

THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS

A SURVEY

(JANUARY 1920-JUNE 1925)

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ons Secretariat,

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**Information Section
League of Nations Secretariat,
GENEVA.**

NOTE

This pamphlet is one of a series issued by the Information Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations on various aspects of League work.

Its object is to give a summary of the work accomplished since the beginning in January 1920 up to June 1925, with an introductory survey of the character and development of the League.

Other pamphlets in this series deal with :

The Constitution and Organisation of the League;
The Permanent Court of International Justice;
The Financial Reconstruction of Austria;
Political Activities;
Mandates;
Financial and Economic Work;
The Financial Administration of the League and the
Allocation of Expenses;
Disarmament;
Health;
Minorities;
Transit and Communications;
Danzig and the Saar;
Intellectual Co-operation
and
Humanitarian Activities.

These pamphlets, which are issued for information purposes, should not be regarded as taking in any way the place of official documents.

July 1925.

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A SURVEY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

[CHARACTER] AND DEVELOPMENT

The Early Days. — The Membership. — Collaboration of Non-Members. — The German Note. — Extent of League Questions. — The Central Purpose. — The League's Character and Development. — Methods of Procedure. — Organisation. — Cost.

It is possible to draw varying conclusions from an analysis of the work and organisation of the League of Nations, and to have varying conceptions of the lines upon which the League should evolve. It is not the purpose of this pamphlet to enter into the realm of political philosophy, but, so far as possible, to give a brief, succinct and positive account of how the League has developed, what it has done, and how it has done it. Whatever deductions may be drawn from a more detailed study, it should at least be evident from this account that it has been a crowded five and a half years since the first session of the Council on January 16th, 1920.

This meeting, like that of the First Assembly in the same year, was summoned by the President of the United States in accordance with the terms of the Covenant. The Council met under the shadow of international relations which remained greatly disturbed after the upheaval caused by the war and in the midst of considerable financial and economic disorder. Feeling still ran high; in fact, conditions of this kind prevailed during most of the more critical formative period of the League, and in addition to this, the refusal of the United States to ratify the Treaty of Versailles including

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the Covenant, modified the hopes that had been entertained of the League's immediate influence in the world. Though the effect of the absence of the United States has in some respects been considerably exaggerated in its relation to actual accomplishments, America's defection has made the League's development at least slower and more difficult. It was not unnatural that the first meeting of the Council made but little echo in the world, and its one item of business was the appointment of three members of the Saar Frontier Delimitation Commission. In truth, little was expected from the League in the circumstances and at the time, but the Council continued month by month, building up the League's organisation, preparing the ground for the more extended activities which were to follow, creating the procedure for meeting the obligations imposed upon the League by the Covenant and the Peace Treaties, and undertaking some valuable, but perhaps minor, tasks of the moment.

As experience has proved, it laid appropriate foundations for the future and later began to give rise once more to expectations which could not be rapidly realised, and which perhaps failed to take account of the enormous problems ahead. The Council of the League summoned the first really international meeting after the war — the Brussels Financial Conference; it set about its task of creating the Permanent Court of International Justice; it soon had before it one or two serious political disputes, such as that between Poland and Lithuania; and the series of reports presented to the first Assembly in the same year shewed ten months of notable preparatory work during a difficult period.

At the beginning, the membership comprised thirteen Allied Powers, signatories to the Treaty of Versailles. Within the first four years all the other Allied signatories had joined with the exception of the United States, Ecuador and the Hedjas. All the thirteen former neutral States, invited to do so by the Peace Conference, had adhered, and

the number of members at the First Assembly was forty-two. At this Assembly six new States were admitted, including Austria; at the second Assembly three more States; at the third Assembly, Hungary; at the fourth Assembly, Ethiopia and the Irish Free State; and at the Fifth Assembly, San Domingo, bringing the total present membership to fifty-five States.

The relations of the League with the principal non-member States have also made marked progress. The United States, both officially and unofficially, have participated in many aspects of the League's work. Germany has taken part in many League Conferences and is represented on several regular League bodies. Russia has attended several meetings, and has had contacts with the League in connection with the repatriation of prisoners, prevention of epidemics, and the study of health questions : she sent her Commissaire of Public Health to a Conference at Geneva, and a naval representative to a League meeting of naval experts. Turkey has attended the Council on several occasions for the consideration of matters in which she is concerned, has been represented at various League conferences, and gave an indication at the Lausanne Conference that she would later apply for admission.

The League's relations with Germany reached a more important stage as the result of a communication to the League from the German Government in December 1924 notifying that Government's desire to seek early admission to the League. At the same time the Government asked for an exceptional position in relation to Article 16 because of the military situation of Germany resulting from the Treaty of Versailles. The Council considered this question at its meeting last March and sent a reply, explaining that the character and extent of a Member's active co-operation in military measures undertaken by the League must vary with the military situation of the Member in question, and

that it was for States Members themselves to say to what extent they were in a position to comply with the recommendations of the Council. In conclusion, the Council, while considering any special position for Germany as incompatible with membership of the League and of the Council, expressed its sincere wish to see Germany associated with its labours and thus play in the organisation of peace a part corresponding to her position in the world.

The extent of the work before the Council meeting last March (1925) compared with the work of its first meetings in 1920 is at least as notable as the comparison between the membership at these two periods. Within that time, the States Members had organised the League in most branches of international life and had built up a system adaptable to all that could reasonably be demanded of it. The extent of the existing demands is not generally appreciated. The League is closely woven into the constitutional and political life of the world, and there is no quarter of it which has not in some way been concerned. In the first place, its membership embraces all Asia except Turkey and Afghanistan, all Africa except Egypt, all North and South America except the United States, Mexico and Ecuador, and all Europe except Germany and Russia. The government of vast areas and large populations of the world, under the Mandates system, is carried on in the name of the League and under its supervision. Millions of minority populations spread throughout Europe are placed under the protection of the League. The League is mentioned time after time as a body of reference in the peace treaties; new agreements and treaties are frequently extending these references. The constitution of the Free City of Danzig is placed under the protection of the League, which is permanently represented by a resident High Commissioner. The League is responsible for the government of the Saar Basin and appoints the Governing Commission. There is scarcely a part of Europe

where it has not exercised some influence by decisions which it has been called upon to take on political questions, and in its international conventions on trade, transit and commercial matters, in its health and social work it affects every part of the world in one form or another.

It has a resident Commissioner General in Austria for purposes of the Financial Reform Scheme, a similar representative in Hungary for the Hungarian Reform Scheme, and a Refugee Settlement Commission in Greece. It has taken practical interest in the care of some hundreds of thousands of refugees, largely Russian, scattered all over Europe. It has sent commissions of enquiry to a large number of countries on political and other matters; it has had health meetings, not only in Europe, but in the Far East, and in both North and South America. It has laboriously studied general questions (of which security and the reduction of armaments is the most important) that are the concern of the whole world.

The central purpose of the League is the preservation of peace. This is a constructive and not a negative obligation, as is shown in the efforts which have been made and are still being made to build up plans to cover the greatest possible number of eventualities that might lead to war, as well as in the gradual evolution of League practice in applying the peace preservation provisions of the Covenant. All that has been done for security, arbitration and reduction of armaments, all the League's political activities, all the work of economic reconstruction and the impetus which the League has given to the effective conciliation agreements which have been concluded between various States, are positive elements of this problem of preserving peace by peace organisation.

The guiding principles of the Covenant itself are conference and delay. The States Members undertake not to go to war at least until certain prescribed methods of peaceful

procedure have been tried, then not to go to war in any circumstances until at least three months after the result of the enquiry is known, and in no case to go to war against a unanimous decision of the Council (excluding the votes of the States concerned). If there is any danger of rupture, States undertake to proceed either through the Permanent Court or some form of arbitration, and if neither of these courses is followed, there is an obligation to submit to enquiry by the League. Parties to a dispute, whether they are members of the Council or not, or even when not Members of the League, may participate in the discussions of disputes in which they are concerned. Thus, if direct negotiations fail, States have a choice of judicial decision by the Court, settlement by arbitration, or mediation by the Council or Assembly.

The League cannot impose decisions upon States without their consent; it cannot interfere in matters of national domestic concern; no initiative within the League and no League decision can be taken except on the part of the Governments representing the States Members of the League; and such penalties as are provided for do not apply to failure to carry out a decision but only to *resort to war* in positive breach of the Covenant.

The rest of the work and duties of the League are directed towards a similar strengthening of the structure of peace. The regular international co-operation which has been organised in economic, financial, transit and trade matters, in the promotion of public health, the extension of intellectual relations, the suppression of abuses like the illicit traffic in opium and the traffic in women, and in other questions, means not only progress in these separate subjects themselves, but a general extension of international contacts and closer understandings in many spheres of action.

In considering the work and characteristics of the League on this basis, sufficient account is not always taken of the evident fact that difficulties and complications, national

interests, and differences of national outlook and temperament do not disappear because of the existence of the League. The intrinsic difficulties do not cease to be intrinsic difficulties when they come to the League. The States Members of the League have severally the same interests and desires whether working through the League or outside it, and when their differences become matters of League concern, States do not concede all that they desire in a gesture of complete self-abnegation. On the contrary, the League is the application of a system calculated to make the settlement of problems and disputes less difficult. It is a composite association of States which must take into account the wishes and interests of all its Members; its business is to discover and explore such common ground as exists; it has no power to impose a collective will, but only opportunities to elicit general consent; in short, it is not a form of government but a form of co-operation; for while, on the one hand, it may not abandon the idea of progress in the spheres for which it was created, it has to take account of the prevailing tendencies of the Governments of which it is composed.

This does not imply that agreement must regularly be achieved between all States in the League. In disputes, rarely, if ever, are the interests of all States concerned, except in so far as the maintenance of good relations is the concern of the whole world. In other general questions, it is sometimes the case that some States have no particular interests and are ready to accept what other States agree upon. But the common ground has to be discovered on some of the wider issues of progressive international work, because one or two abstaining countries may make it difficult if not impossible for others to go ahead.

The League is a governmental organisation, and while every possible opportunity is taken to secure the collaboration of representative unofficial bodies, the final authorities in all League matters are the Governments and Governments alone.

One of the outstanding characteristics of the League organisation is its permanence, which makes progressive research and discussion customary and natural, month by month, and year by year, in the ordinary course of regular business. If a difficult general problem like security or the equitable treatment of commerce, or if a complicated special problem like that of double taxation, cannot, through political or other considerations, be finally solved at a given conference, the study of it still continues on an international basis. Expert committees carry on and progress is made where matters are ripe for progress pending ultimate action on a problem as a whole. This makes for steadiness and thoroughness, and by the existence of this continuous effort immediate lack of success does not of itself imply immediate failure.

The prudent evolution which is thus made possible may be illustrated in one or two broad connections.

One of the first steps taken by the League was to summon the Brussels International Financial Conference in 1920, at which various financial principles were unanimously formulated. No obvious results appeared until 1922, when the League was asked to assist Austria. In doing so the League was able scientifically to apply the principles of Brussels to the particular case of Austria, and when, at the end of 1923, a similar request came from Hungary, the League was able to adapt to Hungary not only the principles of Brussels but the proved results of Austria. These steps were not without their influence in the general progress towards peace and prosperity when the authors of what is known as the "Dawes Report" were able to avail themselves of the League's experience in producing their scheme for application to Germany.

The same consistency of doctrine is to be found in the way the League has dealt with the financial features of the Greek Refugee Settlement Scheme, with the arrangements made which enabled a loan to be raised for municipal and

harbour works in Danzig, and in the several instances where other Governments have come to the League for financial advice. Operation through the League in an international way for the raising of reconstruction loans avoids the necessity that otherwise occasionally arises of making concessions of one kind or another to particular governments or organisations lending such assistance.

Another illustration of gradual and logical progress is to be found in the whole group of subjects coming under the heading of international law and arbitration. Having, as one of its first and most representative tasks, set up the Permanent Court of International Justice, the League subsequently appointed an international committee of jurists representing all forms of law to study the progressive codification of international law. This is a prolonged and difficult undertaking and the attention of the committee is being devoted to exploring subjects upon which the conclusion of international conventions appears practicable and desirable. The extension of the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice has been developed and the League has devoted close attention to the possibilities of extending arbitration procedure.

The 1922 Assembly recommended the Members of the League, subject to the rights and obligations of the Covenant, to conclude conventions with the object of laying their disputes before conciliation commissions formed by themselves. The Assembly expressed the hope that the competence of these commissions would extend to the greatest possible number of disputes and that the practical application of them would in the future make possible the arrangement of a general convention open to adhesion by all States. It was suggested that, apart from the other means placed at its disposal by the Covenant, the Council might, if necessary, have recourse to the service of such conciliation commissions. It might invite the parties to bring their disputes before one

of these commissions or might refer to the commission any dispute submitted to it by one of the parties. The Assembly at the same time drew up a series of rules as a guidance to the States. Agreements since concluded between Sweden and Switzerland, Italy and Switzerland, France and Switzerland, France and Czechoslovakia, and others, are definitely inspired by these recommendations, or in broad relation with them, and in some cases provision is made for the complete elimination of resort to war—that is to say, the agreed peace procedure covers every possible case.

The Governments also have cautiously and in detail explored within the League from the beginning the great problems of security and disarmament, which are first and foremost matters of confidence. Though no final result has yet been reached, the League has, by its steady accumulation and analysis of information, its prolonged discussions and its tentative schemes, brought into relief a fairly clear indication of what is and what is not possible. It has not only clarified the problem but has also provided some elements of progress, and its attention will probably be devoted to the subject in some form or other, for a considerable period yet to come.

The brief record of the League's activities given in the following chapters shows how the League has dealt with matters submitted to it. In its consideration of particular disputes the Council has increasingly followed the practice of entrusting the preliminary investigations to committees or commissions composed of disinterested individuals so that it may have an objective view of the circumstances before it in reaching its final decision. In the case of the Upper Silesian dispute, these preliminaries were in the hands of a committee of the Council composed of representatives of Governments which had not been previously concerned in the matter, and in the cases of Memel, Mosul, Albania and the Aaland Islands, special impartial commissions were set up to investigate all the circumstances and report to the

Council. It also sets up from time to time temporary committees for special questions like the committee now enquiring into slavery, the special committee on double taxation, the special committee on the extent of the international traffic in women and children, the special committee on the codification of international law, etc. Several times, as in the case of the Polish-Lithuanian dispute over Vilna and the Hungarian-Roumanian dispute about Hungarian optants, the Council has endeavoured to conciliate differences by direct negotiations under the chairmanship of one of its members. It has, from time to time, invoked the complete impartiality of the Permanent Court of International Justice for legal advice, which in nearly every case has provided a basis of settlement.

Another characteristic is the team work of the various League bodies; that is to say, if a problem like that of Austria, Upper Silesia, or Memel, has not only political but also technical features, the technical committees of the League, financial, economic, or transit, are called in for advice. The Council holds in its own hands the general bearings of the problem and is able to consider it in the light of the technical necessities which present themselves to the minds of the technical committees; this regularly available assistance has proved of great service to the Governments of the League. There has, in fact, grown up a considerable League technique not only in political but in other directions which makes for smooth working and better chances of success.

All decisions and reports are published; most of the discussions of the Council and all the discussions of the Assembly are held in public.

For a clear understanding of the actual record of the League, it is perhaps necessary to give a few essential indications upon the organisation (1).

(1) For fuller analysis, reference should be made to the pamphlet in this series dealing with the constitution and organisation.

The main organs are the Assembly, the Council, and the permanent Secretariat, with the two essential wings in the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labour Organisation. Both the Council and the Assembly possess a large degree of independent authority and each body may deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world. In practice, the Assembly has become the general directing force of League activities. The Council deals with special emergencies and with current work throughout the year; it has in fact become the League's executive organ.

The Council is composed of four permanent members (British Empire, France, Italy and Japan) and six non-permanent members elected from time to time by the Assembly. It meets once a quarter. The present Government representatives are : for Belgium, M. Hymans (former Foreign Minister); Brazil, M. de Mello Franco (accredited to the League with ambassadorial rank); British Empire, Mr. Chamberlain (Foreign Minister); Czechoslovakia, M. Benes (Foreign Minister); France, M. Briand (Foreign Minister); Italy, M. Scialoja; Japan, Viscount Ishii (Ambassador in Paris); Spain, M. Quiñones de Leon (Ambassador in Paris); Sweden, M. Unden (Foreign Minister); Uruguay, M. Guani (Ambassador in Paris).

The Assembly consists of not more than three representatives of all the States Members of the League and meets annually in September. The delegates at the 1924 meeting included seven Premiers and sixteen Foreign Ministers.

The Secretariat is a permanent body established at the seat of the League and deals with what might be called the civil service duties of the League. It is divided into sections according to subjects and not according to nationality, and is responsible to the League as a whole. Over thirty nationalities are now represented.

The Permanent Court of International Justice (set up by the League) and the International Labour Organisation are autonomous bodies, but their budget is voted by the Assembly, and the Judges of the Court are elected by the Council and Assembly.

A number of auxiliary bodies exist under the general control of the Council and the Assembly for questions of a more or less technical kind, and the corresponding sections in the general Secretariat serve as their particular secretariats. These special organisations and committees exist under the following heads : Finance and Economics, Transit, Health, Armaments, Mandates, Opium, Traffic in Women and Protection of Children, and Intellectual Co-operation. They consist generally of government experts or acknowledged national experts outside government departments, and the list of members of League committees shows a remarkable range of authorities from most of the countries, freely devoting their attention to international co-operation. There is also frequent collaboration with representative international voluntary associations. During the past year there has been an average of at least two meetings a week of one kind or another.

The League is maintained financially by the States Members and the share of expenses is allocated between them on a carefully adjusted basis which aims at distributing the shares in accordance with relative wealth and capacity. The budget is under the final control of the Assembly and all the financial arrangements and estimates are subject to rigid and detailed supervision at different stages throughout the year. The whole expenditure involved in meetings of the Council, Assembly, standing committees, the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation, its conferences, the cost of maintenance of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague and the salaries of the judges, the salaries of the secretariats of all three Organisations, the costs of

enquiries undertaken and special commissions appointed, gives an annual average of about £900,000 sterling.

Excluding capital expenditure and working capital, the average for current expenses works out at about £855,000 sterling divided as follows : League of Nations, £490,000; International Labour Organisation, £285,000; Permanent Court of International Justice, £80,000.

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL DISPUTES

Aaland Islands Settlement. — Poland and Lithuania. — Upper Silesia. — Albania and the League. — The Frontier between Poland and Czechoslovakia. — Memel. — A Franco-British Dispute. — Eastern Carelia. — The Italo-Greek Dispute. — The Frontier of Iraq. — Other Cases.

A considerable portion of the work, not obviously defined as political, does nevertheless involve political considerations. The schemes, for example, for the reconstruction of Austria and Hungary had to take serious account of political factors which had to be settled simultaneously with the more technical and financial factors, but, for purposes of simple classification, a rough line can be drawn between the political and the other aspects of League work.

This group of political cases may be considered from two points of view, the first of which is their intrinsic importance as disputes threatening the maintenance of peace and good international relations, and second, their illustration

of the new methods of conciliation procedure introduced into international practice on the principles accepted in the Covenant. Varying in importance, most of them are in one way or another traceable to consequences of the war, and many of them were brought before the League under Article II of the Covenant, which declares it 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 which threatens to disturb international peace, or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends". This article thus permits a third party to bring forward a dispute, without implying unfriendly action.

Aaland Islands Settlement.

It was the friendly intervention of a third party, namely, the British Government, which brought before the League the dispute between Sweden and Finland over the Aaland Islands. The matter arose as part of the general re-adjustment that took place around the Baltic as a result of the war. The majority of the Islanders appeared to desire union with Sweden, and the Swedish Government, which supported these claims, endeavoured to negotiate with Finland on the subject. The Finnish Government, however, held that Finland's sovereignty over the Islanders was indisputable, and the conflict of views became increasingly bitter. The British Government called the attention of the Council to the matter under Article II, and both Sweden and Finland consented to the Council's mediation. Sweden, although not a member of the Council, took her place under Article 4 of the Covenant, according to which "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". Finland, who

was not at that time a member of the League, was given a seat on the same terms by a special resolution of the Council, in which Sweden concurred, in the spirit of Article 17 of the Covenant, which states that in circumstances of this kind a non-Member State "shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for purposes of such dispute and upon such conditions as the Council may see just."

At a special meeting of the League Council in London (July 1920) Finland at once claimed that the differences between the Aaland Islanders and the Finnish Government were a matter solely within the domestic jurisdiction of Finland, and that under Article 15 of the Covenant the Council was, therefore, not competent to deal with it. As the Permanent Court of International Justice was not then in existence, the Council, with the concurrence of both countries, appointed a commission of three international jurists—a Frenchman, a Dutchman and a Swiss—to give an advisory opinion on the point, and on the basis of the jurists' report, the Council declared itself competent to deal with the case. It then sent a Committee of Inquiry, comprising a Belgian, a Swiss and an American, to examine the situation on the spot and to recommend a solution. Upon receipt of and in conformity with their report and after hearing the views of all sides, Swedes, Finns and Islanders — the Council decided that Finland's claim for sovereignty ought to be recognised, but that Sweden's claim for the preservation of the Swedish character of the Islanders should be met by a detailed series of guarantees. This solution was accepted both by Sweden and Finland, and was followed by a convention drawn up as part of the settlement proposed by the Council at a ten-Power Conference at Geneva, providing for the neutralisation and demilitarisation of the whole archipelago. This agreement is in operation and it provides that the League shall be mediator in any differences to which it may give rise.

Polish-Lithuanian Dispute.

The Eastern boundaries of the Polish State were left undetermined by the Treaty of Versailles and were to be fixed at a later date. Difficulties arose between Poland and Lithuania, a newly created State, over the provisional line which had meanwhile been drawn (the so-called Curzon line). Poland complained that Lithuanian forces had crossed that line, and the Council's first effort at its meeting in September 1920 was to avert the hostilities which were imminent between the opposing forces. It sent a military commission of control to assist in this purpose on the spot, and this commission secured an agreement provisionally fixing the respective positions of Polish and Lithuanian forces without prejudice to ultimate definition of the frontier, which, in default of an agreed solution with the consent of both parties could be ultimately fixed, not by the League, but, as regards Poland at any rate, by the Principal Allied Powers under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Almost immediately following this step, in October 1920, General Zeligowski, a senior Polish Officer, crossed the line of demarcation, which had been agreed upon under the auspices of the Commission of Control, and entered Vilna at the head of a considerable force, establishing a provisional régime under the name of the Government of Central Lithuania. The Polish Government declined all responsibility and repudiated General Zeligowski, but asserted that it was not in a position to send troops against him, as his action was unanimously approved by Polish public opinion. Hostilities were avoided by the success of the Commission of Control in getting three neutral zones established for the purpose of separating the opposing forces, and the Council then turned its attention to an effort to settle the territorial dispute, both countries claiming the town of Vilna and the surrounding district. The Council successively tried three different me-

thods : 1) A referendum of the population; 2) direct negotiations between the representatives of the two States under the presidency of a member of the Council; 3) a recommendation on the lines of Article 15 of the Covenant.

The League, in attempting a plebiscite based on General Zeligowski's withdrawal, sent a Civil Commission to the territory to take all necessary measures for its preparation, and decided to send a small international police force to keep order in the districts to be evacuated by General Zeligowski's troops. Great Britain, France, Belgium, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Greece offered contingents, and the Netherlands Government signified its readiness to lay a bill before Parliament authorising it to add a detachment to those of the other powers. The troops, however, were never sent, as so many difficulties arose that the Council had to abandon the project, considering that in view of the long delay that had elapsed a fair expression of opinion had been made impossible.

The Council then took the second step in its conciliation efforts. It suggested direct negotiations between the two Governments at Brussels, under the presidency of M. Hymans, the Belgian representative on the Council, in order to arrive at an agreement to settle all territorial, economic and military questions in dispute. After an exchange of views, M. Hymans drew up a preliminary scheme of settlement, whose general principles were the constitution of the Vilna territory as an autonomous canton, on a basis similar to that of the Swiss constitution, within the Lithuanian State, and a political, military and financial understanding between Poland and Lithuania. The observations of the two Governments on this draft were such as to lead to the suspension of negotiations. The Council, at its meeting in June 1921, considered that M. Hymans' draft was calculated to lead to an agreement, and invited the governments to resume negotiations upon its basis. But the Lithuanian Govern-

ment declared itself unable to accept the scheme, while the Polish Government insisted upon the necessity first to consult the population of the Vilna districts. M. Hymans laid before the parties at a meeting in Geneva a slightly modified draft of the original proposal without, however, any further success, and he had to inform the Council in September of the same year, that his efforts to induce the two Governments to accept the solution had not been successful.

It was at this stage that the Council resorted to its final effort. This took the form of a recommendation urging the two countries to accept M. Hymans' scheme, which the Council itself unanimously adopted, and the Council requested M. Hymans to explain the circumstances to the Assembly which was at that time in session. A full debate ensued, and the Assembly called upon the two countries to reach an agreement, but without effect.

The League's action had, therefore, to come to an end. The Council failed in its attempts to secure agreement by conciliation—it had no authority under the Covenant finally to settle the question—but its action over a period of two years had, at least, prevented the disputed areas from becoming the scene of serious armed conflict.

At the beginning of 1923 the Council received repeated complaints from both parties concerning the state of disorder prevailing in the neutral zone which had been created in the autumn of 1920 between Polish and Lithuanian forces. The Council finally decided in February 1923 to have it replaced by a provisional line of demarcation, although the validity of such a decision was disputed by the Lithuanian Government, which had asked for the perpetuation of the neutral zone under a League Commission.

Eventually, in the early months of the year the Conference of Ambassadors, in the exercise of the right reserved to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers under Article 87

of the Treaty of Versailles, determined the Eastern frontiers of Poland, including the Vilna district within them.

Upper Silesia.

The Treaty of Versailles, Article 88, contains a provision that a frontier is to be traced by the principal Allied Powers in German Upper Silesia in accordance with the wish of the population as indicated by a plebiscite, and taking account of geographical and economic circumstances. The plebiscite took place in March 1921, but neither the Supreme Council, the members of the Plebiscite Commission, a Committee of Experts, nor the representatives of the Governments on the Supreme Council were able to agree as to how the new frontier should be traced. Difference was sharpest on the attribution of the so-called "industrial triangle" of Upper Silesia. Polish insurrection had broken out in Upper Silesia, and feeling was not only intense in Upper Silesia itself, but the discussion amongst the Allied Powers also became embittered, and negotiations reached a complete deadlock; European tension, in fact, was considerable, and there was a risk that the question might lead to a rupture between the Allies, and hostilities between Poland and Germany.

At the last moment the Supreme Council, in August 1921, wrote to the President of the Council of the League of Nations, submitting the question to the League and inviting the Council to recommend a solution which the Allied Powers could adopt. This reference to the League was made under Article 11 of the Covenant, and the covering letter added that the Governments represented in the Supreme Council would consider themselves bound by the recommendation of the Council of the League. The Council met in extraordinary session on August 29th, and the mere fact of this reference to the League led to an immediate relaxation of

tension. The preliminary examination of the problem was entrusted by the Council to the representatives of Belgium, Brazil, China and Spain—States which had taken no part in the previous investigation or discussions—with authority to seek such information and expert advice as might be considered necessary, including the hearing of inhabitants, both German and Polish, of the territory. This Committee of Four was obliged, under the provisions of the Treaty, to take into consideration both the wishes of the inhabitants, as shown by the plebiscite, and the geographical and economic conditions of the country. It came to the conclusion that it was not possible to solve the problem merely by drawing a frontier line having regard solely to the plebiscite, to economic considerations, or to a compromise between the two methods, and it therefore decided to recommend that whatever new frontier line were adopted, there should be guarantees against any dislocation of existing economic conditions for a period sufficient to permit the economic system to be adjusted gradually to the new state of affairs. For this purpose it applied to two experts, a Swiss and a Czechoslovak, who were members of the technical organisations of the League. The Council of Four, while the experts were at work, endeavoured to determine a frontier line attributing to each country a number of inhabitants in proportion to the votes recorded in its favour, and equalizing as far as possible the minorities unavoidably left on both sides. Within a period of six weeks, the Committee was able to submit a recommendation which was unanimously adopted by the full Council. The frontier line was thus based as far as possible on the data of the plebiscite, while economic unity was preserved by a series of detailed economic proposals and guarantees.

The decision was immediately accepted by the Allied Powers, which asked the Council to take charge of the subsequent negotiations between Germany and Poland for

ensuring the continuity of the economic and social existence of Upper Silesia for a period of 15 years, as proposed by the Council recommendations. M. Calonder, former President of the Swiss Federation, was selected by the Council to preside over the negotiations which, after a period of six months, resulted in complete agreement in the form of a German-Polish Convention of over 600 articles. In accordance with the unanimous wish of the German and Polish delegations, the Council appointed M. Calonder and Professor Kaeckenbeeck (a League official who had assisted in the conduct of the negotiations) to the two principal posts under the Convention. Provision is made in the Convention for intervention by the Council of the League in certain questions and the competence of the Permanent Court of International Justice is admitted in several cases.

The period of transition hitherto has passed smoothly and without any interruption of the economic life.

Albania and the League.

The undetermined nature of the frontiers of Albania was the cause, as in the majority of political disputes brought before the League, of differences considered at various times by the Council and the Assembly. Although the political and territorial status of Albania had not been clearly defined at the time of the first Assembly of the League in 1920, the Assembly unanimously admitted Albania to the League as a step in the interests of peace in general and of the peaceful progress of Albania in particular. In April 1921, the Albanian Government drew the attention of the League to the fact that Albania's frontiers, which it contended had been fixed at the Conference of Ambassadors of the great Powers held in London in 1913, after the Balkan War of 1912-1913, were being encroached upon by Serbia and Greece, and requested the League to obtain the evacuation by these two

countries of the territories thus occupied. The Conference of Ambassadors was at the time dealing with the question of Albania's frontiers, which it considered not to have been definitely fixed in 1913. The Council felt that it was unadvisable to take up simultaneously the work being done by the Ambassadors Conference, but asked the Conference to take a decision with the least possible delay, meanwhile requesting the three States concerned to abstain from any act calculated to aggravate the situation.

The question remained unsettled when the second League Assembly met in September 1921, and Albania again raised the subject, which, with the consent of the Council, was referred to the Assembly. The Assembly, recognising that the sovereignty and independence of Albania had been established by her admission to the League, recommended Albania to accept the decision of the Principal Allied Powers which were generally regarded as the proper authority to settle the frontiers of Albania, and in fact were on the point of so doing. In view of the conflicting allegations of the three States, the Council, at the Assembly's request, appointed a committee of three impartial persons from Luxemburg, Norway and Finland, to proceed to Albania to report fully on the execution of the decision of the Principal Allied Powers.

The Commission arrived in Albania in November of the same year, but before its arrival, on November 7th, the British Government, having learned that Yugo-Slav troops had entered the Mirdite district of Northern Albania as a result of unrest in this area, and considering this event to be of a nature to disturb international peace, requested the Secretary-General to summon a special meeting of the Council under Article II of the Covenant, to consider the situation and to agree upon measures to be taken under Article 16 of the Covenant should the need arise. The British Government at the same time informed the Council that the Conference of Ambassadors had now fixed the frontiers of Albania,

and that their decision would at once be notified to the interested parties.

At the meeting of the Council on November 18th, 1921, which was attended by the representatives of the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom and of Albania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government declared its readiness to respect the frontier fixed by the Conference of Ambassadors, and immediately to evacuate its troops from all territories, thereby recognising them as belonging to Albania. The Commission of Enquiry reported on December 10th that the evacuation had taken place.

The Commission remained in Albania for some three months longer investigating various questions and making certain recommendations connected with the frontier problems, which were subsequently carried out by the technical Frontier Committee appointed by the Conference of Ambassadors. It returned to Geneva in May 1922, having accomplished the principal object of its mission, and Lord Balfour, the representative of Great Britain on the Council, declared that "no corporate body, no nation, no statesman in the world, could have carried out what had been effected, except the League of Nations."

At the request of the Albanian Government, one member of the Commission returned to Albania where he remained for a year, studying the general economic, political and social conditions of the country in collaboration with the Government, and the Council subsequently nominated a financial adviser whose contract, however, was terminated at the end of the first year on the initiative of the Albanian Government. The League Health Organisation has also given assistance to Albania, more especially in regard to the prevalence of malaria, which is endemic in the country, and £ 18,000 was contributed through the League for famine relief in Northern Albania last year.

The Frontier between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The frontier delimitation difficulty, known as the Jaworzina question, between Poland and Czechoslovakia was referred to the League by the Conference of Ambassadors in August 1923. The Conference, in July 1920, had laid down the frontier line, to be traced on the spot by a boundary commission. Differences of opinion arose between the two Governments over the small district of Jaworzina (a valley in the Tatra group of the Carpathian mountains), and after a considerable delay devoted to an effort to reach agreement, the Boundary Commission presented, in September 1922, proposals which appreciably modified the line laid down in July 1920, attributing the village of Jaworzina to Poland, and two communes further north to Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia protested, contending that the decision of July 1920 was binding, but the jurists composing the Drafting Committee of the Conference of Ambassadors, were of opinion that the 1920 decision had left undetermined part of the frontier in the Jaworzina district.

The question aroused public opinion in both countries, and assumed political importance disproportionate to the extent and material value of the contested territory.

The Council considered the matter in August and September 1923, and, with the consent of both countries, decided to submit the point of law raised by Czechoslovakia to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion. The Court decided that the decision of 1920 was definitive and must be applied in its entirety. This decision was accepted by both parties.

The Council, thus possessed of the legal basis of the question, came to the conclusion that the line proposed by the Boundary Commission was not in conformity with the decision of the Court, and asked the Governments represented

on the Conference of Ambassadors to request the Boundary Commission to submit new proposals in conformity with the opinion of the Court and the proceedings of the Council. Finally, in March 1924, the Council traced the frontier on the basis of new proposals submitted by the Boundary Commission. The village of Jaworzina remained in the possession of Czechoslovakia, and in order to safeguard economic interests and transit facilities for communes on both sides of the frontier, the Council recommended to the Governments concerned to take into consideration the mutual interests of the frontier populations by drawing up special protocols constituting an integral part of the decision definitely fixing the frontier line.

Both Governments accepted this solution, and this closed a vexatious question which had embittered the relations of both States for several years. A convention concluded since between the Polish and Czechoslovak Governments has created special facilities in that district, both for local economic relations across the frontier and for travelling and sporting purposes.

Memel.

The Memel problem was another instance of protracted discussion eventually resulting in reference to the League by the Conference of Ambassadors.

The territory of Memel, which is situated at the mouth of the Niemen between East Prussia and Lithuania, was, under the Treaty of Versailles, handed over by Germany to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers for final disposition. From the Peace Conference until the beginning of 1923, the territory was administered by a representative of the Allies. In January 1923, Memel was seized by irregular Lithuanian forces, the Allied troops of occupation withdrew in order to avoid bloodshed, and a *de facto* Government took

possession. In February, the Conference of Ambassadors decided to transfer to Lithuania the rights held by the Allied Powers under the Treaty on condition that a large measure of autonomy should be given for the protection of the German population and adequate guarantees for the development of the port as an international outlet. Lithuania accepted these principles, but when the Conference drew up a Convention for their application, Lithuania did not see its way to accept certain clauses. It was found impossible to reach agreement on the matter, and in September 1923 the Conference of Ambassadors referred the question to the League under Article 11.

The difficulties to be overcome were of two kinds; technical, since transit questions and the régime of a port of international concern had to be settled; political and moral, because Poland had interest in Memel as a natural outlet, and because the relations between Poland and Lithuania were not satisfactory. The Council, therefore, decided to appoint an impartial commission of three members, two of whom, a Dutchman and a Swede, were appointed at the Council's request by the Chairman of the League of Nations Committee for Communications and Transit, and the third, Mr. Norman H. Davis, formerly Under-Secretary of State of the United States, by the Council as Chairman of the Commission. The Commission was, therefore, composed of a highly qualified American statesman and two equally qualified technical experts, entirely disinterested. The Commission made an investigation on the spot, visited both Kovno and Warsaw, terminated its final negotiations at Geneva, and on March 12th was able to present to the Council a complete Convention accepted by Lithuania. The Convention was based on the principles laid down by the Conference of Ambassadors in 1923, and the representatives of the Principal Allied Powers sitting on the Council, together with Lithuania, expressly accepted it in the name of their respective governments.

The Statute of Memel under this Convention constitutes the Memel territory as a unit within the sovereignty of Lithuania enjoying legislative, judicial, administrative and financial autonomy within prescribed limits, with a governor appointed by the President of the Lithuanian Republic. The port of Memel is regarded as a port of international concern to which the recommendations of the Barcelona Transit Conference of the League with regard to ports under international régime are applied, under the direction of a harbour board representing various interests and including a technician of neutral nationality appointed by the League of Nations. Under the Convention, any member of the Council of the League may draw the attention of the Council to any infraction of its provisions, and any difference of opinion in regard to questions of law or fact between the Lithuanian Government and any Principal Allied Powers, members of the Council of the League, is to be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice, from whose decision there shall be no appeal. By an additional Protocol exceptional provision is made for the execution of all provisions of the Convention involving action on the part of the Lithuanian Government from the date of ratification by that Government, without waiting for other ratifications. This applies, *inter alia*, to the opening of the Niemen river to the transport of wood sent from the Polish Hinterland to the port of Memel. With a few verbal alterations, the Convention was adopted by the Conference of Ambassadors and signed by the Allied Governments and the Lithuanian Government in May 1924.

The League sought by this solution to promote the interests of the Lithuanian State, of the population and city of Memel, part of which is German-speaking, and also of the Hinterland, both Polish and Lithuanian, of which Memel is the natural outlet.

A Franco-British Dispute.

Differences arose between Great Britain and France in November 1921 regarding nationality decrees promulgated in Tunis and the French zone of Morocco and their application to certain categories of British subjects. These decrees conferred French nationality upon any person born in Tunis or in the French zone of the Sherifian Empire, one of whose parents was justiciable as a foreigner by the French tribunals of the protectorate and was born in the protectorate. These decrees conflicted with British nationality legislation, which claims as natural-born British subjects the children born of British parents who were themselves born within His Britannic Majesty's allegiance and also the grand-children of such parents born before January 1st, 1915. The British Government, therefore, protested when the French Government, applying the decrees, treated as French subjects and liable to military service in the French army, persons in Tunis of Maltese origin and claimed by the British Government to be British subjects.

This became a subject of long diplomatic correspondence that ended in a deadlock. The British proposal to submit the question to arbitration was not accepted, the French Government claiming that it was not a fit subject for arbitration, but a matter of domestic jurisdiction. The British Government, therefore, in September 1922, brought the question before the Council of the League. The British and French representatives on the Council, Lord Balfour and M. Léon Bourgeois, agreed to ask the Council to request an advisory opinion from the Permanent Court of International Justice as to whether the matter at issue was or was not exclusively a question of domestic jurisdiction according to international law. The Court announced in February 1923 that, without touching upon the substance of the dispute, it was of opinion that it was not a matter of purely domestic

concern. The representative of the French Government before the Court then proposed that the whole question should be referred to the Court for settlement, but after an exchange of notes between the two ministers of Foreign Affairs, a friendly agreement was reached in May of the same year, of which the Court took note in its session of June.

Eastern Carelia.

In November 1921, the Finnish Government drew the attention of the Council to the situation created in Eastern Carelia by the non-application of the provisions of the Treaty of Peace signed at Dorpat in October 1920 between the Republic of Finland and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. Eastern Carelia includes the government of Olonetz and that part of the government of Archangel which lies to the west of the White Sea. It has an area of about 150,000 square kilometres; and a population of about 200,000 which forms one of the principal branches of the Finnish race.

Finland's contention was that the Treaty of Dorpat guaranteed territorial economic and moral autonomy to the population of Eastern Carelia within the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republic. Instead of this, Finland asserted that the Soviet Government had established a régime dependent on the dictatorship of an imported workers' soviet which was ruining and terrorising the country. The Carelians had revolted, and a portion of them had fled to Finland. Representatives of Esthonia and Latvia informed the Council of their interest in Finland's action, and the representative of Poland stated that his Government had already placed its good offices at the disposal of the two parties. The Council declared its willingness to examine the question provided the two parties concerned agreed, and expressed the opinion that one of the States Members of the League in diplomatic

relations with the Government of Moscow, might ascertain that Government's views on the matter.

This, however, produced no result, the Soviet Government declaring that the question was one of purely domestic concern. The Council, therefore, at the request of the Finnish Government, decided to ask the Permanent Court of International Justice to give an advisory opinion as to whether the Treaty of Dorpat and the Annexed Declaration of the Russian Delegation concerning the autonomy of Eastern Carelia constituted obligations of an international character which were binding upon Russia in her relations with Finland.

Finland stated her case before the Court, but the Russian Government refused to appear. The majority of the Court, seven out of eleven judges, reluctantly concluded that the Court was incompetent to express an opinion. In its view, no reply could be given to the question unless an enquiry were held on certain points of fact, and it would be extremely difficult to conduct such an enquiry if Russia held aloof. Moreover, in view of the independence of sovereign States, it could not express an opinion on a dispute that had arisen between a Member of the League and a non-Member, without the consent of the latter.

Finland's declaration to the fourth Assembly, that it maintained its right to consider the Treaty and the annexed Declaration relating to Eastern Carelia as agreements of an international order, was taken note of, and the Assembly requested the Council to keep in mind the possibility of seeking any satisfactory solution made possible by subsequent events.

The Italo-Greek Dispute.

The dispute between Italy and Greece arose out of the murder on August 27th, 1923, on Greek soil, of an Italian general, two Italian officers, an Italian chauffeur and an

Albanian interpreter. The Italian general and his assistants were engaged, as representatives of the Ambassadors' Conference, in fixing the frontier line between Greece and Albania, and while traversing a section of the Greek frontier they fell into an ambushade and were assassinated. The Italian Government sent a note to the Greek Government demanding full reparation and apologies; Greece accepted some of the conditions, but refused others, and as a result the Italian naval authorities occupied the Island of Corfu, announcing that the occupation was a temporary measure taken as a guarantee of reparations. The Conference of Ambassadors also sent a note to Greece requesting an immediate inquiry and reserving the right of considering penalties.

After these exchanges, Greece, on September 1st, brought the matter before the Council of the League under Articles 12 and 15 of the Covenant. It is important to note that Greece, while appealing to the League, also stated her willingness to accept any decision of the Conference of Ambassadors.

At a public meeting of the Council Greece made some additional offers to those contained in her reply to the Italian note, but the Italian representative asked the Council not to take action in the dispute because the Conference of Ambassadors, a directly interested party, had already taken up the question, and also on the grounds of the interpretation of several Articles of the Covenant regarding the competence of the League.

The Council left aside for the moment the detailed consideration of these legal questions, and recognising the interest of the Conference of Ambassadors in the matter, considered a series of seven points suggested as a basis of settlement by the Spanish representative on the Council. Without formally adopting these suggestions, it was agreed to forward them informally, together with the verbatim record of the Council discussion, to the Conference of Ambas-

sadors. This body thanked the Council for having supplied it with valuable material which had greatly assisted it in forming a judgment; annexed to this communication was a note of the Ambassadors' Conference to the Greek Government setting forth certain conditions which Greece should fulfil in reparation for the murder. The Council in acknowledging this asked to be kept informed of any further discussion upon the subject, and eventually received a communication from the Conference of Ambassadors announcing the settlement of the dispute and enclosing a new and more detailed note to Greece. The Council welcomed the fact that this had put an end to a situation which had aroused intense anxiety.

Further action was subsequently taken by the Conference of Ambassadors in connection with the conditions presented to Greece. Within a month of the murder, reparations had been settled and paid, Corfu evacuated and normal relations restored.

The immediate question thus settled, the Council, while declaring that any dispute between Members of the League likely to lead to rupture was within the sphere of action of the League and that if such a dispute could not be settled by diplomacy, arbitration or judicial settlement it was the duty of the Council to deal with it in accordance with the terms of Article 15 of the Covenant, proceeded to a consideration of the points of international law raised during the discussions. It unanimously agreed on a series of questions to be submitted to a committee of jurists and to be studied apart altogether from the solution of the special case which the Council had examined. The committee of jurists reached unanimous agreement on its replies concerning the competence of the Council, the right of coercive action and the responsibility of a State for political crimes committed on its territory—replies which were accepted by the Council.

The Frontier of Iraq.

In August 1924 the British Government requested the Council to take up the question of the frontier of Iraq. In its communication to the Secretary-General the British Government recalled the fact that, by the Treaty of Lausanne the frontier between Iraq and Turkey was to be settled within nine months by friendly negotiations between Turkey and Great Britain, and if within this period no agreement was reached, the question was to be brought before the Council of the League. The British Government added that no agreement had been reached at the date upon which the period of nine months came to an end.

The Council took up the matter at its session which opened on August 29th and at which Turkey was represented. The British and Turkish representatives explained the points of view of their respective Governments and gave an undertaking to accept in advance the Council's decision. It was decided to appoint a special commission of three members to collect the facts and data required, and to lay before the Council all information and suggestions which might assist it in reaching a decision. The commission was authorised to make investigations on the spot and to avail itself of the services of officials appointed respectively by each of the Governments concerned, whose representatives agreed that the problem for the Council was to find the most suitable frontier between Turkey and Iraq.

Complaints having been made by both parties with regard to recent frontier incidents, the Council urged the two Governments to use all the weight of their authority to restore and maintain peace on both sides of the so-called *status quo* line in accordance with a reciprocal undertaking contained in the Lausanne Treaty. The representatives of the two Governments assured the Council that no military or other movement

should take place which might in any way modify the existing state of the territories.

Differences subsequently arose between the British and Turkish Governments with regard to the interpretation of the passage of the Council's resolution regarding the maintenance of the *status quo*. The matter was brought to the attention of the Council by the British Government on October 14th, and, in agreement with the Turkish Government, a request was made for an extraordinary session of the Council in order to examine the matter. The Council dealt with it on October 27th and 29th at a meeting held in Brussels. The representatives of both Governments again declared that they would abide by the decision of the Council and the Council was able to establish that the real differences between the points of view of the parties was not very great. It was therefore possible to lay down a provisional line which differed very slightly from the suggestions made by both sides without prejudicing in any way the settlement of the final frontier.

At the same meeting the Council announced the appointment of Count Teleki, former Prime Minister of Hungary, M. de Wirsén, Swedish Minister in Roumania, and Colonel Paulis, of the Belgian Army, as members of the special Commission provided for in the resolution taken at its previous session. This Commission met at Geneva on November 17th and decided to proceed to Iraq to pursue its investigations on the spot. It first of all went to London and to Angora to confer with the British and Turkish Governments, and then devoted some weeks to the study of the problem in the area concerned. It returned to Geneva during the month of April 1925 to consider the terms of its report which, it is anticipated, will be concluded in time for the Council meeting at the end of August.

Other Cases.

Difficulties arose between the Hungarian and Roumanian Governments with regard to the expropriation by Roumania of immovable property of Hungarian optants, that is to say, of persons previously domiciled in the territories transferred to Roumania under the Treaty of Trianon, but who opted for Hungarian nationality. The dispute related to the application of the Roumanian agrarian reform scheme. Hungary claimed that, according to the Treaty, persons who had opted for Hungarian nationality were entitled to retain their immovable property on Roumanian territory. Roumania declared that her agrarian reforms were on a basis of complete equality for all the elements of the Roumanian population, and were not directed against persons of Hungarian nationality more than against other inhabitants. The Treaty in the opinion of the Roumanian Government implied that the optant should retain possession within the limits of the property laws of the sovereign State.

A suggestion that the matter should be referred to the Court, either for decision or for advisory opinion, was accepted by Hungary, but Roumania felt that the interests of the country did not permit her to accept. The Council then endeavoured to secure a direct agreement between the two parties under the chairmanship of M. Adatci, at that time Japanese representative on the Council. M. Adatci's draft report to the Council was approved by the representatives of the two Governments who met him in negotiations at Brussels, but subsequently the Hungarian Government declared that it could not adhere to its recommendations.

The Council, at its meeting in July 1923, approved M. Adatci's text, expressed the hope that the Governments would do their best to prevent the question from becoming a disturbing influence in their relations, and requested the

Hungarian Government to do its best to re-assure its nationals and the Roumanian Government to give proof of its goodwill in regard to the interests of the Hungarians.

In September 1922 the Council settled the differences between Austria and Hungary on the Burgenland frontier.

In April 1923 it secured a settlement between Hungary and Czechoslovakia on frontier delimitation around a district lying north of the mines of Salgo-Tarjan, but in the dispute between Hungary and the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom over the territory in the Mur district with about 18,000 inhabitants, the Council was unable to bring the parties to a friendly settlement, and the Conference of Ambassadors carried out the delimitation in conformity with the Treaty in place of the arrangement which had been unsuccessfully sought.

The Council succeeded in effecting an agreement between Bulgaria and the neighbouring States as to the incursions of irregular armed bands.

The League has, therefore, been of considerable help in the final settlement of territorial questions left pending after the general carrying out of the peace treaties in Central Europe. Some of these frontier questions were, no doubt, in themselves of secondary importance and did not affect very considerably national or even local interests, but they had been the subject of warm discussion; some of them had excited public opinion to such a point as to create a state of tension which affected the domestic and foreign policies of the interested Governments. The Council's intervention, by putting an end to most of these controversies, certainly contributed to the removal of some causes of conflict.

CHAPTER II

THE WORK OF RECONSTRUCTION

Austria. — Hungary. — Greek Refugee Settlement. — Governmental Requests for Advice. — Danzig Loan. — Other Problems. — Transit Conditions.

The financial and economic problems which faced the world after the war were unprecedented in their gravity, and the League began its life in international economic circumstances scarcely less propitious than the political circumstances. Matters were probably at their worst when the Council of the League, during its first year — 1920, summoned an international financial conference at Brussels for an exchange of information and suggestion of remedies to meet the general disorganisation of Europe. It was the first time since the war that so many nations, including those previously at war, had been brought together on an equal footing; thirty-nine countries were represented, including Germany and the United States, and the Conference produced a series of unanimous recommendations representing in essence a body of financial doctrines on questions of budget equilibrium, inflation, credits, expenditure on armaments, etc. This body of doctrine was in the hands of every finance minister in the world, and in the struggles which finance ministers have constantly had, they have in many cases been substantially influenced by an appeal to this authoritative and impartial pronouncement. Out of this Conference arose the Financial and Economic Commission of the League with instructions for a series of studies and publications on questions which the Conference had not itself had time fully to consider; an

agency was thus created capable of handling such problems as the reconstruction of Austria and Hungary, which arose later in specific form.

Reconstruction of Austria.

The codification of financial doctrine at the Brussels Financial Conference was followed by the definite and practical work of financial reconstruction in Austria. Scientific European reconstruction may be said to have begun by the League's work in this country. Its success made it the model of all later schemes for the restoration of a country's finances. It served as a valuable guide to the "Dawes Committee" in devising its scheme for Germany. Its lessons were carefully studied by Poland in her notable and successful effort of reconstruction by national selfhelp. Its methods and principles were later applied with equal success by the League itself to Hungary.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire had been broken up, and Austria, which as a result had become a small State though still organised as the centre of an Empire, was faced with the problem of complete reorganisation if she were to maintain her national life. She did not possess the means of achieving this difficult task unaided. For three years she had been kept precariously alive. Twenty-five millions sterling of public money had been lent and become to all appearances an irretrievably bad debt. Large charitable funds had also poured in, but all this money had been consumed for current expenditure and there had been no reconstruction. On the contrary, Austria's financial position had become worse than ever. All these sources of help had come to an end; the crown had dropped to one-fifteenth thousandth part of its gold value and was still falling. Public expenditure was at least twice the revenue, and Austria was confronted with the vital necessity of purchasing large imports of food and

raw materials during the autumn and winter. There seemed no escape from destitution, starvation and possibly revolution, with incalculable foreign complications. It was in these desperate circumstances that Austria's case finally came before the League, of which Austria was a member.

It was on August 15th, 1922, that the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers referred the matter to the League, at the same time announcing that they were themselves unable to hold out any prospect of further financial assistance. The Council at once instructed its Financial Committee to examine the financial aspects and appointed a Committee of the Council to consider the problem as a whole. For the purposes of the investigation the Council Committee was joined by the Austrian Chancellor and by M. Benes, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, and by October 4th a complete and detailed scheme received the unreserved assent of the Council, of Austria, and of Czechoslovakia.

The general scheme was comprised in three protocols. Austria's political status was confirmed and assured; the liens on her assets in favour of relief credit and reparation obligations were raised for twenty years and a new "reconstruction" loan, secured partly on Austria's own assets thus released and partly on the guarantee of other Governments, was provided for; and Austria agreed to carry out detailed and far-reaching reforms directed to ensuring the balancing of her budget within about two years. The excess of her expenditure over revenue during this period of reform was to be met from the reconstruction loan. It was thus possible to stop at once the inflationary issue of notes, by which Government expenditure had previously been met. The currency was at once stabilized and its stability ensured by the foundation of a new Bank of Issue independent of the Government. A Commissioner-General of the League, Dr. Zimmerman (a Dutchman) was appointed to carry the scheme into effect in collaboration with the Austrian Govern-

ment, to supervise its application, and to control the release of the money loaned.

As soon as a start was made with the execution of the scheme, remarkable results ensued. Confidence in Austria was at once restored in a large measure. It was an astonishing development that Austrian currency soon became the most stable in the whole of Europe. Within four months the bank deposits had increased five-fold, Austria had raised 30 million gold crowns for the capital of the new bank of issue provided for in the scheme, and 50 million gold crowns for a national loan, 30 millions of which were taken by the Viennese banks and the remaining 20 million by the public. This was the measure of the return of Austria's confidence in herself. In February, the Austrian Government was able successfully to raise a short-term loan of 3½ million pounds sterling, and in April of the same year, a 20 years' loan equivalent in value to 27 millions sterling. This long-term loan, based upon the guarantees of nine different countries, secured further by assets under the control of an international commissioner appointed by the League, for a scheme of reconstruction in which twelve Governments actively participated and for which the League as a whole was responsible, raised in at least nine different financial markets (London, New York, Paris, Vienna, Rome, Brussels, Amsterdam, Stockholm and Geneva) in different currencies, is unique in the financial operations of the world. Within ten months after the work of reconstruction had actually started, taxation receipts began to equal expenditure, and budget equilibrium was thus, at least temporarily, attained. This result was, however, attained more by the increase of revenue than by the decrease of expenditure, and the League has so far not felt sufficiently confident of its continuance to remove the control. The position has moreover been rendered more difficult by an economic depression, with unemployment. The Council has thought it wise to appoint two independent experts to make a thorough enquiry into Austria's economic

situation, and the result of their work is not yet available. The inevitable, and anticipated, difficulties attendant upon the period of reform should not however obscure the significance of the great results already obtained; a currency absolutely stable for nearly three years, a budget in approximate equilibrium for over 18 months. Austria is now, like other countries, contending with a moderate economic depression; but in 1922 she was in financial and economic chaos and in imminent danger of starvation and dissolution. There is no more striking contrast in the post-war history of Europe.

Reconstruction of Hungary.

Towards the end of 1923, observing the success of reconstruction in Austria, Hungary asked the League to apply a similar scheme to the restoration of its own finances.

The Council immediately appointed a special Council Committee, including for the purpose representatives of Czechoslovakia, the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, Roumania and Hungary. This Committee, again with the technical assistance of the Financial Committee, drew up a scheme, but not until after a series of difficult negotiations complicated by matters of a political nature. The Hungarian plan is in principle the same as the Austrian, but the position of Hungary was not so serious either financially or economically. The main difference is that whereas in Austria no provision is made for reparation payments during the currency of the loan for twenty years, they are not excluded in the case of Hungary. All the external obligations of Hungary under the Peace Treaty are, however, limited for twenty years to a sum giving an annual average of not more than 10 million gold crowns, or about £400,000.

Another difference is that—in consequence mainly of the results achieved in Austria and the increased confidence in the League's reconstructive work—it proved possible to

arrange the reconstruction loan without financial guarantees from foreign Governments. As in the case of the Austrian scheme, Hungary succeeded in launching a foreign loan of over £10,000,000 sterling. The loan was immediately subscribed in various countries, and the Commissioner General, who in this case is Mr. J. Smith, Jr. an American, has in his periodical reports recorded entirely satisfactory progress. Budget equilibrium was reached with remarkable rapidity. Control began on May 1st, 1924. A deficit of 100 million gold crowns had been allowed for the financial year July 1924 to June 1925. In fact this year has shown an actual surplus.

The scheme, to a larger degree than was the case with Austria, was the occasion for the settlement of a number of questions which had embarrassed the relations between Hungary and her neighbours since the disruption of the former Empire. Its successful prosecution, it may be hoped, will establish, on a more permanent basis, a friendly political atmosphere in that part of Central Europe, the first signs of which appeared when the Austrian scheme was successfully launched.

Greek Refugee Settlement.

Another financial operation of a somewhat different kind organised through the good offices of the League, was the raising of a foreign loan of £ 10,000,000 sterling for a productive refugee settlement scheme in Greece. After the Greco-Turkish hostilities, between a million and a million and a half Greek refugees returned to their country, presenting an almost insuperable problem to the Government. Greece turned to the League for assistance, and the League organised, in collaboration with the Greek Government, a settlement scheme under the control of a Commission nominated by the League, the Greek Government providing land

upon which the refugees were to be established for productive work. The first president of the Commission was Mr. Henry Morgenthau, formerly United States Ambassador in Constantinople, who was recently succeeded by Mr C. P. Howland, another American citizen. The guarantees for the loan were considered and approved by the Financial Committee of the League. A detailed plan was drawn up not only for the organisation of the settlement scheme, but for the proper employment of the loan and for the assignment of assets devoted to its repayment, and the loan was successfully obtained (1).

Governmental Requests for Advice.

It has already been noted in the Political Section of this pamphlet, that the League was invited by the Government of Albania to give it financial advice. A request, similar in nature, but different in detail, was received towards the end of 1924 from the Government of Esthonia, which asked the Financial Committee of the League to give it the benefit of its experience on the national banking policy. A small delegation went to Esthonia and reported to the Financial Committee, which in turn drew up a series of recommendations to the Government in the early part of this year.

Danzig Loan.

Another instance, again differing slightly from all others, was the request from the Municipality of the Free City of Danzig for the support of the League in the raising of a loan for the development of municipal and harbour works. The Financial Committee carefully considered the whole problem in the early part of this year in collaboration with

(1) See also Chapter V.

the representatives of the Municipality and of Poland, and common agreement was reached on a basis which permitted the municipality successfully to launch a loan of about 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ million pounds sterling. The scheme provided for the protection of the interests of the lenders, and included the election by the Council of a Trustee, Mr. C. E. Ter Meulen, the Dutch President of the Financial Committee, whose responsibility is to see that the loan is devoted to the specific purposes for which it is provided, and that the securities given are adequately maintained.

All these operations, involving the raising of foreign loans, would scarcely have been possible without the confidence engendered by the members of the Financial Committee of the League, and by the Council itself.

Other Problems.

A variety of other reconstructive problems have been dealt with or are under consideration in the fields of finance, economics, communications and transit.

Amongst the many impediments to international commerce have been cumbersome and unfair customs formalities. After long and careful preparation, the League summoned a conference which was attended by thirty-four States, including the United States and Germany, in October 1923 at Geneva, with the collaboration of representatives of the international commercial world. A convention was unanimously adopted for eliminating many of these unnecessary barriers by means of publicity, simplicity, expedition, equality and redress. The Conference also adopted a number of recommendations regarding the passage of goods through customs, examination of travellers' luggage and warehousing charges. The main point of interest to the general travelling public was a recommendation that travellers' hand luggage should be examined in the

train, and States agreed to allow luggage registered from the place of despatch abroad to be forwarded without customs examination at the frontier to customs offices in the interior of the country of destination.

Another interesting convention adopted by the League was one which aimed at removing the obstacles to the general recognition of the validity of arbitration clauses voluntarily included in commercial contracts, particularly in contracts between persons of different nationalities.

A subject of concern to international trade and financial relations also has been that of double taxation, which occurs when a tax-payer who is domiciled in one country and derives his income from another country is liable to taxation on the same income in both countries. The preliminary study of this question was referred to a committee of four experts—Sir Josiah Stamp (England), Professor Seligman (United States Professor Einaudi (Italy), and Professor Bruins (Holland). They drew up a detailed report on the general principles of the problem and this was followed by the appointment of a committee composed of the chief revenue officials in Europe to study the practical application of these principles. This committee has drawn up its final report, which has been published, but a considerable amount of work has still to be done to reach a final solution which will obtain governmental and parliamentary assent to the measures required in a matter so complicated.

Parallel with the enquiry on double taxation has been an enquiry, still continuing, on tax evasion.

Other matters in varying stages of progress deal with the equitable treatment of commerce in regard to such matters as unfair competition by means of fraudulent trade practices, the treatment of foreign nationals and enterprises on which a series of recommendations has been made to States Members of the League, unjust discrimination in

the treatment of goods or ships; the dissimilarity in legislation on bills of exchange; uniformity of methods adopted in various countries in the compilation of economic statistics, etc.

With all this work there has been continuous research and a series of monographs has been published on public finance, currency reform, central banks of issue, etc.

There is a *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* which now gives figures from nearly every nation in the world, and there have been a number of other publications dealing, for example, with the raw materials position, economic conditions in Russia, replies of Governments regarding action on the resolutions adopted at the Brussels Financial Conference, reports on Esthonia and Albania, regular monthly reports from the League Commissioners General in Austria and Hungary, and similar periodical information.

Transit Conditions.

The war accentuated the economic interdependence of the nations of the world, and questions of international transport by land and water became of considerable political importance and urgency. This was particularly the case in Europe, where large areas which had previously been economic units were broken up into a number of national States not in a position to be self-sufficient but, determined to retain their political independence.

One of the earliest organisations set up by the League was that dealing with Communications and Transit. Its first important conference was held in Barcelona in March, 1921, and attended by transit experts of forty States. The conference approved and submitted to the various nations for ratification two conventions laying down the general principle that transport originating in one State and crossing

a second into a third, or transport making use of through international waterways should enjoy complete liberty of transit with equal treatment for all flags and freedom from special customs duties and vexatious dues.

The preparatory work had been done by a provisional committee, and the Barcelona Conference appointed the League's Permanent Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit. The latter Committee, between the First and Second General Conferences, in addition to dealing with a very large number of questions relating to international transport, was responsible for drawing up four more draft conventions for submission to the Second General Conference, which was held at Geneva in November, 1923. This Conference covered international railroad traffic, equality for shipping in maritime ports, the transmission of electric power across a third State and the development of hydraulic basins situated between two or more states.

With regard to the Maritime Ports Convention equal treatment was to be accorded to all States in the way of port dues and regulations, without discrimination even as between the nationals of the State in which the port is situated and the nationals of other States.

So far as international railroad traffic is concerned, the Convention aims at a codification of existing railroad practice in so far as international traffic is concerned; it also aims at simplifying to the greatest possible extent frontier formalities for passenger, luggage and goods traffic.

Amongst other questions being studied by the Advisory Committee are the reform of the calendar, wireless regulations, commercial aerial law, international motor-drivers' licences, etc. Considerable improvements have been effected in regard to passports, and fees for passports and visas.

CHAPTER III
**THE COURT, INTERNATIONAL LAW
AND TREATY PUBLICITY**

Character and Composition. — The Cases before the Court. — International Law. — Registration and Publication of Treaties.

One of the earliest and most important tasks of the League was the creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The work of the first and second Peace Conferences at The Hague had developed machinery for arbitration, but had failed to create an international court of justice owing to divergencies of opinion as to the method of nominating and electing the judges. This difficulty the League was able to overcome largely by the mere existence of the general League organisation itself. The Assembly and the Council ballot separately for the election of judges, and any candidate with an absolute majority in each body is declared elected. Provisions are made for avoiding deadlock, and in the last resort the Court may be completed by co-option on the part of those already elected. Thus the Great Powers, through their position on the Council, have a check on any unjustified claims of the smaller Powers, while the smaller Powers by their influence in the Assembly, can similarly check any undue demands by the Great Powers. The first election in 1921 worked with ease and rapidity.

The Court is composed of eleven judges with four deputy judges, representing fifteen different nationalities (Dutch,

French, Spanish, Italian, Brazilian, Cuban, English, Swiss, American, Danish, Japanese, Norwegian, Roumanian, Chinese, Serbian) and all the main branches of civilisation. Judges are elected for nine years and form a court of law, and not of arbitration, which is directed to base its decisions on legal principles and on the application of strict law and justice as shown in treaties, international practice and precedent or accepted international teaching. It is free from political influence and recourse to it is open to all States. It is not possible for one State to cite another State before the Court as in the case of proceedings in national courts of law except where provision is definitely made for this in international treaties and conventions, or where the two States involved have signed what is known as the "Optional Clause" of the Court Statute where they agree reciprocally to the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court on justiciable questions. Provision is being increasingly made in new treaties and conventions for compulsory reference, and about twenty States have adopted the "Optional Clause".

The difficult task of establishing the Court, the principles upon which it should work, the methods of election of judges, and the actual elections themselves, were all completed within less than two years. The Court first sat in February, 1922, and has since been busily engaged. The first three cases were requests for an advisory opinion on questions concerning the jurisdiction and constitution of the International Labour Organisation. The first international dispute to come before the Court was that between Great Britain and France over the French nationality decrees in Tunis and Morocco, upon which it was asked to give an advisory opinion as to whether it was a matter or not solely for the domestic jurisdiction of France, as shown in the political chapter of this pamphlet. The first instance of compulsory jurisdiction was a case arising out of the Treaty of Versailles, where the Principal Allied Powers asked judgment against Germany for refusing passage through the Kiel Canal to the *S. S. Wimbledon*.

Germany, having no national on the Court, named Professor Walter Schücking as a judge in accordance with the terms of the Court Statute, and the Court found that Germany had a definite treaty duty to allow access to the *Wimbledon*.

The German Government has recently brought before the Court differences which have arisen with the Polish Government over certain German property interests in Polish Upper Silesia. This reference to the Court is made under an article in the Polish-German Convention on Upper Silesia, signed at Geneva in 1922, stipulating that any divergencies of opinion resulting from the interpretation of certain articles of the Convention shall be submitted to the decision of the Court.

A case concerning concession rights to a Greek subject in Palestine was brought by Greece, under the terms of the Palestine Mandate, against Great Britain, the Mandatory Power, and was decided in favour of Greece, though Greek compensation claims were not admitted by the Court.

The Court gave advisory opinions on several minority questions including that relating to the expropriation of certain German farmers in Poland, the grant of Polish nationality to certain persons of German race in Poland, and the interpretation of a point of law regarding Greeks liable to expulsion from Constantinople. It also had before it for advisory opinions the Jaworzina case, a frontier question between Albania and the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom regarding the Monastery of St. Naoum, the case of Eastern Carelia, and has just recently dealt with Poland's postal rights in Danzig, on which it was also asked by the Council for an advisory opinion.

Another aspect of international law in a more general direction is the large number of new international conventions drawn up by the League on many subjects of international concern, which in themselves are additions to existing international law. The League has also appointed recently a representative and influential committee of international

jurists for the progressive codification of international law. The task of this Committee, which has already held one session, is to recommend to the Council the conclusion of international conventions on subjects where they consider such action practicable and desirable.

Another feature in relation to legal matters is the provision of the Covenant by which all Members of the League are under an obligation to register with the Secretariat for publication all treaties and conventions. The Members of the League agree, under the Covenant, that no new treaty shall have validity unless so registered and published. Over 1,000 have been published in this way in a special Treaty Series, including a considerable number registered by Germany. These treaties are published in the two official languages—French and English—as well as in their original texts, and are thus more generally available than when they exist in little-known languages.

CHAPTER IV

SECURITY AND ARMAMENTS

League's Obligations. — Reduction of Armaments. — Private Manufacture. — Interchange of Information. — The Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance. — The Protocol for the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes. — Arms Traffic Convention. — Other Efforts. — Armaments Year Book.

One of the most serious problems of the League has been that of the reduction of armaments, a task which is specifically laid upon it by the Covenant under various heads. The

Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety, and that the manufacture of arms by private enterprise is open to grave objections; they undertake to consider how such evil effects may be prevented. The League is also entrusted by the Covenant with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition in the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest. The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information on all armaments questions.

While it is recognised that the maintenance of peace requires reduction of armaments, it is equally true that the reduction of armaments requires confidence in the maintenance of peace. In other words, the armaments problem is not a separate thing in itself; the whole field of political relations is involved. Nations will agree to arms reduction when they feel that the political relations of the world make it safe to do so. The limitation of armaments then plays its part in the preservation of peace.

The problem has been under close and continuous consideration from the beginning and many avenues of approach have been explored. The main effort has been concentrated on the principle that armaments and security re-act upon each other, and that while it is not possible to expect reduction of armaments without giving satisfactory guarantees of security, it is not possible to give these guarantees without at the same time obtaining a general reduction of armaments.

The Geneva Protocol.

The first concrete proposals were produced by a special committee set up by the League in the form of a draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance by which States would agree that aggressive war was illegal, that States in the same con-

continent would come to the aid of another State wrongly attacked, and that in return for this guarantee all States would agree to proportional disarmament without which they would be unable to claim the protection of the Treaty. This was submitted to the Governments for their consideration but its details did not receive sufficient support to secure adoption. At the 1924 Assembly, when the replies of the Governments were presented, a full consideration of the problem was renewed and finally took shape in the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, or what is more commonly known as "The Geneva Protocol", the acceptance of which was unanimously recommended by the Assembly to the earnest attention of the Governments.

This plan came under the three heads of Arbitration, Security, and Reduction of Armaments. The signatory States were to recognise as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in justiciable questions; they were to agree to a detailed system of compulsory arbitration for non-justiciable cases not settled by mediation, and any State resorting to war in violation of its undertakings would be an aggressor. Provisions were included to assist in the definition of the aggressor, and upon the Council's declaration as to which was the aggressor State, the other States signatories of the Protocol would be under an obligation loyally and effectively to co-operate in support of the Covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression in the degree which their geographical position and their situation as regards armaments allowed. The whole scheme was made dependent upon the production and adoption of a plan for the reduction of armaments at a conference which was to be summoned for this purpose as soon as a given number of ratifications of the Protocol had been received.

This is merely a skeleton outline of a comprehensive plan which attempts to provide for most possible eventualities; nearly a score of States have signed and one has ratified.

Others have either not yet ratified or have raised objections. The British Government, at the Council meeting in March, 1925, announced that, while sympathising with the objects aimed at, it could not accept the Protocol, and considered that the more satisfactory way of progress was to supplement the Covenant by making special arrangements in order to meet special needs. These arrangements should be framed in the spirit of the Covenant, working in close harmony with the League and under its guidance, and could best be attained by knitting together the nations most immediately concerned and whose differences might lead to a renewal of strife, by means of treaties framed with the sole object of maintaining as between themselves an unbroken peace. The immediate result was a resolution referring to the Sixth Assembly this and other declarations made at the same time by Members of the Council, together with any further declarations communicated by the Governments Members of the League.

Apart from these considerations of the fundamental requirements for the reduction of armaments, the League has devoted close attention to other features of the problem. It has considered the possibilities of action on the difficult question of the evils which, according to the Covenant, are attendant upon the private manufacture of arms, and though various propositions have been made and one draft convention has been prepared, the problem still remains under discussion. One important feature of this work has been dealt with in connection with the traffic in arms, for in controlling the general international trade some of the evil effects which the Covenant attributes to the private manufacture of munitions and implements of war are eliminated.

Traffic in Arms.

Efforts were first made by the League without avail to secure the ratification of the St. Germain Convention for

the control of the traffic in arms, the failure having been largely due to the inability of the United States to accept the Convention. A new draft convention to take its place was, however, elaborated with the assistance of American representatives, and an International Conference of forty-four States, including the United States, Germany and Turkey, met in Geneva in May-June, 1925, to consider this draft. The Conference reached agreement on a Convention, a Protocol relating to chemical and bacteriological warfare, and a Final Act.

The object of the Convention is to establish a general system of supervision and publicity over the international trade in arms, munitions, and implements of war, and a special system for certain areas where such measures are generally recognised as necessary. Governments alone have the right to export or import arms exclusively designed for war, and consignments for export must be accompanied by a licence or declaration of the importing Government. Arms and ammunition capable of use both for military and other purposes may only be exported under cover of export documents, and for both these classes of arms the Convention provides for publicity in the form of the regular and uniform publication of statistical returns. The trade in warships and aircraft is subject to publicity regulations only, and the trade in other arms is free. Special land and maritime zones are established into which the import of all arms is forbidden except in certain conditions. These are the broad terms of the Convention, which treats in detail of special circumstances and permits certain reservations on the part of countries bordering on Russia until the accession of Russia to the Convention. Any dispute on the application or interpretation of the Convention is to be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice, or, in the case of States not signatories of the Statute of the Court, reference may be made either to the Court or to some other form of arbitration.

In the Final Act the signatories declare that it is desirable that the international aspect of the manufacture of arms should receive early consideration by the different Governments.

The Conference further agreed upon a Protocol by which the Powers recognised that the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, of all analogous liquids, materials or devices, had been condemned by the general opinion of the civilised world; extended the condemnation to the use of bacteriological methods; and accepted the prohibition of such use as part of international law.

The League had previously studied the possibility of means to prevent the employment of poisonous gases in time of war, upon which some suggestions had been made, and a report was drawn up by a special committee giving a descriptive statement as to the form which future warfare might assume so that public opinion might realise the character of the weapons at the disposal of armed forces.

The Convention was immediately signed by nineteen States, and the Protocol relating to chemical warfare by twenty-seven States. The Convention comes into force when ratified by fourteen Powers.

Other Efforts.

Efforts have been made to secure an extension of the principles adopted at the Washington Conference to the non-signatory Powers and the final intention was to include this subject in the general armaments conference eventually to be summoned. This was to have been held in the summer of this year under the provisions of the Geneva Protocol, but its postponement naturally followed the postponement of the major problem to the next Assembly.

The main task of reducing armaments can only be accomplished after lengthy preparation and in favourable political conditions. This is the opinion held by all organisations of

the League which have been engaged in the work, and, while not relaxing their efforts to meet the complexities of the main problem, the League has from time to time adopted measures of a more modest kind such as recommendations for the limitation of budget expenditure.

The Armaments Year Book is an important step in the interchange of information provided for in Article 8 of the Covenant. The first issue contains information concerning thirty-seven countries, Members and non-Members of the League, as follows : Albania, Argentine, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxemburg, The Netherlands, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Roumania, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Union of South Africa, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, United States of America.

The Year Book consists of a series of monographs, each of which deals with one State, and is generally divided into three parts. The first—and strictly military—part, which is the most important, gives detailed information on the organisation and composition of the armed forces (supreme military authority; large units; arms and services; recruiting system; budgetary effectives, etc.). The second part deals with the question of budget expenditure on national defence (analysis of expenditure; detailed notes on the various systems of accounting, etc.). The third part is concerned with industries capable of being used for war purposes, in particular the production of the more important raw materials (coal, petroleum, mineral ores, chemical products, etc.), and the trade in these materials. Numerous statistical tables are a feature of this work. The sources of the information, drawn from official and public documents in the respective countries, are indicated at the end of each monograph.

CHAPTER V
HEALTH AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS

Epidemics. — Investigations and Enquiries into Sanitary Conditions and Disease. — Interchange of Public Health Officials. — Circulation of Information on Epidemic Diseases. — Opium. — Traffic in Women. — Protection of Children. — Protection of Women and Children in the Near East. — Obscene Publications. — Repatriation of Prisoners of War. — Greek Refugee Settlement. — Committee on Slavery. — Relief of Peoples Stricken by Calamities.

The work of the League in what may be conveniently termed health, social and humanitarian problems has developed on a world-wide scale. Its health activities have spread throughout Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, tropical Africa and the Far East, and, as with the other social problems, have attracted to the League the active co-operation of the United States, Germany and, in health matters, Russia. The health and social efforts are based on Article 23 of the Covenant, which obliges the Members of the League "to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease", and which entrusts 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."

Efforts have been directed on the one hand to the positive development on international lines of health matters, to the suppression of old abuses such as the traffic in women and children and the illicit traffic in opium, and on the other hand to mitigating the sufferings which war left in its train,

such as those caused by typhus epidemics, and to improving the unhappy lot of prisoners of war, and refugees, whom conflicts or political upheavals have scattered far from their homes. Those tasks not expressly committed to the League by the Covenant were taken up in accordance with the general spirit of the Covenant.

Health.

One of the first activities of the Health Organisation was to aid the local authorities in Poland by means of an Epidemic Commission with the best Western experience to prevent the spread of typhus from Russia through Poland into Europe. It became evident that to achieve this purpose it would be necessary to attack the problem in Russia itself. The Commission therefore went to Russia with the agreement of the Soviet authorities, effective co-operation was secured and offices were opened at Moscow and Kharkov. One of the results was a European Conference at Warsaw in May, 1922, attended by Soviet Russia, the Ukraine, Turkey, Germany, and twenty-four other States, of which the practical result was the preparation of a draft Health Convention which has since become the basis of bilateral agreements between nations in that part of Europe. A series of sanitary courses was arranged for medical officers of health at Kharkov, Moscow, and Warsaw, together with an interchange of experts between Poland and Soviet Russia. A more complete and ambitious plan of campaign agreed upon by the Conference did not enter into practice through lack of financial provision.

The Epidemic Commission was again called into service when the tens of thousands of refugees pouring into Greece after the Greco-Turkish hostilities threatened serious health consequences. Aid was given to the Greek health authorities in carrying out a vaccination campaign on a large scale against typhoid, paratyphoid, cholera, dysentery, and other

epidemic diseases that threatened. Both in Eastern Europe and Greece these were emergency activities.

Other efforts of a more general kind were organised. A commission went to the Eastern Mediterranean and adjacent ports to study the conditions of health and health organisation in this important centre with a view to the revision of the International Sanitary Convention of Paris, 1912. At the request of the Japanese member of the Health Committee, a medical mission was sent to the Far East to study the sanitary, anti-epidemic and quarantine regulations in the main ports with a view to preventing the transmission of disease by sea-borne traffic. From this mission came a recommendation for the centralisation of all Far Eastern epidemiological information in a central office, and this has now been organised at Singapore following a conference of medical representatives of the Far Eastern administrations.

A study has been made and is being continued into the spread of sleeping sickness and tuberculosis, which present problems of the greatest importance, both from the social and economic points of view, to the administrations of Equatorial Africa. Propositions have been put before the Governments to secure co-operation in the prevention of the transmission of disease along international waterways. A wide-spread enquiry has been started into the methods of combating malaria, which had increased greatly in Eastern Europe; Greece and Albania specially asked for expert assistance in this matter. The Malaria Commission of the Health Committee recently made a prolonged tour throughout the Balkan States, Russia, and Italy studying the anti-malaria campaign in all its aspects. A similar tour has recently taken place in Palestine and Syria, and Spain is to be visited in the autumn.

At the request of the Persian Government an enquiry into the health conditions in Persia was recently undertaken by a medical expert representing the Health Orga-

nisation, and the Health Committee in April last recommended the Council to send to the Persian Government the expert's report giving practical suggestions for sanitary improvement. An enquiry is continuing into the causes of the pronounced difference in certain forms of cancer mortality revealed in the vital statistics of several countries, and the Health Organisation has co-operated with the Opium Committee in investigating the world's annual requirements of opium and other dangerous drugs for medicinal and scientific purposes. The Health Organisation started laboratory investigation, conducted simultaneously and on the basis of a common plan by leading institutes all over the world, on sera and serological tests, and progress has been made in connection with standardisation of sera for the treatment of diphtheria, tetanus, dysentery, and other diseases. A programme of research is being carried out, also, into the standardisation of certain biological products used as powerful drugs, and collaborating in these research plans are the great laboratories of the world.

An important development in the more general realm of public health administration is the system of interchange of public health officials between various countries which has been made possible on a large scale by the generous contributions from the Rockefeller Foundation. In this plan, selected officers of foreign health administrations are brought together in one or more countries where they study the health administrations and participate in the practical work. At the conclusion of these interchanges, which have varied in length from a few weeks to several months, the officials meet at Geneva and engage in a general discussion upon the knowledge and impressions they have gained. Some of these interchanges, attended by varying numbers of officials ranging from seven or eight to thirty, are devoted to special branches of public health activity such as industrial hygiene, anti-tuberculosis work, school hygiene, etc. About a dozen of these exchanges have so far taken place,

at which most of the States of Europe, the United States, Canada, South America, and the Far East have benefited, and arrangements for the future include a collective study tour in West Africa and a conference of port health officers from the Mediterranean and Black Sea. In this direct and personal co-operation between the world's different health administrations, responsible officials are able to become acquainted with the best methods in practice, and the nationals of about fifty States have already participated.

The Health Organisation maintains an epidemiological intelligence service; at short and regular intervals reports are published giving detailed information regarding the movement of epidemic disease in all parts of the world. These are completed in the monthly issue of an Epidemiological Intelligence Bulletin containing current statistics and charts on the incidence all over the world of Asiatic cholera, typhus, dysentery, smallpox, anthrax, scurvy, etc.

Postal information is now being received regularly from all European countries (except Albania and Portugal), from all the countries of North America, Australasia, and from such African and Asiatic territories as possess a statistical service. By means of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Epidemiological Intelligence Service just established at Singapore, wireless information is now being received weekly on the incidence of smallpox, cholera and plague in Far Eastern ports.

Opium.

At the beginning the League devoted its attention to securing world-wide agreement to the Opium Convention drawn up in 1912 at The Hague, signatures to which were secured from virtually all the States Members of the League and several non-Members, the majority of whom have ratified. Simultaneously, the Advisory Committee, which was appointed to advise the Council on this subject, studied

a more comprehensive plan to render more effective the application of the provisions of the 1912 Convention. The Committee aimed at reducing and confining the traffic to medicinal and scientific requirements, and an investigation was started to discover what these requirements were. Governments informed the League from time to time of seizures showing that the illicit traffic was carried on on a big scale; and finally the United States of America sent a delegation not only to participate in the Committee's work, but later to attend the Fifth Commission of the Assembly which considered and reported to the Assembly upon the progress made in one year and a half. Two plenipotentiary conferences took place at the end of 1924 and continued into the first two months of 1925, the first for the purpose of ensuring the gradual suppression of opium smoking in the Far East, and the second to consider the whole question of production, manufacture, and control of narcotic drugs.

At the first conference an agreement was reached by which the signatory Powers undertook to strengthen the measures already provided for by the Hague Convention and to take any further measures necessary to suppress entirely within a period of fifteen years the consumption of prepared opium in the territories under their authority. This period is to begin as soon as the poppy-growing countries have ensured the effective execution of the necessary measures to prevent the clandestine exportation of raw opium from their territories from constituting a serious obstacle to the reduction of consumption in the countries where the use of prepared opium is temporarily authorised. Provision is made for a commission to be appointed by the League Council to decide when these measures have been effectively executed. All the Powers represented signed these undertakings with the exception of China. A Protocol and a Final Act were also drawn up.

The second conference drew up a Convention providing for the more effective restriction of the production or manu-

facture of narcotics and establishing closer control and supervision of the international trade. The substances which it is proposed to control are raw opium, medicinal opium, morphine, heroin, coca leaves, crude cocaine, cocaine, ecgonine, and Indian hemp, and provision is made for the internal control of raw opium and coca leaves, of manufactured drugs and Indian hemp. Each country will state in advance its annual needs for medicinal, scientific and other purposes, and the international trade is to be controlled by a system of export authorisations and import certificates. A permanent Central Board is to receive periodically from the contracting parties the estimates of the quantities of narcotics they need, etc., and if it considers that excessive quantities are accumulating in any country so that there is a danger of the country becoming a centre of illicit traffic, it will have the right to ask for explanations from that country.

There is also a Protocol by which the signatory States, recognising their obligations to establish such control over the production, distribution and export of raw opium as would prevent illicit traffic, agree to take such measures as may be required completely to prevent, within five years from the date of the Protocol, the smuggling of opium from constituting a serious obstacle to the effective suppression of the use of prepared opium in those territories where such use is temporarily authorised.

A Final Act contains certain recommendations considered worthy of further study by Governments.

The American Delegation, feeling that it would be impossible for them to realise their programme, withdrew from the Conference, as did China. The President of the Conference stated that the difference between the American Delegation and the Conference was the question as to the moment when the American aims should be realised; the American Delegation contended for immediate action, the other Delegations felt that time was required. The Presi-

dent affirmed his conviction that the problem of drug control had entered a new phase and that the Conference was the opening step in a movement which would accelerate from day to day.

Traffic in Women.

As with the opium question, so with the question of the traffic in women an agreement was drawn up before the war in 1904 to which thirteen States were parties, and a Convention in 1910 to which thirteen States were parties. The First Assembly of the League in 1920 decided to send a questionnaire to all Governments to ascertain the measures taken or proposed in the various countries to combat the traffic, and invited the Council, upon receipt of the replies, to summon an international conference with a view to united action. Thirty-four States attended this conference, which took place in the summer of 1921, and drew up a number of recommendations for action by the Council. At the Second Assembly in 1921 a Convention submitted by the British Government in which many provisions of the recommendations of the Conference were given conventional form, was opened for signature. Thirty-three States signed. This Convention considerably strengthens that of 1910.

Another result of the Conference of 1921 was the appointment of an Advisory Committee upon which five voluntary international organisations are represented as assessors, enjoying the rights of government delegates except that of voting. The Committee receives and studies annual reports on the traffic from Members of the League and from such non-Member States as are parties to any of the international agreements, and studies matters like the employment of women police, emigration and others which bear upon the subject. It has also considered the problem of licensed houses in relation to the traffic, and the Council, recognising the connection which might exist between the two, invited

the States to inform the Council of their experiences in the matter. Recommendations have also been made for the elimination of foreigners from licensed houses, and in this connection the Committee recently suggested that, before proceeding to the expulsion of a foreign prostitute, the competent authorities in each country should inform charitable associations of the measures contemplated so that these associations might be in a position to assist the expelled person, to endeavour to provide her with other means of existence and to give her every support and assistance.

A permanent committee, consisting of the Spanish, Polish and United States delegates, has been constituted to study questions related to propaganda.

On the proposal of the United States representative on the Advisory Committee, and with the warm approval of the Assembly and the Council, a committee of experts was appointed to investigate the extent of the traffic and the effectiveness of the measures hitherto taken to suppress it. The Committee is still engaged upon its task, the expenses of which are being borne by the American Bureau of Social Hygiene up to the sum of 75,000 dollars.

The Protection of Children.

The Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women was recently extended to cover questions of protection of childhood. The Committee, which was invited by the Council to suggest a programme of work, drew up a report (approved by the Council in June this year) which suggests a study comparative legislation for the protection of life and health in early infancy, compilation of laws regarding age of consent and age of marriage in penal law, and the preparation of an international convention for the assistance and repatriation of children of foreign nationality abandoned or neglected. The report also deals with questions regarding

child labour, family allowances, the effects of the cinematograph on the minds and morals of children, their biological education, mental and physical recreation, the neglected and delinquent child, the evil effects of alcoholism, and the education of young people in the principles of international co-operation.

The Committee is to be known in the future as the "Advisory Committee for the Protection of Children and Young Persons". The Committee will be divided into two parts; one part will be called the Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children, and the other the Child Welfare Committee. The two Committees may meet together in plenary session for the discussion of any question of interest to both.

At the meeting in which this plan was drawn up for submission to the Council, the Committee noted with gratitude a letter from Colonel Snow, the President of the American Bureau of Social Hygiene, stating that the Association placed at the disposal of the League the sum of 5,000 dollars for its work on the protection of childhood.

Protection of Women and Children in the Near East.

In the course of the protracted military operations in the Near East, many women were taken from their homes and removed by their captors to the interior of Asia Minor. A Commission was appointed by the League in April, 1921, and, acting with strict impartiality as between various races and religions and working in most trying conditions, assisted in restoring to their own people large numbers of women and children. League of Nations Houses of Refuge were set up in Constantinople and Aleppo. These homes serve as clearing houses where the women and children remain while enquiries are being made. At Aleppo, the women and children are taught useful trades during their period of residence.

Obscene Publications.

The League took up the question of the suppression of the traffic in obscene publications which had also been the subject of international pre-war efforts. The main accomplishment has been the acceptance of an international convention drawn up at a League conference held in Geneva in the summer of 1923, attended by thirty-five States.

The punitive provisions of the new Convention were drawn up with a fulness and precision calculated to expose the traffic at each of its vulnerable points. It is a punishable offence to make or produce or have in possession obscene writings, drawings, prints, paintings, printed matter, pictures, posters, emblems, photographs, cinematograph films, or any other obscene objects by way of trade or for distribution or public exhibition ; to import or export, to carry on or take part in any business, public or private, to advertise, or make known by any means, anyone engaged in such activity, and provision is made for right of search. Each State is left free to give to the word "obscene" the meaning which seems to it appropriate.

A Final Act was also adopted including such recommendations as that offences connected with the traffic should be held to be aggravated when committed in respect of minors, and the Conference expressed a desire—with which some of the delegates disagreed—that steps should be taken to arrive at an international agreement on incitement to abortion and anti-conception propaganda.

Repatriation of Prisoners of War.

In April, 1920, half a million war prisoners or interned soldiers were still vainly waiting, sometimes in conditions of appalling misery, for means to be sent home. The position became so serious that one report predicted the pro-

bable death in the ensuing winter of most of the prisoners left in Siberia, variously estimated at between 120,000 and 200,000. The Council of the League appointed Dr. Nansen to co-ordinate the efforts which had been made hitherto by charitable organisations and to organise repatriation. The undertaking was enormous, but Dr. Nansen was able to secure credits from the Western Governments and organised a fleet of steamers under League charter in the Baltic and the Black Sea. With the collaboration of all the agencies and of the Governments concerned, Dr. Nansen, by July 1922, had carried out the task, which cost not more than £ 400,000. Altogether 427,386 prisoners belonging to twenty-six different nationalities were repatriated.

Russian Refugees.

In 1920 there were more than one and a half million refugees scattered about Europe unable to claim any State as their own, and most of them penniless. The Council of the League, as with prisoners of war, entrusted Dr. Nansen with the co-ordination of all relief work in this respect, and a conference of Government representatives held at Geneva in August, 1921, laid down the lines of action. With the help of Governments and charitable associations, food and lodging were organised for the destitute, but the real problem was to enable refugees to live by their own work. A census was taken and offices were set up in most of the capitals of Central and Eastern Europe, in some of which employment agencies were formed. Considerable redistribution was effected; a system of identity certificates was established for refugees without passports, so as to afford them the right of free circulation; and great progress has been made in providing education and finding employment. Guarantees were also secured from the Soviet Government for the friendly reception of those who might desire to be repatriated.

A special problem arose through the withdrawal of important assistance hitherto rendered to Russian refugees in Constantinople, 25,000 of whom were threatened with complete destitution. Dr. Nansen urgently despatched a cargo of flour; the French Government agreed to continue the maintenance of part of the refugees; the American Relief Administration and the American Red Cross undertook to provision them for four months and to contribute 25,000 dollars towards evacuating them to countries where they could find work, on condition that the League found the sum of £ 30,000.

Great Britain contributed £ 10,000; other Members of the League brought this figure up to £ 17,000 and the balance was made up by the American Red Cross. With the help of a Committee these refugees were sent from Constantinople to America, Germany, Belgium, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. One thousand others found work locally. What remains of the problem mainly concerns employment, and is now in the hands of the International Labour Organisation.

Greek Refugee Settlement.

A more sudden emergency arose during the 1922 Assembly in connection with the tens of thousands of refugees who poured into Greece as a result of Greco-Turkish hostilities. The League authorised Dr. Nansen to make use of the Russian refugee organisation, and a sum of 100,000 gold francs was voted for administrative measures immediately necessary. Great Britain contributed £ 19,000 and other States made important contributions to meet pressing needs. The number of refugees was found to be no less than 750,000, of which 80 per cent were women and children, most of whom were without sufficient clothes, food or lodging. A general plan of co-operation was drawn up in concert with

the refugee organisation; measures were taken to meet transport difficulties and two members of the Epidemic Commission of the League helped in the sanitary organisation of the refugee camps. Tons of clothes and medical stores, etc., were contributed by Governments and refugee and charitable organisations, but all this assistance reached only a comparatively small number.

To meet the problem in a permanent form was quite beyond the resources of the Greek Government, unaided. The League therefore considered the possibilities of a scheme for productive and self-supporting refugee settlements. An enquiry was made by the League as to the means by which this could be done and as to the possibilities of raising the necessary money. Eventually a detailed plan was drawn up, under which a resident Refugee Settlement Commission was appointed (presided over by Mr. Henry Morgenthau and then by Mr. Howland, both first Americans) to which the Greek Government undertook to transfer full rights over a large extent of territory. The Financial Committee of the League collaborated in drawing up arrangements and conditions calculated to attract foreign money, and a loan of ten million pounds sterling was successfully raised in 1924 for this purpose.

This scheme has for some time been in active operation and in one of its recent reports the Commission states that it has done its work under varying and difficult conditions, but has nevertheless, by sure stages, achieved considerable progress. Anyone visiting those parts of the country where colonisation has been carried on will have no difficulty in obtaining an idea of the results achieved. Most of the centres created have brought increasing activity to their respective district and have stimulated the urban and rural life of the country to a remarkable degree.

This is especially striking in Macedonia, which absorbs the great majority of the colonists. A traveller in Macedonia

to-day can measure the extent of the work accomplished by comparison with the former state of the country. Amid the vast once-deserted plains and in the wide uncultivated fields, where nothing was to be seen but occasional herds led by nomad shepherds, villages have sprung up bustling with life, with large and well-designed streets and simple but sanitary cottages and busy shops, where the rural artisans, the locksmith, the blacksmith and the farrier, have courageously resumed their work. Around these small centres are fields covered with wheat and barley, others sown with cotton or tobacco, and beyond them the vineyards and all the other newly established forms of cultivation.

Even the coast of Macedonia, which was formerly deserted, is, beginning to be populated with sea-folk and fishermen, refugees from the Propontis, the Black Sea area and the shores of Asia Minor. In many bays where no living soul had been seen within the memory of man, there are now little fleets of fishing-smacks, sailing-vessels with cargo and even small shipyards—in fact, the beginnings of a small maritime centre.

According to the last report of the Commission, 67,000 families were settled up to March 31st, 1925. This, together with the number of families settled by the State before the creation of the Commission, brought the total up to 139,500. In addition to 5,000 houses built by the State and the 50,000 houses belonging to exchangeable Turks in Macedonia, the Commission has built 20,000 houses (plus 14,000 in course of construction), distributed 129,000 live stock and correspondingly large supplies of wagons, agricultural implements, forage, grain, etc., as well as subsistence grants in money. A considerable amount of work is also being done and is steadily developing in urban settlement.

The Commission speaks highly of the activity and vitality of the majority of the settlers, who faithfully observe their liabilities, who have introduced new methods of cultivation and who have increased the productive capacity of the

districts where they are settled. There still remain a large number of refugees requiring relief and, amongst those who are not yet settled, many are in precarious circumstances. The Commission earnestly draws the attention of the charitable organisations of the world to this feature of the situation.

Committee on Slavery.

A Committee on Slavery has been appointed, under a programme approved by the 1924 Assembly, which covers inquiry not only into slavery, but into any form of forced labour, the acquisition of girls by means of a fictitious dowry, or the pledging of human service for debt.

Relief of Peoples Stricken by Calamities.

Senator Ciruolo, President of the Italian Red Cross, brought to the attention of the Assembly a scheme, of which he is the author, for establishing an international union against calamities. A Committee was appointed by the Assembly to consider the exact sphere within which the union would be called upon to take action, the needs which would have to be met, the financial contributions which would be necessary, etc. This Committee is working with the friendly co-operation of the author of the scheme, representatives of International Red Cross organisations, and technical insurance and other experts, and has drawn up a plan for submission to the Council.

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CHAPTER VI

OTHER TASKS

Mandates. — Minorities. — Saar. — Dansig. — Intellectual Co-operation. — International Bureaux. — Publications.

Mandates.

When the Peace Conference came to the consideration of the disposition of the former German colonies and the Arab provinces of the former Turkish Empire, it decided that these territories should be administered by certain Powers "as a sacred trust of civilisation" under the general supervision of the League and in the interests of the well-being and development of the natives: the so-called mandates system. The character of the mandate was, however, to differ according to the stage of development of the people, the geographical situation of the country, its economic conditions, and other similar circumstances.

There are three classes of Mandates known as the "A", "B" and "C" Mandates.

According to the terms of Article 22 of the Covenant, the "A" Mandates are applied to communities 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. These territories are Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia (Iraq), France being the Mandatory Power for Syria and Great Britain being responsible for the other two.

For the territories under "B" Mandate—comprising the former German colonies in Central Africa, Togoland and the Cameroons (each divided between France and Great Britain as Mandatories) and German East Africa (divided between Great Britain and Belgium)—it is recognised that self-government would be impossible, and that the Mandatories must carry on their administration subject to certain safeguards in the interests of the native population, and to guarantees of economic equality to nationals of all States Members of the League.

The third group of territories, the "C" Mandates—South-West Africa (Mandatory: Union of South Africa) and the former German possessions in the Pacific (German Samoan Islands, under New Zealand; the Island of Nauru, under the British Empire; the other German Pacific possessions south of the equator, under Australia; the German islands north of the equator, under Japan) are subject to the same safeguards for the interests of the indigenous population as the "B" territories, but can best be administered, states the Covenant, as integral portions of the territory of the Mandatory.

These territories were allocated by the Principal Allied Powers, to whom they had been surrendered, and not by the League. The League's action began only when the League Council was called upon to decide whether the terms of the draft "Mandates" under which the Powers were to exercise their jurisdiction, were in conformity with the principles laid down in the Covenant. The definition by the Council of the "A" and "B" Mandates was considerably delayed, partly owing to prolonged negotiations between the United States and the Mandatory Powers. While the "C" Mandates came into force in December 1920, the "B" Mandates were not defined until July 1922, and the Mandates for Palestine and Syria did not become effective until September, 1923. A special situation arose regarding Iraq, as a consequence of political developments which had taken place in this

country since 1920. In September 1924 the Council took a decision recognising a treaty with subsidiary agreements between the British Government and the new kingdom of Iraq as enabling Great Britain to fulfil her obligations as Mandatory for this territory. It is thus only recently that the Mandates system has come fully into operation under the auspices of the League.

In accordance with the Covenant the Mandatory Powers present annual reports to the League on the administration of the mandated territories; these reports are examined by a special commission appointed by the Council to advise it on all matters relating to the observance of Mandates. The Permanent Mandates Commission is composed not of the Government representatives but of ten independent experts, majority of whom are citizens of non-mandatory countries. An accredited representative of each Mandatory Power attends the meetings of the Commission when the report of his Government is discussed, in order to give any additional information that may be required. It is an increasing practice for the Mandatory Powers to send in this capacity, whenever possible, actual or former administrators in the territories concerned. The Commission, after a very thorough examination of the reports, presents its observations to the Council of the League, which brings to the attention of the Mandatory Powers such suggestions as may be considered advisable. To facilitate the preparation of the reports and to emphasise the points to which special attention is paid in its examination, the Commission has drawn up detailed questionnaires for the different groups of territories. The Commission has also dealt with certain general mandates questions whose solution has seemed desirable in the interest of the development of the mandated countries. Such questions include : the extension of the benefits of international conventions to mandated territories; common measures to be taken for the repression of the liquor traffic; the possibility of certain frontier modifications in the interest of the inha-

bitants; the application of the principle of liberty of conscience, etc. During its third session the Commission gave special attention to the problems which arose in connection with the rebellion of the tribe of Bondelzwarts in South-West Africa, a matter which was also discussed at the third and fourth Assemblies.

The Commission, which was constituted in the beginning of 1921, has held six sessions, and will in the future meet twice a year to examine the annual reports from the fourteen territories concerned. Its meetings, apart from the actual examination of the reports of the Mandatory Powers, have also become already a valuable means of exchanging experience and establishing co-operation between the Powers with colonial possessions.

The Protection of Minorities.

The Peace Conference drew up a series of treaties for the protection of minorities. They guarantee protection of life and liberty, free exercise of religion, free use of the mother-tongue, and the opportunity of education in that tongue whenever the minority constitutes a considerable proportion of the population. The nine States bound by these treaties, and five other countries which have made minority declarations to the League Council, recognise that these stipulations constitute fundamental laws for them and that they represent obligations of international concern. Any violations may be brought to the attention of the Council of the League by any member of the Council, and petitions may be addressed to the League; if so, they are forwarded to the interested Government for any comments it may care to make. Petitions, together with the Government's comments, are then sent to the members of the Council, and a small committee of the Council examines the questions. If this committee, or any other member of the Council, finds that the matters

deserve attention they are then definitely placed on the agenda. There is thus a continuous agency concerned with this extremely delicate matter.

While it frequently happens that the questions are settled before coming definitely on to the Council agenda, five or six cases have, in fact, come eventually before the Council, and certain legal aspects of two or three of them were referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice for advisory opinions. One of these involved the right of the Polish Government to expel certain Polish citizens of German race from their farms in Western Poland and another concerned Poland's obligations in regard to the nationality of German residents in Poland. The opinions expressed by the Court in these two cases enabled the Council and Poland herself to reach a settlement on the substance of the two cases. There was also a reference by the Council to the Court of a legal question concerning Greeks subject to expulsion from Constantinople, a matter upon which the Greek and Turkish members of the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Populations between Turkey and Greece had been unable to agree. The Court's opinion was accepted by both Greece and Turkey. Other matters which are before the Council concern some aspects of minority rights in Lithuania, and a petition from a number of farmers of Hungarian origin regarding the operation of a particular article of the Roumanian agrarian reform law.

The Saar Valley.

The League's responsibility in regard to the government of the Saar Basin is one of the most difficult tasks which the League has to carry out under the Treaty of Versailles. The territory, which is composed almost entirely of German inhabitants, was placed by the Treaty under the trusteeship of the League, which appoints annually the Governing Commission, consisting of a Frenchman, a Saar inhabitant, and

three members belonging to countries other than France or Germany. The Commission is directly responsible to the Council of the League. In 1935 a plebiscite is to be taken as to whether the inhabitants wish the territory to be returned to Germany, be transferred to France, or to remain under League control, and steps have been taken by the League to ensure the preservation of the necessary archives.

All the mines in the Saar are given over to France in sole possession as compensation for the destruction of the coal mines in Northern France, and there are important rights in the economic field which have been given to France by the Treaty. The League, therefore, has an appearance of imposing upon the population a foreign government without parliamentary form, and this government has to be carried out under continual controversy which not unnaturally arises in view of the pending plebiscite. This complicates the difficulties of the actual problems involved in the government of the territory.

The administrative success of the Commission, particularly in the operation of the Saar railway system and in its financial organisation, is undisputed. The chief difficulties have been of a political nature. A variety of complaints from the German Government has been considered from time to time by the Council concerning the presence of French troops in the territory, the introduction of the French franc as sole legal currency in the Saar, questions of education, generally alleging undue regard for French interests on the part of the Governing Commission. On the other hand, the reports of the Governing Commission have not been without protests against German interference in the territory. Probably the most serious difficulty arose from the Governing Commission's decree for the maintenance of order during the miners' strike in 1923. This accentuated already existing controversies and led to a general investigation by the Council of the League. The meetings were attended by the five

Commissioners, and a unanimous resolution was passed reasserting the general principles governing the administration. This discussion and resolution had an ameliorating effect upon the situation.

With regard to the presence of French troops, which has been a repeated subject of discussion, the Commission has felt the necessity of retaining them for the maintenance of order and protection of property, but at the request of the Council gradual and continuous increase has been made in the organisation of the local gendarmerie. Parallel with this there has been a gradual diminution of the number of French troops. This process is still in operation.

The Free City of Danzig.

As in the League-governed territory of the Saar France possesses coal mines and other privileges in compensation for the devastations of war, so in the League-protected, but self-governed City of Danzig, where the German race also predominates, Poland possesses, in addition to the right to conduct Danzig's foreign affairs, many rights, chiefly of an economic character, to ensure to her free access to the sea, and thus give her a proper opportunity for development.

It was one of the most difficult territorial problems which confronted the Powers at the Peace Conference, and the ultimate settlement placed the Free City under a constitution guaranteed by the League of Nations with its port administered by an International Harbour Board. Danzig, wedged in between East Prussia and the Polish Corridor, is the chief outlet to the sea for Polish trade, and it is interesting to note that the total net registered tonnage of sea-going vessels entering and leaving Danzig in 1923 was 75% higher than the 1912 figure. Exports increased from 138,000 tons in 1910 to over 500,000 in 1922. More than half the goods transported out of Danzig by rail in 1921 were destined for

Poland and approximately the same proportion holds good for articles received by rail in Danzig during the same period.

The League has a resident High Commissioner to serve as a court of first instance in disputes between Poland and Danzig with the right of appeal to the Council. While a great many differences between Poland and Danzig have been settled by direct agreement, a large number of cases have come before the Council on a wide range of subjects. It frequently happens that the appeals have ultimately been withdrawn as a result of negotiations directly between the two parties through the good offices of the High Commissioner, and in a recent case, namely, on the Polish postal rights in the Free City, the Council asked the Permanent Court of International Justice for its legal opinion.

As is recorded in another part of this pamphlet, the collaboration of the Financial Committee of the League enabled the Municipality of Danzig to raise a loan of one and a half millions sterling for municipal and harbour works.

Both the Danzig and Saar arrangements are Peace Conference compromises between the theory of self-determination and certain national interests and the only concern of the League has been to deal with the application of the texts.

Intellectual Co-operation.

For the purpose of simplifying, strengthening and extending international intellectual relations, the Council appointed in 1922 a Committee on Intellectual Co-operation which includes some of the foremost intellectual personalities of the world under the presidency of M. Bergson. This Committee, like others, has amongst its members a German representative, namely Professor Einstein, and an American representative.

A careful choice of work has been necessary within the limited funds of the Committee. One of its first steps was

the institution of a general enquiry into the conditions of intellectual life in different countries, and a series of monographs has been issued on the subject. Efforts were made to bring assistance to those nations whose intellectual life was specially affected through economic conditions; suggestions were made to universities, academies, and learned societies throughout the world to organise the exchange of books and scientific instruments, and a large number of institutions responded. Books were sent from America, England, India, etc., to those in need of them, and gifts made by the Japanese universities made it possible to award two scholarships to Austrian students. Certain publications have been obtained for the Polish Academy, the Budapest Observatory, the School of Mines at Sopron, the universities in Roumania etc., and exchanges have been organised between the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in London and institutions at Athens, Dorpat, Vienna, etc.

The general organisation of intellectual life has been promoted by the formation of a number of national committees for intellectual co-operation working closely in touch with the International Committee, and twenty are now in existence. The Committee has kept in close touch with existing international organisations and in the same general effort at co-ordination has created an International University Information Office to effect better contact between the universities, professors and students, especially through information published in its Quarterly Bulletin. This Bulletin gives details as to the extent to which courses of study, degrees and diplomas are given international recognition, as to the curricula of different Universities, especially international vacation courses and courses of study on contemporary nations, and the teaching of modern languages, literatures and civilisations.

Amongst other things, the Committee has had under consideration the extension of interchanges of professors and

students; it has produced a draft convention for the protection of intellectual property which is now under the consideration of the Governments of the League; and it has taken up the question of the revision of the international Convention of 1886 for the exchange of official publications between Governments.

One of the first essentials for all intellectual co-operation is the international organisation of scientific documentation, particularly bibliography. The rapid and regular exchange of scientific information, particularly in the form of brief abstracts, is necessary so that scientists may be kept informed at regular intervals of new publications and discoveries. This subject has been discussed, with the assistance of specialists, and a start has been made in the field of physics and physical chemistry. A committee consisting of Madame Curie, M. Lorentz, and representatives of the three principal bibliographical periodicals on physics (namely, *Science Abstracts*, *Journal de Physique*, and the *Physikalische Berichte*) are considering an agreement upon a new system of analytical bibliography. Preliminary attention has also been given to the possibility of an agreement of this nature in the field of Greco-Latin antiquity and social sciences.

A bibliographical year-book, *Index Bibliographicus*, containing a list of all publications on periodical bibliography and of all bibliographical institutions, is now published in accordance with the Commission's suggestions.

An important development was the generous offer of the French Government (accepted by the last Assembly) to provide and maintain an international institute for intellectual co-operation in Paris with an annual subsidy of a million French francs. This institute is to be under the direction of the League's Intellectual Co-operation Committee, and its organisation and programme are now being considered by the Committee. An offer similar in nature was received and accepted by the last Assembly from the Italian

Government for the provision of an institute for the unification of private law with an annual subsidy of one million lire.

In its consideration of the work of the Commission the 1923 Assembly passed a resolution urging upon the Members of the League the fundamental importance of arranging that the children and youth of their respective countries should be made aware of the existence and aims of the League of Nations. The 1924 Assembly again emphasised the value which it attached to training the younger generation to regard international co-operation as the normal method of conducting world affairs, and drew attention not only to the instruction of youth in the ideals of the League, but also to the necessity of encouraging contact between young people of different nationalities. The Secretariat was instructed to investigate the means by which these efforts might be increased and co-ordinated and to furnish a report to the 1925 Assembly.

About thirty replies have been received from the Governments on the subject of education in the schools, many of which indicate a considerable extension of such teaching. The Secretariat, in the investigation which it is making into efforts to promote contact, has already found a widespread interest in this subject on the part of the organisations working towards this end, and has received from them numerous constructive suggestions.

The League has also been instrumental in obtaining from many Governments special travelling facilities for groups of students and members of youth organisations in accordance with the same idea of facilitating international contact.

International Associations.

Under Article 24 of the Covenant any international bureau already established by general treaties may be placed under the direction of the League if the parties to such treaties

consent, and any such bureaux so established after the coming into force of the Covenant are to be placed under the direction of the League. Four such organisations have been granted affiliation, namely, the International Relief Bureau created to provide governmental co-operation for the succour and the return to their native countries of persons who become indigent in foreign lands; the International Hydrographic Bureau, which was established at Monaco to establish a close and permanent association between the hydrographic services of the different States and to co-ordinate their efforts with a view to rendering navigation easier and safer in all the seas of the world; the Central International Office for the Control of the Liquor Traffic in Africa, and the International Committee for Air Navigation.

The Section of the League Secretariat concerned with this work issues a Hand-book of International Associations containing a list and short description of some 360 international organisations. It also publishes a Quarterly Bulletin of Information on the work of International Organisations, the material for which is furnished by the organisations themselves. The Section is authorised by the Council to open a register for international organisations of a social, scientific, artistic or literary character.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE LEAGUE

Periodicals. — Of the periodicals issued by the League of Nations the *Official Journal*, which is published in separate French and English editions, contains the complete minutes of the sessions of the Council, the texts of reports and resolutions adopted by the Council and the principal official documents received and despatched by the Secretariat. Complete records of all Assembly proceedings are published as special supplements. There have been published also, more especially during the earlier years of the League, special sup-

plements containing such matters as the constitution of the Free City of Danzig, the Draft Scheme for the institution of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and documents concerning the dispute between Poland and Lithuania.

The *Treaty Series* includes international engagements of all kinds registered under Article 18 of the Covenant. The texts of the treaties are published in their original form together with the English and French translations, and make the most complete collection of the kind existing.

The *Monthly Summary*, which is issued in five languages, (English, French, Italian, Spanish and German), is a record of all the proceedings of League meetings and provides in general form a regular account of League activities, but it does not rank as a strict official document. Various supplements of this publication have been issued also, giving full details and documentation on matters like the Austrian and Hungarian reconstruction schemes, the Greek Refugee Settlement scheme, etc.

The *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* is a synopsis of the economic position of the leading commercial countries of the world showing coal, iron and steel production, foreign trade, price movement, cost of living, unemployment, gold reserves, the note circulation, exchange and discount rates, etc. based on official information specially supplied each month. The data apply to nearly fifty countries.

Other periodicals are the *Military Year Book*, the *Quarterly Bulletin of Information* on the work of International Organisations, *Monthly Epidemiological Report*, the bi-monthly *Bulletin of the International University Information Office*.

Pamphlets. — In order to render information about the League easily accessible, a series of sixteen pamphlets, of which this pamphlet forms part, has been issued on various aspects of the League work. These pamphlets which, like the *Monthly Summary* are not of a strictly official character,

are intended for the use of the general public. They are all issued in both English and French, and many of them are issued also in a number of other languages. They are divided according to subjects, and contain in addition to the present pamphlet, one on the Constitution and Organisation of the League. The Geneva Protocol and relevant reports are also issued in pamphlet form.

Other Publications. — The other publications are too numerous to give in detail; complete information is obtainable in the catalogue issued periodically by the Sales Department. They include the annual reports to the Assembly on the work of the Council; the records of League conferences and committees; expert reports on special subjects like those of double taxation and the reconstruction of Austrian railways; international conventions drawn up at League meetings; regular reports from the Commissionners-General of the League in Austria and Hungary; reports from the Greek refugee settlement commission; memoranda on currency; public finance; budget expenditure on national defence; a series of brochures on intellectual conditions in various countries; reports presented by the Saar Governing Commission, etc., etc.

All publications are issued in English and French (the two official languages of the League) and made available through the Sales Department of the Secretariat, which has agents in many countries.

ANNEX

Signatures and Ratifications of Conventions, etc.

1. Convention and Statute on Freedom of Transit (April 1921)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications & Adhesions</i>	
34	25	In Force.

2. Convention and Statute on the Regime of Navigable Waterways of International Concern (April 1921).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications & Adhesions</i>	
27	15	In Force.

3. Convention and Statute on the International Regime of Railways (December 1923).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications & Adhesions</i>	
33	6	One further Ratification required.

4. Convention and Statute on the International Regime of Maritime Ports (December 1923).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications & Adhesions</i>	
25	6	One further Ratification required.

5. Convention Relating to Transmission in Transit of Electric Power (December 1923).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications & Adhesions</i>	
18	2	One further Ratification required.

6. Convention Relating to Development of Hydraulic Power (December 1923).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications & Adhesions</i>	
17	3	In Force.

7. International Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children (September 1921).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications & Adhesions</i>	
33	30	In Force.

8. International Convention for the Suppression of the Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications (September 1923).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications & Adhesions</i>	
43	10	In Force.

9. International Opium Convention (January 1912).

<i>Ratifications & Adhesions</i>	
40	In Force.

10. Opium Agreement (February 1925)
First Opium Conference.

Signatures.

7

11. Opium Convention (February 1925)
Second Opium Conference.

Signatures

23

12. Arbitration Clauses in Commercial Matters
(September 1924).

Signatures

Ratifications & Adhesions

25

8

In Force.

13. Conventions Relating to the Simplification of Customs
Formalities.

Signatures

Ratifications & Adhesions

37

13

In Force.

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