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INTRODUCTION

The fifth year of the second World War finds the League of Nations not only continuing to exist but giving service in many fields to the best of its present possibilities. (The absence of a decision to use the political machinery of the League in connection with the war continues, of course to determine policy.) The number of States Members has fallen since the war began by ten, but forty-five States remain. The departures have included several countries which fell into the orbit of the tripartite combination of Germany, Italy and Japan; a few others in Europe as well as in South America, while remaining Members and continuing to co-operate in certain branches of the work, have not yet felt able to fulfil their financial obligations. As against this, many Governments, despite their grave economic and political preoccupations, continue to assert their faith in the present and future value of the three international organisations of the League system by full and effective co-operation, regular payment of the contributions, and generous encouragement to the various organs of the League which have succeeded, for four difficult years, not only in preventing the destruction of the fabric and form of the organisations, but in carrying out many of their duties and in various ways rendering valuable special services to the Members and other Governments of peoples who want peace and freedom and order in the world. It should furthermore be recorded that several non-member States have also co-operated in the work and, for example in regard to the control of the narcotic drugs trade, have financially participated in the application of the international conventions to which they are parties. The International Court and the International Labour Organisation also receive contributions from States which are not members of the League.

The activities of the Secretariat and of such Committees as have met since the last annual report¹ are summarised in this document. There has been no diminution; on the contrary, the programme of work, despite the effects of total war and despite the very large reductions of staff and resources, has been developed. The headquarters of the League have remained the headquarters in fact, but important missions have been given the opportunity of continuing their researches and of maintaining technical services in Princeton, London and Washington. The Director of the Economic, Financial and Transit Department, with the major part of that section of the staff, is still in Princeton, where the hospitality of learned institutions has greatly helped to make their work increasingly fruitful and productive. Another generous grant by the Rockefeller Foundation has enabled the work of the Princeton mission to be usefully extended. The Treasurer is in London, together with a liaison agent for economic problems; while in Washington a branch office carries on a part of the work of the two Convention bodies dealing with opium matters.

This partial dispersal of the staff was explained in my last report. On the whole, I can report that, initiated as a precautionary measure to assure continuity of effective work and to spread risks, it has worked well and has been amply justified by results. Close contact has been maintained with the missions in spite of some difficulties of communication, and the Secretariat remains a reduced but compact instrument for international service not altogether unworthy of other days.

At Geneva, the buildings constructed for international conferences and for an international civil service are only partly occupied. In one wing, some 100 officials are busy dealing with economic, financial, social, health, communications, opium and other matters, preparing studies and reports on the lessons of the first great experimental period, collecting and publishing valuable statistics, maintaining records and answering enquiries from Governments, carrying out various duties imposed by international treaties, co-operating with the Secretariat missions overseas and fulfilling the normal

¹ Document C.35.M.35.1942.

duties of headquarters administration. It is a small contingent when one recalls the staff of over 700 persons in 1939, and their war-time tasks are often more difficult and more onerous than those they discharged when the world in miniature sat in adjacent halls.

In another wing is the Library¹, a unique centre for study and reference on every aspect of international life, and an essential instrument for any world organisation. A model in its organisation, it has been possible in these recent years to make it even more valuable, as its collections of publications and documents are kept up to date. Safe-keeping deposits in overseas countries and indefatigable collection in Europe give promise for the future when other institutions may have suffered from disorganisation due to war barriers and obstructions, or even the destruction of national and international collections.

Between these wings are the great Assembly Room where the world's nations have met in conference, the noble hall of the Council of the League, and accommodation for all those large committees which are needed as adjuncts to an international parliament. These halls have been empty since 1939. Any meetings that were possible had to be held elsewhere.

*The Permanent Court of International Justice
and the International Labour Organisation.*

The Permanent Court of International Justice is ready to resume its work when circumstances permit. Its President, one of the Judges and its Registrar are in Geneva, where, through the generosity of the Carnegie Endowment, its latest publication, *Elaboration of the Rules of Court of March 11th, 1936*, was recently issued in English. A volume devoted to the last case dealt with by the Court has also been published by the Registry of the Court. There is, moreover, no doubt that a number of Judges sufficient to ensure the requisite quorum will be able to sit when the time comes.

The experience of the Court over a period of nearly twenty years has proved the vitality of this institution. The various

¹ This part of the building was constructed through the generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

difficulties that were anticipated before its creation have been overcome, starting with those attendant upon the appointment of the members of an international tribunal — a problem to which it had been impossible to find a solution at the Hague Conference of 1907. It is the existence of the League of Nations that made a solution possible, thanks to the general agreement which was realised in 1920 on a proposal by the American jurist Elihu Root, who suggested using the organisation of the League of Nations itself and having the Judges elected concurrently by the Council and the Assembly of the League, constituting themselves as *ad hoc* electoral bodies. This system has worked perfectly. For years, the prestige of the Court continued to grow and it is certainly in large measure because this institution has proved its viability that, in the plans for the organisation of peace that have been put forward during the present war, the idea of a permanent international tribunal is the one which is least contested.

It is interesting to record that, between 1922 and 1940, the Court delivered 63 decisions on the merits of cases submitted (viz. 31 judgments, 27 advisory opinions and 5 orders) and 25 orders on matters of procedure.

Nor does any question arise about the great part that the International Labour Organisation will certainly be called upon to play. Thanks to the hospitality which Canada has given it at Montreal since 1940, the International Labour Office is pursuing its work actively and successfully.¹ The International Labour Conference, held in New York in 1941, and studies of great value published subsequently have borne witness to the vitality of the institution.

In the Economic Field.

There should be no illusion that the world after this war will be a hard one until the destructions are repaired, the machinery of production adjusted, and national and inter-

¹ See, in particular, the report by Mr. E. J. Phelan, Acting Director, to the Conference of the International Labour Organisation, New York, October 1941.

national communications reorganised. Magnificent efforts are being made for the relief and rehabilitation of suffering populations, to ensure that succour will be available to meet the more urgent needs of masses who will be hungry and debilitated, and to prepare to check the onslaught of epidemic disease. The Secretariat of the League is allowed to contribute modestly but usefully within its sphere to these humanitarian efforts. These plans and preparations constitute the first and most pressing need until the forces of reconstruction can get into their stride. If national interests can then be transformed into the enlightened self-interest of international co-operation, and if class interests can be bound into those of the common weal, there can be no doubt about the future. But, above all, the essential condition will be hard, unsparing toil—of the man who lays bricks as of the man whose body and nerves have carried the almost intolerable responsibilities of statecraft and war. The world will not walk into an easy paradise. It can, however, be inspired by the reasonable certainty that wisdom and courage and work and international co-operation can surmount and solve the vast tangle of political and economic problems which will be the world's next task.

The nations' faults of the past twenty years were not only in the political field, but also in that of economic and financial co-operation. The organisation of co-operation in the technical field has been a fundamental principle of the League of Nations, and the lesson for the future is that it must be extended and that agreements reached at Geneva or elsewhere must be loyally applied. Though the prevention of war is the first object of the international organisation, it must also be rebuilt for peace purposes, that men and States may be helped in the daily stress of economic life.

During its years of activity and almost from the time of its foundation, the League gave an enormous development to the efforts it put forth in this field. The fact is that it became clear immediately after the end of the last war that the arrangements of a political character would be of lasting validity only in so far as, *pari passu*, the world both rose again from its ruins and entered upon the path of organisation likely to ensure a minimum of prosperity to the peoples of the

world. The interdependence of prosperity and security is now more evident than ever.

Before the crises of the 'thirties occurred, the whole economic action of the League was aimed at promoting prosperity in the various ways described as "concerted economic action", including, for example, the tasks of financial reconstruction which were undertaken in different countries.

After the early 'thirties, and faced by the effects of crises which dislocated international economic relations, the action of the League organs was devoted chiefly to limiting or repairing the damage done. It is a striking fact, however, that, during that period, the intervention of the League of Nations and its organs was solicited with perhaps more insistence than was formerly the case, as though that wished-for intervention of an international organisation responded to the aspirations of peoples and Governments, who realised that it was impossible for them, by their own efforts alone, to cure the ills from which they suffered. Hence the economic dependence of one on another was spontaneously demonstrated. More than ever, efforts in the future to re-establish prosperity in the world will demand the collaboration of all nations, great and small, in all camps and in all the continents. And the price of prosperity, as of freedom and peace, will be constant vigilance, untiring effort, and honest co-operation.

Future Organisation.

There is an anxious interest, a growing hunger for the satisfaction of the peoples' hope and demand that not again shall they have to tread the bloody road of war and destruction, loss and grief; that their battles shall be the battles of peace for progress and their sacrifices made not only to preserve or regain their ancient freedoms but to open wider the rising road for humanity. This deep sentiment is naturally more vocal and active in United Nations countries, but it is also the subject of thought and discussion in the few neutral States and is moving people in all the unfree lands.

The peoples whom they lead can at present only know part of the difficulties facing the statesmen of the powerful nations

when they are called upon for a precise and clear programme of the future. The war in Europe is approaching its climax, while the long struggle in China, fierce island-fighting, and sea and air battles are still only the prelude to the war in the Pacific. "The United Nations", announced President Roosevelt in July 1943, "are substantially agreed on the general objectives for the post-war world. They are also agreed that this is not the time to engage in an international discussion of all the terms of peace and all the details of the future." British statesmen have at times spoken in similar terms.

In 1941, President Roosevelt had already enunciated the famous "Four Freedoms" and this was shortly followed by the Atlantic Charter, to which all the United Nations have adhered. Fundamental principles were laid down in the Charter in a general way and it may prove to be possible before long to elaborate the application of these principles. "It is plain", Mr. Cordell Hull declared to the people of America, "that some international agency must be created which can — by force if necessary — keep the peace among nations."

For the United Kingdom, Mr. Churchill has declared^{1 2} that all the immense work accomplished by the creation of

¹ March 21st, 1943.

² Since this Introduction was written, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has made, in the United States, a further declaration (September 6th, 1943) on "the choice between world order or world anarchy". Of the League of Nations, Mr. Churchill said:

"Various schemes of achieving world security while yet preserving national rights, traditions and customs, are being studied and proved. We have seen the fine work that was done a quarter-of-a-century ago by those who devised and tried to make effective the League of Nations after the last war.

"It is said that the League of Nations failed. If so, that is largely because it was abandoned and later on betrayed; because those who were its best friends were till a very late period infected with a futile pacifism; because the United States—the originating impulse—fell out of the line; because, while France had been bled white and England was supine and bewildered, a monstrous growth of aggression sprang up in Germany, in Italy and Japan. We have learned from hard experience that stronger, more efficient, more rigorous world institutions must be created to preserve peace and to forestall the causes of future wars.

"In this task the strongest victorious nations must be combined, and also others which have borne the burden and heat of the day and suffered

the League of Nations should not lightly be cast aside. Certainly we must take as our foundation the lofty conception of freedom, law and morality which was the spirit of the League." Posing for discussion that, under a world institution, there might come into being a Council of Europe and a Council of Asia, he hopes the former, which he supposed might be constituted first, would be made "into a really effective League, with all the strongest forces concerned, woven into its texture, with a High Court to adjust disputes and with forces—armed forces—national or international or both, held ready to enforce these decisions and prevent renewed aggression and the preparation of future wars."

Nor does one forget that it was a Soviet statesman who epitomised the truth that "peace is indivisible", so tragically demonstrated in the last few years when war has spread from Central Europe over all the continents of the globe.

Mr. Herbert Morrison, a member of the British War Cabinet, has also made an interesting forecast.¹ "A world association is the aim", he said, "fully representative (as the League of Nations was not), with unified resolve to work out and implement a positive policy (such as the League had not) and possessing (as the League did not) a force fully sufficient to achieve its purposes and restrain those who would impede them."

The United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture which met at Hot Springs in May and June 1943 had as its object "to consider the goal of freedom from want" in relation to food and agriculture. Many aspects of this problem were

under the flail of adversity. And in this task—creative task—there are some who say: 'Let us have a world council, and under it regional or continental councils' and there are others who prefer a somewhat different organisation.

"All these matters weigh with us now in spite of the war, which none can say has reached its climax, which is perhaps entering for us British and Americans upon its most severe and costly phase."

"But I am here to tell you that, whatever form the system of world security may take, however the nations are grouped and ranged, whatever derogations are made from national sovereignty for the sake of the larger synthesis, nothing will work soundly or for long without the united effort of the British and American peoples. If we are together, nothing is impossible. If we are divided, all will fail."

¹ February 24th, 1943.

considered, the more urgent as well as the more distant objectives, and inevitably the problems were often those already treated by organs of the League. Again an international conference made it clear that not only was close international co-operation needed to co-ordinate national effort, but that permanent organisation for mutual help was an essential interest of all.

Recognising that freedom from want cannot be achieved without freedom from fear, and that aggression, or the fear of aggression, had diverted industry from its natural objectives, the Conference recommended:

“ That the Governments and authorities here represented, by virtue of their determination to achieve freedom from want for all people in all lands, affirm the principle of mutual responsibility and co-ordinated action to establish such conditions of international security as will make possible an expanding and balanced world economy.

“ That these Governments and authorities take in concert all necessary measures to secure the application of this principle and the achievement of this objective.”

Attention was drawn in my last annual report to the Five Points of the Vatican's Declaration. All the Christian Churches, not only in the United Kingdom and North America, but wherever they can freely act, have shown their preoccupation with the problem. A representative conference which met in Delaware, U.S.A., in 1942, gave its endorsement to a statement of guiding principles prepared by the Commission to study the Basis of a Just and Durable Peace instituted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. These principles were confirmed and developed in a further statement by the Commission issued in the spring of 1943. As early as December 1940, the leaders of Churches in the United Kingdom published their views on the conditions for a permanent peace. Some of these statements are more concrete than others, but all emphasise the need for collective organisation in the political as well as in the economic field, freedom and social justice, and the increased recognition of moral law in international relations, as the inescapable bases of rational planning.

Organised Labour in various countries has been making known its views, not only on pressing national problems, but on those relating to international peace, without which all efforts for a larger economic life would be vain. They too realise that social security, while the first economic objective in the new order, cannot be assured without international political security. The notable report of the League Delegation on Economic Depressions on "The Transition from War to Peace Economy"¹ lays down that economic policy must be correlated with political; military security cannot be devised without economic security, nor can there be economic security in the face of the threat of war.

The fourteen points agreed upon by the Inter-American Juridical Committee (1942) would seem to contemplate a reinforced and compulsorily-universal League of Nations and the extension of the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court, without excluding the operation of certain regional organs. That "the first object must be the protection of each member State against aggression" is laid down by this international committee, presided over by Monsieur de Mello Franco, the distinguished Brazilian diplomat and jurist, and it does not hesitate to point out that the sovereignty of States should be understood in a sense compatible with the maintenance of international peace, order and law.²

Not only in Europe and North and South America is the general principle of future organisation proclaimed, but in the other continents also. Voices from China and India do not discord with that of Australia. "The first principle to be applied must be the principle of security against aggres-

¹ Document C.6.M.6.1943.II.A. See also pages 33-39 summarising this document.

² This Committee, which has succeeded the Inter-American Neutrality Committee and has the same composition, was entrusted in January 1942 by the third meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the American Republics "with the formulation of specific recommendations relative to the international organisation in the juridical and political fields, and in the field of international security . . . so that the conclusions reached may be adopted at a subsequent meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs". The preliminary recommendation of the Committee on post-war problems has been submitted to the Governments of the American Republics.

sion", according to the Australian Minister for External Affairs, and "security must be universal or every nation will be insecure."

Mr. H. V. Evatt added his view that this principle of universality is quite consistent with certain regional arrangements. If and when the question of regionalism is considered, an examination of the efforts in the early 'thirties to create, on the initiative of M. Aristide Briand, the basis for a European Union within the framework of the League would be of interest. There were also the draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance of 1923 and the proposals for European security put forward at the Disarmament Conference. One can say that many of the complex problems relating to any regional system, subsidiary to a world institution, have been treated by League organs and in League publications.

The precise form to be given to the world organisation after the war may still be in discussion, but it will be seen that the fundamental ideas on which public pronouncements concur are not vastly dissimilar to the principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations. When the time comes that decisions can be taken, neither new nor old machinery will be lacking; whilst success will not finally depend on the machinery but on the will to use it, certain general principles are gaining recognition.

Much has happened since M. Léon Bourgeois pleaded in vain, when the Covenant was being drafted early in 1919, "for some international force, some staff, or at least some international supervision of national forces."

The League of Nations was not at any given moment fully representative of the world. It is interesting to point out, however, that, at one time or another, though unfortunately not all at the same time, every country in the world was a Member of the League, with the exception of the United States of America.¹

¹ Following an application by Liechtenstein, the Assembly, in December 1920, decided that a few States by reason of their small size could not be ordinary Members.

It may also be recalled that the United States of America is mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant amongst the original Members of the League of Nations, but her membership never became effective.

When the nations, pooling their experience and their desires, begin to reconstruct the international institutions, I believe, it will be found that the future organisation must be world-wide and must have military force behind it, and must have sincere and loyal support, or it will contain the seeds of failure in the endeavour to assure prosperity, justice and peace.

Twenty Years hence ?

For some years after this conflict has ended, there may well be no serious threat of war, but, unless measures are adopted to build an orderly world, we may surely count on a new crisis and another vast catastrophe before the young men and women of to-day grow old. It is for that time we must now prepare. The world community must have law and order and justice; it must have peace not only to recover from its wounds, but to give peoples in all lands and their children a reasonable chance " to live out their lives in freedom from fear and want ".

We failed in our first attempt, but we are being given, at great cost, another opportunity. It is for the common people whose work and skill and lives are the foundation of all human power to see that this opportunity is not thrown away. They have to burn into their memories that there is now no final safety in exclusively national strength; that there is no sure splendour in isolation, not even for the man of Britain, or Russia, or the United States of North America. Trouble for China or Abyssinia or Czecho-Slovakia is their trouble too. Vast territories, great wealth, and dividing seas or continents are no longer sufficient. They know they must co-operate with one another and with all the peoples of the world, and must pay the cost of co-operation. The more important part of that payment will be in learning to adjust immediate national interests with those of neighbours and competitors, and in seriously undertaking minor risks so that the greater may be avoided. These are lessons which most political leaders have learned. It is not a question of charity or of idealism but of hard common-sense. Can the peoples too learn them and, when necessary, support and direct the

leaders? That is a personal and national question for everyone. When the complexity of post-war problems is contemplated, embittered and sharpened as they will be by rival claims and ambitions, and memories scarred by cruelty and suffering, the enormity of the task may be partly realised. It cannot be done in a decade or two; it will depend on the insistent will of the common people going on through the years into another generation, without illusion or disillusion, on that instinct which is the basis of democracy, adjusting freedom to the discipline which is its guardian, correcting and controlling its leadership.

The problems are not insoluble; they are not new. A re-reading of the war aims of the United States of North America as proclaimed in 1918 (which are republished as Appendix 2 to this report) will show how President Woodrow Wilson^o seems to have come out of the shadows to speak again to his own and to all the nations. The Covenant of the League of Nations (also reprinted) was the fulfilment of that American and worldwide demand that "*a general association of nations be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike*".

In spite of abstentions and enmity and unwise friends, the League might well have succeeded. With the authority of intimate experience and the prestige of a statesman who foresaw the consequences of the collapse of the collective security system, Mr. Eden a few months ago made the following declaration¹:

"The old League of Nations did not fail because its machinery was faulty. It failed because there was not a sufficiently representative force or drive behind it. There are three indispensable attributes for an international organisation if it is to have a chance to achieve its purpose. First, it must be fully representative of the Powers that mean to keep the peace; secondly, it is for these Powers themselves to have the unity and determination to arrive at great positive decisions; thirdly, they should have force behind them to give effect to their decisions."

¹ December 2nd, 1942.

Leaders of the smaller States have not been less emphatic or less realist. World peace depends in the first place on the will and wisdom of the Great Powers, and they must have authority in keeping with their responsibilities. But the small States know that they too share the responsibility and are often the first to suffer. Their share in past efforts towards world co-operation is hardly sufficiently recognised. Finding power in union, they will have a great contribution to make in the future and it is obvious that no system which would deny them their rightful place could long survive in this century.

Freedom and Security.

In a general way, it will be seen that the evolution, during the past twelve months, of ideas relating to the problems of world reconstruction should encourage those countries which have maintained their confidence in the principles of the League of Nations. Both in the sphere of ideas and in practice, it is now recognised that, for very many countries — even the greatest countries — not only the standard of living but also their liberty and independence are bound up with the organisation of international co-operation in the economic, social and political fields. That is the fundamental principle of the League of Nations.

The idea once held in certain quarters that co-operation can be maintained and developed without there being any need for a constitutional charter or covenant containing definite obligations has almost disappeared. It seems now generally agreed that certain principles must be accepted as the bases of continuous co-operation, that those principles must be embodied in definite undertakings, and that there must be a permanent organisation.

In 1919, the authors of the Covenant had to create an international institution of a new type by selecting from amongst ideas and plans of differing origin those which they thought to be practicable and generally acceptable. After the present war, statesmen will, in their work of reconstruction, be able to profit by the experience of the League of Nations over a period of twenty years. Field-Marshal Smuts, who, as

one of the founders of the League, speaks with authority, has declared that, with that experience before us, we ought this time to hammer out something more clear, definite and practical. He too foresees the re-growth of society "within an organised international peace order".¹

One method of approach that might be found useful would be to examine carefully the provisions of the Covenant, to determine, in each case, the principle that its authors wished to establish, and to ascertain whether that principle can be considered as now generally acceptable. Assuming that the principle is accepted, the question that will then arise will be that of the means to be employed in order to give it practical application. Past experience will show whether the means that were provided in the Covenant are sufficient or not, and whether it was the power and the will to apply them that were lacking.

In discussions regarding the reconstruction of an international organisation, it must be borne in mind that such an organisation will derive its chief strength from the sincere adhesion of a certain number of Powers with worldwide interests. Thus, the value of a provision such as Article 10, "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League" — which President Wilson regarded as the very corner-stone of the Covenant — obviously depends on the moral and physical force of the Powers adhering to it.

The scope and value of the undertakings which the Powers will be able to maintain, or into which they will enter, will accordingly depend, in the first place, on the force represented by their collaboration and, in the second place, on the measure in which such undertakings are adapted to the aims they are devised to achieve. Thus, undertakings that are intended to ensure peace must make provision for adequate means for preventing and, if need be, punishing aggression.

The Covenant of the League of Nations contains bases both for preventive and for punitive action, but, in the successive crises which preceded the second World War, the

¹ Declarations of October 21st, 1942, and September 5th, 1943.

Governments were not able to give either of them any effective form.

The authors of the Covenant of the League of Nations relied, above all, on the threat of economic sanctions for the purpose of discouraging an aggressor who, before taking action, weighs his chances of success. Nevertheless, the economic weapon, when employed after the outbreak of hostilities, produces its effects but slowly. Blockade helps to win a long war, but economic sanctions afford only indirect assistance to the victim of the aggression, and it became clear on one occasion that they could not be properly or fully applied unless the Powers were prepared to go farther and incur military risks too. No doubt the experiment made during the present war with regard to direct assistance by means of the "lend-lease" system will also be studied in this connection.

Similarly, the problem of joint military action will have to be reconsidered in the light of the lessons to be learned from the war. Having regard to the growing importance of the air arm in warfare and to its possibilities of development, which seem to be almost unlimited, some people have been led to think, not merely that it offers a means of bringing immediate assistance to the victim of an aggression, but also that it provides a solution of the problem of an international preventive police force.

There are other questions also that will call for thorough consideration when the Covenant is being re-examined, though this is not the occasion to refer to all the revisions which might be considered. The measures that should be taken to prevent war, the primary political object of the international institution, will be amongst the first. Article 11 of the Covenant provides that the League of Nations, not only in the event of war, but also in the event of a "threat of war", should "take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations." In practice, however — and this is an example of obligations in respect of which the means were not adapted to the end — this "action" did not go beyond attempts at conciliation and efforts at persuasion, if the States in question were not prepared to show good-will. In some cases the provision was used with success, but not when a

powerful and war-minded State was concerned. The unanimity embodied in Article 5 of the Covenant did not, in fact, provide for any exception with regard to the application of Article 11, and the opposition of one of the parties to the dispute was sufficient to prevent the adoption of a recommendation by the Council. The question has been examined on many occasions and the studies carried out by the League of Nations at various times have made clear the different aspects of the problem and have indicated solutions.¹ That changes were not possible in the years immediately preceding the war is not very surprising in view of the critical state of international relations at that time and the decline of confidence, which was then general, in the authority of the League of Nations and the possibility of joint action. Systematically weakened by its opponents, deserted or but feebly defended by most of its supporters, more and more shut out from the consideration of great international questions, the League was not used in the summer of 1939. It was then too late.

After the failure of sanctions in 1936, some leading Members had limited their national commitments to those areas which they considered affected their own immediate security and many others took the opportunity to proclaim in advance non-participation in the coming conflict. States not in the League were either girding themselves for war or were anxiously gathering the cloak of neutrality around them. The collective system was temporarily broken and the movement away from it culminated in 1938/39 in a number of formal declarations by many Governments. The storm as it increased swept over most of them, great and small.

¹ The latest proposal in this connection was the one made by the United Kingdom delegation to the Assembly, in September 1938. The United Kingdom delegation proposed that, "where a dispute is brought before the Council under paragraph 1 of Article 11, the Council may, by the unanimous agreement of all its members other than the parties to the dispute: (1) express an opinion or adopt a report concerning the facts of the dispute; (2) make recommendations as to the measures to be taken by Members of the League, other than the parties to the dispute, for the purpose of safeguarding peace". This proposal, notwithstanding its limited character, did not meet with the unanimous approval of the Assembly and was not adopted.

When war broke out, however, there was general tacit agreement that, while the framework of the League must be conserved for a new effort to reconstruct the fallen peace order, no attempt would be made to employ its political machinery. This policy was nevertheless not adhered to in a case brought before the League three months later.

League experience has shown that, while the will and sincerity of nations and Governments are primordial, it is not a matter of indifference whether, when the charter is being re-established, the instrument of international co-operation is more or less imperfect. While on the one hand, as M. C. J. Hambro (President of the Norwegian Storting)¹ has pointed out, "organic growth in itself can never be made to conform to any blue-prints; it creates constantly new problems", it would also be a mistake when defects are visible in the instrument to trust too much to time to bring about its improvement. Some structural defects are such as to hamper the development of an institution, more particularly an international institution. If the means placed at its disposal are not commensurate with the aim in view, then the loftier the aim the greater the risk that the institution may sooner or later meet with a serious failure. Confidence will then be shaken; past successes will be forgotten; even present usefulness will be overlooked and — as experience has shown — it will be very difficult to reconstruct in the midst of scepticism and insecurity.

* * *

The name of the League of Nations is sometimes held to have certain liabilities, partly because it has been easier to put the responsibility for not preventing the war on an international entity than to recall one's own national failure, but it has assets too. Political achievements and failures have naturally attracted more attention than the solid work in international co-operation from year to year in less spectacular matters. While it is good and proper that past weaknesses and past failures should be in the forefront of discussion, it would

¹ "How to win the Peace", by C. J. Hambro, 1942.

be a foolish mistake to consider, that the experience was all negative. On the contrary, the League's success in many fields, its concrete contributions to human progress, although not so obvious to the public mind, will, in world history, assuredly claim a notable page, and, if political expediency permits, they are equally worthy of courageous recognition to-day.

It may be, that a change of name would facilitate the adhesion of certain Powers to the post-war institution. No person could question any such proposal if it is needed to widen membership and authority. The retention of the present name would, however, have one advantage — apart from the extent to which it is embodied in so many bilateral and multilateral treaties and has been linked with duties in connection with other international organs. It is a truism that, whatever name be adopted, the machine will not work successfully unless both Governments and peoples give constant support. That is one of the reasons why war was not prevented. The use of the old name would be an element not negligible in regard to this aspect of popular psychology. There would be less tendency to sit back and believe there was a magical panacea in a brave new name and that the machine would of itself produce results which can only come from consistent effort and loyalty and good-will. What is sometimes regarded as the liability of the name might in this respect prove to be an asset for the new attempt to establish world order.

* * *

In a report on the year's activities of the League of Nations and its Secretariat, it has not seemed undesirable to review its general position and the prospects of its principles being effectively applied in the future. The words of the Earl of Perth, who as Sir Eric Drummond was the first Secretary-General of the League and to whose character and efforts was due the building-up of a vast and efficient international civil service — an unprecedented and remarkably successful task — may well conclude our quotations. "The nations have been given a second chance and those which have held to the ideals

of the League of Nations through good report and evil report may well be proud. A comparatively short time ago it was the fashion to decry the League and most of its works . . . To-day those accusers have largely vanished or are silent and we are experiencing a complete change. Among the United Nations, I know of no responsible statesman who does not recognise that, if you are to maintain peace and promote prosperity, you must have an international organisation capable and ready in the first place to prevent not only aggression but aspirations towards aggression, and in the second to secure international co-operation in political, economic and social fields."

* * *

There is a natural tendency to divide problems of post-war reconstruction into those which require an urgent solution and those which may be left over until peace and order have been firmly re-established. It has sometimes been stated that the question of the future world organisation falls into the latter category. On the other hand, it is also no doubt worth considering whether or not a prior and clear-cut decision as to the revival of the collective security system and guaranteed mutual help would aid in solving many thorny problems, such as those relating to frontiers. It was President Wilson's idea that the constitution of the League of Nations—as he visualised it—was a pre-requisite to peace settlements. The arguments in favour of this point of view are obvious; nations want to know in what kind of a world they are going to live and, when peace is being re-established, the leaders will take a different view of what the future security of their peoples requires if the question of an efficient world system still remains in doubt. If sceptics are right and if it is not clearly established that the post-war world will see a powerful and worldwide League, if there are misgivings that it may be dominated by power politics and fear of aggression, the craving for security will inevitably take the form of a craving for strategic frontiers. While excessive demands in this direction are likely to contain in themselves the seed of future conflict, they are understandable as long as there is uncertainty as to the strength and compass and validity of the world's union in the defence of

peaceful progress. It is an argument for the establishment of a peace system at the earliest possible moment which is no doubt being given consideration. Perhaps the situation will soon be sufficiently mature, if it is not so already, to enable Governments to give concrete form to the ideas already so widely examined.

* * *

The normal heavy responsibilities of the Supervisory Commission were greatly increased following the decision of the 1939 Assembly. It has met regularly each year and has been enabled to follow and supervise the work and administration of the International Labour Organisation, the Permanent Court of International Justice and the Secretariat of the League. On adopting the Budget for 1944, the Commission, in a report to Governments, declared that these institutions constituted "the one great storehouse of experience in international co-operation and administration. For more than twenty years, a network of international technical committees has been built up in the most important fields of human activity; over this long period, staffs have been trained to undertake, organise and direct international work. Nowhere else can this experience be found.

"It is essential that the Secretariat and the International Labour Organisation should be ready and able to render assistance to international conferences and to individual Governments on all those matters on which they have acquired, over long years, this unique knowledge and experience — a knowledge and experience gained at once from their daily concern with these affairs and from the systematic and continuous collection and sifting of information relating to them.

"If these institutions of the League are not placed in a position to cope with the work, it may be necessary to improvise new agencies lacking in the experience necessary to carry it out effectively and economically. In order to obviate any such eventuality, the various Governments should be prepared to strengthen the League institutions and to utilise them to the fullest extent."

I. ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL AND TRANSIT QUESTIONS

The Economic, Financial and Transit Department has been very actively engaged since my last report was issued.¹ There have been meetings of the Economic and Financial Committees in London and in Princeton, New Jersey, and the Delegation on Economic Depressions has met and issued the first part of its report which deals with *The Transition from War to Peace Economy*. The Department has issued a further edition of the *World Economic Survey*, a compendium of the world's monetary and banking statistics entitled *Money and Banking, 1940-1942*, a detailed analysis of *Wartime Rationing and Consumption*, the *Statistical Year-Book, 1941/42*, and seven publications dealing with various problems of post-war economic policy, while drafts of several others are near completion. The *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* has continued to appear without interruption in Geneva, and since January 1943 a separate edition has been prepared and issued in Princeton. A memorandum on the work of the League on nutrition was prepared and submitted to the United Nations Food Conference, in April 1943, at the request of the Executive Committee of that Conference. The preparations for a further meeting of fiscal experts, to carry forward the work of the 1940 meeting, were completed and a Tax Conference met in Mexico City in July.²

¹ Document C.35.M.35.1942.

² It may be mentioned that, as in previous years, a representative of the Secretariat attended the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in December 1942.

These various activities are described below:

1. MEETINGS OF THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL COMMITTEES

Early last year, it was decided, as a result of consultations with members of the Economic and Financial Committees, that the time had come to arrange for a meeting of these Committees, neither of which had met since the outbreak of war. A joint session of the two bodies appeared desirable, as they are jointly responsible for approving the lines along which the economic and financial work of the League should proceed. Owing to the conditions of travel, it was difficult to arrange a single meeting at which all available members could be present and it was accordingly decided to hold two meetings, one in England and the other in the United States. The first was held in London in April and May, the second in Princeton, New Jersey, in August. The Director of the Department was present at both meetings. Sir Frederick Leith-Ross (United Kingdom) presided over the London meeting and the Hon. Henry F. Grady (United States) was Chairman at the Princeton meeting. Members and corresponding members from thirteen countries attended one or other of the meetings, and the Committees were also able to secure the advice of experts from seven other countries in the course of their deliberations. The International Labour Office was represented at both meetings.

In their Report,¹ the Committees first set out in general terms their views on post-war relief and reconstruction. To quote from this opening section:

“ One of the lessons of the 1914-1918 war was the inadequacy of the relief available to the necessitous countries and the consequent difficulties which they experienced in restoring a balanced economic position—difficulties which left a legacy of trade restrictions and controls in the importing countries and of unmarketable surpluses of production in exporting countries. History is bound to repeat itself unless effective measures can be taken to rebuild the post-war world on a basis of international collaboration.

¹ Document C.52.M.52.1942.II.A.

“The first condition (of reconstruction) must be political security and a general confidence in lasting peace. In the international sphere, the next steps are the restoration of an effective system of international payments and a re-opening of multilateral channels for world trade. But these conditions, however necessary, are far from adequate. The war itself has created a general disequilibrium, and this disequilibrium must be remedied before any plans of reconstruction can become fully effective. The channels of international trade and payment which have been severed by the necessities of war must first be repaired, and the current of exchange re-started and the distortion of prices and price levels readjusted. For these purposes, a much larger degree of international collaboration than anything yet achieved will be necessary. . . .

“Concerted action will also be required with a view to preventing wide fluctuations in the prices of raw materials and foodstuffs, such as those from which countries suffered in the inter-war period. Aid to countries producing crude materials in achieving a better balance in their national economies, combined with joint international measures, designed to secure greater stability of prices and markets for primary products and those of manufactured products, would go far towards realising the objectives in view. But free access to raw materials and the benefit to all countries, including the raw-material-producing countries, which may result from such free access, can only be assured if multilateral trade is restored.

“It is possible that, for a time after the war, the available supplies of many commodities may be inadequate to meet potential demand. In such conditions, demand may need to be controlled in order to prevent a further rise in prices beyond the level reached in the war. Such a rise, if not checked, could hardly fail to be followed by a collapse, as happened after the last war, intensifying any subsequent depression. . . .

“In our opinion, the maintenance of various forms of economic control will be necessary, in certain cases, for a considerable time after the war. . . . We feel convinced that, if individual enterprise is to be preserved and multilateral trade restored, the transition from a war to a peace economy must be effected by a gradual and internationally co-ordinated process of de-control.”

The Committees then reviewed the activities of the Economic, Financial and Transit Department. Taking first the work on current events and tendencies, they endorsed the decision to maintain the pivotal publications of the Economic Intelligence Service—*The Statistical Year-Book*, *The Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* and *The World Economic Survey*—and to supplement them by a volume on *Central and Commercial Banking Statistics* and a study on *Wartime Rationing and*

Consumption. "When the present conflict is over", they wrote, "the existence of the information contained in the statistical publications of the Department and of an organisation able to collate rapidly additional information from all over the world will be essential to those responsible for formulating the peace settlement and the economic policies of the future."

Turning to the programme of studies relating to post-war problems, the Committees approved both the general range of subjects covered—as set out in my last report—and the manner in which the task was being approached. While agreeing that blue-printing for an uncertain future should be avoided, they considered that—

"the organs of the League should provide such expert guidance as they can to assist Governments in implementing the policies formulated in the Atlantic Charter—the enjoyment by all States of access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world, the fullest collaboration between all nations with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security, the assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want. In the work on these problems of free access to raw materials and to the world's trade, of the raising of the standards of living and of social security, the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League, with its committees, has taken an active part in the past and will, we hope, continue to do so in the future."

Certain suggestions for the extension of the programme were made. The Committees felt, however, that the Acting Secretary-General should be allowed full latitude, not only to modify the plan of studies, but also to extend their field at his discretion. They expressed the desire that he should "consider in this connection any requests that may be addressed to him by Governments or other international bodies such as the International Labour Organisation" and that the Department should keep in constant contact with the various national reconstruction committees or Government departments which are studying post-war economic and financial problems and preparing plans for the future.

Steps have been taken to give effect to these recommendations. Relations have been established between the Princeton

office and national reconstruction agencies which, I trust, will prove of real value.

In concluding this section of their Report, the Committees expressed the hope: (a) that, wherever feasible, the results of the Department's enquiries might be published without delay, and (b) that the Delegation on Economic Depressions might find it possible to meet and issue its recommendations in the near future.

How these suggestions have been met is described in Sections 2, 3 and 7 below.

The third section of the Committees' Report dealt with the question of maintaining the closest co-operation between the Economic, Financial and Transit Department and the International Labour Office in the work on reconstruction problems. The effectiveness of the desired co-ordination of functions naturally depends largely on close contact between the staffs of the Economic, Financial and Transit Department, at Princeton and of the International Labour Office at Montreal, and these contacts have been regularly maintained.

2. THE DELEGATION ON ECONOMIC DEPRESSIONS.

Attention has been called in my previous reports to the vital importance of the problem of controlling fluctuations in economic activity, and of preventing or mitigating economic depressions. Not only does this problem underlie and condition every national scheme of social security, but the whole course of future economic policy and the character of future economic relationships between States depend in large measure on its solution.

The task of recommending policies that might be employed "for preventing or mitigating economic depressions" was entrusted by the Council to a small Delegation under the Chairmanship of Sir Frederick Phillips in 1938. This action was a natural development of the work of the Economic and Financial Organisation, which had, for a number of years, been carrying out a programme of research into the nature and causes of economic fluctuations.

The Delegation's work was interrupted by the outbreak of war and the problems with which it was required to deal were altered and rendered more difficult. The war has indeed created upheavals, not only affecting the context in which the long-range problems of controlling economic fluctuations in peace-time must be examined, but also greatly intensifying the forces leading to instability in the post-war world. It became clear that the first task of the Delegation now was to consider the methods by which as smooth a transition as possible from war to peace economy might be effected.

Preparatory work on the subject was completed early this year and a meeting of the Delegation was held in April. The composition of the Delegation—to which three new members were appointed, with the authority of the President of the Council, to replace original members who were no longer available—was as follows: Sir Frederick Phillips, G.C.M.G., C.B. (*Chairman*); Mr. J. B. Brigden (replacing Mr. F. L. McDougall, C.M.G.); Professor Carter Goodrich, representing the International Public Works Committee of the International Labour Organisation; Hon. Henry F. Grady, Chairman of the Economic Committee (replacing Mr. W. W. Riefler); Dr. G. H. C. Hart; Dr. Zygmunt Karpinski; Professor O. Morgenstern; Mr. G. F. Towers.

Dr. Fernando Lobo and Professor G. Haberler, author of the League of Nations' study on *Prosperity and Depression*, were associated with the work of the Delegation. In addition, the Delegation had the advantage of comments on the draft report from two of its members who were not present—Mr. W. W. Riefler and Mr. F. L. McDougall—and also from a number of outside experts.

The meeting drew up the final text of the report which has since been published under the title *The Transition from War to Peace Economy*. In view of the importance of this document, which represents Part I of the Delegation's Report, I think it may be well to reproduce, *in extenso*, the summary of its contents which the Delegation requested the Secretariat to prepare:

3. SUMMARY OF THE REPORT ON THE TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE ECONOMY

The Report opens with a statement of the objectives of post-war economic policy. These objectives, it is suggested, should be to assure:

(a) That the fullest possible use is made of the resources of production, human and material, of the skill and enterprise of the individual, of available scientific discoveries and inventions, so as to attain and maintain in all countries a stable economy and rising standards of living;

(b) That, in so far as possible, no man or woman able and willing to work should be unable to obtain employment for periods of time longer than is needed to transfer from one occupation to another or, when necessary, to acquire a new skill;

(c) That, in the use of these productive resources, the provision of goods and services to meet the essential physiological needs of all classes of the population in food, clothing, house-room and medical care is a prime consideration;

(d) That society distribute, as far as possible, the risk to the individual resulting from interruption or reduction of earning power;

(e) That the liberty of each individual to choose his own occupation is respected and is promoted by equal educational opportunities;

(f) That the liberty of each country to share in the markets of the world and thus to obtain access to the raw materials and manufactured goods bought and sold on those markets is promoted by the progressive removal of obstructions to trade;

(g) That the benefits of modern methods of production are made available to all peoples both by the progressive removal of obstructions to trade and by courageous international measures of reconstruction and development.

However difficult such objectives may be to attain, their acceptance, it is felt, should make it easier to avoid or mitigate economic depressions in the future. Part II of the Report will deal with these longer-term issues; Part I now published is confined to problems of the transition period.

The emphasis laid on maintaining employment does not imply that the disastrous effects of depressions on agricultural countries is overlooked. But the responsibility for securing greater economic stability and for accelerating economic development must lie primarily with the industrial countries.

The second objective is discussed at some length in a section of the Introduction entitled "The Right to Work". This term does not, it is pointed out, imply that no person should be unemployed while in search of a job, but rather that Governments are responsible for avoiding large-scale and protracted unemployment. This they can only hope to do if they have adequate powers, the backing of public opinion, and especially the support of employers and workers in checking monopolistic practices.

The last section of the Introduction traces the struggle in the 'twenties to restore a working and worldwide economic system and the breakdown of that system in the 'thirties. Owing to that breakdown, statesmen will be faced with a triple task:

- (a) of reconstructing a world system;
- (b) of assuring as smooth as possible a transition from war to peace economy;
- (c) of seeing that forces giving rise to renewed depressions are counteracted.

The Report is mainly concerned with the means by which a smooth transition may be effected from war to peace economy and conditions restored under which private enterprise may flourish; but no assumption is made regarding the socio-economic system or the degree of participation or supervision of the State in economic life that may be desired in different countries. It is, however, postulated throughout the report that peace is restored in such a manner as to revive confidence, and that therefore an effective system of collective security is established.

Chapter I.

The first chapter describes those characteristics of war economy and those effects of the war itself that are likely to involve difficult problems of readjustment—the shifts in demand; the structural changes, national and international; the pent-up demand and purchasing power; the growth of debt; the changes in the international distribution of capital; the destruction wrought by war, etc.

Chapter II.

The second chapter is primarily concerned with the problems of transition in countries in which the possibility of maintaining full employment after the war is not likely to be impeded by lack of raw materials or inability to buy them abroad. It opens with a consideration of the probable nature of post-war demand in these countries and the risk of this leading to a runaway price boom and subsequent collapse and unemployment. In view of this risk, it is urged that measures taken to control prices and effect an equitable distribution of supplies, whether

to the producer or to the consumer, should not be abandoned suddenly but relaxed gradually as shortages are overcome. The different types of control, financial and physical, and the different types of demand—for consumers' durable and non-durable goods, for machinery and other capital goods, for raw materials, etc.—are successively surveyed. In every case, the main preoccupation is to get men re-employed and production redirected towards consumers' needs when the war demand falls off, as rapidly as may be possible without causing a boom and consequential slump.

Although the shift from Government to private demand will perhaps be a major characteristic of the transition period, Government orders and public works are bound to play an important rôle in facilitating or impeding a smooth transition. Two major dangers are foreseen: the first is that projects indispensable for getting the whole national or international economic mechanism functioning again will not be ready; the second, that Governments will hamper economic recovery by launching too many schemes or launching them at the wrong moment. In many countries, especially in Europe and Asia, the repair of damage suffered during the war will be an urgent necessity. But it is suggested that, when projects can be postponed, Governments should rather endeavour to fill gaps in demand than to compete with the market. When the first onrush of consumers' demand is spent, postponed Government undertakings may exercise a useful stabilising influence.

Stress is laid in this chapter on the importance of fiscal policies which will encourage enterprise and of Government schemes for teaching new skills to meet the new needs that will arise and for helping workers to find employment.

Chapter III.

The third chapter deals with the international problems of transition and emphasises in its first two sections the need for Government action and international co-operation. The lack of any general international plan for getting business started in the war-stricken areas after the 1918 Armistice was, it is argued, an important cause of the economic breakdown in Europe and the collapse of currencies in the 'twenties. The difficulties after this war are likely to be even greater than they were in 1918 and the need for an agreed plan of action is imperative.

Many of the countries whose needs of food and of raw materials and capital goods to reconstruct their economic life are likely to be most pressing will lack adequate means of making payments abroad. Their problem is obviously an international one and, unless it is solved, the whole future of international economic relationships may be jeopardised.

Relief.

In so far as relief is required, its purpose should not be simply to feed and clothe starving populations but to enable them to produce and exchange what they produce and so feed and clothe themselves. Relief

and reconstruction, it is urged, should be looked upon as a single problem, the problem of re-starting productive activity and world trade. It is a problem, therefore, in which all nations are concerned, the solution of which will depend upon the willingness of States, large or small, to participate in a common effort.

Effective programmes of relief and reconstruction will depend on the availability of the essential foodstuffs, raw materials and other goods and therefore upon the equitable distribution of supplies while supplies are short. For this reason, an international understanding is advocated regarding changes in rations and in the maximum prices fixed for rationed goods in the early post-war period.

The International Demand for Crude Products.

In order to prevent a scramble for raw products, tonnage, etc., it is recommended that Governments should continue or institute a machinery for the purchase and international distribution of such products and for joint control of tonnage so long as serious shortages persist. As supplies of raw materials become more plentiful, this machinery might be employed to stabilise prices by co-ordinating supply and demand and, in some cases, by the creation of buffer stocks.

International Demand for Capital and Credit.

International funds will be required for a number of purposes. There will be:

- (a) In the first instance, a demand for food, raw materials and certain finished goods to feed and clothe the populations and gradually to re-start production in the stricken areas;
- (b) A demand for capital, domestic and foreign, to repair the physical damage and make good the wear and tear suffered during the war;
- (c) A demand for capital for the reserves of Banks of Issue and for exchange stabilisation funds adequate to permit of adjustments required on account of balance of payments difficulties;
- (d) Finally, a demand for capital for the development and reorganisation of the industrial structure in countries where boundaries are modified, where the existing structure has been rendered inappropriate to the post-war world distribution of productive capacity, in countries suffering from demographic pressure and in countries which are in the process of industrialisation and are themselves poor in capital.

The availability of funds is likely to be dependent, *inter alia*, upon the relaxation of exchange controls and the possibilities of effecting multilateral clearing and conducting multilateral trade. For this reason

among others, the recent United States and British Treasury proposals to establish some form of international clearing or equalisation fund are welcomed.

Exchange Control and Multilateral Clearing.

Amongst other objectives, these proposals aim at establishing a system by which: (1) multilateral trade may be resumed as rapidly as possible and blocked balances and bilateral clearings rendered unnecessary; (2) national price levels which are out of gear may be brought again into mesh with one another; and (3) the disequilibria in balances of payments may be adjusted. These aims are discussed with reference to post-war problems, the general outline of which is already apparent.

The Control of Inflation.

Attention is drawn to the risk that post-war inflation in the war areas may endanger the best-laid plans unless effective steps are taken to halt it. Adequate assistance in the initial provision of foodstuffs, raw materials, etc., the institution of such a mechanism as that just mentioned for the revival of international trade on a multilateral basis, and appropriate commercial policies should, it is felt, do much to diminish this risk.

Various measures have been taken in Continental Europe to prevent the currency inflation which has already taken place from having its full effect on prices, and measures of this kind will no doubt continue to be required after liberation. But much will depend on the policies adopted in these areas as they are liberated on the rate of exchange fixed for their currencies, on the extent to which pay received by the Allied armies is expended on local goods, on the extent to which liberation is accompanied by economic aid and that aid can be employed for mopping up part of the surplus currency. But the ability of countries to check inflation will depend above all on the authority of national Governments, on political security and on the availability of foreign markets.

Long-term Lending.

Certain principles regarding foreign lending are formulated which anticipate to some extent Part II of the Report, as the question of lending is considered primarily in connection with the long-term problem of the maintenance of economic stability.

(a) While it is taken for granted that direct Government lending will probably be indispensable, it is pointed out that lending on an equity basis, or failing this by some form of income debentures, would impose a less severe strain on the balance of payments of the borrowing country when prices fall.

(b) When loans are made to Governments, they should be at as low a rate of interest as possible and allow contractually for the possibility of suspension of amortisation in bad times.

(c) Preference should be given to capital expenditures required for the purchase of reproductive commodities, such as machinery or locomotives.

(d) When such preference proves impossible, careful control should be exercised over the import of what to the receiving country may be fairly classed as luxury goods.

(e) Adequate labour standards in the borrowing countries should be required.

Commercial Policy.

However important the contribution of an international clearing fund towards the restoration of world trade, that restoration can, the Report points out, neither be complete nor permanent if commercial policies run counter to the fundamental factors in the balance-of-payments situation. The war is producing profound changes in the structure of international claims and indebtedness which could best be met by such changes in commercial policy as will permit a substantial increase in the purchase of foreign goods by those countries whose creditor position has been strengthened.

Bilateralism and autarky have been largely the product of economic and political insecurity. But, for several reasons, the system of multi-lateral trade based on M.F.N. became somewhat discredited in the inter-war years:

(a) Countries have been unwilling to extend concessions to others which made no such concessions;

(b) The M.F.N. clause was on certain occasions used to prevent the conclusion of special Customs arrangements between small countries;

(c) One reason for the discriminatory tariff specifications which often rendered the clause of little value to third parties was the fear of competition from countries with low standards of wages and of living.

The first of these difficulties might be partly solved by the total abolition of non-negotiable tariffs. There is, it is submitted, no single or simple solution of the others; but a very real service might be rendered by an international body with adequate authority which might help Governments devise commercial policies conducive to economic stability in three different ways;

(a) By studying and analysing the facts concerning the development of trade, the interdependence of different trading areas, the

trade in different groups of commodities, the movement in prices, and the changes in the terms of trade;

(b) By giving advice about means for promoting trade, for clearing blocked channels of trade, about the difficulties arising from sudden changes in production or in the competitive power of different areas, etc.;

(c) By mediating, when so requested, both in connection with direct disputes between States, and on such wider issues as the formation of Customs unions.

International Organs.

Two points are emphasised in conclusion: first, that means must be found for co-ordinating the policies of the various international organs which may prove necessary; secondly, that economic policy must be correlated with political. Military security cannot be devised in an economic vacuum nor economic security in the face of the threat of war.

Preparatory work is now proceeding with a view to the drafting of Part II of the Delegation's Report, which will deal with the longer-range problems of policy in peace-time.

4. THE INTERNATIONAL NUTRITION MOVEMENT AND THE UNITED NATIONS FOOD CONFERENCE

The Economic and Financial Committees, in the Report referred to on page 28, called particular attention to the pioneer work on the problems of nutrition carried out by the technical services in Geneva.

The Executive Committee of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture, which met at Hot Springs, Virginia, in May and June of this year, invited the Director of the Economic, Financial and Transit Department, "in view of the study which the Economic and Health Sections of the League of Nations have devoted to these subjects", to furnish the Conference with whatever documentation might be considered appropriate. In response to this request, a memorandum was submitted to the Conference reviewing the action taken by the League to promote improved nutrition and describing the present organisation of the work. This document also contained a summary of the London standards

drawn up in 1937 by the Technical Commission of the League and the principal findings of the Mixed Committee on *The Relation of Nutrition to Health, Agriculture and Economic Policy*.

5. WORK ON FISCAL PROBLEMS

As noted in my last report, a desire had been expressed in Latin-American countries that a second Conference on International Tax Problems should be organised as soon as possible to pursue the work that was begun at the Mexico City Conference in 1940. This second Conference was arranged for the month of July 1943 in Mexico City, the Mexican Government having again offered its hospitality. Experts from fourteen American States attended. The Conference adopted three model conventions to serve as a basis for bilateral tax negotiations between States, concerning the prevention of international double taxation through income and property taxes, and through death duties, and the establishment of administrative co-operation in the assessment and collection of taxes. A discussion also took place on post-war tax problems and the outline of a study of such problems was adopted.

6. ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE WORK

As previously stated, three volumes dealing with current events and tendencies have been issued in the past year. The first of these was a compendium of the world's central and commercial banking statistics, entitled *Money and Banking, 1940-42*. The statistics given in this volume are brought up to the end of March 1942 and cover nearly all European countries, for most of which figures are not at present readily available outside Europe.

Wartime Rationing and Consumption—the first comprehensive study that has appeared on this subject—was published in October 1942. All types of rationing and the experience of a very large number of countries are brought under review. The study opens with a discussion of the general problem of consumption control in war economy, the various methods of rationing adopted, the conditions under which they can operate

successfully and the connection between rationing and price control. The main emphasis is naturally placed on food rationing and its effects on nutrition.

The tenth edition of the *World Economic Survey*, which analyses the developments from the summer of 1941 to the early autumn of 1942, also appeared before the end of 1942. It deals with the intensification of war economy in the belligerent countries and examines the repercussions of the war on production, consumption, finance, prices, trade and transport throughout the world. In particular, it describes the drain on Germany's man-power, the pressure on her transport system, the recruitment of foreign workers, and the drastic reorganisation of the whole economy, both of Germany herself and of the occupied areas. Special attention is paid to the food situation in the different European countries, the measure in which rations fell short of minimum standards, the shortage of other essential commodities such as food and clothing, and the effects of these conditions as reflected in statistics for births and deaths.

A review of Russia's economic problems brings out some of the main factors that have contributed to the strength of Soviet resistance, and describes the large-scale removal of industrial equipment and labour from the threatened areas, the scorched-earth policy, and the measures adopted to increase industrial and agricultural output and to compensate for the loss of the invaded areas.

The volume also deals with the important changes that have recently taken place in China, in particular the industrial development of the interior and the progress made in building up a centralised system of taxation and economic control.

A brief account is given of Japan's efforts to increase war production. Japan's conquests, it is pointed out, have done little to alleviate her shortages of iron, steel and textiles. But they have had important economic consequences elsewhere: their effects are considered with reference, not only to the raw-material supplies available to the United Nations, but also to the conditions in the occupied regions themselves.

The usefulness of the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* as a source of current information had been increasingly impaired

by difficulties in the transmission of data from overseas countries to Geneva and of the *Bulletin* from Geneva to those countries. After November 1942, those difficulties having increased, it was decided that the Princeton Mission should prepare a separate edition as from January 1943.

I propose to continue the publication of both editions of the *Bulletin* throughout the coming year unless circumstances should make this undesirable or unnecessary. In spite of the "statistical black-out", a very considerable volume of statistical material continues to be received at the League headquarters and it is believed that a new edition of the *Statistical Year-Book* containing these recent data will be of real value to Members of the League. The *Year-Book* was therefore published in Geneva at the beginning of September 1943 and steps are being taken to ensure its circulation in countries outside Europe.

It has been decided, however, to postpone the preparation of the eleventh edition of the *World Economic Survey*. This decision is based mainly on the consideration that priority should be given at this time to the prosecution of the programme of studies on post-war problems.

7. WORK IN CONNECTION WITH POST-WAR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

In response to the recommendation of the Economic and Financial Committees, supported by requests from a number of national administrations, an effort has been made in the past year to complete and publish a number of the studies to which reference was made in my last report. The following are the six volumes that have been published since last October:

- (1) *The Network of World Trade.*
- (2) *Commercial Policy in the Inter-war Period: International Proposals and National Policies.*
- (3) *Quantitative Trade Controls: Their Causes and Nature.*
- (4) *Trade Relations between Free-Market and Controlled Economies.*

(5) *Economic Fluctuations in the United States and the United Kingdom, 1918-1922.*

(6) *Relief Deliveries and Relief Loans, 1919-1923.*

The Network of World Trade: This volume, which is a sequel to the study on *Europe's Trade* issued in 1941, received immediate and widespread recognition as an original and an indispensable contribution to the understanding of international trade relationships. It is primarily concerned with the essential unity of world trade and with the worldwide system by which payment transfers were effected. This system, as also the pattern which it formed, was determined largely by the natural conditions of production and the relative supply in each trading area of labour, capital, equipment and productive land. Failure to understand the functioning of the system, it is pointed out, was responsible in no small measure for the disruption of trade and the accentuation of the depression to which the commercial policy pursued in the 'thirties led.

Commercial Policy in the Inter-war Period—International Proposals and National Policies: The purpose of this volume is to compare the commercial policies pursued in the inter-war period with the recommendations made or the action agreed upon by conferences and other international authorities, to consider the reasons for the frequent discrepancy between the policies proposed and those actually pursued and, in general, the reasons for the success or failure of the recommendations made, and finally to draw from the experience of these twenty years lessons which it is hoped may be of value for the future.

Quantitative Trade Controls — Their Causes and Nature: In this study, which was prepared by Professor G. Haberler in collaboration with a member of the Economic, Financial and Transit Department, consideration is given to the questions: What were the forces that induced Governments to adopt quantitative trade controls (quotas, etc.) in the inter-war period? What are the relative advantages and disadvantages of such measures compared with tariffs? Were quantitative controls the most suitable instrument to meet

the special circumstances that led to their imposition and, if so, why were they so generally condemned both by international conferences and by economists? Why, if they were not the most suitable instrument, was resort to them so general? Finally, are the circumstances which led to their adoption likely to arise again after the present war and, in that case, what policies should be pursued?

A companion volume entitled *Trade Relations between Free-Market and Controlled Economies* was prepared by Professor Jacob Viner. It deals with what may prove to be one of the major problems of commercial policy after the war—namely, that of the trading relationships between countries if some subject their foreign trade to direct regulation and others desire to avoid such controls and to influence the free play of the price mechanism only or mainly by tariffs.

Economic Fluctuations in the United States and the United Kingdom, 1918-1922: One of the chief and most immediate tasks of statesmanship that will present itself at the end of the war is that of assuring the re-employment of men demobilised from the armies or munitions factories. This volume, which deals with the experiences of and the policies adopted in the United States and the United Kingdom after the last war, is a contribution to this subject. As is stated in the last sentence of the volume, "the major problem of the transition from war to peace economy proved itself to be not one of getting demobilised men and machines re-employed, but one of the cyclical effects of the perhaps unavoidably bumpy nature of post-war pent-up demand". The work deals, consequently, with cyclical movements in economic activity rather than with the detailed proposals that were made to facilitate re-employment.

Relief Deliveries and Relief Loans, 1919-1923, deals with the organisation of Government relief activities after the last war; the work done by charitable organisations; the cost of communal feeding; the composition of the meals provided to the undernourished children of Europe; the connection between

relief and social and financial stability; the fate of relief loans; the effect of relief deliveries on the price and stock situation in the United States, etc.

A number of other studies in connection with post-war problems and policies are at the moment in course of preparation or will be issued before the publication of this Report. These include a study of *Europe's Overseas Needs, 1919/20, and how They were met*, which is complementary to the study on relief; a substantial volume on the *Lessons of Monetary Experience in the Inter-war Period*, dealing *inter alia*, with exchange equalisation funds, exchange controls and the gold-exchange and sterling standards; a study of *Agricultural Production during the War and Reconstruction, 1913-1926*; *European Population Projections*; and *The European Population in the Inter-war Period*, the last-named two studies being prepared for the League by the Office of Population Research, Princeton University.

In addition to these published documents, a number of others on allied subjects have been circulated to Governments in mimeographed form.

* * *

Reference has already been made to the fact that an edition of the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* continues to be prepared in Geneva, as does also the *Statistical Year-Book*, the 1941/42 volume of which has just been published. These publications represent the chief tasks of the small part of the staff of the Department which remains at the headquarters of the League. At the same time, this part of the staff is devoting its efforts towards keeping up to date—in so far as the difficulties inherent in present circumstances permit—of files of statistical and other documentary material which constitute sources of information on various subjects. This material serves in part to meet the requirements of the Mission at Princeton, more especially in regard to economic and financial developments in Europe.

Further, a detailed study has also been made in Geneva of the various plans for financial restoration and for the settle-

ment of refugees which were put into operation, under the auspices of the League of Nations, in several European countries, during the years which followed the previous war. The origin, characteristic features and development of these plans are reviewed in this study, together with the results achieved. The study shows, *inter alia*, that, although from the standpoint of public finance and currency, the plans for financial restoration led, in most cases, without great difficulty, to the attainment of the objects sought, the results as a whole nevertheless remained unstable and precarious for lack of a fundamental economic reorganisation of the countries in question, such a reorganisation being impossible except in a wider framework of international collaboration. The history of that collaboration, as it was practised in the years in question, is described in several of the publications already mentioned in this report, and more particularly in the study entitled *Commercial Policy in the Inter-war Period: International Proposals and National Policies*.

8. COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT

It will have been seen from the foregoing pages that, in the field of economic and financial studies strictly so called, there have been opportunities for resuming the normal application of the traditional methods of work of the technical organs of the League. In the course of their joint meetings in London and at Princeton, the Economic and Financial Committees made clear their position with regard to certain fundamental problems of the post-war period which come within their province. At the same time, they approved or suggested investigations which the Secretariat is in a position to undertake with a reasonable assurance of thus contributing to a knowledge of those problems. Further, experts in fiscal matters have continued to carry out a programme of work that was drawn up before the war.

Circumstances have not yet permitted the adoption of a similar procedure in respect of the questions which come within the sphere of the Communications and Transit Organisation. Within the general framework of the technical activities

of the League, this Organisation was endowed with a Statute and applied methods which were, to some extent, peculiar to itself. International treaties were drawn up under its auspices and applied widely. Its work, and also its recommendations, moreover, derived their force and their effectiveness from the fact that its various committees brought together numerous technical experts who, for the most part, were responsible, in their own countries, for dealing with the common problems that called for solution. In addition, the Organisation maintained close contact with many specialist associations, both official and private; in different parts of the world, frequently through the intermediary of common members. This whole system is temporarily reduced to fragments or dispersed.

The work of restoration with which the world will be faced in this field, after the war, cannot yet perhaps be clearly foreseen in all its aspects. In various regions of the world, and more markedly in Europe than elsewhere, the destruction wrought by the war has largely affected systems of communication. These ravages will continue to grow worse. When hostilities cease, in many territories there will be no harbour installations in existence; the under-structure of land communications will have suffered widespread damage; rolling-stock, greatly reduced in quantity, worn out, and suffering from lack of maintenance, will reveal grave inadequacies for the tasks of peace.

These devastations will have far-reaching consequences. Countries not directly involved in the war, and even those distant from the various theatres of operations, will not have escaped uninjured, so close was the interdependence between the great maritime and land highways.

But the war has led also to discoveries and to unanticipated technical progress enabling possibilities of future restoration to be foreseen.

The United Nations are executing programmes of naval and aircraft construction which stagger the imagination and there may perhaps be justification for thinking that the immediate alleviation of much of the distress caused by the war will thereby be facilitated.

From a longer-term point of view, and as an integral part

of plans devised to promote the well-being of the peoples of the world, it is worthy of mention that, amongst the United Nations, problems of communications are being considered from a new angle, and in a way that goes beyond the bounds of purely technical questions. The meetings held at Hot Springs, Virginia, clearly brought out one aspect of the matter, an aspect which has, moreover, been regarded as of prime importance in other Allied gatherings—namely, the view that problems of distribution constitute an essential part of the question of raising the standard of living of the various nations.

On the eve of the war, the Communications and Transit Organisation had itself taken up this matter and on this question, as on many others, the heritage left by its activities may be a source of valuable information.

• The efforts of the competent branch of the Secretariat are at present being directed towards keeping up this wealth of documentary material and supplementing it by the analysis of new facts and towards the maintenance of all possible contacts. With due regard to changing situations, various studies have been made so that they may serve when the time comes to gather up the threads of international collaboration in this field.

II. QUESTIONS OF A SOCIAL AND HUMANITARIAN CHARACTER

1: HEALTH QUESTIONS

In this fourth year of the war, the Health Section has concentrated its activities on the two major problems facing health administrations—viz., the present food scarcity, with malnutrition in Europe, and the danger of epidemic outbreaks in Europe.

Food Scarcity, Nutrition and Health.

Although past studies and the reports of the League of Nations' technical and mixed committees on nutrition showed that malnutrition was by no means restricted to the so-called poorer countries or poorer classes, there is no doubt that under-feeding, with its consequent effects on health, has increased considerably during the last three years, both in extent and in severity. This is particularly so in European countries under foreign occupation, but it is also the case in occupied countries of the Far East and among millions of refugees in China.

The attention of the Health Section has been more especially directed to the first group—i.e. the European population—since, owing to the strategic situation it occupies in the heart of Europe, it has been able to obtain information not only on official food rations but also on actual consumption in many countries, on the prevalence of deficiency diseases and on mortality rates, which reflect, with some lag, the effect of malnutrition when its severity exceeds certain limits.

As international technical committees could not be convened in a continent where frontiers are almost impossible to cross, it fell to the Health Section's small staff to carry on the work.

Studies on Malnutrition and Its Effects on Health in Europe.
— There are several means by which the food consumption of the population may be gauged. In peace-time, the most obvious is the analysis of national statistics of food production, imports and exports. In time of war, such statistics are, of course, not available, nor would they be reliable even if they could be produced, as in belligerent countries—and to a greater extent in occupied countries—agricultural producers do not report the whole of their crops. Generally speaking, the amount of food indicated on the ration cards does not correspond to the amount of food actually available and consumed by the inhabitants. On the one hand, certain food-stuffs are not rationed and, on the other hand, only too often consumers simply cannot obtain what they are entitled to. Official rations are therefore not to be taken at their face value, although their fluctuations from month to month or year to year provide an indication of the trend of comparative abundance or scarcity of certain elements in the national dietary. Consequently, only rough estimates can be made of actual food intake in the various countries and amongst the various categories of the population, there being considerable differences between rations allowed for the various age-groups, and even more between food obtainable by the different social classes, as the "black" market is naturally more accessible to the well-to-do. The greatest difference lies probably between the lot of the urban dwellers taken as a whole and that of the rural dwellers, who, being themselves producers or in close contact with producers, are as a rule able to provide for themselves instead of relying on official agencies and rations.

Though it is at present difficult to determine with accuracy the actual food intake, it is nevertheless possible, from a careful perusal of the medical Press, to gather many indications of value as to the state of nutrition amongst the populations of various countries. There are found to be reports on the

reduction of infants' weight at birth, on the slowing-up of growth in school-children, on the loss of weight of male and female workers in factories, on the frequency of various types of food deficiency symptoms, discovered through special surveys, and, finally, on the increasing prevalence of famine oedema, first among the inmates of prisons, internment camps and asylums, and later in the general population itself. Improper or insufficient feeding reacts eventually on the mortality curves, on infantile mortality, on tuberculosis mortality and even, when conditions become very serious, on the general mortality itself, through a general weakening, which influences the various causes of death, and through starvation itself.

The Health Section has taken advantage of the opportunity offered by the fact that it receives medical journals and statistical returns from most countries of Europe to study the trend of morbidity and mortality in their relation to food shortage. A first study was prepared early in 1942; a more comprehensive one is shortly to appear in the *Bulletin of the Health Organisation*.

Food Relief Requirements. — The above-mentioned studies were undertaken because it was felt that, to help them to settle conflicting priority claims, it would be essential for the authorities controlling post-war food relief to have accurate, impartial and objective data on the real needs of the various parts of the European population, as demonstrated by actual symptoms of malnutrition.

Alive to the necessity of knowing not only the aggregate amount of food that would be needed by the populations of the various European countries when liberated, but also which of the food elements were most acutely lacking in their present dietary, British authorities requested the Health Organisation to determine the latter as far as was practicable, so that foods prepared by the Allied Food Relief Organisation should, in the form of adequate *complement* rations, compensate present deficiencies and cure their ill-effects.

This entailed, in the first place, a statistical comparison between, on the one hand, normal consumption of the various food elements during pre-war years in the different countries

of Europe and, on the other hand, war-time consumption as computed from war dietaries, as far as these could be ascertained. Secondly, a study of the prevalence of deficiency diseases had to be undertaken.

Expert advice was sought and given regarding the optimum composition of "supplementary" relief rations that might be distributed as soon as this became possible. These supplementary relief rations were designed to provide in highly concentrated form those elements the lack, or at least the insufficiency, of which is most harmful in present dietaries: calcium and phosphorus, high-class proteins, fats and vitamins—*i.e.*, protective foods—besides some carbohydrates for fuel value.

A representative of the Secretary-General who had drawn up the scheme and participated in the preliminary surveys of the nutritional situation in Europe was given the opportunity of sharing his knowledge with the Technical and Advisory Committee on Medical Supplies and Services and the sub-committees of the Allied Post-War Requirements Organisation in London, at the end of 1942, and during the first months of 1943. In April 1943, he was invited by the State Department of the United States to act in an advisory capacity to the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations and its Health Committee in Washington. He also took part in the work of technical sub-committees on tropical diseases, nutrition, child welfare and sanitary engineering, set up to study the help that will have to be given to the authorities, as soon as reorganised, of the liberated countries to enable them, by means of adequate staff and supplies, to improve the health of the people in those territories where it has deteriorated as a result of foreign occupation. He was later invited to act as adviser on food and drug relief to the Lend-lease Organisation. It will be recalled that a very appreciable part of the supplies issued by that Organisation to various countries consists of foodstuffs and medical stores.

During the last twenty-two years, the Health Organisation has pursued its humanitarian work for the benefit, and with the collaboration, of all countries, irrespective of their political complexion or of their status as Members or non-members of the League.

The Epidemic Danger.

It was quite natural for public, and even medical opinion, impressed by the traditional memories of war epidemics and by the staggering losses inflicted on the populations of Eastern Europe through epidemics of all kinds during the last world war and more particularly during its aftermath, and also by the coincident pandemic of influenza, to expect fresh epidemics to occur as a result of the present conflict. The Epidemiological Intelligence Service of the Health Section was fortunately in a position to keep in touch with the evolution of communicable diseases in the various countries, as most national health administrations, feeling the need for information as to the trend of these diseases abroad, kept up their collaboration with this Service. Its staff, having the benefit of long-standing archives and of twenty years experience in gauging the significance of epidemic events, kept constant watch on the epidemic situation.

The Singapore Bureau. — The Eastern Bureau of this Service functioned for Eastern countries until less than a week before the occupation of Singapore by the Japanese in January 1942. After that date (in spite of the hospitality and facilities offered to the Director of the Eastern Bureau by the Australian Government), the suppression of all trade between the areas controlled by the Allies on the one hand and by the Japanese on the other, and the restriction of movements within these areas to military traffic, with the consequent necessity for secrecy, made the pursuance of the Bureau's activities temporarily impossible. They were accordingly suspended until the return of more promising conditions in the Orient.

The slowing-up of postal communications between the African and American continents and the seat of the Epidemiological Intelligence Service in Geneva made it difficult for the latter to cover these two continents efficiently as heretofore; notwithstanding the regular telegraphic contact maintained with the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, the Service therefore concentrated its attention on Europe, which is particularly exposed to epidemics as a result of the war.

The information collected on the health situation in Europe⁶ was summarised in a series of notes relating to the prevalence, trend and probable course of the main communicable diseases occurring in that continent: typhus fever, cerebro-spinal meningitis, enteric fever, scarlet fever, smallpox, poliomyelitis, etc. These notes were published in the *Weekly Epidemiological Record*.⁶ In view of the interest attaching to typhus fever owing to its extension as a result of the first world war, it was made the subject of a particular study published in the *Bulletin of the Health Organisation* in January 1943. This monograph contained, not only up-to-date information on the prevalence of the disease in Europe and surrounding countries, but also technical information on recent methods of prevention applicable in the different countries, special reference being made to vaccination.

This information on epidemic disease was sent regularly, as soon as issued, to all health administrations—by air-mail to some overseas administrations. A comprehensive survey of the present situation with regard to the vitality of the European populations, the increased incidence of diseases favoured by malnutrition and the present prevalence of epidemics and their possible extension has been prepared and is to be issued in a forthcoming number of the *Bulletin of the Health Organisation*.

It is felt that the facts published will serve both to allay exaggerated fears, based on erroneous premises, and to help national health administrations and international organisations dealing with medical relief to concentrate their means to combat those diseases which constitute the most real and most immediate menace to public health.

The International Red Cross has availed itself of the epidemiological information and experience of the Health Section, in order to determine what drugs are needed for epidemic relief.

Similar information and advice was likewise furnished to the Allied Technical Advisory Committee on Medical Supplies and Services in London and to its technical sub-committees, the object being to determine what drugs, staff and sanitary supplies would be necessary to improve public health in the

European countries when they are liberated. Particular attention was directed not only to the possibility of outbreaks of typhus, enteric fever, dysentery, diphtheria, etc., but also to the increased prevalence of tuberculosis and malaria and to the protection of the most vulnerable elements in the population—viz., pregnant and nursing women and infants.

Other Activities of the Health Organisation.

Apart from its work in connection with the above-mentioned subjects which, owing to the war, have acquired particular importance, the Health Organisation has maintained its activities in other spheres, so far as staff and circumstances (which precluded the possibility of meetings of experts) permitted.

Health Information Service.

The maintenance at Geneva of international health archives, library and staff, incited many sanitary administrations, research institutions, private health and welfare organisations, etc., now deprived of technical information about other countries to apply to the Health Section for particulars regarding recent developments concerning not only epidemic diseases but also other health questions.

As many as 89 requests for technical documentation or information were received and met by the Health Section, from February 1942 to the end of June 1943. Of these requests, 14 came from international organisations, including the International Red Cross Committee and the League of Red Cross Societies, 27 from national health administrations, ministries of health, public welfare, colonies, etc., 3 from regional health services, 21 from scientific institutions, universities and research laboratories, 9 from national Red Cross Societies and other welfare organisations, and 15 from other sources.

The subject which aroused most interest and led to the largest number of requests was the effect of the war on communicable diseases. The questions included: the health situation as a whole, anti-epidemic action generally, or in regard

to particular diseases and modern methods of combating them. Typhus, bacillary dysentery, diphtheria and smallpox received most attention.

Nutrition, feeding and dietary came second.

Other questions related to the various branches of hygiene: public health administration, housing, eugenics, mental, individual, international, maternal, rural, or tropical hygiene. In all, 32 requests were concerned with hygiene in its different aspects as against 57 relating to epidemic diseases and sanitary statistics.

International Nomenclature of Diseases and Causes of Death.

A number of requests for information and advice regarding medical nomenclature came to the Health Section as the result of the important part it had played in the preparation of the last two decennial revisions of the International Lists of Diseases and Causes of Death. Advice was sought as to the methods of compiling hospital records, surgical procedures, the classification of causes of death, and the nomenclature of communicable diseases.

A study, made at the request of the International Red Cross, on the significance of names of communicable diseases in various languages was amplified and extended so as to form the basis of a comprehensive glossary in twenty-four languages of the communicable diseases. This glossary, with its index of some 5,000 terms, is to be published as a special number of the *Bulletin of the Health Organisation*.

Biological Standardisation.

Notwithstanding the war, the Department of Standards of the National Institute for Medical Research at Hampstead and the State Serum Institute at Copenhagen have continued, on behalf of the Health Organisation of the League of Nations, to prepare biological standards and distribute them regularly to the national institutes and laboratories entrusted with the control of drugs and sera. The standards selected, after years of patient study by the Permanent Commission on Biological Standardisation, now include 15 curative or protective sera,

9 hormones, 5 vitamins and 5 other drugs, which require animal tests for their titration.

In addition, the National Institute for Medical Research took the initiative in 1942 of setting up a standard preparation and international unit for heparin, a substance which prevents the coagulation of blood and which is more and more used in both ordinary and war surgery. This standard and international unit will have to be formally approved and adopted after the war, when the Permanent Commission on Biological Standardisation meets. Meanwhile, the initiative taken will prevent the introduction into the practice of the various laboratories of units based on different biological criteria and therefore difficult of comparison among themselves.

Notwithstanding the war, research has continued on several subjects on the agenda of the Permanent Commission. Among these subjects are the nature of the toxins produced by the tetanus germ and by *Bacillus perfringens*, one of the agents of gas gangrene. These studies are described in a series of articles that are to appear in a special standardisation number of the *Bulletin of the Health Organisation* now in the press, together with a general survey of the recent progress in biological standards.

It may be mentioned that a stock of the various standards prepared by the Hampstead Institute has been constituted in Geneva.

Unification of Pharmacopœia.

It will be recalled that, before the war, the Health Committee of the League undertook the task of collecting the elements for an international pharmacopœia. It was intended to unify and standardise the main pharmaceutical preparations throughout the world and to make their manufacture by the chemical industry simpler and more economical.

A last revision of the eighty-five monographs completed to date on the most important drugs was considered necessary. This revision has been continued in 1942 and 1943 in both London and Philadelphia, while a study of the temperatures

of fusion which permit identification of some of these drugs is now being carried out at Zurich.

It is hoped that this may pave the way for a more rapid resumption of progress after the war, when the re-opening of communications will make it possible to convene the Committee.

Malaria.

Circumstances have so far prevented the Malaria Commission from meeting. The reduction in anti-malaria work, the lowered nutritional level of populations, migrations and the scarcity of quinine and other cinchona derivatives since the occupation of the main producing country—Java—by the Japanese, have already resulted in an increased incidence of malaria in a number of countries. The accentuation of these factors might, at the close of the war, be responsible for actual epidemics breaking out, as they did at the end of the first world war.

Without waiting for the time when the Malaria Commission could meet, a number of its members have been asked for their advice regarding the possibilities of mass treatment with the synthetic drugs capable of replacing quinine, and particularly atebirin. This enquiry was carried out at the instance of an American Government relief agency.

2. CONTROL OF THE DRUG TRAFFIC

When war broke out in Europe in 1939, the League had, with the universal co-operation of Governments, succeeded in building up an international drug administration which had proved its efficacy. Licensed manufacture of drugs was strictly supervised and had been reduced to quantities closely corresponding to the world's medical and scientific needs. The authorised international trade, which before 1930 had been one of the most important sources of supplies for the illicit traffic, was effectively controlled and had materially decreased. A special instrument for international collaboration in the campaign against the illicit traffic—the Convention of 1936 for the Suppression of the Illicit Traffic—had come into force.

The preparations for the limitation of the cultivation of the opium poppy and of the production of raw opium had reached an advanced stage and a preliminary draft convention had been prepared and communicated to Governments. The organs which form the international drug administration—the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs, the Permanent Central Opium Board, the Supervisory Body, and the Secretariat of the League—took the view that it was essential during the war to maintain the progress made, so as to prevent a return, in the field of dangerous drugs, to the chaotic conditions which prevailed before the international control began to show its results; they decided to do all in their power to safeguard the continued functioning during the war of the international administration.

It was then—late in 1939 and early in 1940—considered that it would hardly be possible to make further advances so long as the war lasted. In 1942-1943 it has been possible to foresee the resumption in full of the activities of the League in this field and, as will be seen below, to begin the preparations for a consolidation of the position already gained and for further progress.

In the Report on the Work of the League, 1941-1942,¹ a short account was given of the actual position in regard to activities concerned with the control of narcotic drugs. Attention was drawn to the importance of maintaining in war-time to the fullest possible extent the national and international supervision, and it was stated that the large majority of Governments had readily responded to the appeal made to them in 1940 by the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs to the effect that they should take all possible steps to prevent an extension of drug addiction and a reversion to the conditions which existed during and after the last war. It was noted that Governments had continued to furnish the information which is essential for the functioning of the international control and that the organs which form the international drug administration had been able to carry on their work. Reference was made also to the

¹ See document C.35.M.35.1942, pages 53-55.

new situation and new problems which the war itself has created.

During the year under review, the situation remained, on the whole, the same as described in the preceding report. There are, however, two new elements in the situation to which attention should be drawn. The international supervision of narcotic drugs depends very largely on the possibility of maintaining communications between Governments and the League. The deterioration of postal communications, with complete cessation of such communications at intervals, has tended to impair the international supervision. Such a contingency was foreseen when, in February 1941, branch offices of the Supervisory Body and the Central Board were opened in Washington, D.C., while the headquarters of these bodies remained in Geneva. In this way the maintenance of communications with Governments was partially safeguarded as far as the work of the two bodies is concerned. One of the Secretary-General's functions under the drug conventions is the exchange of information under Articles 21 and 23 of the Limitation Convention of 1931, which refer to annual reports concerning the application of the Convention in the various countries and territories, laws and regulations promulgated to give effect to the Convention, and reports on seizures and cases of illicit traffic. Measures to safeguard the continuation of this exchange of information in case of need are being considered.

Owing to war conditions, Governments which, in the past, have relied on imports of drugs have met with considerable difficulties in obtaining the necessary supplies. In some South-American countries, this situation has resulted in plans to produce raw opium and to manufacture drugs. The creation of new centres of production and manufacture of dangerous drugs has always been discouraged by the Advisory Committee, which holds the view that the solution of the drug problem should, *inter alia*, be sought in limitation of the number of factories turning out drugs and of countries producing raw materials. The conditions which would favour new production and new manufacture are not likely to prevail after the war. The legitimate demand for drugs, increased on

account of war, will diminish; and new manufacturing countries, faced with the competition of old-established factories, might find it difficult to dispose of their products in the legitimate market. An excess of manufacture over legitimate needs may follow and this is the situation for which illicit traffickers all over the world are waiting.

◦ *Preparations for the Post-war Period.*

Although, in the field of narcotic drugs, international supervision and co-operation have been well maintained, it is important to take, as soon as possible, all necessary steps to restore the full measures of control as they existed in the pre-war period. The peace settlements which will follow the war may, moreover, offer opportunity for improvement of the existing control system and for further progress. Reference was made to this matter in the Report for 1941-1942, where it was pointed out that improvements and progress could be achieved only if the necessary preparatory work had been done.

In this connection, consultations took place in London in September 1942 with the participation of the Chairman of the Opium Advisory Committee, the Chairman of the Supervisory Body, one of the members of the Permanent Central Board, and the Chief of the Drug Control Service of the Secretariat. A general plan for preparatory work by the Secretariat was drawn up, transmitted to the Acting Secretary-General and approved by him in principle. The work has been begun. The main points of the post-war planning programme are the following.

In the short-range field, the Secretariat was asked to study the situation which may arise immediately after the cessation of hostilities, having in view the provision of sufficient supplies of drugs to meet medical needs which may be materially increased under post-war conditions, and having regard to the importance of preventing supplies of raw materials and drugs from escaping into the illicit traffic should civilian and military authorities be disorganised or temporarily cease to function.

For the purpose of perfecting the existing system of control, a study and review of present national and international systems will be made, with a view to suggesting improvements in general, removing weaknesses, inconsistencies and gaps, and aiming at simplification of procedure. Such a review presents a very real interest apart from its importance for further progress in international drug control.

In connection with the general problem of free and equal access to raw materials, the question of supplies of raw materials for the manufacture of drugs should be given consideration.

Post-war planning will include two of the most important problems that have not yet found their appropriate solutions. It was considered that the possibility of complete and immediate prohibition of opium-smoking everywhere should be studied with a view to full and final effect being given to the provisions of the Hague Convention, although prohibition could not be expected, of itself, to bring about the desired results unless it is combined with a limitation of raw-opium production. It will be remembered that, in 1939, the Advisory Committee communicated to Governments a preliminary draft convention for the limitation of poppy cultivation and of the production of raw opium and other raw materials for the manufacture of narcotic drugs. In 1940, the Advisory Committee instructed the Secretariat to continue its studies with a view to enabling the Committee to resume its consideration of a complete draft convention at the earliest possible moment after the end of the war. The Secretariat will undertake the necessary studies on both these problems.

Finally, the problem of drug addiction requires attention, and the immediate task given to the Secretariat is to study the legal position of addicts and current methods for treatment of addiction.

Supervisory Body.

The Supervisory Body, which was set up by the 1931 Convention, examines Government estimates of drug requirements. The Annual Statement of "Estimated World Requirements of Dangerous Drugs" issued by the Supervisory Body

is the basis on which the whole machinery of international control of the manufacture of and the trade in dangerous drugs now rests. It indicates the limits within which States parties to the Convention are under an obligation to restrict their manufacture, exports, and imports of drugs during the year to which the Statement refers. A comparison between the estimates and the statistics subsequently furnished by Governments of the amounts actually manufactured, imported and exported makes possible an effective control of manufacture and trade.

The facts given below concerning the work of the Supervisory Body in regard to the estimates for 1942 and 1943 show that the great majority of Governments, even in times of serious national crises, desire to maintain intact the national and international control of narcotic drugs, and that they realise the importance of the estimates system. The Supervisory Body has, for its part, made every endeavour to facilitate for Governments the application of the estimates system by taking into consideration the difficulties created by the present conflict. The close collaboration between Governments and the Supervisory Body has thus made it possible to ensure the continued application of the provisions of the 1931 Convention concerning estimates.

I. *Application of the Estimates System in 1942.*

At the time when the Supervisory Body's Statement of "Estimated World Requirements of Dangerous Drugs in 1942" was sent to the printers (December 1941), annual estimates for 1942 had been received in respect of 81 countries and territories. Before the end of 1942, however, further estimates were received in respect of 47 countries and territories, and the total number of countries and territories which themselves furnished estimates for 1942 rose to 128 or over 72% of all the countries and territories—177 in number—of the world. Estimates framed by the Supervisory Body remained in force during the year for 49 countries and territories.

The following table shows the situation at the end of the year 1942: . . .

Continent	Estimates				Total
	furnished by Governments		established by the Supervisory Body		
	Countries	Territories	Countries	Territories	
Europe	19	2	13	—	34
America (North, Central, South)	23	16	—	6	45
Asia	7	15	1	9	32
Africa	4	30	2	14	50
Oceania	2	10	—	4	16
Total	55	73	16	33	177

In addition to the estimates mentioned above, 39 supplementary estimates for 1942 were received and dealt with by the Supervisory Body during the year.

Four Supplements to the Statement for 1942, containing late annual and supplementary estimates, were issued and communicated to Governments by the Acting Secretary-General between March 12th and December 31st, 1942.

The Supplements to the Statement for 1942 modified as follows the original world totals for the five principal drugs published in the Statement for that year:

Drug	World Totals of the Estimates		Net increase
	as shown in the Statement 1942	as modified by supplementary estimates	
	Kg.	Kg.	Kg.
Morphine	49,737	50,926	1,189
Diacetylmorphine	834	1,025	191
Cocaine	4,748	5,839	1,091
Codeine	32,776	37,325	5,219
Dionine	3,148	3,886	738

Taking into account 177 annual estimates furnished by Governments or framed by the Supervisory Body and included in the Statement for 1942, and 86 late and supplementary estimates received in the course of the year, the Supervisory Body dealt in all with 263 estimates for 1942 as against a total of 270 estimates for 1941.

II. *Statement of "Estimated World Requirements of Dangerous Drugs in 1943".*

The extent to which Governments in the midst of a world-wide conflict have continued to collaborate with the Supervisory Body in 1942 and 1943 is well illustrated by the following facts: a total of 106 annual estimates in respect of 48 countries and 58 territories were received in time (*i.e.*, before the end of 1942) to be included in the Statement for 1943. After the Statement was sent to press and up to May 15th, 1943, further annual estimates were transmitted in respect of 6 countries, the total number of estimates furnished by Governments themselves being thus by that date 112, or over 63% of all the countries and territories of the world.

The following table illustrates the situation as it was on May 15th, 1943:

Continent	Estimates				Total
	furnished by Governments		established by the Supervisory Body		
	Countries	Territories	Countries	Territories	
Europe	19	2	13	—	34
America (North, Central, South)	23	18	—	4	45
Asia	5	8	3	16	32
Africa	5	25	1	19	50
Oceania	2	5	—	9	16
Total	54	58	17	48	177

It has been stated above that, at the end of 1942, estimates for that year had been furnished by Governments in respect of 72% of all countries and territories in the world. On May 15th, 1943, the corresponding figure for 1943 was 63%. Estimates for 1943 may yet be received this year and may thus increase the final percentage. Although a definite comparison cannot yet be made, one fact emerges already from a comparison with the figures for 1942—namely, that, taken as a whole, the situation concerning the *countries* did not materially change in 1943. Of a total of 71 countries appearing in the Statement, 55, or 77%, have furnished their estimates for 1942 and 54, or 76%, for 1943.

As was the case with the estimates for 1942, estimates for 1943 were furnished by all sovereign countries in the Western Hemisphere.

The Supervisory Body framed estimates for 1943 in respect of 17 countries, 15 of which are represented by the Axis Powers and countries occupied by them; the remaining two are Saudi Arabia and Liberia.

The picture is different in regard to the territories. As the situation now stands, there is a marked decline of estimates furnished for 1943 as compared with 1942. Of 106 territories, 73, or 69%, furnished their estimates for 1942, and only 58, or 55%, for 1943. This reduction is mainly due to the absence of estimates from 7 territories in Asia and 5 territories in Oceania which, in 1941, furnished estimates for 1942, but which are now either under occupation or in the theatre of war.

Permanent Central Opium Board.

As part of the system of international control of the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs established by the International Conventions of 1925 and 1931; the Permanent Central Opium Board has, with the co-operation of the national administrations, to carry out important duties of supervision over the production, manufacture, export and import of and traffic in these drugs. As reports issued by the Board have shown, a very great measure of success has been achieved in

limiting the trade in and use of these drugs to legitimate purposes.

The Board's work has been beset by great and ever-increasing difficulties since the outbreak of the war. The exigencies of war requirements and other conditions arising out of the present emergency interfere with the normal administration by the national authorities. In the case of many countries, the Board states, the information sent falls short of that required for the effective discharge of its duties or is much delayed. In the case of some others, the information is entirely lacking.

The Board has, however, been able to record that, in respect of the year 1941, the statistical returns which the countries parties to the Convention have undertaken to furnish periodically were fully or partially received from as many as 50 Governments out of 66 contracting parties, and from 62 out of 99 dependencies and colonies.

For the year 1942, quarterly statistics of imports and exports have so far been received in respect of 47 countries and 53 territories. In respect of the same year, the Board has already received from several countries the statistics relating to production, manufacture, conversion, consumption, stocks, confiscations, etc., which are not due to be communicated to it until several months after the end of the year to which they refer.

The Board held a session in London from September 14th to 19th, 1942. It reviewed the world position as it appeared from the statistical returns sent in by Governments. It also determined its policy for the future. The Board desires to emphasise that, as experience over the last twenty years has shown, it is of importance that its work should not be interrupted, and it notes with satisfaction that this view is shared by the great majority of Governments. The international control continues and is likely to continue operative over a considerable part of the world, and its complete re-establishment will be a matter of the utmost urgency on the cessation of the war. The Board accordingly proposes to carry on its work within the limits imposed by war conditions.

The existence of a branch office at Washington has made

it possible to get into closer touch with the Governments in Central and South America. The Board records its appreciation of the interest and good-will shown by these Governments and their expert officials.

The Board hopes to be able to hold at least two sessions in the course of the year 1943. The situation is continually changing as the war proceeds, and new problems are arising which require its close attention; the position in regard to the international traffic also calls for careful scrutiny and supervision.

3. SOCIAL QUESTIONS

With regard to social questions, work, the scope and character of which were described in my previous Report,¹ has been pursued during the year.

Some countries have transmitted to the Secretariat reports on the traffic in women and children. These reports, which relate not only to the countries in question but also to about forty colonies, possessions, protectorates and other territories, were summarised by the Secretariat. The summary was published (document C.75.M.75.1942.IV).

Reports, some of which dealt with the situation in colonies, possessions, etc., were received also regarding the traffic in obscene publications. A summary of these reports was published (document C.69.M.69.1942.IV).

Whereas in 1940 and 1941 the Secretariat received from only ten countries reports concerning child welfare and the new legislative and administrative measures taken in regard thereto, it is interesting to note that in 1942 sixteen countries transmitted reports. The summary of these reports has been published (document C.12.M.12.1943.IV).

The Child Welfare Information Centre set up in the Secretariat continues, for its part, so far as is possible, to collect and communicate the texts of legislative and administrative measures taken in various countries.

It has also been decided to publish without further delay the Report on Prevention of Prostitution, which, apart from

¹ Document C.35.M.35.1942, pages 59 *et seq.*

the final chapter containing conclusions and recommendations, had been approved by the League Advisory Committee on Social Questions at its last session held in 1939. This report, which deals with preventive measures, especially those which affect minors, has lost none of its value and may be included among the studies connected with post-war reconstruction in social questions. It supplements the three reports which were published in 1938 and 1939 on the question of rehabilitation of prostitutes.¹

All this documentary material may prove to be of value when the world—in particular, those countries at present suffering from the upheavals occasioned by the war—is able once more to set to work in order to reconstruct and develop what had already been accomplished in the past, and when new tasks can be undertaken.

What are the objects, in the sphere of the welfare of women and children and other kindred questions, to which international collaboration should then be directed? In what way, and to what extent, can such collaboration best be utilised in seeking solutions for the problems that will then arise, and what are the particular tasks that will then be entrusted to the international organs?

It is still difficult to express any opinion on such matters. The international organs have not been able to meet in order to examine the situation as it is at present, to discuss the problems to which it gives rise, to formulate their hopes and wishes, and to lay down guiding principles for the studies that should be undertaken. Nevertheless, certain contacts have been maintained with the private international associations whose co-operation will be of value when the moment comes to take up once more, in common, the work that has been interrupted. It is certain that this work will have to be resumed. As a result of the war, problems affecting women, mothers, children have become more important and the interest

¹ I. Prostitutes, Their Early Lives (document C.218.M.120.1938.IV);
II. Social Services and Venereal Diseases (document C.6.M.5.1938.IV);
III. Methods of Rehabilitation of Adult Prostitutes (document C.83.M.43.1939.IV).

taken in those problems has become more widespread. When hostilities end, the world will be faced by situations calling for rapid and energetic measures. In several countries, special attention is being devoted to the question of the welfare of children, their development from the spiritual, moral, intellectual and physical standpoints, the preparation that will enable them to take their places in the community and discharge the tasks that will fall to them when they become men and women. For some problems, it will be possible to find satisfactory solutions only by means of international co-operation; for others, national solutions will be facilitated by the exchange of ideas and the pooling of experience gained and results achieved.

4. INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES

The general aspect of the refugee problem has not changed appreciably in the course of the past year, although the events that occurred during that period have clearly shown the great need for immediate relief for certain groups of refugees. In several European countries, the new measures taken, more particularly against Jews, have led to the mass deportation of the latter to labour camps or to the "ghettos" created in Poland or further eastward. On the other hand, following on the decisions taken in France in the autumn of 1942, there was a movement of clandestine emigration to Switzerland and Spain, and to this was added the emigration of new categories of refugees created by the vicissitudes of the war. At the beginning of 1942, there were still in Switzerland about 6,000 German and Austrian refugees who had found asylum there prior to the outbreak of war. Of these, it has been possible for 2,000 to re-emigrate to oversea countries, thanks to the efforts of the Emigration Office of the Swiss Federal Police. Towards the end of the year, however, about 15,000 persons succeeded in taking refuge in Switzerland by crossing the frontier clandestinely. Switzerland is at present unable to provide for even a small measure of re-emigration. As for Spain, according to the High Commissioner's estimate, the number of refugees who had obtained asylum there after the

events of the autumn of 1942 was, on March 15th, 1943, approximately 15,000, of whom not more than one-half were Jews and not more than one-quarter Germans or Austrians. There were also Poles, Czechs, Yugoslavs, French, Dutch and a certain number of Stateless Russians. Some of them were able to emigrate to other countries, but departurés were probably less numerous than arrivals. The High Commissioner, who considers that this situation constitutes a most urgent problem, has drawn special attention to it in the various proposals he has had occasion to submit to the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the United States of America.

In general, it seems impossible to expect that there can be any more or less orderly repatriation or emigration of the refugees before the cessation of hostilities. The proposals put forward by the Government of the United States of America, in response to the British suggestions of March 1943, seemed to take account of this situation. The former Government proposed, in fact, to give to neutral countries formal assurances for the support of the refugees until they can be repatriated, this support coming necessarily from the United Nations and being augmented by funds from private sources. According to that Government, "the possibilities for the temporary asylum of the refugees with a view to their repatriation upon the termination of hostilities in countries other than neutrals and their dependencies should be explored together with the question of the availability of shipping to effect their movement from Europe".

The measures contemplated at the Anglo-American meeting which subsequently took place in the Bermudas (March 1943) have not been made public. The proposal by the United States Government to the effect that efforts directed towards solving the problem should be pursued through the instrumentality of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Refugees Committee would seem, however, to have been adopted. The Committee met, in fact, in London, on August 4th, 1943, and, according to the information available at the time when the present report is being drafted, it would appear to have approved the recommendations implying the

reorganisation of the Intergovernmental Committee and the extension of its field of activity. These recommendations are apparently intended to enable the Committee to contribute, in the near future, towards improving the present situation of the refugees whilst having regard, at the same time, to the measures that would be likely to facilitate the liquidation of this problem after the war.

Sir Herbert Emerson, who combines the duties of High Commissioner with those of Director of the Intergovernmental Committee, took an active part in the preparatory work for the meeting in the Bermudas by drawing up reports concerning the question of immediate assistance to refugees and the future aspect of the problem. For the present one of the principal features of this problem is the radical change which the German policy concerning intending emigrants underwent in the autumn of 1941. A rigid ban on exit permits was enforced inside the Greater Reich and in German-occupied countries from that time onward. This has resulted in clandestine emigration movements, the most important of which have already been mentioned. As to the general refugee problem after the war, its magnitude will depend on the extent to which the refugees are able and anxious to return to their own homes.

Notwithstanding the great obstacles which at present stand in the way of any concerted action by all the Governments concerned in the work of refugee relief, the efforts in this field are thus being untiringly pursued. In this connection, it would be impossible to over-estimate the value of the magnificent work done by the great national and international organisations, as well as by Relief Committees of all kinds, to whose devotion the League of Nations High Commissioner has recently once more paid high tribute.

III. QUESTIONS OF A LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CHARACTER

1. LEGAL QUESTIONS

(a) *Registration and Publication of Treaties.*

1. During 1942, thirteen new treaties were sent to the Secretariat by Governments for the purpose of registration. These treaties are mentioned in the lists that have been published periodically.

The Secretariat has also recorded further particulars concerning conventions already registered.

2. As regards the publication of the actual texts of the treaties registered, with the English or French translation of treaties the original of which is not in one of those languages, this has continued more rapidly than in recent years. Two volumes of the *Treaty Series* appeared in 1942 (Volumes CC and CCI, containing treaties Nos. 4686 to 4731). A further volume of the Series, Volume CCII (containing treaties Nos. 4732 to 4745) has already appeared in June 1943.

Communication of Ratifications and Accessions. — Governments have continued to communicate to the Secretariat ratifications and accessions in respect of treaties concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, including Labour Conventions. These ratifications and accessions have, in each case, been notified to all Governments.

A new edition of the List of Ratifications of Conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations will be issued shortly as an annex to the present report. Before

the war, this list accompanied the report on the work of the League of Nations each year. The last edition of the list was published in August 1939.

(b) *General Studies.*

The Legal Service has carried out certain general studies.

In particular, it has abstracted and classified all the provisions of conventions attributing powers and duties to the organs of the League of Nations (Council, Assembly, Secretary-General).

There are many general or special conventions which attribute powers and duties to the organs of the League of Nations.

1. A first category comprises conventions of a "technical" character—i.e., conventions that are not political in nature. These relate to communications and transit, economic and financial questions, narcotic drugs, legal questions, etc.

These conventions attribute various powers and duties to the Council of the League of Nations. In some cases, the Council appoints a body which participates in the operation of the convention, or supervises the execution of the convention. In other cases, it takes part in the appointment of conciliation organs or arbitral tribunals for the settlement of disputes concerning the application of the convention. In many cases, it is the duty of the Council to summon any conference that may be held for the revision of the convention.

2. A second category comprises conventions for the pacific settlement of disputes.

First amongst these must be mentioned the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, December 16th, 1920, which attributes numerous and important powers and duties to the Council, the Assembly and the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. To recall only the most important of these powers and duties, the Assembly and the Council, acting in conjunction, elect the judges; the Assembly determines the salaries of the judges; it votes the budget of the Court.

A certain number of special treaties for the pacific settlement of disputes attribute either to the Council of the League of Nations itself or to its President the duty of appointing members of a conciliation commission should the parties be unable to agree concerning the making of these appointments jointly.

3. A third category comprises conventions of a political character which, in general, confer on the Council of the League of Nations powers of control regarding their application. Conventions of this category, however, seem to have lost most of their importance at the present time.

This category comprises several types of convention.

First, there are general conventions. These are, for the most part, conventions supplementary to the Covenant which, as they have not obtained the requisite number of ratifications or accessions, have not come into force—e.g., the General Convention to improve the Means of preventing War, September 26th, 1931.

Next come special conventions. Of these, the first calling for mention are the various Locarno Agreements, which would seem to-day to be only of historical interest. Secondly, there are the numerous undertakings which were applied in the past concerning the protection of minorities.

A third group consists of the Treaties of Peace which marked the conclusion of the first world war.

Most of the provisions of the treaties in this group are now only of retrospective interest, either because they relate to obligations that have been discharged or temporary situations that have come to an end, or because, as the result of an agreement between the parties concerned, or without such an agreement, they have ceased to apply.

A considerable part of the Treaties of Peace, however—the part relating to the International Labour Organisation (Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles)—subsists in law and in fact.

This part, moreover, attributes important powers and duties to the Assembly, the Council and the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

2. MANDATES

The Acting Secretary-General has received various texts concerning the application of the Mandate in the States of the Levant.

In a letter dated November 28th, 1941, General de Gaulle stated that, since July 14th, 1941, he had assumed "in the States of the Levant under French Mandate, the powers and responsibilities devolving on France in virtue of the Mandate instrument dated July 24th, 1922, which entered into force on September 29th, 1923" and that he had "invested General Catroux, Delegate-General and Plenipotentiary in the Levant, with the powers exercised by the French High Commissioner in the States of the Levant".

This letter further states that, "on September 27th, 1941, in conformity with the principles enunciated in the Mandate instrument and with the traditional policy of France, General Catroux, acting on behalf of the Head of the Free French, in virtue of and within the framework of the Mandate, proclaimed the independence and sovereignty of the Syrian State. . . . On November 26th, on the same bases, and with due regard to the special relations between France and Lebanon, General Catroux . . . proclaimed the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon. . . ."

According to the above-mentioned letter, "the independence and the sovereignty of Syria and Lebanon will, in fact, not be subject to any limitations other than those resulting from the exigencies of the war. They do not, however, affect the juridical situation created by the Mandate instrument. That situation, indeed, could not be modified except with the agreement of the Council of the League of Nations, with the consent of the Government of the United States of America, one of the signatories of the Franco-American Convention of April 4th, 1924, and only after the conclusion, between the French Government and the Syrian and Lebanese Governments, of treaties duly ratified according to the laws of the French Republic. . . ."

To this letter were annexed the texts of the proclamations

of the independence of Syria and of Lebanon by General Catroux.

Further, on December 5th, 1941, "the National Commissioner for Foreign Affairs of Free France" transmitted to the Acting Secretary-General the texts of "two Decrees which General Catroux, Delegate-General and Plenipotentiary in the Levant, promulgated on August 18th and September 26th, 1941, and by which certain modifications were introduced into the judicial régime established in Syria and Lebanon, in execution of Articles 5 and 6 of the Mandate instrument".

Lastly, in a communication transmitted to the Acting Secretary-General on April 5th, 1943, the French National Committee announced that "General Catroux, Delegate-General of Fighting France in the Levant, has, on behalf of the French National Committee, made all necessary arrangements to enable the Syrian and Lebanese Governments to proceed to elections, with a view to the re-establishment of the constitutional régime, in accordance with the wishes of the populations". At the same time, the Committee transmitted the texts of the Orders promulgated in this connection by General Catroux. These Orders, three in number, are all dated March 18th, 1943, the first "re-establishing in Lebanon the application of the Constitution and amending certain provisions of that Constitution", the second "regulating in Lebanon, provisionally, pending the election of the President of the Lebanese Republic, the organisation and functioning of the executive power and of the legislative power", and the third "providing for the appointment, provisionally, of the Head of the State, Head of the Government of the Lebanese Republic".

The telegrams from General de Gaulle and General Giraud distributed to the Members of the League on April 19th, 1943 (document C.8.M.8.1943) are of interest in connection with this matter.

It should also be noted that the French National Committee has since been absorbed into the French Committee of National Liberation, the seat of which is on French territory in North Africa and of which General de Gaulle and General Giraud are Chairmen. With the exception of Indo-China, this Com-

mittee now exercises control over the French Empire, as well as Algeria. The competence of this Committee has been recognised in declarations made by the Governments of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom and also by the Governments of many other States Members of the League.

3. THE LEAGUE BUDGET

The policy of budgetary retrenchments, which was initiated in 1938 and severely applied in the following years, led to a drastic reduction in successive League budgets, the one for 1942 being no less than 70% lower than the budget for 1939. The decrease in expenditure was more and it will be understood that it was not achieved without great difficulty. The year 1942 represented a turning-point from the point of view both of League activities and budgetary reduction. Developments in the international situation made it imperative for the League organisations, and in particular for the Secretariat and the International Labour Organisation, to examine what useful contribution they could make towards the solution of problems which will necessarily arise after the war has come to an end. The New York-Washington Conference of the International Labour Organisation, held in October-November 1941, placed a number of new special tasks upon the International Labour Office in connection with the study of post-war reconstruction. The Secretariat had to adapt its activities in the economic and financial field to post-war needs, developing those which presented a particular interest in this respect.

The new work required new resources, the budget for 1942 being just sufficient to ensure the functioning of the organisations on a reduced scale. The Supervisory Commission was called upon in the spring of 1942 to place at the disposal of the International Labour Organisation special credits to enable it to begin the work which the Conference had asked it to undertake. The budget for 1943 reflects the revival of the activities of the two League organisations. It places at their disposal new resources, providing at the same time for the restoration to the League funds of the special advances made

to the International Labour Organisation in 1942, for the reconstruction programme. The budget amounts to 11,388,376 Swiss francs, which is about 15% more than in 1942. Though higher than the 1942 budget, it is still below that of 1939 by 64.6%.

The increase in the League budget for 1943 was mainly due to increased credits having to be placed at the disposal of the International Labour Organisation, and partly also to a larger provision to meet the deficits for 1940 and 1941, created by the non-payments of certain contributions. The budgets of the Secretariat of the League and of the Permanent Court of International Justice continued their downward movement in 1943. Table A on page 80 shows the development of the budgets of the various organisations of the League since 1939.¹

This increase in the credits voted for 1943 could not, of course, but entail an increase in the value of the unit of contribution, which, from 20,398.95 Swiss francs in 1942, has risen to 26,304.15 Swiss francs in 1943. This increase, however, was due not only to the increase in the League budget, but also, though in a lesser degree, to a further decline in the total number of units allocated to the States Members (432.95 units in 1943 as compared with 472.94 units in 1942), the number of States participating in the allocation of expenses being one less than in 1942. The distribution of contributions among the various organisations of the League has undergone a further modification in 1943, the share of the International Labour Organisation having increased and that of the Secretariat and the Permanent Court of International Justice having decreased, as appears from Table B on page 81.

The audit of the accounts of the League for 1941 and, as far as they were available in Geneva, for 1942, was carried out early in 1943 by the Auditor appointed by the Assembly.

¹ The budget for 1944 amounting to 10,089,049 Swiss francs was approved by the Supervisory Commission at its meeting at the end of July 1943. The distribution is as follows: (1) Secretariat, 3,127,477 Swiss francs; (2) International Labour Organisation, 3,725,534 francs; (3) Permanent Court of International Justice, 471,465 francs; (4) Pensions Fund, 1,345,436 francs; (5) other special Organisations, 220,365 francs; (6) restoration of deficits for previous years, 1,198,772 francs; Total, 10,089,049 francs.

Table A.

	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
			Swiss francs		
1. Secretariat	16,188,063	10,774,957	3,729,302	3,446,385	3,434,259
2. International Labour Organisation	8,394,243	6,351,600	3,253,000	3,169,302	3,835,026 753,161 ¹
3. Permanent Court of International Justice	2,839,689	2,383,638	500,000	500,000	456,608
4. Pensions Fund	1,710,118	1,563,476	1,500,000	1,427,059	1,409,272
5. Other special organisations	3,101,899	380,737	250,476	207,732	219,618
6. Restoration of deficits for previous years	—	—	1,426,933	896,984	1,280,432
	<u>32,234,012</u>	<u>21,451,408</u>	<u>10,659,711</u>	<u>9,647,462</u>	<u>11,388,376</u>

¹ This amount has been provided for the restoration of the special advance granted to the International Labour Organisation in 1942 from League funds.

Table B.

	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
	(Percentage of the Budget)				
1. Secretariat	50.22	50.21	34.99	35.73	30.15
2. International Labour Organisation	26.04	29.61	30.52	32.85	33.67 6.61 ¹
3. Permanent Court of International Justice	8.81	11.11	4.69	5.18	4.00
4. Pensions Fund	5.30	7.29	14.07	14.79	12.37
5. Other special organisations	9.63	1.78	2.34	2.15	1.96
6. Restoration of deficits for previous years	—	—	13.39	9.30	11.24
Total	100	100	100	100	100

¹ See footnote to preceding table.

4. THE STAFF OF THE SECRETARIAT

There has been but a slight change in the staff of the Secretariat during the past year. The substantial reductions consequent upon the outbreak of war have brought the staff to a level just sufficient to carry out the duties for the discharge of which the Secretariat continues to be responsible. The new tasks which already confront the Secretariat in connection with post-war reconstruction, however, will require some additions to the existing staff, for which the necessary provision has been made in the budget.

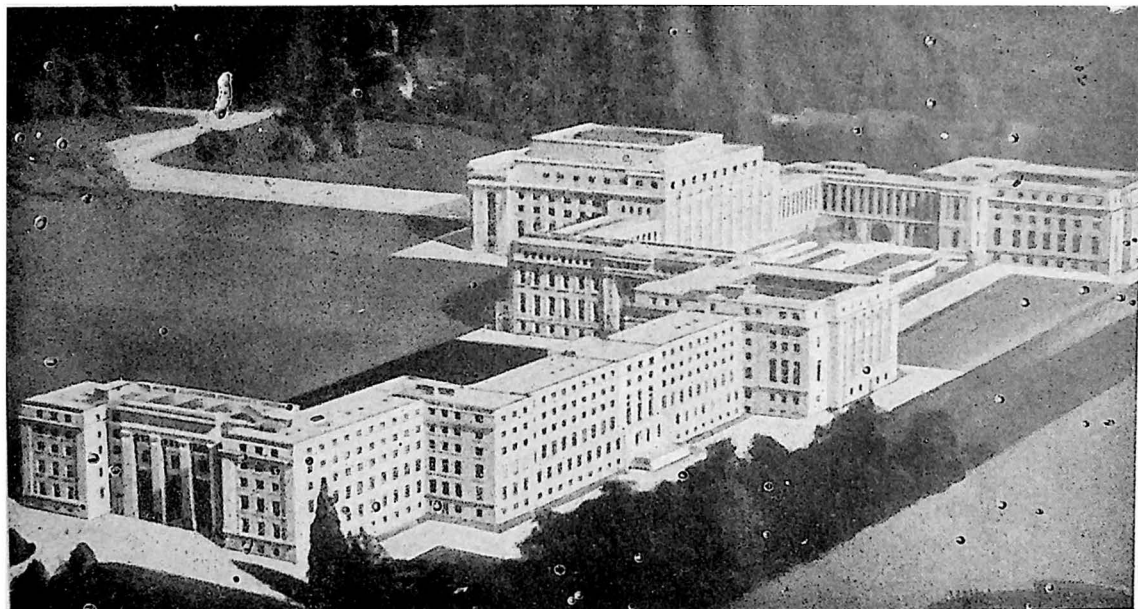
5. THE LEAGUE BUILDINGS

Mention must also be made of another asset of the Nations, the conservation of which is not one of the least of the responsibilities of the Secretariat administration namely, the League Buildings, created in Geneva thanks to the financial and artistic collaboration of the States Members.

This vast construction comprises the great Assembly Hall—which has a seating capacity of about 1,600—and some ten halls intended for public and private meetings of big committees; the Council Hall, seating 500; and the Secretariat wing containing about 500 offices and several rooms for the meetings of small committees. Lastly, there is the Library wing.

This building was planned to serve, on the one hand, as a centre of study and administrative work and, on the other hand, as a place of meeting for general conferences and committees.

Everything is being done to preserve this valuable property of the League, although difficulties are increasing with the prolongation of the war. In order to reduce expenditure to the minimum, it is being limited to what is considered indispensable in order to prevent damage, or necessary to the upkeep of the building, so that the nations will find it at their disposal at any moment.



The League Buildings

IV. LIBRARY

Notwithstanding the growing difficulties in the way of international postal communications and the inevitable restrictions consequent on staff reduction,¹ the collections of the Library continued to be enlarged. They comprised about 318,200 volumes at the end of 1942 (312,000 at the end of 1941).

It was not only because of difficulties in communications—a particularly important factor in the constitution of collections of an international character—that the number of additions during the year was smaller. Account must also be taken of the fact that the number of publications issued has declined in many countries. The total of the publications of which perhaps the Library alone possesses collections from very varied sources has, however, continued to grow. Further, amongst the publications which the Library has succeeded in acquiring, there are many of which only a small number of copies was issued and which are already out of print.

1. Collections.

Books and pamphlets: 2,546 new volumes, of which 2,215 were exchanges or gifts, were catalogued in 1942.² The Library has regularly received 863 periodicals.

Official documents: 2,018 volumes were added to the collections in 1942.² The Library has regularly received 311 periodical Government publications and 83 official gazettes:

¹ See Report of the Work of the League 1941-1942, document C.35.M.35. 1942, pages 86-87.

² Increase for the first half-year 1943: 1,320 books and pamphlets; 960 official documents.

These figures include only the publications received in Geneva and not those which are held in deposit by various institutions until they can be safely transferred. Although consignments continue to arrive from all parts of the world, various restrictions have compelled the Library to resort more and more to the constitution of deposits in several countries and to their systematic organisation, particularly in the United States of America and in Latin America. The League of Nations mission at Princeton (New Jersey) has, for its part, assembled important collections of official documents which it will be possible ultimately to transfer to the Library.

Although, on the one hand, there has been a diminution in the number of countries from which official publications have been received in Geneva, it has, on the other hand, been possible to re-establish exchange relations with several countries, more particularly with certain Spanish institutions.

In addition to acquisitions regularly obtained by way of exchange or as individual gifts, the Library benefited during the year by valuable donations on the part of the Concilium Bibliographicum of Zurich and the Geneva Research Centre when the collections of those two institutions were dispersed.

Amongst the special work it has been possible to carry out, mention may be made of the bringing up to date of the collection of bank reports and the inventory of geographical wall maps. Further, in connection with requests for the consultation of collections of manuscripts relating to the history of the movement in favour of peace, preparatory work was undertaken for the arrangement of this material, which comprises many documents of great interest.

The Library has continued its collaboration with the Geneva School of Librarianship. Volunteers have been initiated into the methods of work of Anglo-American libraries, whilst, in return, rendering useful service to the Library.

2. Consultations and Publications.

The number of requests for consultation increased considerably in 1942. These were complied with, as far as possible, regard being had to the staff maintained on duty and the

rooms available. Requests from official institutions were given priority. A certain number of these requests related to studies that it would not have been possible to carry out without the assistance of the Library.

The Library has continued to take part in the work of the International Federation of Library Associations which, since the beginning of the war, has been concerned chiefly with the organisation of supplies of reading-material for prisoners of war.

Six double numbers of the *Monthly List of Selected Articles* were published during the year. With its 3,200 references resulting from the making of abstracts of the principal periodical publications regularly received from 42 countries, this *List* reflects the universal character of the documentary material of the Library which the latter has endeavoured to maintain during the year.

* * *

It seems likely that, immediately after the cessation of hostilities, there will be a very considerable demand for up-to-date collections of publications issued in different countries, and it may be anticipated that the Library will then be called upon to render new services. As it constitutes one of the rare centres where the documentary material available will, in certain fields, offer exceptional facilities for work, it is probable that it will have to meet the needs of an increased number of requests. The preceding report alluded to the preliminary conditions on which will depend the full utilisation of the collections. The Secretariat is studying the question of the means by which a gradual return to normal conditions may be effected.

APPENDIX 1.

THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES,

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security

by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,
by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations,
by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and
by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another,
Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 1.

1. The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the Annex, as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a Declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.

2. Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

3. Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its

¹ The paragraphs here been numbered in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 21st, 1926.

international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

Article 2.

The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

Article 3.

1. The Assembly shall consist of Representatives of the Members of the League.

2. The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the Seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.

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

4. At meetings of the Assembly, each Member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three Representatives.

Article 4.

1. The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers,^a together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece shall be members of the Council.

2. With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League whose Representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.^b

^a These are the following: the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Japan (the United States of America has not joined the League; Japan and Italy have withdrawn from it).

^b In virtue of this paragraph, the number of members of the Council selected by the Assembly was increased on September 25th, 1922, to six instead of four; on September 8th, 1926, to nine instead of six; the number was increased provisionally on October 9th, 1933, to ten for the period included between 1933 and 1936; on October 3rd, 1936, and December 14th, 1939, respectively, to eleven instead of ten for the period included between 1936 and 1939, and for the following period "ending with the election of the non-permanent members of the Council in 1942". The election has not taken place, as there has been no meeting of the Assembly since it adjourned its twentieth ordinary session in December 1939. The Council comprised, when it held its 107th session in December 1939, the following non-permanent members, "elected for a term commencing immediately on their election and ending on the day of the election held three years later": three members elected in 1937—Belgium, Iran and Peru (Peru has since withdrawn from the League); three members elected in 1938—the Dominican Republic, Greece and Yugoslavia; two members re-elected in 1939—Bolivia and China; three members elected in 1939—Union of South Africa, Egypt and Finland.

2 bis. The Assembly shall fix by a two-thirds majority the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent members of the Council, and particularly such regulations as relate to their term of office and the conditions of reeligibility.

3. The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

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

5. Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League.

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

Article 5.

1. Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

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

3. The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

Article 6.

1. The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

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

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

4. The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

* This Amendment came into force on July 29th, 1926, in accordance with Article 26 of the Covenant

5*. *The expenses of the League shall be borne by the Members of the League in the proportion decided by the Assembly.*

Article 7.

1. The Seat of the League is established at Geneva.
2. The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.
3. All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.
4. Representatives of the Members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.
5. The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

Article 8.

1. The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.
2. The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.
3. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.
4. After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.
5. The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.
6. The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes.

* This Amendment came into force on August 13th, 1924, in accordance with Article 26 of the Covenant and replaces the following paragraph:

"5. The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the Members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union."

Article 9.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air questions generally.

Article 10.

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

Article 11.

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

2. It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

Article 12.

1. The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the judicial decision or the report by the Council.

2. In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators or the judicial decision shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

* The Amendments printed in italics relating to these Articles came into force on September 26th, 1924, in accordance with Article 26 of the Covenant. The Articles, thus amended, replace the following texts:

Article 12.

"The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council

Article 13 *

1. The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration or judicial settlement.

2. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement.

3. For the consideration of any such dispute, the court to which the case is referred shall be the Permanent Court of International Justice, established in accordance with Article 14, or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

4. The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

Article 14.

The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

* See beginning of footnote on page 91.

"In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute."

Article 13.

"The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration.

"Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

"For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the Court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

"The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto."

Article 15.

1. If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration or judicial settlement in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

2. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary-General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

3. The Council shall endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

4. If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

5. Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

6. If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

7. If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

* The Amendment to the first paragraph of this Article came into force on September 26th, 1924, in accordance with Article 26 of the Covenant. This paragraph, thus amended, replaces the following text:

Article 15.

"If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof."

8. If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

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

10. In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

Article 16.

1. Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

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

3. The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measure, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures imposed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

4. Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.

Article 17.

1. In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the State or States not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

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

3. If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

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

Article 18.

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

Article 19.

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

Article 20.

1. The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

2. In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations

Article 21.

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

Article 22.

1. To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

2. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

3. The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

4. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

5. Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

6. There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under

the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

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

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

9. A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

Article 23.

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League:

- (a) will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations;
- (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;
- (c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;
- (d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;
- (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;
- (f) will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

Article 24.

1. There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

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

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

Article 25.

The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorised voluntary national Red Cross organisations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

Article 26.

1. Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly.

2. No such amendment shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

Annex

*I. Original Members of the League of Nations
Signatories of the Treaty of Peace.*

United States of America.	Haiti.
Belgium.	Hedjaz.
Bolivia.	Honduras.
Brazil.	Italy.
British Empire.	Japan.
Canada.	Liberia.
Australia.	Nicaragua.
South Africa.	Panama.
New Zealand.	Peru.
India.	Poland.
China.	Portugal.
Cuba.	Roumania.
Ecuador.	Serb-Kroat-Slovene State.
France.	Siam.
Greece.	Czecho-Slovakia.
Guatemala.	Uruguay.

States invited to accede to the Covenant.

Argentine Republic.
Chile.
Colombia.
Denmark.
Netherlands.
Norway.
Paraguay.

Persia.
Salvador.
Spain.
Sweden.
Switzerland.
Venezuela.

II. First Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

The Honourable Sir James Eric DRUMMOND, K.C.M.G., C.B. ^a

^a The Honourable Sir James Eric Drummond was, on June 30th, 1933, succeeded by Monsieur Joseph Avenol. Monsieur Avenol resigned in July 1940 and the duties of Secretary-General were thereupon assigned to Mr. Séan Lester (Deputy Secretary-General 1937-1940).

APPENDIX 2.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS

Address of the President of the United States, delivered to both Houses of Congress, formulating Fourteen Terms of a Programme of Peace (Washington, January 8th, 1918):

The programme of the world's peace, therefore, is our programme; and that programme, the only possible, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that, in determining all such questions of sovereignty, the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good-will, of their comprehension of her needs

as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act, the whole structure and validity of international law is for ever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed, and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interests of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognisable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

APPENDIX 3.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, KNOWN AS THE
ATLANTIC CHARTER

*Issued by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President
of the United States of America, August 14th, 1941.*

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, they will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security;

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

A great deal of the work of the League of Nations and its Secretariat is embodied in the publications which it issues. The Secretariat, being an International Civil Service, its publications are intended, in the first instance, for the Governments of Members of the League.

From the earliest days of the League, however, the publications produced by the Secretariat have, in nearly all cases—in pursuance of a policy that has been consistently followed—been made available not only to Governments and Government departments but also to the general public. With this object, the Publications Department was organised on the lines of a modern publishing business. With its network of authorised sales agents in all parts of the world, it places the results of the many-sided activity of the League at the disposal of all those who are in any way interested in the various questions with which the League of Nations has had to deal.

This organisation has been maintained in being and has continued, throughout the war years as before, to make available the results of work that has been carried on without interruption despite all difficulties.

One large section of the publications issued by the Secretariat consists of records of the meetings of the Assembly and the Council and of Committees and International Conferences convened by the League. Here will be found not only reports of the discussions but also the official text of the resolutions and recommendations adopted and of the Conventions drafted. Another important section of publications represents the results of studies and enquiries undertaken, frequently in collaboration with experts of the various countries concerned, in execution of programmes of work laid down or approved by the Governments.

The continuity of the work that has gone on through these years of the war is well illustrated by the following observation in the First Report of the Supervisory Commission for the year 1943:

“The publication of the two-hundredth volume of the *Treaty Series* of the League of Nations was a notable event. Begun in 1920, this unique series has realised a proposal launched at a diplomatic conference at Berne in 1892—half-a-century ago. By making available the official texts of more than 4,700 treaties, with English and French translations where necessary, raw material for the development of international law has been supplied to the whole world.”

The *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* is now in its twenty-fourth year, the *Weekly Epidemiological Record* in its eighteenth year and the *Monthly List of Selected Articles* in its fifteenth year. The *Bulletin of*

the Health Organisation, of which the tenth volume is now being issued, was founded in 1932. The 1941/42 volumes of the *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations* and the *World Economic Survey* were the sixteenth and tenth in their respective series.

These, like all the other publications of the Secretariat, are not only distributed to Governments of Members and to reference libraries and other official institutions, but are also supplied direct from the Secretariat to private persons who transmit their orders or subscriptions either to the Secretariat or to the authorised sales agents in the different countries.

While recent publications are naturally in great demand, those of previous years constitute a wealth of material on a wide range of subjects of permanent importance and interest, and many of them are in constant request. It has thus become necessary, during the past two years, to issue reprints of the following publications: *Statistical Testing of Business Cycle Theories—Volume I: A Method and its Application to Investment Activity*; *The Development of International Co-operation in Economic and Social Affairs*; *Urban and Rural Housing*; and *Raw Materials and Foodstuffs, Production by Countries, 1935 and 1938*. The continued demand for *Prosperity and Depression*, which is universally recognised as the standard work on the theory of economic cycles, led to the publication in 1943 of a new edition of this work enlarged by the addition of a new Part III.

The official publications of the League represent, in fact, a common stock of knowledge that has been contributed to by experts in nearly every department of national life—political, social, economic, health, etc.—in most of the countries of the world. They form a unique source of authoritative information. The records of the Sales Department show that not only statesmen and Government officials, administrators and public health officers, but also international lawyers, journalists, teachers, students, industrialists, bankers, social workers and all those who are in any way concerned with the problem of planning and preparing for the future, find, in the publications of the League, material which is of the greatest utility to them in their daily activities.

The far-reaching scope of the invaluable material thus placed at the disposal of the public can be seen from the *General Catalogue of Publications 1920-1935* and the four *Supplements* issued by the Publications Department covering the years 1936 to 1939. A special catalogue of selected publications on economic and financial questions of immediate interest in present-day discussions has been published separately. The following pages give a list of publications issued during the period 1940-1943.