depend for their successful solution, not upon international agreements regulating the relationship between States, but upon a co-ordination of national policies with one another. The way in which the League can assist in this work of co-ordination has been illustrated by examples taken from its present activities. We have seen how the League has been able to help Governments in dealing with some of the most pressing problems of the day on whose successful solution depends to a large extent the future peace and prosperity of the world. There has been a progressive development of the Organisation and of its methods of work to meet new economic requirements and changed political conditions. The new methods have undoubtedly widened the scope of the work of the League in the economic and financial field, and have already created in Governments the habit of looking to the League when in need of material evidence or expert advice. It has been realised that the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League can be turned to good account by ceasing to confine it to establishing or applying international contracts, and by using it to solve day-to-day problems common to Governments in a rapidly changing world. The value of the work of the League in this field will, in the long run, be largely determined by the extent to which it enables peoples and Governments to pool their experience, to learn from one another and to frame judgments upon adequate and substantial evidence.

III. THE ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE SERVICE

Side by side with its practical work on particular problems, the Economic and Financial Organisation has developed a comprehensive Economic Intelligence Service.

Knowledge of events and of economic and financial developments, not within a single country only but throughout the world, has become increasingly necessary to business men and statesmen. Throughout the world, the business man and the statesman are faced by forces which spread through space like waves of light or heat or like the microbes of infection. In spite of attempts at economic isolation, the different parts of the world have been brought closer and closer together through the elimination of impediments to knowledge or communication caused by space. If world economic forces are to be controlled, they must be understood, and for their understanding a knowledge of events and developments throughout the world is necessary. It is the aim of the Economic Intelligence Service of the League to furnish a part of the information required for the acquisition of such knowledge. This Service collates, analyses and records certain categories of facts relating to human economic activity which may constitute the raw material for the work of the economist and the legislator.

The regular publications of this Service, which are prepared by the Secretariat of the League, are based on facts and figures which tell their own story. Sometimes they suggest that this or that policy adopted by Governments may not have been successful, but no attempt is made by those responsible for issuing these publications to argue a case. Their intention is to be absolutely objective.

The object of the Intelligence Service, however, is not confined to supplying information necessary for an understanding of world economic forces and developments. It fulfils a more immediate object in rendering available in handy form individual items of information concerning a large number of different subjects of economic importance. It is useful, for example, to be able to find within the covers of a single volume the population of any country in the world, the amount of its public debt, the value of its trade or the nature and quantity of its agricultural and mineral production. In undertaking this work, the League of Nations has had several purposes in mind.

The co-ordination and centralisation, by a single organisation, of information made public by national administrations relieves each national Government of a considerable amount of work which it would have to do itself if this task were not performed at Geneva. The League thus fulfils an obligation to the Governments composing it. Those Governments, moreover, are severally concerned with the interests of the peoples for which they are responsible, and in requesting information on this or that question they have to bear in mind, not

only the needs of their various departments, but also those of their general public. The economic intelligence work done at Geneva is accordingly intended for both official and public use.

The following is a list of the regular publications of the Economic Intelligence Service :

1. *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics.*
(Published towards the middle of each month.)
2. *Statistical Year-Book.*
(Published in May or June.)
3. *International Trade Statistics.*
(Published in the late autumn.)
4. *International Trade in Certain Raw Materials and Foodstuffs.*
(Published in the autumn.)
5. *World Production and Prices,*
(Published in the late summer.)
6. *Review of World Trade.*
(Published in June or July.)
7. *Balances of Payments.*
(Published in the late autumn.)
8. *Money and Banking :*
Vol. I. — “ Monetary Review ” ;
Vol. II. — “ Commercial and Central Banks ” .
(Published in the spring.)
9. *World Economic Survey.*
(Published in September.)
10. *Survey of National Nutrition Policies.*
(Published in December.)

The first essential task of an Economic Intelligence Service is to collect and display the simple numerical facts about economic structure, activity and development. The four publications issued by the League which contain a simple collection of such numerical facts with explanatory notes are the *Statistical Year-Book*, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, *International Trade Statistics*, and *International Trade in Certain Raw Materials and Foodstuffs*.

The object of these publications is not only to set out the relevant figures but also to define clearly the facts to which those figures relate. This problem of definition frequently presents very great difficulties, since social organisation, law and practice differ widely from one country to another and the phenomena described by the same single word or phrase in different countries may be wholly dissimilar. Statistics, to be comparable, must cover the same periods and conditions. It was for this reason that the first edition of the *Statistical Year-Book*, covering as it does the whole field of economic statistics, was not issued until 1927 — after many years devoted by the Economic Intelligence Service to the intensive study and analysis of particular subjects.

Since its original issue, the *Statistical Year-Book* has been constantly improved and enlarged; detailed analysis has been made of an ever-widening range of facts, which it was believed would be of value to Governments, business men and economists. The current issue gives, on a worldwide basis, facts concerning the population of each country; its division by age-groups and occupations; births, marriages and deaths; mortality

rates, expectation of life, fertility and reproduction rates ; employment and unemployment ; wages ; facts representing the economic activity of these populations, including statistics of production, indices of primary and industrial output and stocks, data on transport, including air traffic as well as shipping and railroads, and data on trade ; and, finally, facts concerning the financial structure of the various countries, including statistics relating to currency, commercial bank deposits, budget accounts, public debt, prices, exchange rates, discount rates, bond yields and capital issues.

One of the most important problems which confronted the Economic Intelligence Service of the League was the absence, in the early years of its activity, of any general agreement among the countries of the world as to the principles which should govern the compilation of statistics, and render them comparable from country to country. Very considerable progress has, however, been made through the International Convention relating to Economic Statistics, of 1928, which is now in force in twenty-six countries, and more especially through the continuous efforts of the Committee of Statistical Experts set up under that Convention.

The work of this Committee has two main purposes : first, to ensure that national statistics do, in fact, measure, as accurately as possible, what they purport to measure ; and, secondly, to ensure that, through the adoption of uniform measures in various countries, the different sets of national statistics can be compared internationally. The schemes framed by the Committee for the compilation of statistics in many different fields have proved

of very great value to the countries which are now organising their national statistics and wish to profit by the experience of other countries. The main results of the Committee's work are published in a series of *Studies and Reports on Statistical Methods*.

In the field of trade statistics, the Committee prepared a new international classification of commodities entering into international trade, which was communicated to Governments by the Council of the League in 1934, and which is now applied by about thirty countries. The Economic Intelligence Service, which had for several years been publishing annually a volume on international trade statistics, is now becoming able to present the figures for different countries in a uniform way. In consequence, anyone who needs information on foreign trade can now be sure that the items included under given headings in the import and export statistics of various countries do, in fact, relate to the same commodities.

Another outcome of the Committee's work is the annual publication of a volume entitled *International Trade in Certain Raw Materials and Foodstuffs*, in which the information made available by Governments in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee of Statistical Experts is incorporated. The current issue of this publication gives the figures for international trade in some thirty-five different raw materials and foodstuffs, classified by countries of origin and consumption. It enables the reader to follow the course of raw materials and foodstuffs from their countries of origin to the point where they begin to be consumed or

transformed. Thanks to the co-operation of many Governments, the statistics have been made practically worldwide. These statistics are presented in accordance with the standard list of countries of provenance and destination, which was likewise drawn up by the Committee.

The work of the Committee of Statistical Experts now extends over the whole field of economic and financial statistics. For example, it now covers statistics of the gainfully-occupied population, of housing and building, of production, of balances of payments, of prices, and of finance. The work in some of these fields is still in the formative stage, but a detailed programme for statistics of the gainfully-occupied population has already been prepared. Its object is to show, *inter alia*, on an internationally comparable basis, in which branches of economic activity (*e.g.*, agriculture, various industries, commerce, transport, etc.) the population is occupied, and thus to permit comparisons to be made of the economic structure of the various countries.

The *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* is intended to furnish a current indication of the state of business throughout the world. Such an indication can best be given by restricting the data selected within narrow, though not unchanging, limits. No business man wants a monthly dictionary. No international institution can give him day-to-day information about the tone of the particular markets in which he is himself concerned. That he must get from his order book and his correspondents. What the League does endeavour to supply

is general information about the broad development, in all the main countries of the world, of those economic affairs which necessarily go to determine the state of individual markets — the trend of production, of trade, of prices, of exchange rates, of employment.

Most of the economic and financial publications issued by the League are different from the statistical volumes so far described, and are intended to answer quite different questions. *World Production and Prices* and the *Review of World Trade*, for instance, take as their unit the world and not the individual States. This unit is divided into continental or empire groups, subdivided into their original component parts — namely, the State or the statistical area. It is believed that lessons of importance can be learned from this aggregation and subsequent analysis of information drawn from all the quarters of the globe.

The questions for which an answer may be sought in these publications naturally vary from year to year as world conditions change. Certain of them, however, are considered regularly. There is, for example, an attempt each year to ascertain how much the value or quantum of world trade has changed and whether there has been a greater or less production of raw materials, foodstuffs and industrial products.

The *Review of World Trade* shows how the goods and services produced are distributed about the world from country to country, how trade is shared between continental groups, how the British, French and Netherlands empires trade between their component parts, and how they stand in relation to the trade of the world.

From this trade arise debtor and creditor relations between the citizens of the different countries, as a result of which payments have to be transferred, subject to the control exercised by States over their exchange. These payments are traced and recorded, as far as possible, in another annual review published by the League entitled *Balances of Payments*. Estimates of the financial transactions for account of the commodity trade, the tourist traffic, services rendered and capital movements are available to-day for over thirty countries. Most of these estimates are furnished direct to the League by Governments. These studies afford a good example of the progress made by the League in securing a compilation of comparable economic statistics in the different countries of the world. The first edition was published in 1924 and contained information for thirteen countries; the volume published in 1938 contained information for thirty-three countries, in most cases compiled on the common form sent out by the League.

The volume on balances of payments, which reviews in its introduction international capital movements and the state of capital markets, forms a bridge between the economic and the financial studies prepared by the League. The League issued memoranda on *Public Finance* as long ago as 1920; their scope was gradually widened and, in the volume issued in 1929, information was given on the public finances of fifteen countries. The current work in this field consists of a series of small pamphlets on individual countries, showing for each one the summarised State accounts, the Treasury position, the different categories of receipts and

expenditure, the situation of the public debt and, where possible, State assets and liabilities. These figures are accompanied by explanatory notes which bring out the special nature of the items in the different countries. By the beginning of 1939, special memoranda covering the period 1928 to 1935-1937 had been issued on sixty-one different countries, including twenty-nine European, twenty Latin-American, six Asiatic, two African, two North-American and two Oceanic.

Private finance and general monetary questions are covered in the annual two-volume *Money and Banking*. This volume has undergone an interesting evolution, which illustrates the way in which the Economic Intelligence Service has adapted itself to changed conditions. The precursor of the series, a volume called *Commercial Banks*, covered the period 1913 to 1929; it took the place of previous volumes on currency and central banks and reflected the renewed ascendancy of the banks over the printing press regained during the reconstruction period. This volume gave a description of the commercial banking structure of some thirty countries. Their balance-sheets, frequently drawn up by the most diverse methods, were adapted to a common form for purposes of comparison and analysis.

By the time the second edition of *Commercial Banks* was published, the world was in the middle of a serious economic crisis; credits were frozen and the published banking statistics failed to reflect as accurately as before the underlying movements. This volume continued to publish these figures, but supplemented them by a historical analysis of the trend of events, and the

interaction of a crisis in one country on the position of others.

The commercial banking evolution after 1933 was largely influenced by the monetary and exchange policies adopted to stimulate recovery in different countries. It became increasingly apparent that the changes in commercial banking could be given their true significance only when treated as part of monetary changes in general ; and this fact found expression in the change of the title of this study to *Money and Banking* and its division into two volumes : “ Monetary Review ” and “ Commercial and Central Banks ”.

The “ Monetary Review ” gives each year, not only a general survey of recent monetary history, but also detailed statistical and analytical studies of certain aspects of money and banking which appear to be of current interest or importance. Thus, the volume issued in 1938 contains the following studies — Gold and Exchanges, Banking Policy and Government Finance, the Supply of Money, Status of Central Banks and Commercial Banking Legislation. The choice of subjects will differ in another year, as other topics come into prominence or as information on them is made available. For example, it will no doubt be necessary to devote attention in the future to the enhanced importance of governmental institutions in the financial structure of many countries. The companion volume, “ Commercial and Central Banks ”, gives the accounts of the commercial banks of forty-nine countries recast on a standard form, and in addition the accounts of the central banks of forty-four countries and the accounts of

other important institutions such as savings and mortgage banks, building societies, etc. Explanatory notes are given regarding these statistics, and where important changes have occurred recently, there is also a short summary of the main monetary and banking developments in certain countries.

From the *Statistical Year-Book* and *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, which present figures without comment other than that required for definition, a gradual progression may be noted, marked by the publication of *World Production and Prices*, *Review of World Trade* and the "Monetary Review", from a policy of mere collection and definition to analysis, and from analysis to a description of movements and tendencies. The extreme limit of this progress is shown in the publication since 1932 of the *World Economic Survey*.

The purpose of this *Survey* is to put together, in as simple a form as possible, the results of the various studies carried out by the Economic Intelligence Service, to place them in perspective, to supplement them from other sources and to give a concise account of recent events. It is, in effect, a historical record based upon a scientific analysis of recent economic phenomena.

The volume issued in 1937/38 shows the industrial countries of the world struggling back to prosperity, along with the countries producing raw materials and foodstuffs for their markets. It is then shown how, towards the middle of 1937, there set in the trade recession with which statesmen and economists were so gravely concerned towards the end of that year. The successive collapse in the United States of the stock and

commodity markets, production and employment are described. It is clearly shown that no country can remain unaffected by a trade recession in any other important country. The course of the recession which started in 1937 is traced in the chief industrial countries, beginning with the United States, and passing to other countries rather less affected by the recession but nevertheless involved to a greater or less degree. The whole process of depression, recovery and renewed recession is described in a final chapter in terms of unemployment and wages, production and stocks, prices, money and finance, international trade and balances of payments, and the effect of all these factors is shown on the commercial policies of the nations. These policies are shown as following the rhythm of the cycle, growing more liberal in recovery and more restricted in depression.

Finally, the League published at the end of 1938 its first *Review of National Nutrition Policies*. This volume, issued in virtue of a decision of the Assembly of 1937, again illustrates the important part played by the League in stimulating interest in the topic. It is based upon information furnished by Governments on the progress of nutrition policy in their own countries, and gives, in addition, an account of the annual meeting of representatives of national nutrition committees referred to in the preceding chapter. The first edition records the work of the League on nutrition problems, deals with nutrition surveys and gives the results of these surveys in certain countries, summarises the action taken by Governments to improve nutrition — by education and publicity and other means — and deals

briefly with some of the economic aspects of the problem which have received the attention of Governments.

The regular publications of the League constitute the backbone of its economic and financial information service. From time to time, in addition to these regular publications, special subjects are selected for treatment in pamphlets, memoranda or substantial volumes. Thus, in 1929, a complete collection of the monetary and central banking laws in force in thirty countries was issued, and in 1930 a volume was published dealing with the legislation on gold in different countries ; it was prepared by a delegation specially appointed to study certain aspects of the monetary use of gold.

* * *

In spite of the considerable progress made by the Economic Intelligence Service in improving the quality and quantity of economic statistics, large gaps still exist. The League has made, and is continuing to make, serious efforts to induce Governments and, through them, business and private organisations to make good these defects. The degree to which success may be achieved will naturally depend on the assistance received, not only from Governments, but also from private institutions and private individuals. Through its contribution to the knowledge and to the understanding of events, the League is helping towards their ultimate

control. As a leading British financial journal has put it : “ . . . behind the pages of objective statistics, the economic work of the League comes back to its high subjective purpose . . . to enhance the material welfare of the human race . . . it is pure gain that somewhere in the world the flame of human progress is being sedulously tended.”

Appendix

ORGANISATION OF ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL WORK OF THE LEAGUE

THE ASSEMBLY¹ AND THE COUNCIL² THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ORGANISATION THE SECRETARIAT³

The Economic and Financial Organisation Co-ordination Committee

A. *Standing Technical Committees*

1. The Economic Committee
2. The Financial Committee
3. The Fiscal Committee
4. The Committee of Statistical Experts

B. *Special Committees*

Set up as required by current questions, e.g. :

1. Mixed Committee on Nutrition
2. Delegation on Economic Depressions
3. International Loan Contracts Committee
4. Committee of Experts on the Behaviour of Tax Systems during Depressions
5. Demographic Committee

¹ The Assembly discusses economic and financial questions in its Second Committee on the basis of (1) the annual report by the Secretary-General on the Work of the League, (2) the annual report of the Co-ordination Committee and (3) reports of the other Committees of the Economic and Financial Organisation.

² The Council appoints all Committees, and they report to it in the first instance.

³ The Secretariat is the permanent staff of the League of Nations.

WORLD HEALTH AND THE LEAGUE

GENEVA 1939
INFORMATION SECTION

CONTENTS

	Page
A Move forward	6
Champions of Civilisation	8
What the Health Organisation is	8
The Health Section.....	10
The Singapore Bureau	11
Training Health Officers	13
Malaria Courses	17
Epidemiology	17
Anti-malaria Campaign	18
Technical Assistance to China	19
Special Surveys	21
Housing Enquiries	24
An Ambitious Programme	25
Climatic Problems	29
Questions of Nutrition	32
Rural Hygiene	34
Biological Standardisation	37
A Series of Conferences	39
Acceptance of Standards	41
General Conclusions	43

“To take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.” The Covenant thus put on Members of the League of Nations an obligation which the League’s Health Organisation was designed to discharge. Emerson defined man as “a bundle of relations, a knot of roots, whose flower and fruitage is the world”. Flowers and fruit are, unhappily, exposed to the ravages of disease. Not otherwise is it with man. As he develops relations with his fellow-creatures such dangers increase. Ever-growing command over time and space affords greater facility for the spread of disease.

This is no modern problem, although conditions in the world to-day have accentuated it. Migrations of old carried risks of pestilence and plague. Mass pilgrimages in the East, whether of Moslems to Mecca or Hindus to Hardwar, caravan journeys along the silk road of Central Asia, have offered victims to scourges. Europe learnt from the Crusades that military adventure in a foreign field brought back ills other than broken bodies and bankrupt treasuries. These visitations might at first have been accepted as the inevitable manifestations of an inscrutable wrath, but gradually the science of medicine shook off the trammels of superstition and wizardry. Healing became a recognised function in

service of the individual and the community. Still the world was slow to learn the value of equipment against the onslaughts of disease. Disregarding the quip of Persius, who, in the first century, could exhort his readers to “meet the malady on its way (*veniente occurrite morbo*)”, it is perhaps fair to say that “prevention is better than cure” is a saw of no great antiquity. Indeed — in England, at all events — authority for it goes back no further than the sixteenth century, when an eminent lawyer, John Coke, who, albeit, was not thinking of health, asserted “*praestat cautela quam medela* (precaution is better than cure)”.

A MOVE FORWARD

Pioneers of preventive medicine had to face public indifference and, more seriously, scepticism and hostility within their profession. Until they had breached this rampart of obscurantism and so established in their respective countries a foothold, however precarious, the idea of forming an international front against disease languished. In the early part of the nineteenth century, a discernible move was made. International agreement for the control of diseases spread by travellers by land or sea was tentatively advocated against the spread of cholera and plague. A conference deliberated for some months, but not one of its decisions was ratified by any of the participant Governments. Just over forty years later, in 1893, agreement for the control of epidemic disease was reached by a number of Governments. In 1907, at Rome, an international

congress went further; it supported the creation of an International Public Health Office, which duly came into existence at Paris in 1908, and, operating under a standing committee of fifty-five Governments, has done yeoman service ever since. A notable milestone on the road of social progress, it has given strength to and derived strength from the subsequent formation of the League's Health Organisation. They work in close and cordial co-operation, but each preserves its independent individuality.

Faltering as had been the effort to combine internationally against the spread of disease, the Covenant's precise recognition of the need came as a tonic. The League's Health Organisation, provisionally set up in 1920, was formally established in 1923. Its services were at once in demand for tackling epidemics produced by post-war conditions in certain regions. So it forged ahead with a rapidity previously unknown in the record of international health activities. Vast acceleration of communications further strengthened its authority. Puck's forty-minute girdle round the earth, turned by aerial invention almost into physical fact from Shakespearean fantasy, might be taken as the symbol of this quickening of effort. Countries, hitherto confident in the self-sufficiency of their own standards of health administration, can no longer be unconcerned at the ravages of yellow fever, plague or cholera in distant lands. Those horrors have ceased to be remote and intangible. Swift measures of prevention and mobilisation of international forces to that end are imperative when the hop by air from tropic to tropic can be timed

by hours. Nor is the mere organisation of preventive or protective action sufficient. Knowledge has now to be obtained on a scale which renders international collaboration essential. The world has to be surveyed from China to Peru — not in poetical vision, but in the spirit of the scientific seeker after facts. Expert investigation penetrating the innermost recesses of the earth for material to equip the modern warrior against disease is required.

CHAMPIONS OF CIVILISATION

In truth, the story fascinates like those of mediæval chivalry. It tells of quests such as the tracking down of evil to its lair, the discovery of means to counteract menaces to life and the elucidation of conditions which baulk treatment and healing. Health experts, in the drab attire of laboratory, hospital or office, in the utilitarian simplicity of shorts, jodhpurs or gumboots, where forest, jungle, desert or swamp calls, are not arrayed in shining armour ; yet they are the “ *parfit gentil* ” knights of this breathlessly dangerous age. They champion civilisation against the grimmest of foes. For, “ the health of the people ”, said a Victorian statesman over sixty years ago, “ is really the foundation upon which all their happiness and all their powers as a State depend ”.

WHAT THE HEALTH ORGANISATION IS

This review is designed to show how the Health Organisation functions as the instrument by which the League discharges an accepted obligation for the

international prevention and control of disease. Only passing reference can therefore be made to the activities of the International Office of Public Health or to the International Labour Office's studies of social insurance, housing and industrial hygiene for promotion of the health and welfare of labour, partly in co-operation with the League by the process of joint committee. The League's Health Organisation operates through a Health Committee, a General Advisory Council and a Health Section. The Health Committee comprises some twelve members who are medical specialists or officials in charge of public health services. Drawn from various nations, they do not represent their Governments, but are appointed by virtue of their respective technical qualifications. The Health Committee co-operates with the International Labour Office in activities common to both institutions. It also keeps liaison with the Opium Advisory Committee on questions relating to the Opium Conventions and in study of the treatment of drug addicts and cognate measures. It has taken within its purview problems such as housing, nutrition, physical education, standardisation of health statistics, malaria, sleeping-sickness, tuberculosis, cancer and other vital issues in public health endeavour. Non-political as it is, the Committee — meeting four times a year — is assisted by specialists from States which may or may not be Members of the League. Thus a wider collaboration is secured.

The General Advisory Council, whose functions are entrusted to the Permanent Committee of the International Office of Public Health, discusses questions

referred to it by the Health Committee. In turn, it passes on to that body problems deserving of special study. The Council holds each year an assembly in which States represented on the Permanent Committee of the International Office of Public Health and States Members of the League who do not belong to that Office take part.

THE HEALTH SECTION

The Health Section — the executive of the Health Organisation — is an integral part of the League's Secretariat. It collects all the information required, makes preparations for conferences, arranges study tours, engages in correspondence and publication on health subjects. So it unites in a common bond of international interest all practical health workers throughout the world.

By the establishment of an "Epidemiological Intelligence and Public Health Statistics Service", the Health Organisation ensures the collection of information on the appearance and spread of infectious diseases, publishes statistics relating to births and deaths and arranges the rapid interchange of health knowledge. It has two centres: Geneva and Singapore. The former was started in 1921 with the publication of reports on the health situation in Eastern Europe, with special reference to the then prevalent epidemics of typhus and cholera in Russia and Poland. Eventually its net was cast more widely to include all European countries and all infectious diseases such as dysentery, malaria,

scarlet fever, diphtheria, typhus, typhoid, etc. Its weekly and monthly reports (covering 150 countries and 72% of the world's population) are of the greatest value to public health authorities in all continents. From them derives the annual report on epidemics, which reinforces international control of disease with material for investigating the local and seasonal incidence of named maladies.

THE SINGAPORE BUREAU

The special susceptibility of the Far East to diseases like plague, cholera and malaria prompted, in 1925, the decision to open, under the Advisory Council, an office staffed by representatives of the heads of public services in the various countries of the East. The headquarters of the new office was fixed at Singapore as a port of call for the bulk of the shipping between China, Japan and the Near East, Africa and Europe, and, moreover, possessed of the further advantage of centrality in geographical position.

The Singapore Bureau, as it has come to be known, rapidly established itself in the confidence of health administrations. It is in telegraphic communication with 186 ports, which it notifies week by week of every case of pestilential disease. The information is broadcast daily from Java and repeated once a week by eleven other wireless stations. The few health administrations which have no equipment for receiving the League's radio-telegraphic bulletins, are sent a weekly telegraphic report. In 1932 — to take an example at random — 188 ships were reported to the Bureau as

having infectious disease aboard. By means of the Bureau's service, the port for which each of these vessels was bound was duly notified, so that the necessary precautions could be taken by the health authorities concerned — medical examination and vaccination of passengers and crew and the disinfection of the vessel.

Ships at sea are also put on their guard. From the Bureau they learn by wireless whether the ports for which they are bound are infected, and so, on their own account, due measures of protection can be taken. Outpost of the Health Organisation at the danger-point where epidemics most often arise, the Bureau keeps incessant watch and ward against disease, with the regular assistance of all the Governments of the East, whether Members of the League or otherwise. It receives and analyses the information received for the issue of a weekly summary which is cabled to the Saigon (Indo-China) wireless station for distribution on Fridays all over the Far East. The wireless services in China, India, Malaya, the Netherlands Indies and Madagascar re-broadcast the news to all parts. A further broadcast is given by the League's own Radio-Nations Station, close to Geneva. The whole of the world's transport and administrative services in the vast area affected can thus be truly forearmed. The rapidity with which disease can be spread is governed by the speed of communications by air, sea and land, so a vital means of offensive action against it is provided by the Bureau.

In the thirteen years of its existence, the Bureau has collected a mass of information regarding diseases :

their sources, methods of preventing their spread and measures for ensuring immunity from epidemics. By that achievement alone its creation could be fully vindicated. In fact, however, such capacity for service has it shown that no limit can be set to its eventual importance in the machinery of international health.

TRAINING HEALTH OFFICERS

So the Health Organisation equips humanity to persevere in the fight against disease. Another valuable contribution to that effort is the plan for training officials of various Governments in improved methods of vital and public health statistics. Health administrations are invited to send nominees to Geneva for investigation of the subject. By study tours and the interchange of experience this development has already produced results. For example, in the standardisation of death statistics much progress has been made toward uniform tabulation of mortality figures. The effective comparison of returns has been thereby vastly facilitated. The task is complicated, since it involves the establishment of a joint system of nomenclature for the various diseases, leading to the compilation of an international list of causes of death. The attainment of this goal is within sight.

Individual missions were also started under a system enabling public authorities to obtain for some new post or work an expert designated by the Health Organisation of the League. Such experts were deputed on condition that, in addition to submitting reports to the authorities concerned, they would also provide the Health

Organisation of the League with relevant information. This increased the League's own information resources for the benefit of the international body of health services. So Governments turned to the League for assistance in reorganising or building up their health departments. Chinese medical officers, for instance, were enabled to study in the chief ports of maritime countries with the ultimate object of forming an effective quarantine service in their own. The policy has thus been defined :

To bring the health services of different countries into closer relationship with each other ;

To make comparative studies of the organisation and health legislation in different countries ;

To obtain the co-operation of the public health services for the purpose of obtaining agreement upon a uniform standard of public health and uniform health regulations.

Since this system was inaugurated in 1922, 566 experts have taken part in interchanges and 203 in individual study tours, thus covering health activities all over the world. In this, as in other important developments, the Health Organisation has been generously helped by funds from the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation.

The interchange of public health personnel has usefully and readily established international collaboration. Flexible and adaptable, it primarily succeeded in promoting better relations between the health administrations and then added to its value by facilitating exchange

of experience and information among health officers of different nationalities. Such officers who had studied the work of health services in other countries were able on return to their own lands to introduce improved methods without arousing domestic criticism or hostility, which might have accrued if that guidance had come from outside. Eventually, the system was used to train health officials. Those who were responsible for the direction of an important health service, such as a tuberculosis bureau or a port, were given opportunities to study the methods in use elsewhere. Indeed, this is the only possible method of training for some branches of health work. A port health officer may learn all about infectious diseases in the lecture room and hospital ward, but he cannot carry out his specialised work effectively without having had practical experience in a well organised port health service.

In helping Governments to organise health services or develop special activities, such as anti-malaria operations, the system has been specially effective. Regular field courses of training were arranged for medical officers who had been appointed to direct new or reorganised health services. Altered, adjusted and improved as required by time or circumstances, the system ensures the proper selection of candidates for interchange and care is taken to see that they spend their time on mission to good advantage. On their return home, they have full opportunity to put into practice what they have learned. Moreover, they receive preliminary training in the comparative value of health practices and methods.

The Health Organisation has also found the interchange system helpful in carrying out investigations entrusted to it by the League or Governments. For example, in the study of and report on the relationship between health insurance institutions and the public health services, it was able to give qualified medical officers individual missions in that regard. The information they collected was of great value in preparing conferences. They were also instrumental in effecting changes in the organisation and methods of their own work as the result of experience gained on these missions. Detailed field studies of specific subjects in the Health Organisation's programme of work accrued from the use of this interchange system. In 1936 and 1937, investigations were accordingly carried out on the milk problem and on the working of schools of hygiene in Europe in order to secure increased collaboration between those institutions and the Health Organisation. Comparative studies of health organisation and legislation in different countries have been facilitated. Every interchange is planned with the object of preparing a handbook on the medical and health services of the country to be visited. The reports which participants are required to prepare contribute to the collection of a most valuable series of technical documents. Conferences have produced agreement by different countries on a uniform standard of public health and uniform health regulations — for example, in matters of medical assistance, methods of health organisation, water supplies and sewage disposal, housing and land improvements.

The benefits of study tours are not confined to the participants. The universities in which they teach, the health administrations in which they work, all profit by them. The health administrations of the countries which they visit derive advantages in the stimulation thus afforded to their own health activities. It is also agreed that such visits tend to give the health administrations a moral stimulus in the sense of an enhanced prestige, so that their Governments are more ready to recognise their competence in health administration. A community of interests and outlook and uniformity of standards naturally follow from these interchanges. Nearly all countries have been visited and have sent officials on study tours to forge bonds between the health administrations of the world.

MALARIA COURSES

The International Malaria Courses were created by the Malaria Commission set up by the Health Organisation in 1926 to supply the demand for better trained staff for coping with malaria.

EPIDEMIOLOGY

After the war, the spread of malaria in Eastern Europe attracted attention. A study tour of Russia, Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Roumania and Italy in 1924 was followed by investigations in the countries on the Mediterranean littoral. The programme included special examination of the relationship of river deltas — such as those of the Danube, Ebro and Po — to endemic malaria. Later, a brief survey of malaria was made in the United States of America and in India.

Generally, it may be said that the enquiries revealed diversity of conditions. Malaria control measures successfully applied in one region might fail in another. "Many costly methods have been found to be useless and a discredit to the work of health services in general." So the Health Organisation, through the Malaria Commission, now pursues a twofold aim : to assist health administrations by technical studies of malaria and by training the staff required for the anti-malaria campaign.

ANTI-MALARIA CAMPAIGN

The studies which are being undertaken and co-ordinated by the Commission cover most aspects of the anti-malaria campaign : prevention, campaign against anopheles, etc. It has drawn up a programme of research dealing in particular with the use of anti-malarial drugs, the eradication of malaria by the prophylactic use of drugs, and the application of biological, physical or chemical methods to prevent the breeding of anopheles, the mosquito responsible for the transmission of the disease.

The Commission has sought to discover an anti-malarial therapeutic agent comparable with quinine in efficacy but cheaper in price. As a result of its efforts (1924-1935), it recommended three years ago the use of a preparation with a quinine basis : totaquina. Since that time, chemists have succeeded in perfecting so-called "synthetic remedies", the therapeutic and prophylactic properties of which had to be ascertained.

In 1935 and 1936, therefore, experiments on a wide scale were arranged for the purpose of comparing these products with quinine. These experiments were carried out in Algeria, the Federated Malay States, Italy, Roumania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The results obtained were submitted to the members of the Commission and have since been incorporated in a comprehensive report.

An international conference on quinine with the object of reconciling the often divergent views of producers and consumers is projected. It is expected to make comparisons between requirements in various therapeutical agents and the present position regarding their production, between the cost of production and market prices, methods of distribution and the cost of a plan of co-ordinating treatment and prevention according to the remedies employed. Knowledge of malaria epidemics and their causes is still far from complete. For that reason, the Health Organisation of the League has called the attention of all countries where such periodical calamities may arise to the necessity of undertaking research work, not only during epidemics, but especially before they have broken out. The League's assistance to health administrations in the training of technical staff is extended by the organisation of international courses of malariology, such as have been taking place in Europe and in Singapore.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO CHINA

Of the direct assistance afforded by the League's Health Organisation to Governments, a notable example

is afforded by the relations of the League with China over a period of ten years. At the request of the Chinese Government, the League, in the first place, supplied technical advice and active support in the health reconstruction of China, the creation of a central nucleus of medical and public health institutions, the reorganisation and reinforcement of the quarantine service, vaccination campaigns against cholera and smallpox, the organisation of medical education, etc. In addition, several experts of the Health Organisation have studied certain special problems such as endemic malarial conditions in the Yangtse valley; but special prominence should be given to the systematic study of public health conditions carried out by an experienced health officer in more than eighteen Chinese provinces.

All this work has been methodically planned and executed. The Health Organisation has, moreover, always been represented at Nanking by a Technical Adviser attached to the central authorities and responsible for the work as a whole.

In 1937, the Chinese Government asked for collaboration in the campaign against epidemics. In view of the possibility that epidemic diseases might spread, not only in Chinese territory, but also across the land and sea frontiers, the Health Committee drew up a technical scheme to strengthen the resources at the disposal of the Chinese authorities. Three anti-epidemic missions were therefore formed, and placed under the direction of prominent technical specialists. The missions include both Chinese and foreign staff. Their organisation is sufficiently flexible and their mobility

sufficiently great to meet all emergencies. They had large stocks of medical and sanitary stores, both for their own needs and those of the Chinese authorities themselves. Under conditions of great difficulty, they have already had to combat outbreaks of plague, typhus fever, smallpox, cholera and dysentery.

The Chinese Government also appealed to the Health Organisation in 1938 for a considerable supply of anti-cholera vaccine. Thanks to the disinterested support given to the Organisation by institutes and laboratories all over the world, it was possible to arrange for the free supply of more than eight million doses of vaccine — and there were yet further offers, in fact, greatly in excess of demand.

The League's further collaboration with the Chinese health authorities in epidemiological work has just been vouchsafed in the decision to depute Dr. Melville D. Mackenzie as the Secretary-General's representative to discuss with the Chinese Government and with the Epidemic Commission the lines on which the work should be continued.

SPECIAL SURVEYS

In combating the spread of disease, the Health Organisation preserves its freedom of initiative. It does not necessarily wait until it is approached for action. It studies technical methods of prevention and treatment for the benefit of public health administrations. Four years ago, for example, it published a report on the

treatment of syphilis. It has rendered signal service to malaria-ridden countries by perfecting from quinine substitutes a remedy which has the advantage of being much cheaper than quinine. So many public health administrations which would otherwise be prevented by financial considerations from organising quinine treatment on a sufficiently large scale derive direct benefits from this discovery. Investigation of the effects of the treatment of cancer by radium and X-rays has been initiated by the Health Organisation. The clinics and hospitals which are taking part in it forward statistics each year, and these are analysed by the Committee and embodied in an annual report. The aim is primarily to obtain a uniform presentation of the results achieved in statistical form, so that conclusions regarding the comparative value of various methods of treatment can be accurately drawn.

The League's health experts have studied the smallpox problem and, in particular, have reported on the preparation of vaccine lymph. A Commission, under the auspices of the Health Organisation, has reported on the prophylaxis of leprosy and the methods of prevention in use, particularly in Latin America. A preliminary study of schistosomiasis has been carried out by the Health Organisation at the request of the Egyptian authorities. This disease is very widespread in the Near East, in Asia, Africa and certain regions of Central and South America. The study has produced a programme of work to define the possible action by organs of the League in regard to that disease.

By contacts with movements for promoting physical

fitness, social hygiene, scientific house-planning and the like, the Health Organisation has endeavoured to establish fundamental principles for development of the health and well-being of humanity. A group of experts was recently invited by the Organisation to investigate the effects of physical exercise on the physiological functions at all ages. The enquiry was further designed to report on the characteristics of athletic types in different countries and on the relation of intellectual to physical development. Information was collected on the nature of physical exercises, the methods of training and the types of sport prevailing in various countries, according to sex and age, and the number of hours devoted to physical education at different stages. The resultant report recommended that physical education should be made interesting for those taking part in it and should be considered with the problem of nutrition. The aim should be not to develop champions but to benefit the whole community. Routine physical exercises should be taken in moderation so as to bring about a sense of well-being. Medical supervision was desirable and no one should engage in strenuous training and competitive exercises without a medical examination — a precaution specially important for adolescents and those over 30 years of age. Strenuous competitions between subjects of widely different categories — particularly children and adults — should be avoided. Physical exercises should be spread over the week and not concentrated on one day. Severe exercise should be avoided both shortly before, and for two hours after, meals. Two of the best periods for physical education

lessons (or physical exercises) are in the middle of the morning and two or three hours after the midday meal.

This summary of the experts' findings gives an indication of the value of the work thus undertaken at the direct instigation of the Health Organisation. Most modern Governments are devoting special attention to physical training, and access to this pooling of expert opinion on the subject must be highly serviceable to them. Mistakes can be corrected, misapprehensions removed and dangers avoided by bringing national physical programmes into line with the recommendations of the report.

HOUSING ENQUIRIES

Investigation of the relation of economic depression to public health led the Health Organisation to the formation of a Special Housing Commission in 1934, with the object of collecting all the available documentary material for defining the problem, ascertaining proposed solutions and preparing an appropriate plan of studies. Information which included reports on housing conditions in Czecho-Slovakia, England and Wales, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland and Sweden was pooled for the disposal of enquirers. The plan of studies eventually approved is practical in its aim but based on scientific and technical conclusions. It seeks to define health principles for urban and rural housing, to lay down sound methods of national urban and rural planning, and to place the accruing experience at the service of administrations and legislatures. The Housing

Commission, in short, endeavours to arrive at the definition of healthy town or village planning with due regard to climatic, social and regional conditions in each area. This covers a wide field. It involves the examination of all kinds of hygienic problems. Temperature, fresh air, exposure to the sun (beneficent or otherwise), lighting (natural or artificial), provision of open spaces, water supply, sewage disposal, noise-control, smoke abatement — those and many other questions must be considered in studying health conditions in town and country.

AN AMBITIOUS PROGRAMME

Several Governments have set up national committees for co-ordinating the work demanded by this ambitious programme. This step has been prompted by recognition of the need to establish team-work between health and other technical experts, such as engineers, architects and town-planners, who have studied housing hygiene. The methods of building and arranging dwellings have developed in variety. Although, technically, they may be considered as a step forward and an improvement, it by no means follows that they are an improvement from a health point of view. The purpose of housing is to ensure the comfort, the preservation and increase of physical and mental fitness and consequently the health of the occupants.

This necessarily impels the concentration of research work and of the technical efforts of experts on improvement of the conditions in which the occupants live.

By the establishment of national committees, a real effort has been made to secure the practical application of common principles in co-ordinating various technical and health activities and facilitating the discovery and comparison of new methods and solutions. These committees also offer the best opportunities for establishing international co-operation on rational lines. Representatives of the committees serve as members of the Housing Commission of the League Health Organisation, so each committee is in a good position to use and disseminate the information derived from an international survey. Documentary material and the findings of each national committee are regularly sent to the Health Section of the League Secretariat, which acts, therefore, as a clearing-house of information on the entire housing problem. Measures taken by one country to improve housing conditions are not necessarily practicable in another, but the adaptation of accepted principles to the local needs and conditions of each country is facilitated by the knowledge acquired through the national committees' survey of the Housing Commission. On this account, the Commission has always insisted on the importance to each country of having its own national housing committee, with consequent representation on the Housing Commission.

In the examination of this housing question, the International Labour Organisation is directly concerned, and it devotes special attention to the social aspects of housing, and to Government policy in the provision of working-class dwellings. It is always represented at meetings of the Housing Commission, so that both

it and the Health Organisation have been making co-ordinated studies of the housing question. The material collected shows how important is this issue on economic, financial and health grounds, and, of course, it has considerable bearing on the solution of social problems.

The Housing Commission's three-year plan of studies includes examination of hygienic conditions of housing and the possibility of controlling noise as well as the important factor of the provision of light and air. Noise in this modern world is a subject which, perhaps, may be described as more likely to invite a comradeship in protest than any other. Sensitiveness to noise is, of course, a variable quantity. The development of a mechanised civilisation has brought the problem much to the fore in urban areas. Yet there is a link between the inhabitant of the jungle and the sophisticated resident in a ferro-concrete city. The howl of the jackal, the beating of the tom-tom may be just as irritating to the simple backwoodsman as the raucousness of the next-door neighbour's radio in a twenty-story apartment building. The modern town-dweller, through his representatives in the civic administration, has taken steps to mitigate the asperities of noise of motor traffic or the occasional nightmare of road construction. So examination of this problem can cover an enormous field. The advance in the methods of house construction has not been matched by success in creating sound-proof materials. A rough-and-ready principle has been accepted by the Housing Commission in defining noise as the product of sounds disturbing on account of

loudness or harshness. This, of course, might equally apply to the persistent performance on the motor horn, the piercing shrillness of the factory siren, the creaking of the water wheel in the Indian village or the monotonous thud of the hawker in the Chinese city. As a rule, however, examination of this noise question has found most attention in respect of the troubles of town-dwellers. Some countries, for example, have prescribed standards of noise beyond which they consider residents should not go in houses, flats and other dwellings. Noises made by traffic, by industry and even by the individual have been taken into account in drawing up these standards, and measures have been adopted with the object of ensuring relative quietness in the neighbourhoods affected. In thus planning for the elimination of noise, account has to be taken of technique, the interior construction of houses, town-planning, legislation and education.

The purely scientific study of the causes underlying the origin and propagation of noise in dwellings has made good progress. The Housing Commission's object is to define if possible the practical measures that may be taken to safeguard the individual, the family and the community against the nuisance and harmful effects of noise. In the public interest, health authorities, scientists, architects and engineers should face problems of noise without delay, and technical instruction should be provided for those who are and will be responsible for safeguarding the amenities of home life, and of residential areas.

CLIMATIC PROBLEMS

Turning now to hygienic conditions of housing, which are all-important from the public health point of view, the Housing Commission points out that one of the primary objects of housing is to protect the individual from climatic discomforts — especially heat and cold. A dwelling which provides this protection must be such as to permit the maintenance of equality between the production and loss of heat from the human body — among these may be mentioned the humidity of the air, the movement of the air, the quality of the air, and heating appliances, and efforts are being made to combine all these into one single factor. It has been found impossible to establish a uniform standard applicable to every country, for racial, climatic, seasonal and other factors tend to complicate the issue. Moreover, just as noise varies according to the individual sensitiveness, so the feeling of comfort has its different forms of reaction. For example, British authorities favour a lower range of temperature in the interior of the house than do Americans. French hygienists are inclined to prevent any air movement at all in the immediate vicinity of the individual, whereas British and Americans are in agreement that air movement is essential and have carried their agreement to the point of prescribing the minimum desirable. The importance of air-conditioning is emphasised by the Health Organisation, but the dangers of exaggeration and standardisation are not overlooked. Through the work of the Housing

Commission, the engineer of to-day has a wide choice of systems of cooling, heating, ventilation and air-conditioning. Economic and physiological needs have to be taken into account, for the determining factor is the individual and the purpose is solely that of ensuring his comfort, physical and mental fitness and good health. The study therefore resolves itself into an attempt to find the best rules for house building, town planning and other comparable activities with the object of improving and maintaining public health. Technicians differ widely and there is all the more reason, therefore, to encourage the Health Organisation in the provision of the most extensive expert knowledge so that public demands may be wisely and efficiently met.

Pertinent to this effort on behalf of public health is the interest increasingly taken in questions of lighting, whether artificial or natural. The modern town has been seriously criticised because it deprives its citizens of the requisite amount of sun, light and air which hygienists declare to be essential to health and physical and mental fitness. The architect and the town planner are therefore called upon to make proper allowance for such requirements. Moreover, the rapidly developed sense of the importance of physical education has greatly stimulated the public everywhere to an appreciation of the need for sun and light. The solution of this problem obviously demands the closest co-operation between specialists of various kinds. Health experts are called upon to define human requirements in the matter of sun and light, and responsibility for providing the necessary conditions rests on the shoulders of the

builders, engineers and town planners. To this symposium, the contributions of experts on physics and climate are essential. A sub-committee of experts under the auspices of the Housing Commission has recently examined this problem of natural and artificial lighting and scientifically examined its bearing on housing and town planning. The results of research work are declared to provide a reliable basis for the work of the engineers, architects and town planners. Designs and schemes have been adopted in various countries to bring sun and light to city dwellers hitherto deprived of them. The work cannot fail to have a beneficial effect on the physical and psychological condition of the populations concerned.

Such efforts, however, have to be continued if a general solution is to be found for what is regarded as one of the most important social problems of the day. Further research work is essential to fill gaps in knowledge and an exchange of information is prescribed. The co-operation of universities, schools of hygiene, technical schools and the various professional groups concerned is specially recommended. Much progress has been made with the study of the effects of radiation from the sun. Even now, it is not possible accurately to define the quantity and quality of solar radiation necessary for perfect health. Although information is available on the amount of ultra-violet radiation capable of preventing and curing rickets in children, the requirements of that radiation for other purposes have not been fully ascertained. It is accepted, however, that sunlight has a definitely beneficial effect on health, and that permits

the prescription of a certain amount of such light for every room in a modern dwelling. But, here again, climatic conditions impel certain variations of practice. To take an extreme example, the dweller in the tropics, so far from encouraging the entry of sunlight into his house, takes vigorous measures to prevent it. So the experts have found that, in tropical countries, the individual requires protection against an excess of thermal radiation from the sun, although in cold climates he should be enabled to secure the greatest possible amount of radiation from both the sun and the sky. In temperate climates, prevailing practice may combine both methods — that is to say, exclusion during certain periods of the summer and full encouragement of it in the winter. The study of this particular aspect of the lighting problem is, however, still in its infancy, for, even in the tropics, certain medical experts have shown that sun-bathing may be definitely beneficial, despite the fact that protection against the sun is the usual tendency in such regions.

QUESTIONS OF NUTRITION

The Health Organisations' studies on nutrition are more advanced ; the exploratory stage initiated in 1925 resulted in a report which defined the rôle of nutrition in public health and furnished health administrations with exact information on the nutritional policy adopted in certain countries.

On this basis, in 1935 and 1936 a Commission of Physiologists defined the physiological bases of nutrition

— that is to say, the elements which must form part of a normal diet in order to ensure the development and maintenance at its best of the bodily organism.

In order to carry out the studies asked for by the Commission of Physiologists, different countries appointed national committees comprising individuals and institutions interested in any way in health and nutrition.

The Health Organisation's Technical Commission has carried out an important programme of studies which is gradually throwing light on the essential rôle of the various nutritional elements in the development and maintenance of the human organism and on the actual conditions existing with regard to nutrition in urban and rural districts. Full details of the minimum human requirements of protective foods have, for example, been ascertained, and certain hitherto obscure aspects of nutritional science have been elucidated. The co-ordination of nutritional work in the Far East and liaison with the Technical Commission are being developed and considerable attention has been paid to methods of assessing the state of nutrition in infants and adolescents. A textbook has been adopted for the conduct of dietary surveys of the actual consumption of foodstuffs and the state of nutrition of the populations among which investigations are to be carried out. On the basis of this textbook, the organisation of concerted enquiries has been contemplated. Much of the progress made in the study of nutrition is due to the creation of national committees, which are represented on the Health Organisation.

RURAL HYGIENE

The progress recently made in preventive medicine and sanitary engineering, which has taken place step by step with the development of industry, has, as a rule, been applied to the advantage of town populations, while rural populations have been more or less neglected. For this reason, the triennial programme adopted by the Health Committee, in 1937, gave an important place to rural hygiene.

With the help of the European schools and institutes of hygiene, the Committee has undertaken and completed technical studies on the main problems connected with health and social services in the countryside — “health centres”, medical and social care, health services, sanitation and environmental hygiene, nutrition, housing, etc.

Efforts to improve the public health of rural populations are fruitless if the general conditions of life of those populations are unsatisfactory. The Health Organisation has arranged for collaboration with the International Labour Office and the competent services of the League of Nations Secretariat, so that the close connection between health, social and economic factors may receive full recognition.

A very successful exhibition was arranged as part of the International Exhibition of Arts and Technique in Modern Life at Paris. Thanks to the help of the French Government, an attractive pavilion was erected near the “Rural Centre;” thirteen countries there demonstrated the solutions they have reached in

connection with the hygiene of housing and of rural life ; the Public Health Institute at Rome and the International Association of Co-operative Societies also took part in the Exhibition. A special room was assigned to the work of the League on rural hygiene.

A Far Eastern Conference on Rural Hygiene was arranged by the Health Organisation and duly took place at Bandoeng (Java), on the invitation of the Netherlands Government, in 1937.

The recommendations made by this Conference related chiefly to medical and health services ; it proposed that Governments should select certain areas in which to study the various factors affecting public health. Rural reconstruction, sanitation and sanitary engineering were also considered by the Conference ; it recommended that a study of the fly should be made in order that campaigns might be waged against that insect, which is responsible for so much harm in Eastern countries.

The chief reasons for inadequate nutrition in any community are poverty and ignorance ; to what extent can the conclusions arrived at in European countries and North America be applied to Far Eastern populations? The Conference dwelt on the necessity for thorough investigation of the question of nutrition, and hoped that the interested Governments would inform the Health Organisation of the League of their institutions which would co-operate in such enquiries and investigations.

Plague, tuberculosis and pneumonia also received the attention of the Conference. It found particular need

for the perfection of knowledge concerning the spread of these diseases and their treatment and prevention. Discussion of malaria, apart from the usual questions of prevention, also covered the present production of anti-malarial medicaments in relation to world requirements, their market price, the cost of a campaign of treatment and prevention by the administration of drugs and methods of distribution.

The Health Organisation has endeavoured to associate institutes and schools of hygiene in the study of health conditions and medico-social conditions in the country. As the result, therefore, of a meeting held in 1931 on the occasion of the European Conference on Rural Hygiene, the heads of ten of these institutions took the matter up and chose from among the subjects proposed those which they considered might most profitably be studied, both from the national and from the educational points of view.

The meeting of the Directors of Institutions in November 1937 established a programme of investigations which should be begun or continued in connection with tuberculosis, typhoid, brucellosis and nutrition. This plan of studies was to be co-ordinated by the use of collections of "health indices".

The use of health indices, which were the object of special consideration by the Conference, makes it possible to assess the state of health of populations, taking into account their sanitary and social environment, and to make useful comparisons over a period of years both for the same country and, to a certain extent, for different countries.

This work forms an important part of the preparatory material for the forthcoming European Conference on Rural Life, the chief object of which is the study and improvement of rural hygiene.

BIOLOGICAL STANDARDISATION

Special mention should be made of international biological standardisation. This also is a permanent activity of the Health Organisation, conducted on methodical and consistent lines, with the object of establishing uniform standards and units for the assay of sera, glandular preparations, vitamins and other remedies, the activity of which can only be estimated by biological methods. It can only be carried through by international collaboration, and its importance has been universally recognised by experts. In this field, nothing short of international anarchy has hitherto prevailed. Medical practitioners could not use foreign biological materials with confidence while being ignorant of their actual potency. This work is far from complete, for many biological preparations have still to be standardised, and, so long as new products continue to be devised, the end will not be in sight.

By "biological standardisation" is meant the assay, in relation to a single stable standard preparation, of substances whose specific activity can only be estimated by comparative tests on laboratory animals.

The activity of the standard preparation is not always appraised by biological methods; for certain vitamins and hormones, for instance, it has already been found

possible to take the active substance in chemically pure form as the standard, and to define this by its physical and chemical constants. If titration relatively to such a standard is still effected by biological means, the reason is that preparations issued for therapeutic use do not usually contain the active substance in its pure form and are frequently mixtures; so long as these conditions prevail, any method of assay other than the biological will accordingly be unpracticable. As soon, however, as the action of such preparations can be measured by physical or chemical processes, it is clear that the biological method must be discarded.

But to have a standard preparation is not enough; its action must also be measurable and expressible in terms of a unit of activity, the latter being defined as an arbitrarily selected volume or weight of the standard preparation.

Experience — and war-time experience in particular — has shown the difficulties in which physicians, public health services and manufacturers alike are involved through the existence of a variety of different units expressing the potency of one and the same drug.

The physician, confronted with a number of preparations from various sources, must choose. Being anxious to make his treatment effective, he will select the most potent. How is he to recognise it, however, if the drugs have all been titrated on a different basis? How can he compare the therapeutic results he achieves with those reported by a foreign colleague if there is no common measure for substances used on different sides of a frontier? Finally — an even more serious

consideration — many deaths could have been averted if the sera used during the war had been assayed in relation to a single standard. Doctors would not have been betrayed by the unitage given on foreign ampoules into injecting quantities of serum which they had good reason to regard as sufficient, but which were in fact inadequate, since the assay had been effected in terms of a unit of lesser potency than that to which they were accustomed.

It is the duty of the public health departments responsible for the control of medical remedies to reject ruthlessly all preparations of inadequate therapeutic value, whether they be of local or of foreign origin. In this work, uniformity of titration will be of valuable assistance to them.

Manufacturers who do not supply the home market alone but intend to export have to take account of the conditions which each country lays down for the import of drugs. Now, if all countries adopted the same unit, matters would be greatly facilitated for the producing firms, who would be relieved of the trouble of adjusting their assays to national units.

A SERIES OF CONFERENCES

The decision to have the question of biological standardisation internationally studied was taken by the League Health Committee in 1921. From that date onwards, there has been held a series of conferences.

In 1924, the Health Committee decided, in order to secure continuity of work, to set up a Permanent

Commission on Biological Standardisation, which has held several sessions. Up to 1934, it consisted only of six regular members and one associate member for the study of veterinary questions, but the Health Committee has now reorganised it on a wider basis.

The Commission's method of work is founded entirely on international co-operation. When the state of knowledge concerning a given substance seems to warrant an attempt at standardisation, the Commission entrusts the conduct of the preliminary work to a certain number of official and private laboratories having special experience of this branch of research, the experimental results being co-ordinated at the State Serum Institute, Copenhagen, for serological questions and at the National Institute for Medical Research, Hampstead, London, for other cases. As soon as the material thus collected gives ground for defining the solution of any particular problem, the experts concerned are convened in a conference and remaining divergences of opinion are smoothed out. The Commission then makes recommendations which are submitted to the Health Committee of the League for approval. At the Intergovernmental Conference on Biological Standardisation held in 1934, the hope was expressed that the use of international standards adopted by the Permanent Commission on Biological Standardisation would be made effective by all countries and that each country should have a national centre to take charge of international standards and equivalent national standards. Such a centre should be equipped with a qualified staff to control the application of standards of its own country. There are now

thirty-nine countries which have accepted the international standards and thirty national centres in accordance with the recommendations of the Conference have been established, thus proving the appreciation of the Health Organisation's vigorous efforts in this important field of international collaboration.

ACCEPTANCE OF STANDARDS

It is accordingly the business of the Biological Standardisation Commission, first, to establish standard preparations and, secondly, to select units to express their potency. This done, there remains to secure the acceptance of such standards and units for international use. Two cases may occur ; either one or several standards and units are already in use for the substance to be standardised. In this case, some caution is required in order to avoid coming into conflict with the official regulations and alienating the medical profession, which may be accustomed to prescribe a given serum in doses of, say, 500 units, or insulin titrated in rabbit units. Some compromise must be arrived at which will satisfy both these requirements and will consist either in adopting an intermediate value between the extremes of the units in use or in determining a ratio of potency as between the international standard and a national standard which some country may be anxious to keep.

Now the field is clear, and the Commission can propose the standard preparation and unit which seem to it best suited for international requirements.

From the establishment of a standard and the selection of the unit to the adoption of a standard method of assay there was but a step; nevertheless, in most cases, the Commission refused, on principle, to take it, arguing that methods are liable to modification and improvement according to the indications furnished by research and that it is therefore the standard which should be immutable, whilst the method may vary.

Moreover, to attempt to impose some particular method — which will never be perfectly accurate, since it is based on biological processes — is to restrict research. Now it is important to leave full freedom to research workers who endeavour to improve existing methods of assay or devise new ones. This is why, whenever several methods might be used, the Commission has merely mentioned them though it has specified which one appeared to have given the best results.

There is another principle already current in serology, though it had not yet been generally recognised in other branches, by which the Commission has been guided throughout — namely, that the potency of a preparation must not be judged in relation to biological action in a given animal, but compared with that of a specified weight of a standard preparation. Indeed, any attempt to define a unit through the reaction induced in the animal would merely tend to perpetuate certain ideas which it is desired to eliminate, such as that of the “physiological” unit or “clinical” unit, the effect of which is difficult to appraise, and which are liable to vary, not only from one animal species to another, but even in one of the same species.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

By outlining the machinery of the League's Health Organisation and elaborating certain important aspects of its various activities, an endeavour has been made to expound the international significance of its task. The steady work of nearly twenty years has gone to create a strong network of effort to assist humanity in improving the conditions of nearly every phase of its daily life. The fight against disease, the development of knowledge of the factors which make for physical and mental fitness, have welded a strong body of scientific and lay opinion in a real collaboration and enthusiastic comradeship. The call is not merely to expose and remedy the defects arising from primitive modes of life, but also to provide advanced modernity with the means to guard itself against the new perils of its conquest in the air, on land and overseas. Here the Health Organisation, as the indispensable handmaid to international progress, justifies a firm belief in its mission, now and in the future.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

GOVERNMENT PRESS SERVICES

PRACTICAL INFORMATION

*published in response to requests from the
Conferences of Government Press Bureaux
and of Press Representatives held at
Copenhagen in 1932 and at Madrid
in 1933*

GENEVA 1935
INFORMATION SECTION

NOTE.

In accordance with a request made to it by the Second Conference of Official Press Bureaux and Press Representatives which met at Madrid in 1933, the Information Section applied to all such Bureaux represented either at the Madrid Conference or at that held at Copenhagen in 1932 asking them to be good enough to supply the details necessary for preparing the present handbook. Additional information has also been furnished by certain other Press Bureaux.

The Section will be very glad to receive any suggestions for the completion or improvement of the work. It will also be grateful if Press Bureaux would be good enough to notify it of the alterations that should be made in that part of the volume which relates to them, whenever changes occur in their staff or organisation.

CONTENTS.

	Page
Preface	5
1. Albania.....	9
2. Argentine Republic	10
3. Australia	11
4. Austria	12
5. Belgium	14
6. Bolivia	15
7. United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	17
8. Canada	18
9. Czechoslovakia	19
10. Denmark	21
11. Estonia	23
12. Finland.....	24
13. France	25
14. Greece.....	26
15. Guatemala	28
16. Hungary.....	29
17. Irish Free State	31
18. Japan	32
19. Mexico	33
20. Netherlands	35
21. Norway	36
22. Poland	37
23. Portugal	38
24. Roumania	39
25. Spain	41
26. Sweden	42
27. Turkey	44
28. United States of America	45

PREFACE.

This handbook owes its origin to a desire expressed at the Conference of Press Experts convened by the League of Nations at Geneva in 1927, and repeated with greater insistence at the Conferences of Governmental Press Bureaux and Representatives of the Press held at Copenhagen in 1932 and Madrid in 1933, to the effect that relations between the Press and Governmental Press Bureaux should be facilitated in every possible way.

The 1927 Conference, in the preamble to its final report, declared, *inter alia*, that journalists must "have every facility in . . . securing news. . . ."

Under the heading "Facilities for Enquiry afforded to Foreign Journalists", this Conference also adopted a resolution in which it expressed the wish that "foreign journalists should be able to . . . obtain from the official Press Bureaux or from the local authorities concerned the same facilities as those accorded to their national journalists".

During the Copenhagen Conference summoned by the Danish Government in January 1932, the same views were more clearly expressed.

At this latter Conference, which dealt, in particular, with the problem of inaccurate news, the dissemination of which may disturb the maintenance of peace and the good understanding between peoples, the heads of official Press Bureaux emphasised that the campaign against the dissemination of such news is one of the necessities of international life. They declared that :

"One of the most effective means of combating inaccurate information is the rapid spread of accurate and abundant news through the agency of the Press Bureaux. Should such news not be forthcoming, there is the risk that the Press may show a tendency to seek its supply from other and less well-informed sources and to accept, without verifying them, statements which are often inaccurate and sometimes tendentious. It seems undeniable that free, prompt and abundant information is one of the most active remedies against

inaccurate reports. In offering the international Press accurate and abundant information, the Press Bureaux express the hope that this will be made use of by journalists to the fullest possible extent."

The Press representatives, for their part, declared " that the international Press, while maintaining its integral right to a fully justified liberty, intends to play its part as distributor of information by propagating only news which, in good faith, it regards as accurate and truthful, . . ." and requested the Directors of the official Press Bureaux to transmit to their Governments, with a favourable opinion, the following recommendations of the Press representatives :

" (a) Closer co-operation should be established between official Press Bureaux and the accredited representatives of the international Press;

" (b) Such representatives should, in particular, be able, whenever necessary, to have easy access to the official Press Bureaux and to obtain as complete and prompt information as possible; accordingly, wherever necessary, the official Press Bureaux should be adequately organised;

" (c) The accredited representatives should be treated on an equal footing, both as regards the communication of information and the telegraphic or other transmission of their news;

" (d) "

At the end of the Copenhagen Conference, of which I had the honour to be President, Brigadier-General Stuart M. ANDERSON, Director of the Exchange Telegraph Company, Limited, of London, said to me when we were parting that it would be of great value if personal contact could be maintained between the members of the Conference. He also pointed out how desirable it was that each Press representative should be able to obtain confirmation, in writing, by telephone or by telegram, from official Press Bureaux, of news reaching him from abroad which may require confirmation or completion before it is published.

On thinking over this suggestion, which seemed to me valuable, I asked myself whether it would not be well that the Press should have at its disposal for this purpose a practical handbook of information in regard to the organisation of official Press Bureaux.

With this in view, I had the honour to submit to my colleagues, the Directors of official Press Bureaux, at the Conference of these Bureaux and of Press representatives convened at Madrid by the Spanish Government in November 1933—and afterwards to that Conference itself—a proposal, which was unanimously adopted, to the effect that a certain amount of

practical information as to official Press services should be collected for the use of Press representatives.

The Information Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, which had undertaken the secretarial duties at these two Conferences, was asked to collect this information, and the Secretary-General of the League has now authorised it to be published in the form of a handbook.

The result is the present publication. I sincerely hope that it will fulfil the purpose for which it was designed and published, and be of assistance to the Press in its search for accurate information.

A. POULSEN,
*Director of the Press Bureau of the Danish
Foreign Ministry.*

1. ALBANIA.

Directorate of the Press Bureau.

Ministry of the Interior.

Tirana (Albania).

Telegraphic address : Bureau de Presse, Tirana (Albania).

Director : M. Mihal SHERKO.

Assistant : M. Halil MAÇI.

The offices of the Press Directorate are open at the following hours :

February to April	8.30-12	14-17
May to June	8-12	15.30-18.30
August to October	8-12	15-18
November to January	8.30-12	14-17

The Albanian Press Bureau has no night service and no part-time service on holidays.

There is no international telephone service.

The Albanian Press Bureau has the following representatives :

At Vienna M. Léo Alexander FREUNDLICH,
Kohlmarkt 5.

At Paris..... Comte de MONTALE,
9, rue du Conseiller-Colignon.

At Copenhagen.. M. Paul ERNST,
Gaxegade 10, 81.

The only publication issued by the Press Bureau is a *Bulletin of Foreign News*, for the use of the local Press.

2. ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

Oficina de Prensa de la Presidencia de la Nación.

Casa de Gobierno.

Buenos Aires.

Telephone : Avenida 6061. Union Telefónica.

Telegraphic address : Prensa Presidencia.

**Head of the Press Bureau : Consul-General Edmundo T.
CALCANO.**

The Press Bureau is open from 8 a.m. to 8.30 p.m. without a break. It is not open on holidays, but on holidays and during the night, except in exceptional cases, the head of the Press Bureau can be reached at his private house : Calle Victoria, 820; telephone : Mayo 5833.

The Press Bureau publishes memoranda and special articles, which are distributed to the principal local papers.

At the present moment, its chief task is the preparation of a Year-Book of the Argentine Press, which will be issued early in 1935.

The Press Bureau looks after the interests of foreign journalists on special mission and demands that special facilities should be granted them in order to enable them to carry out their duties.

3. AUSTRALIA.

Publicity Officer.

Prime Minister's Department,
Canberra (Australia).

Director : Mr. Irvine DOUGLAS,
Canberra.

For Europe :

Mr. R. MAXWELL,
Intelligence Officer,
Australia House,
Strand, London, W.C.1,

is responsible for the issue of information to the Press.

The Intelligence Branch is open daily from 9.30 a.m. to 5 p.m. (12.30 on Saturdays).

The telephone number is : Temple Bar 1567, and Mr. Maxwell's private number is Arnold 1871.

4. AUSTRIA.

**Federal Press Bureau at the Austrian Federal Chancel-
lory.**

Vienna I., Ballhausplatz 2.

Telephone : U. 24-5-20.

Telegraphic address : Bundespressdienst, Vienna.

**Director : M. Eduard LUDWIG, Envoy Extraordinary and
Minister Plenipotentiary.**

Assistants : Dr. Ludwig KLEINWAECHTER, Consul-General.

M. Alfred SCHMID, Counsellor of Legation.

Dr. Berthold HAERDTL, Ministerial Commissioner.

Dr. Egon HILBERT, Commissioner.

The Bureau is open continuously from 9 a.m. to 11 p.m.

The Press Bureau has attachés at the following Austrian Legations :

Berlin Dr. Benjamin SCHIER, Ministerial Commis-
sioner.

Paris..... Dr. Erwin WASSERBAECK, Counsellor of
Legation.

Rome Dr. Kurt FRIEBERGER, Ministerial Coun-
sellor.

London Count Hans HUYN.

In most other capitals, the representatives of the Austrian Telegraphic Agency (Amtliche Nachrichtenstelle) also fulfil the duties of Press attachés, but without the title.

The Federal Press Bureau publishes a Year-Book in German entitled *Osterreichisches Jahrbuch*, and also Year-Books in English and French from time to time.

These publications are available to all concerned.

The Press Bureau organises an information service at all the Austrian legations and, where necessary, sends Press attachés to Austrian delegations to international conferences.

The Press Bureau keeps in touch with foreign Press correspondents in Vienna by means of Press conferences and daily telephonic or oral communications. It also supplies the Austrian Press with information on economic and political matters.

The Press Bureau requests the general Directorate of the Federal Railways to grant a 50% reduction in their rates to duly accredited foreign journalists. It also requests the Federal Theatre Directorate to grant them reduced prices at the Opera and the Burgtheater in Vienna. In both cases, the Press Bureau only acts as an intermediary; but its requests are generally granted.

5. BELGIUM.

Service de Presse du Ministère des Affaires étrangères.

8, rue de la Loi, Brussels.

Telephone : 12.10.26.

Telegraphic address : Belext Brussels Service Presse.

Director : M. Alphonse Ooms.

Assistant : M. A. HARDI.

The Bureau is open from 9 a.m. to 12 p.m. and from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. No special arrangements have been made for a night service, nor for a reduced service on holidays, but the officials of the Bureau can be reached at their private addresses, as follows :

M. Alphonse Ooms, 18, rue Le-Corrège, Brussels.

Telephone : 33.22.75.

M. A. Hardi, 28, rue Paul-Hymans, Schaerbeek-Brussels.

The Press Bureau does not issue any publications.

The Press Bureau is in constant touch with the Belgian delegations to international conferences, which issue instructions to it; but it does not send representatives to such conferences.

The Press Bureau supplies journalists with the information or documents for which they ask. It puts them in touch with political personalities whom they desire to interview and, in cases of special ceremonies or festivals, with the managers of the Maison de la Presse (4, rue du Marquis) whose duty it is to issue invitations and passes, after having established the identity and professional status of applicants.

Cards entitling journalists to reductions on the railways are only granted by the National Railways at the request and on the responsibility of the President of the Union de la Presse étrangère.

6. BOLIVIA.¹

Press Service at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
Avenida 16 de Julio, 270,
La Paz, Bolivia.
Telegraphic address : " Ofprensa ".

Director : M. Carlos Gonzalo DE SAAVEDRA, Secretary of Legation.

In peace-time, the Press Bureau of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs was combined with that of propaganda. At present it forms a separate branch of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
- The War Propaganda Department forms part of the War Ministry.

The Press Bureau is open daily from 9 a.m. to 11 p.m. It has an agency in Europe (Ofprensa Internacional), with headquarters at Geneva, and representatives in the principal capitals where Bolivia has legations.

The Press Bureau at the Foreign Ministry examines and censors all Press despatches sent outside the country and dealing with the diplomatic, international, political or economic aspects of the war.

It works in close co-operation with the Commercial Extension Department of the same Ministry.

The Press Bureau sends all Bolivian official publications abroad and in return receives foreign publications. It sends newspapers to all who ask for them.

The Press Bureau issues daily cabled information to all Bolivian legations abroad, in the form of news.

The Press Bureau arranges for radiotelegraphic transmissions, free from all charges, at 2 p.m. G.M.T. and at 5 p.m. G.M.T. by radio stations C.P.5 and C.P.7 (15,300 kilowatts and 9,120 kilowatts respectively).

The first of these transmissions is for the countries of North and South America and the second for Europe in general and the League of Nations radio station in particular.

¹ Information supplied during hostilities in the Chaco.

The Press Bureau, with the authorisation of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, grants a discount of 50% on the railways of the national territory, provided that foreign journalists who ask for such facilities apply to the Bureau either direct or through Bolivian diplomatic agents or consuls abroad.

The Department of Propaganda and Censorship is under the direction of the Ministry of War.

It is managed by Dr. Bailon MERCADO, whose postal address is Ministry of War, La Paz, Bolivia.

7. UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND.

Press Bureau of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
Foreign Office, Downing Street, London.
Telephone : Whitehall 8440.
Telegraphic address : Prodrome, London.

Director of the Press Bureau : Mr. R. A. LEEPER, C.B.E.

The Press Bureau is open from 10.30 a.m. to 6.30 p.m. on working-days, except on Saturdays, when it ordinarily closes at 1 p.m. When the Bureau is not open, the Director and his Assistant may be reached at their private addresses, which can be obtained at the Foreign Office.

There are Press Attachés in the British embassies at :

Paris	Sir Charles MENDL. Telephone : Anjou Inter 51.
Rome	Sir William McCLURE, C.B.E. Telephone : Rome 481404.
Berlin	Mr. T. F. BREEN, M.C. Telephone : Jaeger 6216.

8. CANADA.

Canadian Official News Bureau.

Sun Life Building, next to Canada House,
Trafalgar Square,
London.

Director in London : Mr. James SPENCE.

The following Press bulletins are circulated in roneoed form to an extensive selected list of correspondents, including daily, weekly and monthly newspapers, financial, trade or " Empire " journals, free-lance journalists and news agencies, Canadian banks and railway agencies, commercial libraries, trade commissioners, emigration agents, certain publishers, university colleges, and other interests in the United Kingdom and the European Continent :

Weekly : *General News Bulletin.*

Canadian Natural Resources and Industrial Notes.

Canadian Mining and Metallurgical Notes.

Fortnightly : *Canadian Official Mining News Letters.*

9. CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

**Directorate of the Press Service of the Czechoslovak
Ministry for Foreign Affairs.**

Prague-Dejvice, Velflikova 1428.

Telephone : for local calls : 757.41 from 7.30 a.m. to 7 p.m.

Telegraphic address : Zamini Praha.

Director of the Press Bureau : M. J. HAJEK.

Deputy Director : Ing. F. VODSEDALEK.

**Attached to the Directorate : Dr. J. PAPOUSEK, M. J. CHMELAR,
M. J. PALIVEC.**

The Press Bureau is open from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m. on working-days and from 10 a.m. to noon on holidays. The Director and his deputies can be reached at their homes as follows :

**M. J. Hajek, Prague XVIII, Stresovice, U Kostela c. 30.
Telephone : 715.70.**

**M. F. Vodsedalek, Prague XVI, Smichov, Hrebanky c. 1536.
Telephone : 454.92.**

**Dr. J. Papousek, Prague XIX, Bubeneč, Jiraskova 27.
Telephone : 723.60.**

**M. J. Chmelar, Prague XVII, Jinonice, Jinonicka ul. 81.
Telephone : 422.43.**

**M. J. Palivec, Prague XII, Vinohrady, Sobeslavova 4.
Telephone 554.77.**

There are Press attachés with the Czechoslovak legations in :

Belgrade	M. C. MELC. Telephone : 204-42.
Berlin	M. C. HOFFMANN. Telephone : Barbarossa 9676.
Bucharest	M. A. KUDRNAC. Telephone : 218-26.
Budapest	M. A. STRAKA. Telephone 152-13.
Geneva	M. R. KEPL. Telephone : 25.254.
The Hague	M. K. ERBAN. Telephone : 771.844.

London	Dr. J. KRAUS. Telephone : Sloane 9241.
Paris	M. M. SAFRANEK. Telephone : Ségur 29-10, 29-14.
Rome	M. L. PLECHATY. Telephone : 31.087.
Stockholm	Dr. E. WALTER. Telephone : 75.739.
Warsaw	Dr. J. NEBESKY. Telephone : 80368.
Vienna	M. J. S. ROM. Telephone : R 23545-R 23548.
Washington	M. A. BROZ. Telephone : North 9402.
New York	M. J. HANC. Telephone : Pennsylvania 2454.

The Press Service, either alone or with the help of the Orbis Publishing Company, issues the following publications :

In Czech : *Zahranicni Politika* (monthly).
In German : *Prager Presse* (daily).
In German : *Prager Rundschau* (every two months).
In French : *L'Europe Centrale* (weekly).
In English : *The Central European Observer* (fortnightly).
In Russian : *Centralnaja Evropa* (every two months).
In French : *Sources et documents tchécoslovaques* (statements by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and various articles on current problems).

The Press Service supplies information to Czechoslovak legations and consulates and, if necessary, sends Press attachés to international conferences.

The Press Service is able to obtain for duly accredited foreign journalists, on application, reductions on Czechoslovak State Railways.

10. DENMARK.

Press Bureau of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
Christiansborg Slot, Copenhagen.
Telephone : Central 7028.
Telegraphic address : Etrangères, Copenhagen.

Director of the Press Bureau : M. A. J. POULSEN.
Assistant : M. Willie BODENHOFF.

The Press Bureau is open from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. on working-days. When the Bureau is not open, the Director and his assistants may be reached at their private addresses, which are :

M. A. J. Poulsen, Sortedams Dossering 27, Copenhagen.
Telephone : Central 3559.

M. Willie Bodenhoff, Baunegaardsvej 60, Gentofte.
Telephone : Gentofte 1538.

There are Press attachés in the Danish Legations at :

Paris **M. Helge WAMBERG.**
Telephone : Kléber 83-00 (official).
Carnot 90-36 (private).

London **M. C. E. AAGAARD.**
Telephone : Sloane 1354 (official).
Mountview 42-08 (private).

Berlin **M. Per FABER.**
Telephone : Jaeger 0360 and 1901 (official).
Cornelius 0746 (private).

The Press Bureau publishes :

Danish Foreign Office Journal (monthly).
Revue commerciale danoise (quarterly).
Revista Comercial Danesa (quarterly).
Danische Handels-Rundschau (quarterly).
Denmark (Year-Book).

These publications are placed at the disposal of those who wish to have them.

The Press Bureau is responsible for a service of information at the Danish legations and, on certain occasions, sends accredited Press attachés with Danish delegations to international conferences.

The Press Bureau is prepared, on request, to give free tickets on the Danish State Railways to duly accredited foreign journalists.

11. ESTONIA.

Press Bureau of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Kohtu 3, Tallinn.

Telephone : 434-50.

Telegraphic address : Vaelismin, Tallinn.

Head of the Press Bureau : M. J. SAMMUL.

Assistant : M. K. ZIRKEL.

The Press Bureau is open from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. on working-days. When it is not open, M. Sammul may be reached at his private address : Raa 26, Tallinn. Telephone : 309-16.

The Estonian legations abroad supply, on request, any information on Estonia.

The Press Bureau has much information on the political, economic and intellectual aspects of life in Estonia, at the disposal of those concerned.

The Press Bureau can supply to duly accredited journalists, on application, free tickets on Estonian State Railways.

12. FINLAND.

Press Bureau of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Ritarikatu 2, Helsinki.

Telephone : 25.851.

Telegraphic address : Ulkoasiat, Helsinki.

Director of Press Affairs : M. K. N. RANTAKARI.

Assistants : M. T. O. VAHERVUORI, Secretary of Legation.

M. Matti VIRKKUNEN, Attaché.

The Press Bureau is open from 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. on working-days. When it is not open, the Director and his assistants may be reached at their homes, which are :

M. K. N. Rantakari, Pietarinkatu 5 B, Helsinki.
Telephone : 24.339.

M. T. O. Vahervuori, Yrjönkatu 2, Helsinki.
Telephone : 32.295.

M. Matti Virkkunen, Korjeavuorenkatu 10, A.
Telephone : 24.204.

There is a Press attaché with the Finnish Legation in Geneva :
M. Helge VON KNORRING, First Secretary of the Finnish
Legation; also in charge of Press matters.

The Press Bureau supplies information to Finnish legations and, if required, sends Press attachés with Finnish delegations to international conferences.

The Press Bureau can obtain for duly accredited foreign journalists, on application, free tickets and tickets at reduced rates on State Railways.

13. FRANCE.

Information and Press Service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Quai d'Orsay, 87, Paris.

Telephone : Central Administration, Littre 68-51 (8 lines).

Quai d'Orsay, 87, Inter spécial 207 (2 lines).

Telegraphic address : Diplomatie Paris.

Head of the Information and Press Services : M. Pierre COMERT,
Head of Section : M. DE PERERA.

The Press Bureau is open from 9.30 a.m. to 7.30 p.m. each day.

France has no Press attachés abroad.

The Press Information Service publishes :

Daily Bulletin of the Foreign Press.

Periodical Bulletin of the Foreign Press.

These publications are available to all concerned.

The Information and Press Service provides for information services for French diplomatic representatives abroad and sends a Head of Section with French delegations to international conferences.

The Information and Press Service takes steps to obtain for duly accredited foreign journalists, on application, tickets at reduced rates on French railways, in so far as these latter are willing to grant them.

14. GREECE.

Press Directorate of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

3, boulevard de la Reine Sophie.

Telephone : 22840.

Telegraphic address : Pressbureau Athènes.

Director : M. N. MOSCHOPOULO.

Deputy-Director : A. ZAPHIROPOULO.

The Press Bureau is open on weekdays from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m. and from 6 p.m. to 9 p.m., and on Sundays from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. When it is not open, the Director and Deputy Director may be reached at their homes, namely :

M. N. Moschopoulos, 136a, rue Solon.

Telephone : 26.633.

M. A. Zaphiropoulos, 5, rue de Rigny.

The Press Directorate maintains attachés with the Greek legations in :

Paris	M. Georges BOUBOULIS, Deputy : M. G. SEROUYOS. Telephone : Passy 38-65.
Berlin	M. Ch. KRIEKOURIS, 5797-5798 Amt B. 2.
Rome	M. J. GHICAS, 31.574.
Vienna	Mlle. TUFOXILOU.
Geneva	Ch. GELBERT.
Belgrade	M. KROTSIS.
Sofia	M. PAPADOPOULOS.
Bucharest	M. VERGHIS.
London	M. Ch. CHOURMOUZIOS.

The Press Directorate publishes : *Epitheorissis Xenou Typou* (Review of the Foreign Press) (weekly), available to all concerned.

The Press Directorate supplies information to all Greek legations and all Hellenic delegations to international conferences.

The Press Directorate can obtain for duly accredited foreign journalists, on application, free tickets on State Railways and tickets at half rates on the Peloponnesian railways.

15. GUATEMALA.

Press Bureau of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

6° Avenue Nord, Guatemala.

Telegraphic address : Relaciones Prensa.

Head of the Press Bureau :

Deputy :

The Press Bureau publishes a monthly bulletin referring to all important Government documents and decrees. It forwards these to Guatemalan legations and consulates and to information bureaux and newspapers interested in Spanish-American questions.

16. HUNGARY.

Press Bureau of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

I, Disz-tér 1, Budapest.

Telephone : 600-40; 605-29; Director : 604-02.

Telegraphic address : Exung Budapest.

Director of the Press Bureau : M. François DE MENGELE.

Deputy : M. François DE DURUGY.

The Press Bureau is open from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m. and from 5 p.m. to 8 p.m. on working-days and from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. on holidays. When it is not open, the Director and his deputy may be reached at their homes—namely :

M. F. de Mengele, Budapest, I. Lovas ut 18.
Telephone : 504-22.

M. F. de Durugy, Budapest, I. Lovas ut 18.
Telephone : 519-31.

There are Press Attachés with the Hungarian legations in :

Vienna	M. Guillaume DE ZIEGLER. Telephone (official) : U. 23-5-20. Trunk calls : U. 23-5-22.
Rome	M. Etienne HUSZKA. Telephone (official) : 82.772 and 863.226.
Berlin	M. Camille HAUBERT. Telephone (official) : Barbarossa 2746 and 2747.
Paris	M. Jules GESZTESI. Telephone (official) : Elysées 37-41 and 41-88.
London	M. Ladislav SIMA. Telephone (official) : Sloane 6280.
Warsaw	M. Nicolas DE ILLES. Telephone (official) : 315-52 and 317-84.
Stockholm	M. Béla LEFFLER (Service de presse déta- ché), Stockholm, Grevgatan 64.

The Press Bureau does not issue any official publications. The following are private periodicals dealing with foreign politics and public economy :

Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie (monthly). Director : Georges OTTLIK.
Ungarisches Wirtschaftsjahrbuch. Directors : Gustave GRATZ and Gustave BOKOR.

The Press Bureau can supply foreign journalists in Budapest with information; it also supplies information to Hungarian legations. If required, it sends special delegates to international conferences and congresses.

The Press Bureau can supply to duly accredited foreign journalists, on application, free tickets on Hungarian State Railways. These tickets can, however, only be used for study tours in Hungary.

17. IRISH FREE STATE.

**Government Information Bureau of the Department of
the President of the Executive Council.**

Dublin.

Telephone : 62321.

Telegraphic address : Government Information Bureau,
Dublin.

Director of the Bureau : M. Shan O'Cuiv.

The Bureau is open from 9.30 a.m. to 5 p.m. on working-days. When the Bureau is not open, the Director may be reached at his private address : M. Shan O'Cuiv, 6, Harcourt Terrace, Dublin.
Telephone : 51169.

The Bureau was established in February 1934 to supply information concerning the work of State departments to the home and foreign Press, and to correct misstatements in the Press which appear likely to react unfavourably on national interests or on the relations of Saorstát Eireann with other countries.

The Bureau acts in co-operation with the Department of External Affairs.

Facilities for obtaining information are afforded to foreign journalists visiting Ireland.

18. JAPAN.

Information Bureau of the Japanese Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Kasumiga-seki Kojimachi-ku, Tokio.
Telephone : (Ginza) 5110-19.

Head of the Information Bureau : M. Eiji AMAU.
Head of the First Section : M. Toshito SATO.
Head of the Second Section : M. Shigenori TASHIRO.
Head of the Third Section : M. Tadao SATO.

M. E. Amau's address : 8, Takagi-cho, Aoyama, Akasaka-ku, Tokio.

The information Bureau deals with Press questions. It consists of three Sections :

The first deals with Press and Press information ;
The second deals with other information ;
The third deals with the general work of the Bureau.

The Head of the Bureau receives Japanese journalists twice a day and foreign correspondents on fixed days, three times a week.

The Information Bureau is open on weekdays, except holidays, from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., except Saturday, when it is open from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. (from April 1st to July 20th and from September 1st to October 31st).

From 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. (from July 21st to August 31st).

From 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. (from November 1st to March 31st), except on Saturday, when it is open from 9 a.m. to noon.

The Information Bureau publishes :

Kokusai Jijyo (information on the international situation,) (three times monthly).

Shukan Jiho (latest news of the week) (weekly).

It also collects and distributes matter on various subjects at all times.

19. MEXICO.

A. Press Bureau of the Presidency of the Republic.

Palacio Nacional, Mexico D.F.

Telephone : Palacio Nacional — Secretaria Particular.

Telegraphic address : Presidencia República — Mexico.

Director of the Press Service : M. Luis I. RODRIGUEZ, Private Secretary to the Presidency.

Assistant : M. José HERNANDEZ DELGADO.

National and foreign Press information is issued daily by the Private Secretary to the Presidency, verbally or in writing. On the request of reporters and correspondents, the President of the Republic replies direct to applications made to him.

This news service has no Press attachés abroad. The information is communicated through the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

The Bureau is responsible for no periodical publications. Official information which it desires to issue is sent direct to the newspapers or transmitted through the Secretaries of State (Ministries) concerned.

The Presidency of the Republic, if necessary, sends Press attachés to international conferences, under the direction of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

The Bureau grants no free tickets or reductions on railways to foreign journalists.

B. Publicity Service of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

Secretariat for Foreign Affairs,

Av. Juarez, No. 109, Mexico, D.F.

Telegraphic address : Relaciones, Mexico, D.F.

Telephone : Ericsson 2-99-62.

Mexicana L-48-50. Extension 84.

Head of the Publicity Service : M. José CANTO ESTRADA.

The office is open from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. and from 4 to 6.30 p.m.

The Publicity Service of the Mexican Secretariat for Foreign Affairs has no Press attachés in legations and consulates abroad.

It issues, every Friday :

In Spanish, the *Noticiero Semanal*.
In English, the *Weekly News Sheet*.
The *Bulletin d'Information*.

It also publishes the *Official Bulletin of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs*, the *Trade Bulletin*, articles on Mexican bibliography (28 volumes published), "Historical and Diplomatic Archives of Mexico" (38 volumes published), *Year-Book of Mexican Bibliography*, 1930-31, 1931-32, 1932-33.

The Publicity Service further issues pamphlets on current subjects in conformity with the plans of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

The service sends to diplomatic agents and consuls abroad all kinds of information by telegraph and by daily or weekly bulletins.

The service prepares a considerable amount of information for legations and consulates abroad in the shape of lectures on Mexican politics and social life, history, geography and subjects of interest to travellers.

20. NETHERLANDS.

**Government Press Bureau (founded January 1st, 1934),
under the administration of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
23, Plein, The Hague.
Telephone : 117280.
Telegraphic address : Celer, Lahaye.**

**Director of the Press Bureau : M. A. J. LIEVEGOED.
Deputy : M. D. J. LAMBOOY.**

The Press Bureau is open from 9.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. on working-days (Saturday from 9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m.). When it is not open, the Director and his deputy may be reached at their homes, which are :

**M. A. J. Lievegoed, 66, Jan van Nassastraat, The Hague.
Telephone : 111321.**

**M. D. J. Lambooy, 36, Vogelkersstraat, The Hague.
Telephone : 393379.**

The Press Bureau distributes communiqués.

The Press Bureau supplies information as required to Netherlands legations and, if necessary, organises a Press service with Netherlands delegations to international conferences.

21. NORWAY.

Press Bureau of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Victoria terrasse 7, Oslo.

Telephone : 13235.

Telegraphic address : Presse-Noreg, Oslo.

Director of the Press Bureau : M. J. VIDNES.

Secretary : M. A. GIVERHOLT.

The Press Bureau is open from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. on working-days. When it is not open, the Director and Secretary may be reached at their homes as follows :

M. J. Vidnes, Bygdo Allé 65, Oslo.
Telephone : 48036.

M. A. Giverholt, Pilestredet 88 e, Oslo.
Telephone : 60881.

The Press Bureau publishes :

Norges Utenrikshandel (Norwegian Foreign Trade) (fortnightly).

Norway (annual).

Norsk Eksportaandbok (Exporters' Guide) (annual).

The Press Bureau, with the Associations of Shipowners, Manufacturers and Merchants and the National Tourist Office, publish :

Norwegian Trade Review (monthly).

This publication is available for all concerned.

The Press Bureau supplies information to Norwegian legations and, if required, sends Press attachés with Norwegian delegations to international conferences.

22. POLAND.

Press Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Warsaw, rue Wierzbowa 1, Palais Brühl.

Telephone : Ministry Exchange : 555-60.

Section Secretariat : 513-60.

Telegraphic address : Polexterne, Warsaw.

Head of the Press Section : Wiktor SKIWSKI.

Deputies of the Press Section : Jan LIBRACH, political questions;

Aleksy WDZIEKONSKI, intellectual questions.

The Section is open from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. and from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. on working-days and from noon to 2 p.m. on Sundays and holidays.

The Head of the Section and his deputy may be reached outside of office hours at their homes :

M. Wiktor Skiwski : rue Nowogrodzka 23, log. 3.

Telephone : 9-38-36.

M. Jan Librach : rue Krakowskie Przedmieście 5.

Telephone : 611-01.

There are Press attachés or officials dealing with Press questions in all the Polish diplomatic missions and consulates abroad.

A Press service is generally organised with Polish delegations to international conferences.

The Press Section publishes :

Economic and Financial Information (twice weekly, in French, English, German and Spanish).

News Bulletin : Arts and Letters, Science, Touring, Air Navigation, Cinematography, Sports, etc. (fortnightly, in French and German).

These publications are available for all concerned.

The Press Section is able to grant duly accredited foreign journalists, on application, tickets on Polish railways at reduced rates. The reduction is 50% for those permanently living in Poland and 80% for those staying a short while.

23. PORTUGAL.

Presidency of the Council of Ministers.

Secretariat of National Propaganda,
Rua de S. Pedro de Alcantara, 75, Lisbon.
Telephones : 28049/28813.

Director of the Secretariat : M. Antonio FERRO.
Assistant Director, Chief of Foreign Services : M. Antonio EÇA
DE QUEIROZ.
Chief of Home Services : M. Arthur MACIEL.

The Secretariat is open from 11 a.m. to 8 p.m. on working-days. When it is not open, the Director and his assistants may be reached at their homes as follows :

M. Antonio Ferro, Calçada dos Caetanos, 6-1°.
M. Antonio Eça de Queiroz, Travessa das Aguas Livres, 4 R/C. D.
M. Artur Maciel, Rua Victor Cordon, 11-2°.

The Secretariat is able to supply duly accredited foreign journalists, on demand, with such information and facilities as they may require.

M. Paulo OSORIO is Head of the Press Bureau with the Portuguese Legation in Paris, Avenue Kléber, 35, Paris (XVI°).

24. ROUMANIA.

Press Directorate of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Bucharest, 68 Str. Dionisie.

Telephone : 2-4109.

Telegraphic address : Digepress Bucharest.

Director : M. Jean DRAGU.

Deputy : M. R. ANASTASIU.

The offices of the Press Directorate are open from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. and from 5 p.m. to 8 p.m. each working-day. There is a special official on night duty on working-days from 8 p.m. to 11 p.m.

There is also a limited service at the same hours on holidays. The telephone exchange of the Press Directorate is open day and night. The Director and his deputy may be reached outside office hours either through this exchange or at their private addresses :

M. Jean Dragu : Dumbrava Rosie 24, Bucharest.

Telephone : 2-2208.

M. R. Anastasiu,

There are Press attachés with the Roumanian legations in :

Paris	M. J. LUCULESCO. Telephone : Carnot 07-60 (official). Etoile 07-60 (private).
London	M. D. N. CIOTORI.
Rome	M. Th. SOLACOLU Telephone : 870-241 (private).
Berne	M. J. SCHIOPUL. Telephone : 24-117 (official). 86-883 (private).
Berlin	M. P. ILCUS. Telephone : Barbarossa 9221 (official). Wilhelm 5758 (private).
Prague	M. O. W. CISEK. Telephone : 417.17 (official). 852.16 (private).
Vienna	M. L. BLAGA. Telephone : U 46-4-84 (official). B 45-4-11 (private).

Budapest	M. M. BALTA. Telephone : 304.80 (official). 40-3-73 (private).
Warsaw	M. A. COTRUS. Telephone : 9.27.07 and 9.27.06 (official). 9.89.95 (private).
Brussels	M. Al. STANESCO. Telephone : 48.37.88 (official). 37.19.92 (private).
Sofia.....	M. V. HRISICU. Telephone : 496 (official). 3044 (private).
Belgrade	M.

The Press Directorate publishes a daily Press bulletin in Roumanian and various publications and documents on Roumania.

It can supply these publications and those of any other department, or any information concerning Roumania, to persons concerned.

The Directorate arranges for an information service with Roumanian delegations to international conferences, by calling on the Press attachés working in the countries concerned or by sending special delegates for the purpose.

The Press Directorate can grant foreign journalists duly accredited by their papers, on demand, free tickets on Roumanian railways and free visas.

25. SPAIN.

Directorate of the Press Bureau.

Ministry for Foreign Affairs,
Audiencia, 3 Madrid.
Telephone : 77066.
Telegraphic address : Prensa, Ministerio de Estado.

Director of Political Affairs : M. Teodomiro AGUILAR.
Head of the Press Bureau : M. Virgilio SEVILLANO CARVAJAL.
Assistants : M. Agustin DE FOXA Y TORROBA.
M. Guillermo NADAL BLANES.

The Press Bureau is open from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m. and from 5 p.m. to 9 p.m. on working-days.

When it is not open, the Head of the Bureau and his assistants may be reached at their homes—namely :

M. Virgilio Sevillano Carvajal : 7, rue Pi y Margall.
Telephone : 16054.
M. Agustin de Foxa y Torroba : 64, rue Atocha.
Telephone 72653.
M. Guillermo Nadal Blanes : 55, rue Velasquez.
Telephone : 56046.

There are Press attachés with the Spanish Legations in :

London M. Luis CALVO.
Telephone : Cancilleria-Sloane 7204 (official).
Sloane 7205 (private).
Berlin M. Eugenio XAMMAR.
Telephone : Ambassade d'Espagne (official).
Bleibtreu 2.223 (private).

Publications of the Press Bureau :

Resumen de Prensa Extranjera (daily).
Resumen de Prensa Nacional (daily).

The Press Bureau is able to obtain for duly accredited journalists, on application, tickets on the State Railways with 60% reduction.

26. SWEDEN.

Press Bureau of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Gustav Adolfs torg 1 (Arvfurstens palats).
Stockholm.

Telephone : 0140, in Sweden Utrikesdepartetet.
Telegraphic address : Cabinet, Stockholm.

Director of the Press Bureau : M. F. HENRIKSSON.

Assistant : M. R. KUMLIN.

The Press Bureau is open from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. on working-days. When it is not open, the Director and his assistant may be reached at their homes, as follows :

M. F. Henriksson : Villagatan 13, Stockholm.

Telephone : 111295.

M. R. Kumlin, Banergatan 41, Stockholm.

Telephone : 620191.

There are Press attachés with the Swedish legations at :

Berlin	M. K. A. DAMGREN.
	Telephone : Barbarossa 9541.
Helsinki.....	M. S. KARLEN.
	Telephone : 20788.
London	M. O. THORSING.
	Telephone : Langham 2705.
Moscow	M. N. LINDH.
	Telephone : 5-71-36.
Paris	M. G. KJELLBERG.
	Telephone Elysées 30-96.

The Press Bureau publishes :

Sweden Year-Book.

and helps in the publication of :

Revue économique de Suède.

Swedish Economic Review.

Schwedische Wirtschaftliche Rundschau.

Revista Económica de Suecia.

These publications are available for those concerned.

The Press Bureau supplies information to Swedish legations.

The Press Bureau arranges to obtain for duly accredited foreign journalists, on demand, free tickets, or tickets at reduced rates, on the Swedish State Railways.

27. TURKEY.

General Press Directorate at the Ministry for Home Affairs.

Telephone : Ankara 1472.

Telegraphic address : Presse, Ministère Intérieur, Ankara.

Director-General of the Press : Dr. Vedat NEDİM TÖR.
Assistant : M. Burhan BELGE.

The offices of the General Directorate of the Press are open from 9.30 a.m. to 6 p.m. on working-days. The Director and his assistant may be reached at their private addresses, which are :

Dr. Vedat Nedim Tör, Yenisehir, Havuzbası, Apart. Omer Lufti, Ankara.

Telephone : Ankara 3108.

M. Burhan Belge, Yenisehir, Mühendis Fahri evi, Ankara.

Telephone : Ankara 3781.

The Press Directorate publishes :

Ayin Tarihi (monthly, in Turkish).

Kemalist Turkey (every two months, in French).

Weekly Political Bulletin (in Turkish).

Bulletin (daily articles and information, in Turkish).

All these are available to persons interested.

The Press Directorate has no information service with Turkish embassies or legations, but, if necessary, sends Press attachés with Turkish delegations to international conferences.

The General Press Directorate is in a position to supply duly accredited foreign journalists, at their request, with free passes on Turkish railways.

28. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Division of Current Information, Department of State.
State, War and Navy Building, Washington, D.C.
Telephone : District 4510, Extension 279.
Telegraphic address : Secstate, Washington.

Chief, Division of Current Information : Mr. Michael J. McDERMOTT.
Assistant Chief : Mr. David McK. KEY.

The Division of Current Information is open from 8.45 a.m. to 6 p.m., from Monday to Friday, inclusive, and from 8.45 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. on Saturday. When the division is not open, the Chief and his assistant may be reached at their private addresses, which are :

Mr. Michael J. McDermott, 2210 North Capital Street, Washington, D.C.
Telephone : North 2224.
Mr. David McK. Key, 2407 California Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
Telephone : Potomac 2899.

Paris **Mr. S. Pinkney TUCK, First Secretary of Embassy and Press Officer. (Telephone : Anjou 74-60.)**

Delegation of the United States to the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments : Mr. Robert PELL, Press Officer. (Telephone : (Paris) Anjou 74-60.)

The mimeographed Press releases, prepared by the Division of Current Information, are available to those who desire them. They are also available in printed form under the following title, *Press Releases*, a weekly publication obtainable from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., at a cost of five cents each, or at an annual subscription rate of \$2.

The Division of Current Information is charged with the preparation of news items for the Press; receiving and replying to enquiries from newspaper correspondents; preparation and distribution to officials of the department and the foreign service of daily Press summaries and special articles; furnishing them with Press bulletins, copies of texts, and general information bearing upon foreign relations.