

*Revised Edition*

THE  
**LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

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THE  
**MANDATE SYSTEM**

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Section,  
Nations Secretariat,  
GENEVA.

6d.

15 cents.

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**Information Section,  
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## THE MANDATE SYSTEM

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### I. Origin of the Mandate System.

At the end of the war, the Allied and Associated Powers were confronted with the problem of the disposal of the former German colonies in Africa and in the Pacific and of the non-Turkish provinces of the Ottoman Empire. These territories were, at the time, under military occupation and administration by the Allied troops. It became the task of the Peace Conference to provide for their future administration, and the plan ultimately adopted embodied the principle that these territories should be administered by different Governments on behalf of the League but not by the League itself—a system of national responsibility subject to international supervision.

This plan, known as the Mandate system, was adopted on January 30, 1919, by the "Council of Ten", was transmitted to the Peace Conference Commission on the League of Nations, and, with very slight changes, was incorporated as Article 22 of the Covenant.

### II. The Mandates Provisions in the Covenant.

The Mandate system, as defined in Article 22 of the Covenant, constitutes a new conception and a novel political experiment in a domain of the greatest importance in international affairs.

The Mandate system is an attempt to apply to the territories which were at the disposal of the Allied Powers a new

device ensuring that the government of the backward peoples concerned shall not be the cause of the evils which have resulted in the past. This system is based on the fundamental principle that „the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation.” The tutelage of these territories, „which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world”, is entrusted to advanced nations which, „by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility and who are willing to accept it.” The tutelage is exercised by them on behalf of the League of Nations and in its name.

Article 22 further provides that „securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.” The securities, as laid down in the same Article, fall into three categories.

In the first place there are definite prescriptions forbidding some abuses which have been found in the past to result from the contact between backward and advanced peoples.

In the second place there are provisions to secure that the administration shall be in favour of the welfare of the indigenous population, and shall have due respect for the rights and interests of the other Members of the League.

In the third place, the Mandatory Powers are to make annual reports to the Council of the League, and in order that the Council may be able adequately and fully to examine these reports, provision is made for a Permanent Commission to advise it on all matters relating to the observance of the Mandates.

As the territories to which the Mandate system is applied are of a very different nature, the Covenant recognises that the character of the Mandate must vary according to the degree of development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar

circumstances. The territories are accordingly divided into three classes—the so-called „A”, „B”, and „C” Mandates—varying in respect to the powers of administration conferred upon the Mandatory.

1. *The A Mandates.* — This type of Mandate is applied to certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire (Mesopotamia, Syria (1), and Palestine), which 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 they are able to stand alone. At present they are allowed a certain measure of self-government while at the same time obliged to accept the „assistance” given to them by the Mandatory, in the selection of which the wishes of the peoples must be the principal consideration.

2. *The B Mandates.* — For the territories in this category (comprising the Cameroons, Togoland, and former German East Africa) it is recognised that self-government would be impossible and that the Mandatory must be responsible for their administration. This administration must, however, be carried out for the benefit of the native communities and with due respect for the interests of the other Members of the League of Nations. Article 22 imposes certain conditions which must be fulfilled by the Mandatory. Freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are to be guaranteed; abuses such as the slave trade, arms traffic, and the liquor traffic are to be prohibited. The establishment of fortifications or military or naval bases, and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of the territory

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(1) The word „Syria” is used throughout this pamphlet to designate the whole of the country under French mandate in the Near East (Syria and the Lebanon). The mandate for Palestine includes the territory of the Transjordan (See below).

are to be prevented; equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League are to be secured.

3. *The C Mandates.* — The third group of territories (South-West Africa and the former German possessions in the Pacific) are to be administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the same safeguards as apply to the B Mandates in the interests of the indigenous population. The distinction in the method of administration is made (in accordance with the Covenant) on account of the sparseness of the population or their small numbers, their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, or other circumstances.

### III. The Territorial Allocation of the Mandates.

To carry out the undertakings contained in Article 22 and to establish the system of Mandates as a working institution under the League, the following measures were necessary :

- (a) To select suitable Mandatory Powers to administer the given territories;
- (b) To delimit the frontiers of the territories entrusted to the different Mandatory Powers;
- (c) To confer upon the selected Mandatory Powers the necessary rights of authority and administration by a legally binding act, and to define specifically in separate charters applicable to each Mandated area the terms of the Mandates in accordance with which they were to govern;
- (d) To establish the machinery provided for by Article 22 for securing the observance of the terms of the Mandates.

The German colonies in Africa and the Pacific were not transferred to the League of Nations, but to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. According to Article 119 of the Versailles Treaty, „Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions.”

A similar provision was contained in Article 132 of the Treaty of Sèvres, according to which Turkey renounced in favour of the Principal Allied Powers all her rights and titles over her territories outside Europe „which are not otherwise disposed of by the present treaty.” According to Article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne Turkey renounces all rights and titles whatsoever respecting the territories situated outside the frontiers laid down in the Treaty, the future of these territories being settled or to be settled by the parties concerned.

In conformity with the above-quoted provisions, it was recognised that the selection of the Mandatories was a matter for the Allied Supreme Council and not one for the League of Nations.

On May 7, 1919, the Allied Supreme Council reached the following decisions regarding the Mandatories for the former German colonies :

- Togoland and Cameroons.* . France and Great Britain to make a joint recommendation to the League of Nations as to their future.
- German East Africa (1)* . . Mandatory. — Great Britain.
- German South-West Africa* . Mandatory. — The Union of South Africa.
- The German Samoan Islands* Mandatory. — New Zealand.

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(1) Now known as Tanganyika.

*Nauru* (1). . . . . Mandatory. — British Empire.

*Other German Pacific Possessions south of the Equator* (excluding the German Samoan Islands and Nauru, and including German New Guinea). . . . . Mandatory. — Australia.

*German Islands north of the Equator* . . . . . Mandatory. — Japan.

As a result of subsequent negotiations, the provinces of Ruanda and Urundi in the north-west of German East Africa were separated from the remainder of the territory and placed under the Mandate of Belgium.

The selection of Mandatories for Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia was made by the Allied Supreme Council at San Remo on April 25, 1920.

*Syria*. . . . . Mandatory. — France.

*Palestine* . . . . . Mandatory. — Great Britain.

*Mesopotamia* . . . . . Mandatory. — Great Britain.

The delimitation of the frontiers of the territories under B Mandates has been agreed upon in treaties negotiated between the Allied Powers principally concerned.

As regards Asiatic territories under A Mandates, Article 3 of the Lausanne Treaty recognised the line fixed in the Franco-Turkish Agreement of October 20, 1921, as the frontier between Turkey and Syria. In accordance with a convention concluded between Great Britain and France, a special commission traced the frontier between Palestine and Syria

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(1) The administration of Nauru is vested in the Governments of Australia and New Zealand, together with the United Kingdom. The Australian Government was appointed by the three parties as their agent to administer the island for the first five years. In all matters relating to major policy, however, reference is made to all three Governments concerned, whose concurrence is essential.



The frontier between Turkey and Mesopotamia (Iraq) was definitely established in December, 1925, by the Council of the League, whose decision the parties concerned subsequently accepted. The frontiers between Iraq and Syria, and Iraq and the Transjordan, have not yet been traced.

#### **IV. The Definition of the Terms of the Mandates.**

The appointment of the Mandatories and the delimitation of the frontiers of the mandated areas were not matters entrusted to the League. On the other hand, Article 22 of the Covenant states that „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.”

The interpretation and execution of this clause has given rise to some difficulty. The original intention of the authors of the Covenant had been that the terms of the Mandates should be embodied in the Peace Treaties, but this was subsequently abandoned and the treaties signed without the inclusion of the terms.

In July 1919 a Commission of colonial experts of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, presided over by Lord Milner, met in London to draft Mandates for the territories under B and C Mandates, but as some of the interested Governments made several important reservations, an agreement was not immediately reached.

The procedure eventually followed was that the Principal Allied Powers submitted draft Mandates to the Council, which, after satisfying itself that they were in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant, finally adopted them, with some slight amendments.

In December 1920 the Council confirmed the C Mandates.

The delay in the definition of the A and B Mandates was principally due to the intervention of the United States. During the Council session in February 1921, when it had been expected that the B Mandates would be finally approved, an important note was received from the American Government requesting that the draft mandates should be communicated to it for its consideration before submission to the Council. Reference was further made to a note of November 20, 1920, from the American to the British Government, expressing the view that the approval of the United States was "essential to the validity of any determinations which might be reached" respecting the Mandates.

The Council, before the receipt of the American note, had already decided to postpone the consideration of the A Mandates. In view of the desire expressed by the United States, the consideration of the B Mandates was also deferred. During the following year and a half, negotiations took place between the American Government and the individual Mandatory Powers regarding the terms of the mandates—that is, the drafting of organic laws for the territories in question. By the spring of 1922 agreements had been reached on the outstanding points, and formal treaties between the United States and the other Mandatory Powers were concluded or were in process of negotiation.

Certain differences which had developed between the United States and Japan with respect to the Island of Yap in the North Pacific were adjusted by a treaty between these countries of February 11, 1922, relating to Yap and also the other islands under Japanese Mandate.

On July 17, 1922, when preliminary agreements between the United States and the Mandatory Powers had been reached, the B Mandates were confirmed by the Council and entered into force at once.

The Mandates for Palestine and Syria were also approved on the same occasion, but with the understanding that they

should not come into force until the President of the Council had been notified by the Governments of France and Italy that the negotiations then pending between them in regard to certain questions relating to the Mandate for Syria had resulted in final agreement. On September 29, 1923, the Council was duly informed by the representatives of France and Italy that these negotiations had been successfully concluded, and took note of the fact that the Mandates for Syria and Palestine would thereby automatically and simultaneously come into force.

The confirmation and coming into force of the Mandate for Mesopotamia (Iraq) was delayed for several years owing mainly to negotiations being carried on between the British and Iraq Governments.

The British Government had in 1920 submitted to the Council a draft mandate for Iraq. In 1921, the British representative, Mr. Fisher, informed the Council that the overwhelming desire of the people of Iraq for the formation of a national Government under an Arab ruler had led his Government to the conclusion that its obligations vis-à-vis the League could best be discharged if the principles on which they rested were embodied in a Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain and Iraq. This Treaty was concluded on October 10, 1922, and communicated to the League. It was later completed by a Protocol signed on October 30, 1923, and four subsidiary agreements dated March 25, 1924. These documents were summarised by the British Government in a communication to the Council defining its obligations to the League in respect of the application of Article 22 of the Covenant. This communication was approved by the Council on September 27, 1924, as giving effect to Article 22 of the Covenant.

Fifteen months later, on December 16, 1925, the Council, having undertaken to settle the question of the frontier

between Turkey and Iraq, took a decision giving to Iraq the greater part of the territory in dispute. It invited the British Government, in accordance with the recommendation of a Special Commission of Enquiry—known as the Mosul Commission—to submit a new treaty with Iraq, ensuring the continuation of the mandatory regime for twenty-five years, unless Iraq became a Member of the League at an earlier date. The British Government, as Mandatory, was further invited to lay before the Council the measures to be taken with a view to providing the Kurdish population with the guarantees of local administration recommended by the Commission of Enquiry.

On March 2, 1925, the British Government communicated to the Council the text of a new Anglo-Iraq Treaty and intimated that it considered itself as bound by its engagement of 1924, so long as the new treaty remained in force. On March 11, the Council approved this communication and pronounced definitive its decision of December 16, 1925.

On November 8, 1926, the Permanent Mandates Commission considered the first report of the British Government on the administration of Iraq in the presence of Sir Henry Dobbs, High Commissioner for that territory.

## **V. The Principal Provisions of the Mandates.**

The „Mandates” contain a series of provisions reaffirming with greater detail and precision the principles laid down in the Covenant. It is not possible to deal with all these provisions in detail, but the following will give a general idea of their contents.

Certain clauses are common to all the Mandates. Full power of legislation and administration is given to the Mandatory, subject to the provisions of the Mandate. The Mandatory is to present to the Council of the League an annual

report containing full information concerning the measures taken to carry out the provisions of the Mandate. The Mandatory agrees that disputes arising with other Members of the League regarding the interpretation or the application of the Mandate which cannot be solved by negotiation shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The consent of the Council is required for any modification of the terms of the Mandate.

The other clauses contained in the Mandates vary according to the three classes of territory to which they apply.

*C Mandates.* — For all the C Mandates (former German South-West Africa and the Islands in the Pacific), the terms of the Mandates are almost identical and fairly simple. The Mandatory is given the right to administer the territory as an integral portion of its home territory, and may apply its laws.

As a general principle, it is laid down that the Mandatory „shall promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory subject to the present Mandate.”

In accordance with the provisions of the Covenant, the Mandate particularly provides that the slave trade shall be prohibited and no forced labour be permitted except for essential public works and services, and then only in return for adequate remuneration. A strict control must be exercised over the traffic in arms and ammunition, and the supply of intoxicating spirits and beverages to the natives shall be prohibited. Military training of the natives, otherwise than for purposes of internal police and the local defence of the territory, and the erection of military or naval bases and fortifications are not allowed. The Mandatory must ensure freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship; all missionaries nationals of any Member of the

League may enter into, travel and reside in the territory for the purpose of their calling.

The C Mandates contain no provisions regarding economic equality or freedom for the trade and commerce of all Members of the League. On the other hand, the provisions regarding the liquor traffic are somewhat stricter than for the B Mandates. The C Mandates prohibit absolutely the supply of intoxicating spirits and beverages to the natives, while the B Mandates only lay down that the Mandatory shall "exercise a strict control" over the sale of spirituous liquors.

*B Mandates.* — The provisions contained in the B Mandates are more elaborate. The Mandatory, which is responsible for the peace, order and good government of the territory, and invested with full powers of legislation and administration, may constitute the territory into a customs, fiscal, and administrative union with the adjacent territories, provided that such measures do not infringe the provisions of the Mandate. The Mandatory is to apply to the territory committed to its charge any general international conventions already existing, or concluded hereafter with the approval of the League, respecting such matters as the slave trade, liquor traffic, freedom of transit, etc.

The military clauses (forbidding the establishment of fortifications and organisation of native troops except for local police force purposes and the defence of the territory) are virtually the same as for the C Mandates. The only exception is in the French Mandates for the Cameroons and Togoland. "It is understood that the troops thus raised may, in the event of general war, be utilised to repel an attack, or for defence of the territory outside that subject to the Mandate."

The Mandatory is to provide for the eventual emancipation of all slaves and for as speedy an elimination of domes-

tic and other slavery as social conditions will allow. All forms of slave trade must be suppressed, and forced labour prohibited except for essential public works and services, and then only in return for adequate remuneration. Labour contracts and the recruiting of labour must be carefully supervised so that the natives shall be protected from abuse, fraud and force. The arms traffic is to be strictly controlled. Regarding the important question of the holding or transfer of native lands, it is laid down that the Mandatory, in the framing of laws relating to this problem, shall take into consideration native laws and customs, and respect the rights and safeguard the interests of the native population. No real rights over native land in favour of non-natives may be created without the previous consent of the public authorities. Strict regulations against usury are to be promulgated.

The provisions regarding freedom of conscience and free exercise of worship are much the same as for the C Mandates. It is always understood that the Mandatory may exercise such control as may be necessary for the maintenance of public order and good government.

The principle of the "open door" is carried out in detail. The Mandatory is to secure to all nationals of States Members of the League the same rights as are enjoyed by its own nationals in respect of immigration, acquisition of property, exercise of profession or trade. Freedom of transit and navigation, and complete economic, commercial, and industrial equality are to be ensured. Concessions for the development of the natural resources of the territory are to be granted without distinction on grounds of nationality, but concessions having the character of general monopoly are not to be granted. This provision does not affect the right of the Mandatory to create a monopoly of a purely fiscal character in the interests of the mandated territory, or in certain cases to carry out the development of its natural resources either directly by the State or by a controlled agency.

*A Mandates.* — The A Mandates, for Syria and Palestine, are rather different from the B and C Mandates. Here the Mandatory has to deal with more developed populations which will probably in time become self-governing, and it will therefore be expected to promote the capacity of these populations for self-government. For the Syrian Mandate it is expressly laid down that the Mandatory must, within three years of the coming into force of the Mandate, frame an „organic law” for Syria and Lebanon, taking into account the rights, interests and wishes of the population. The progressive development of Syria and Lebanon as independent States is to be facilitated, and local autonomy as far as possible encouraged.

The Mandatories for Syria and Palestine respectively are entrusted with the exclusive control of the foreign affairs of these countries and are responsible for preventing any part of the territory from being placed under the control of a foreign power. The privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection as formerly enjoyed in the Ottoman Empire, are not applicable in Syria or Palestine; the Mandatory has, however, to see that the judicial system established assures to foreigners as well as to natives a complete guarantee of their rights.

The respective Mandatories are to adhere on behalf of Syria and Palestine to any general international conventions already existing, or which may be concluded, in respect of certain important matters such as the slave traffic, the traffic in arms and ammunition, or the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation, postal, telegraphic, and wireless communication, or literary, artistic, or industrial property.

Complete freedom of conscience and free exercise of all forms of worship consistent with public order and morality are to be ensured and no discrimination of any kind made between the inhabitants on the ground of difference of race, reli-



gion, or language. Each community may maintain its own schools for the instruction and education of its own members in its own language. The supervision exercised by the Mandatory over religious missions in Syria and Lebanon is limited to the maintenance of public order and good government.

The Mandatories are to see that there is no discrimination in Syria and Palestine against the nationals of any State Member of the League of Nations in matters concerning taxation, commerce, navigation, exercise of industries of professions, or the treatment of merchant vessels and aircraft. Freedom of transit is to be ensured and no tariff differentiation is allowed.

For Syria it is laid down that the Mandatory may maintain its troops in the territory for its defence, and is provisionally empowered to organise such local militia as may be necessary for the defence of the territory and to employ it for defence and the maintenance of order. This militia is later to come under the local authorities. The Palestine Mandate provides that "the administration of Palestine may organise on a voluntary basis the forces necessary for the preservation of peace and order, and also for the defence of the country" subject to the supervision of the Mandatory. Except for such purposes, no military, naval, or air forces are to be raised or maintained by the Administration of Palestine. The Mandatories have the right to make use of the ports, railways, and means of communication for the passage of their troops and of all materials, supplies and fuel.

The Mandatories are to draw up and put into force a law for the protection of antiquities which will ensure equality of treatment in the matter of excavations and archæological research to the nationals of all States Members of the League of Nations.

In drawing up the Mandate for Palestine, certain particular circumstances had to be taken into account. By

what is known as the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, the British Government had declared itself in favour of the policy of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish People, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country. These principles had been agreed to by the Principal Allied Powers. When it came to the actual drafting of the Mandate, it was evident that it must, on the one hand, contain the necessary provisions to carry out this policy, and, on the other hand, be in agreement with the general provisions of the Covenant regarding the A Mandates.

The Palestine Mandate states that „the Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the development of self-governing institutions.” A special organisation, known as the „Jewish Agency” is recognised as a public body for the purpose of co-operating with the administration in such matters as affect the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine. The Zionist Organisation, so long as its organisation and constitution are appropriate, is recognised as such an agency, but is to take steps to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home. The administration is to facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and encourage settlement by Jews on the land, and the nationality law of Palestine is to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in the country.

On the other hand, the Mandate emphasises that the administration must ensure that the rights and position of other sections of the population will not be prejudiced by

this policy, and that the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion, must be safeguarded.

*The Holy Places.* — The protection of the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine has in the past given rise to considerable difficulties and conflicts. The Mandate confers all responsibility in connection with this important question upon the Mandatory, which is responsible solely to the League of Nations. According to Article 14 of the Mandate, a special commission is to be appointed by the Mandatory to study, define and determine the rights and claims in connection with the Holy Places and the different religious communities in Palestine. The method of nomination, the composition and the functions of this commission have so far been left open, but must be submitted to the Council of the League for its approval. The British Government has drafted several proposals regarding the establishment of the commission, but these plans have as yet not met the views of all the Powers represented on the Council. The British Government expressed the hope that the Powers which had been unable to accept its suggestions would themselves endeavour to formulate a generally acceptable scheme for the Council's consideration.

According to Article 25 of the Mandate for Palestine in the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine (the Transjordan) the Mandatory is entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League, "to postpone or withhold application of such provisions of this mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions". During its meeting in September 1922 the Council approved a proposal made by the British Government to the effect that the articles of the mandate which deal with the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine should not be applied in the Transjordan. The

Mandatory administration of this territory provides for a large measure of autonomy.

In the case of Iraq, the arrangement (1) approved by the Council as giving effect to Article 22 of the Covenant takes the place of a mandate, the Anglo-Iraq Treaty embodying the main general principles of the A mandates.

By this Treaty the British Government undertakes, at the request of the King of Iraq, to provide the State with such advice and assistance as may be required during the period of the Treaty without prejudice to Iraq's national sovereignty; the British Government will be represented in Iraq by a High Commissioner and a Consul-General.

For the period of the Treaty no gazetted official of other than Iraq nationality is to be appointed without the concurrence of the British Government.

The King of Iraq agrees to present to the Constituent Assembly and to give effect to an Organic Law, which shall take account of the rights, wishes and interests of all populations inhabiting Iraq.

The King agrees to be guided by British advice on all important matters affecting international and financial obligations and interests of the British Government, and will consult the High Commissioner on what is conducive to sound financial and fiscal policy, to ensure the stability and good organisation of the finances of Iraq, so long as it is under financial obligations to the British Government.

The King has right of representation in London and in such other places as may be agreed upon, and where he is not represented he entrusts the protection of Iraq nationals to Great Britain.

Great Britain undertakes to use her good offices to secure the admission of Iraq to membership of the League of Nations

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(1) See page 13.

as soon as possible. She undertakes to provide such support and assistance to the armed forces of Iraq as may from time to time be agreed upon.

No territory in Iraq is to be ceded or leased or in any way placed under the control of any other Power.

There is to be no discrimination against the nationals of any State Member of the League or of any State to which the British Government has agreed by Treaty that the same rights should be ensured as it would enjoy if it were a Member of the League, as compared with British nationals or those of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce, exercise of industries or professions, etc. Nor is there to be any discrimination against goods originating in or destined for any of these States.

So far as conditions permit, Iraq is to co-operate in the execution of policy adopted by the League for preventing and combating disease.

A law is to be introduced assuring equality of treatment in the matter of archæological research to the nationals of all States Members of the League or of any State enjoying the same rights as Member of the League.

By its communication to the Council in September, 1924, the British Government assumed towards all Members of the League responsibility for the fulfilment by Iraq of the provisions of the Anglo-Iraq Treaty. It undertook to submit an annual report to the Council on the steps taken to carry out the Treaty, not to agree to any modification of the Treaty without the consent of the Council, and to submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice disputes with any other Member of the League as to the interpretation or application of the Treaty which cannot be settled by negotiation. These obligations will come to an end if, and when, Iraq is admitted to the League.

The Treaty provides that if, at the expiry of its period of validity, Iraq has not been admitted to the League, the Council will be invited to decide what further measures should be taken to give effect to Article 22 of the Covenant.

## **VI. The League and the Administration of the Mandated Territories.**

### *A. The Role of the League.*

The mandated areas are administered on behalf of the League as a whole, and this implies the indirect responsibility of all its Members. The supervision of the observance of the Mandates is, however, a matter which is in the first instance entrusted to the Council of the League. Within the general lines of the League system, as evolved in practice, the Assembly is free to discuss any questions relating to Mandates, but the reports of the Mandatory Powers are, according to Article 22 of the Covenant, submitted to the Council, which formulates any particular recommendations which, it considers should be addressed to the Mandatory Powers on these matters.

Under paragraph 9 of Article 22, "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." With the exception of the Permanent Advisory Commission on Military, Naval, and Air Questions mentioned in Article 8 of the Covenant, the Permanent Mandates Commission is the only advisory commission expressly provided for in the Covenant.

The Permanent Mandates Commission is a purely advisory body; it has no power to render any decisions or to make direct recommendations to the Mandatories. On the other

hand, the decisions of the Council will naturally to a great extent be based upon the considerations and recommendations presented by the Advisory Committee.

On December 1, 1920, the Council approved the constitution of the Permanent Mandates Commission, providing that it should be appointed by the Council and consist of nine members, the majority of whom should be nationals of non-Mandatory Powers. The members, who are appointed for an indefinite period, are not Government representatives of the States of which they are nationals. They are selected on the grounds of their personal merits and competence, and it is expressly laid down that they shall not hold any office of direct dependence on their Governments while members of the Commission. This last clause is understood to exclude the appointment of any civil or military servant of any Government, even of one of the non-Mandatory Powers, but not the appointment of such officials as professors at a State University, who cannot be said to occupy a position of direct dependence on their Governments.

The International Labour Organisation has the right to appoint an expert who may attend in an advisory capacity all meetings of the Permanent Mandates Commission at which matters relating to labour are discussed. The Commission itself may, moreover, summon technical experts to act as advisers in special questions.

The Commission meets ordinarily once a year, at Geneva. Its "advisory" capacity does not mean that it must limit itself to the consideration of questions which have been expressly referred to it by the Council; it may also, on its own initiative, put forward its views on other questions. It is expected to consider the whole administration from the standpoint of the principles laid down in the Covenant. The Commission, therefore, does not content itself with the task of ascertaining whether the Mandatory has remained

within the limits of the powers conferred upon it, but also examines whether good use has been made of these powers and whether the administration has conformed to the interests of the native population.

The material at the disposal of the Permanent Mandates Commission consists, first, of the reports of the Mandatory Powers. According to the Covenant, "In every case of a Mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge." The Commission examines and discusses each individual report in the presence of a duly accredited representative of the Mandatory Power, who offers any supplementary information required. When this discussion is at an end, and the representative has withdrawn, the Commission decides on the observations to be submitted to the Council. These observations are communicated to the Mandatory Power, which is entitled to add any comments of its own, and such comments are published at the same time as the reports of the Mandatory Powers and the observations of the Commission.

The Commission also keeps itself informed of relevant debates in the Parliaments of the Mandatories, and at its first session instructed the Mandates Section of the League Secretariat to furnish it with all useful material of this kind.

*Petitions.* — It has further at its disposal, for information, any petitions which may be addressed to it by inhabitants of the Mandated territories.

The regulation of this right of petition of the inhabitants of Mandated territories, in favour of whom the whole Mandate system was in the first place, established is of capital importance.

On the one hand, it is in accordance with the principles of the Covenant that the population of the mandated areas should be secured the opportunity of laying before the League



of Nations any grievances against the Mandatory Administration, and that every serious petition should be impartially investigated. On the other hand, it is desirable that petitions of an obviously trivial or seditious character should, in the general interest, be discouraged. The elaboration of the procedure at present in force was based on both principles. A resolution adopted by the Council on January 31, 1923, provides that all petitions to the League emanating from the populations of mandated areas should be forwarded through the Mandatory Governments concerned, which should attach to these petitions such comments as they might think desirable. Petitions from inhabitants received through other channels should be returned to the signatories with the request to resubmit them through the Mandatory.

This procedure is not intended to curtail the right of petition but only to secure that the Mandates Commission, which will deal with the petitions, shall at the same time be in possession of the views of the Mandatory Powers.

Petitions regarding the mandated territories emanating from any other source than that of the inhabitants themselves are communicated to the Chairman of the Mandates Commission, who decides whether—by reason of the nature of their contents, or the authority or disinterestedness of their authors—they claim attention, or whether they should be regarded as trivial. Those which are considered to claim attention are communicated to the Government of the Mandatory Power with a request for such comments as it may consider desirable. The Chairman submits a report upon the others. All petitions sent to the League in conformity with this procedure are held over until next session of the Permanent Mandates Commission. The Commission, after discussing such petitions, decides which, if any, accompanied by the observations of the Mandatory Power and the minutes of the meeting at which they were discussed, shall be circulated to the Council and the Members of the League. This

C Mandates, the majority of these have either forwarded to the League a collection of specific answers to the questions as an annex to their reports or drawn up the reports on the lines suggested by the questionnaires.

The Commission met again for its second session from August 1 to 11, 1922. The C Mandates had by this time been in force for more than a year; the Commission was accordingly in possession of annual reports dealing with all these territories and was entitled to make its observations to the Council on the questions arising out of them. Various preliminary reports relating to the administration of territories under A and B Mandates were examined in a more summary way. The Commission further drew up questionnaires for the use of the Mandatories of Palestine and Syria and discussed several administrative questions.

Among the more important problems dealt with during this session were : the national status of the inhabitants of mandated territories; the employment of imported foreign labourers in the Pacific Islands, and the conditions in the Island of Nauru (especially the relations between the administration, the exploitation of the phosphate deposits in this island, and the welfare of the native inhabitants).

The question of the national status of the inhabitants of territories under B and C mandates was studied by a Sub-Commission. In April, 1923, the Council, on the recommendation of the Commission, decided that the status of the natives was distinct from that of the nationals of the Mandatories and could not be identified with it by any general application. It added that it was desirable that natives under the protection of a Mandatory should in each case, be designated by some form of descriptive title which would specify their status under the mandate. It recognised the possibility for natives voluntarily to obtain naturalisation from the Mandatory in accordance with its laws.

On this occasion the Council noted a statement by the representative of the Union of South Africa to the effect that it might be necessary to proceed to the collective naturalisation of the German colonists in South West Africa, it being understood that any individual so desiring would have the right to decline South African nationality.

In view of special circumstances, the Council decided to raise no objection to this measure.

When the Commission met for its third session, all B and C Mandates had been in force for more than a year and the Commission was in possession of official annual reports dealing with the administration of each of the mandated areas. It had also received certain special reports dealing with the so-called „Bondelzwarts affair”—a conflict between a tribe in South West Africa and the local administration, which had been a subject of discussion during the Third Assembly. The Commission held no fewer than thirty-three meetings from July 20 to August 10, 1923, and examined these reports in the presence and with the assistance of accredited representatives of all the Mandatory Powers.

As a result of its deliberations, the Commission, on the one hand, formulated a large number of special observations regarding the various reports, mainly containing requests to the Mandatory Governments for supplementary information on dubious points. On the other hand, it drew up a series of general observations and recommendations dealing with important questions applying to several or all of the Mandates. As examples of the important and varied subjects dealt with by the Commission, it made a recommendation in favour of the equalisation of duties on liquor imported in the British and French mandated areas in West Africa; raised the question of the desirability of the application to mandated areas of special international conventions concluded by the Mandatory Powers (in particular with a view to securing for those territories the benefit of the „most-favoured-nation clause”);

expressed its desire for more definite information regarding the financial administration of mandated areas, and the prevalence of, and the measures taken against, venereal disease; noted the prejudicial effects upon the health of native workers transferred from one region to another in which climatic conditions appreciably differ; gave its view regarding the application of the principles of freedom of conscience and of the clauses regarding military recruitment of natives contained in Article 22 of the Covenant; suggested that information should be collected regarding the conditions created by the nature of the frontier between the British and French Cameroons; and expressed the hope that the Council would take steps to clear up certain doubts regarding the legal status of government loans and advances to mandated territories and the investment of private capital in these areas.

The Commission brought these questions to the notice of the Council in order that the Council might take such action as it considered advisable.

During its third session, the Commission was able to record an important practical achievement (which was primarily due to its activity) for the benefit of the inhabitants of a mandated territory, namely, the readjustment of the Ruanda frontier.

On July 20, 1922, the Council of the League had defined the terms of the British and Belgian Mandates in the former colony of German East Africa. Article 1 of the Mandates determined the frontier-line between the two territories in accordance with the Orts-Milner Agreement concluded between the Governments of Belgium and Great Britain in 1919. By this Agreement, the Belgian Mandate should comprise the "kingdoms" of Ruanda and Urundi, while the rest of the former German East Africa was placed under British administration. The north-eastern portion of Ruanda (the district called Kisaka) was, however, given to Great Britain to secure the possibility of establishing an uninterrupted

railway communication from the north to the south of Africa. It afterwards became evident that such communications could be secured without the partition of the kingdom of Ruanda.

During the second session of the Mandates Commission, it was brought to the attention of the Commission that the frontier-line had created trouble for the natives. It divided up a tribal area and deprived the local King Musinga of much prestige. Considerable economic difficulties also ensued. Many families of Ruanda had pasture areas in Kisaka, and the free intercourse with these areas was now cut off. Cattle raids and conflicts of all kinds resulted. These facts were communicated to the Commission by two disinterested persons, a Swiss citizen and a French missionary.

In its report to the Council, the Commission called attention to the prejudicial effects of the actual boundary-line on the welfare of the natives, and the Council, at its meeting on September 4, 1922, instructed its President to transmit these observations to the Governments of Belgium and Great Britain. After having considered the suggestions of the Mandates Commission, these Governments entered into negotiations, with the result that an agreement was concluded modifying the frontier-line and restoring the unity of Ruanda under the Mandate of Belgium.

On August 31, 1923, the Council took note of this agreement. During the discussion, the representatives of Great Britain and Belgium—Lord Robert Cecil and M. Hymans—joined the Rapporteur, M. Branting, in congratulating the Permanent Mandates Commission on having taken the initiative in drawing the Council's attention to the unhappy consequences of the frontier-line, which would now be readjusted to the advantage of the native communities.

During its fourth session (June 24 to July 6, 1924) the Commission pursued its examination of the questions raised at its previous sessions. It entered into relations with the accredited representatives of the Mandatories for Palestine

and Syria, who on this occasion made general statements on the situation in the territories concerned.

At its fifth session (October 23 to November 6, 1924) the Commission examined for the first time the administration of territories under A Mandates, having before it the official reports of the British Government, for Palestine, and of the French Government, for Syria and the Lebanon.

The following meetings of the Commission—with the exception of the eighth, which took place in Rome—were devoted to the consideration of the annual reports of the Mandatory Powers, and to the continuation of the study of certain questions of general interest which the Commission had placed on its agenda.

An extraordinary session was held in Rome (February 16 to March 6, 1926) for the purpose of examining a provisional report which the French Government, at the request of the Council, had prepared on the events of 1925 in Syria and the Lebanon, in particular, on the Djebel Druse rising.

During the first two years of its existence the Commission found it possible to do its work in one annual session. With the entry in force of the A Mandates it soon became evident that the Commission would have to meet more frequently in order to examine the fourteen annual reports which would be submitted, as well as petitions and general questions. Two sessions were held in 1924 and in 1925, three sessions in 1926.

The Mandatory Powers, which in the beginning were represented by officials of the Home Government, now send to the Commission senior officials of the Administration of the Mandated Territories. At the fourth session of the Commission, in 1924, the South African Government appointed as its representative the administrator of South West Africa. In its report to the Council, the Commission marked its appreciation of this measure and laid stress on the value of direct relations between the Commission and the responsible admi-

nistrators of the mandated territories. It expressed the hope—endorsed by the Council and the Assembly—that other Mandatory Powers would follow this example.

Since then the High Commissioner for Palestine, the High Commissioner for Syria, the High Commissioner for Iraq, the Commissioners for the French Cameroons and Togoland, the Commissioner for Ruanda-Urundi and other high officials have travelled to Geneva for the purpose of furnishing the Commission with detailed information on their administration.

The Commission has often been obliged to make a special study of certain points raised by the Covenant and the Mandates in order to form a clear and accurate opinion as to the meaning and scope of the provisions defining the duties of the Mandatories.

As has already been stated, the Commission has, since its third session (1923), been studying certain general questions, several of which were brought before the Council and were in 1925 and 1926 the object of important decisions based on the recommendations of the Commission. These decisions concern the application to mandated territories of special international conventions; loans, advances and the investment of capital in mandated territories; military recruiting and State property.

*Loans, Advances and the Investment of Public and Private Capital in Mandated Areas.* — In its resolution on this subject the Council declared that the validity of financial obligations assumed by a Mandatory Power on behalf of a mandated territory in conformity with the provisions of the mandate, and all rights regularly acquired under the mandatory regime, were in no way impaired by the fact that the territory was administered under mandate.

The Council further agreed that the cessation or transfer of a mandate could not take place unless the Council had been assured in advance that the financial obligations regularly

assumed by the former Mandatory would be carried out and that all rights regularly acquired under its administration would be respected. The Council also, stated that it would continue to use all its influence to ensure the fulfilment of such obligations, when the change had taken place.

*Extension to Mandated Territories of Special International Conventions.* — The Council recommended that all States which had concluded special treaties or conventions with Mandatory Powers, should agree to extend the benefits of such agreements to mandated territories. It requested the Mandatory Powers to insert in future agreements a clause providing for the possibility of their extension to mandated territories, and to indicate in their annual reports, if possible and expedient, the reasons which may have prevented the application to Mandated territories of special agreements concluded during the period covered by the report.

*Military Recruiting.* — With regard to the question of recruiting, the Council considered that the spirit, if not the letter, of the mandate would be violated if the Mandatory enlisted the natives of the mandated territory (wherever they may present themselves for engagement) for services in any military corps or body of constabulary not permanently quartered in the territory and used solely for its defence or the preservation of order within it.

*State Land.* — The Council considered that the Mandatory Powers did not possess in virtue of Articles 120 and 257 (paragraph 2 (1) of the Treaty of Versailles) any right over any

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(1) *Article 120.* — All movable and immovable property in such territories belonging to the German Empire or to any German State shall pass to the Government exercising authority over such territories, on the terms laid down in Article 257 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty. The decision of the local courts in any dispute as to the nature of such property shall be final.

*Article 257.* — All property and possessions belonging to the German Empire or to the German States situated in such territories shall be transferred with the territories to the Mandatory Power in its capacity as such and no payment shall be made nor any credit given to those Governments in consideration of this transfer.



part of the territory under mandate other than that resulting from their having been entrusted with the administration of the territory.

If any legislative enactment relating to land tenure should lead to conclusions contrary to these principles, it would be desirable that the text should be modified so that no doubts should exist as to the legal position.

The question of the *frontier between South West Africa and the Portuguese colony of Angola* was considered by the Commission at its fourth and sixth session. It expressed the hope that this question, which had been pending for several years between the Governments concerned, might be definitely settled, in order to facilitate the administration and economic development of South West Africa and enable use to be made of the water of the Cunene.

The Council associated itself with this opinion and in September, 1926, it was informed by the Governments concerned that they had come to an agreement and that the frontier question was settled.

On other questions, such as the definition of certain terms used in the Saint-Germain Convention and the Mandates with regard to the liquor traffic, the Council has not yet taken a decision. It has asked the Mandatory Powers to communicate their views on the subject.

Negotiations are in process with regard to an eventual rectification of the frontier between the French and British Cameroons and French and British Togoland; the uniformity of excise dues in West African countries is also being discussed.

The study of general questions of this nature is obviously not the principal duty of the Commission, whose essential function is to examine the annual reports of Mandatories. In order to gain a comprehensive idea of this work, reference should be made to the reports of the Commission and the minutes of its meetings.

## ANNEX I

### *Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.*

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.

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

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.

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.

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 or 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.

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, or 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.

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

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.

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.

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## ANNEX II

### *The Distribution of the Mandates.*

#### A MANDATES :

Iraq. . . . .	Great Britain.
Palestine. . . . .	Great Britain.
Syria and Lebanon. . . . .	France.

#### B MANDATES :

British Cameroons . . . . .	Great Britain.
French Cameroons . . . . .	France.
British Togoland. . . . .	Great Britain.
French Togoland. . . . .	France.
Tanganyika . . . . .	Great Britain.
Ruanda Urundi . . . . .	Belgium.

#### C MANDATES :

South West Africa. . . . .	Union of South Africa.
Samoa. . . . .	New Zealand.
Nauru. . . . .	British Empire.
Pacific Islands south of the Equator (former German possessions). . .	Australia.
Pacific Islands north of the Equator (former German possession) . .	Japan.

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