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Revised Edition.

BIBLIOTEKA KATEDRY PRAWA MIĘDZYNARODOWEGO PUBLICZNEGO

THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

S

A SURVEY

(JANUARY 1920-DECEMBER 1926)



Information Section
League of Nations Secretariat,
GENEVA.

Price : 1/-.

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Wydz. Bibl. Prawnicza
1806143034

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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.

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 are issued for information purposes, and must not be regarded as official documents.

December 1926.

CONTENTS

		Page
	CHARACTER AND DEVELOPMENT	5
Chapter		
I.	POLITICAL DISPUTES	22
II.	THE WORK OF RECONSTRUCTION	53
III.	THE COURT AND INTERNATIONAL LAW AND TREATY PUBLICITY	71
IV.	SECURITY AND ARMAMENTS	77
V.	HEALTH AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS	86
VI.	OTHER TASKS	102
	1. Mandates	102
	2. Minorities	106
	3. Saar	107
	4. Danzig	109
	5. Intellectual Co-operation	110
	6. International Organisations	114

S. d. N. réimp.) 5.000 5/28. Imprimerie Berger-Levrault, Nancy.

A SURVEY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

CHARACTER AND DEVELOPMENT

The Early Days. — The Membership. — Admission of Germany. — Collaboration of Non-Members. — 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 seven 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

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.

By the first Assembly in November 1920, the number of States Members of the League was forty-two, including all the thirteen former neutral States invited by the Peace Conference to adhere. 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; at the Fifth Assembly, San Domingo; and at the Seventh Assembly, Germany, bringing the total present membership to fifty-six States.

On January 1, 1925 Costa Rica gave notice of intention to withdraw from the League. Brazil and Spain also gave notice on June 12, 1926 and September 8, 1926 respectively In accordance with the Covenant such withdrawal takes effect two years after the date of notification.

The first definite step in relation to Germany's membership of the League took the form 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 in March 1925 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 definite and formal application from the German Government for membership of the League was received in the first days of February 1926 following upon the signature of the Locarno Treaties on December 1, 1925. The Council, meeting in extraordinary session, decided to summon a special meeting of the Assembly which took place on

March 8, 1926. The First Committee of the Assembly adopted a report in favour of the admission of Germany, but as differences of opinion arose in the Council with regard to the assignment of new permanent seats in the Council, additional to the permanent seat for Germany, the Assembly decided to postpone the matter until its ordinary session in September.

Meanwhile, a Committee was appointed by the Council including, besides the members of the Council, representatives of the Argentine Republic, China, Germany, Poland and Switzerland, to study the problems connected with the composition of the Council and the number and mode of election of its members, and to consider claims for permanent seats made by Brazil, China, Spain, Poland and Persia.

At the first meeting of the committee draft regulations were adopted with regard to the number and method of election of non-permanent members, reservations being made in regard to the whole draft by the Spanish and Brazilian representatives. The Committee adjourned to its second meeting all decisions regarding any increase in the number of the permanent members. This second meeting took place at the end of August; the Brazilian Government, which in June had given its two years' notice of intention to withdraw from the League was not represented. The Committee adopted a final draft for the number and method of election of the non-permanent members of the Council, the Spanish representative abstaining from voting. The Committee did not find it possible to submit to the Council any proposal which would involve creating additional permanent seats apart from that which the Committee unanimously recognised should be occupied by Germany. It was the view of the Committee that the changes which the draft rules made in the organisation of the Council would enable the Assembly to give satisfaction to the special claims of certain countries to representation on the Council for an extended period.

The Council approved the report of the Committee on September 4. On the same day it decided unanimously to appoint Germany a permanent member of the Council upon her entry into the League, and to increase to nine the number of non-permanent seats. These two proposals were put before the Assembly and accepted on September 8, immediately after Germany's admission to the League (1).

Germany, having been notified of her election, took her seat in the Assembly on September 10. The President, in welcoming the presence of the German delegation as a new pledge for the success of international co-operation in the cause of peace, described Germany's admission as a happy and memorable event. Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, in his address to the Assembly said it was surely an event of historical importance that Germany and the States who were allied against her during the great war were now brought together within the League in permanent and peaceful- cooperation. It was a fact which indicated more clearly than any mere words or programmes that the League might in very truth be destined to give a new direction to the political development of mankind. Germany desired to co-operate on the basis of mutual confidence with all the nations represented on the League or on the Council.

M. Briand, Foreign Minister of France, said the meeting was a moving and comforting spectacle when they realised that only a few years after the most frightful war which had devastated the world the same peoples who were hurled in combat against each other were meeting in that peaceful assembly and expressing their common will to collaborate in the work of peace. It was specially those peoples who had not always been in agreement who had most need of the League of Na-

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(1) The proposals concerning the method of election and tenure of non-permanent seats were referred to an Assembly Committee, whose final report was adopted (see Page 19).

tions. The words of collaboration which Germany and France had exchanged in a like spirit of sincerity should be marked with a white stone. The League had that day taken a step forward, and its future would be one of constant expansion. He was glad to have taken part in an event which he was sure would take a great place in history. It was for them to ensure that no imprudence on the part of any of them would endanger the hopes of the peoples of the world.

The Spanish Government's notice of withdrawal from the League was received by the Secretary-General on September 11. The election of the non-permanent members took place on September 16; and the new Council held its first meeting on the same day.

The relations of the League with the principal non-member States have also made progress. The United States, both officially and unofficially, have participated in many aspects of the League's work. Germany, before she joined the League, took 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 extent of the work and authority of the Council to-day compared with that in 1920 is at least as notable as the comparison between the membership at these two periods. Within that time, the States Members have organised the League in most branches of international life and

have 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 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 had a resident Commissioner General in Austria for purposes of the Financial Reform Scheme, and a similar representative in Hungary for the Hungarian Reform Scheme. There is a Refugee Settlement Commission in Greece, and the League has appointed a Commissioner for the Bulgarian Refugee Scheme. 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, settle-

ment 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 and Bulgarian Refugee Settlement Schemes, 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 organisation 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 sub-

sequently 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 most important development in this general direction is contained in the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee and the

Arbitration Treaties drawn up at Locarno in October 1925, and brought into force after Germany's entry into the League by the deposit of ratifications at the League Secretariat. They may be fairly considered as an endorsement and outgrowth of the patient endeavours of the Assembly, the Council and other League bodies towards the maintenance of peace by the application of the Covenant, by conciliation and arbitration, by mutual guarantees of security, and by the reduction of armaments.

M. Briand, at a Council meeting a few weeks after the agreements were made, said that if the negotiations had been crowned with success, it was due to the fact that from beginning to end the utmost care had been taken to conduct them in the spirit of the League and its Covenant, and that they were guided by all the previous work of the League. The fundamental principles of the agreements, the procedure initiated, and their operation are based on the Covenant of the League, on the system of conciliation set up in 1922, and on the working of the various organisations of the League, in particular of the Council and the Permanent Court of International Justice.

All this work is linked up with the great problems of security and disarmament which have been systematically and continuously explored by the League from the beginning. It is not final or complete, but the League, by its steady accumulation and analysis of information, its prolonged discussions and its tentative schemes has helped in clarifying the problem and has provided definite elements of progress. Its attention will probably be devoted to the subject in some form or other for a considerable period yet to come and its immediate and active endeavour is to complete preparations for a conference on the reduction and limitation of armaments.

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 the Greco-Bulgarian conflict, 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 on 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. Another type of temporary committee is represented by those set up to prepare general Conferences, as for example the preparatory committees for the disarmament and economic conferences, of that which preceded the opium conference. 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).

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.

Under the new scheme put into operation in September 1926 the Assembly, at its ordinary session each year, elects three non-permanent Members for three years, and they take office immediately on election. A retiring Member is not eligible for re-election during the three years following

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

the expiration of its term of office unless the Assembly on the Expiration of a Members term of office on during the course of the three years subsequent to its period of office, decides by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast that such a Member is re-eligible. A vote on re-eligibility is taken only at the request of a member itself. The number of members re-elected in consequence of having been previously declared re-eligible is restricted so as to prevent the Council from containing at the same time more than there re-elected Members. Notwithstanding these provisions, the Assembly may at any time, by two-thirds majority, decide to proceed, in application of Article 4 of the Covenant, to a new election of all the non-permanent Members of the Council.

Several temporary provisions were made to meet the special situation of 1926. Amongst them was one which gave power to the Assembly to declare immediately at the beginning of their terms of office a maximum of three states re-eligible on the expiry of their terms instead of leaving such a declaration, as provided for in the general and normal rules, until after the expiration of the terms of office. One State only, Poland, submitted a request for re-eligibility under this temporary provision and was declared re-eligible. In order to enable the scheme to be brought into effect, three members were elected for three years, three for two years, and three for one year. The Council is now composed of five permanent Members (British Empire, France, Germany, Italy and Japan) and nine non-permanent Members (Belgium, Chile, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Netherlands, Poland, Roumania, Salvador) elected by the Assembly.

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 1926 meeting included two Premiers and seventeen 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. Forty-five 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, Protection of Children and Young Persons, 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 two years there has been an average of about 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 £815,000 sterling divided as follows : League of Nations, £460,321; International Labour Organisation, £283,000; Permanent Court of International Justice, £72,296.

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. — The Greco-Bulgarian Conflict. — Abyssinian Protest.

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 11 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 atention of the Council to the matter under Article 11, 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 dee 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 cf 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 methods : 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 Government 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 same 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 Alba-

nian 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 7, 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 11 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 in 1924.

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 Powers represented on 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 gruop 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 Powers represented on 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 Counell, 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 ambuscade 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 Ambassadors. 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 asked the Council to take up the question of the Frontier of Iraq. It recalled the fact that, by the Treaty of Lausanne the frontier between Iraq and Turkey was to be settled within nine months by direct 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 considered this appeal at its session which opened in the same month and at which Turkey was represented. Great Britain held that the vilayet of Mosul should be definitely attached to Iraq and Turkey contended that it was Turkish territory and should remain so. Both Governments undertook to accept in advance the Council's decision and to maintain peace on both sides of the so-called *status quo* line in accordance with a reciprocal undertaking contained in the Lausanne Treaty. Differences subsequently arose regarding the interpretation of the Council's resolution on the maintenance of the *status quo*, and a special meeting of the Council took place at Brussels at the end of October 1924, when the provisional line to be observed was defined, both parties accepting.

At the same meeting the Council appointed a Commission to enquire into the whole question and lay before the Council information and suggestions which might assist it

in reaching a decision. This Commission went to London and to Angora, and devoted some weeks to the study of the problem on the spot. Its report was completed in July 1925 and was submitted to the Council in September.

In its final conclusions the Commission stated that looking at the question entirely from the point of view of the interests of the populations concerned, it considered that it would be to some advantage that the disputed area should not be partitioned. On the basis of this consideration, the Commission, having assigned a relative value to each of the facts which it had established, was of opinion that important arguments, particularly of an economic and geographical nature, and the sentiments (with all the reservations stated) of the majority of the inhabitants of the territory taken as a whole, operated in favour of the union with Iraq of the whole territory south of the "Brussels line", subject to the following conditions.

1. The territory must remain under the effective mandate of the League of Nations for a period which might be put at twenty-five years;

2. Regard must be paid to the desires expressed by the Kurds that officials of Kurdish race should be appointed for the administration of their country, the dispensation of justice and teaching in the schools, and that Kurdish should be the official language of all these services.

The Commission was convinced that if the League of Nations control were to terminate on the expiry of the fouryears Treaty now in force between Great Britain and Iraq, and if certain guarantees of local administration were not to be given to the Kurds, the majority of the people would have preferred Turkish to Arab sovereignty.

The Commission was also convinced that the advantages of the union of the disputed territory with Iraq would in that case be exchanged for very serious political difficulties,

and considered that, under those circumstances it would be more advantageous for the territory to remain under the sovereignty of Turkey, whose internal conditions and external political situation were incomparably more stable than those of Iraq. Whatever decision might be taken, it was essential, however, that Iraq should retain the Diala region, which was necessary for the solution of the irrigation problem. The Commission felt bound to leave it to the Council of the League of Nations to appraise the legal and other political arguments stated in its report, and to decide what relative weight should be given to them as compared with the other arguments. Should the Council, as the outcome of its examination, consider it equitable to partition the disputed territory, the Commission suggested that the best line would be that approximately following the Lesser Zab River.

The British and Turkish representatives presented various observations and criticisms with regard to different aspects of the report, after which a Committee of three Members of the Council—Sweden, Spain and Uruguay—was appointed to examine the data supplied by the Commission and the parties concerned. During its discussions difficulties were raised as to the character of the decision to be taken by the Council, and on the Committee's suggestion, the Council decided to ask the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion as to whether the Council's role was to give an arbitral award; to make e recommendation or to carry out simple mediation; whether the decision must be unanimous or whether it might be by majority, and whether the representatives of the interested parties were to take part in the vote.

The Turkish representative contended that the parties resorted to the good offices of the Council, not to a decision given without their consent, and the opinion of the Court could in no way affect the right of his Government which saw no necessity for consulting the Court. He added that

the Grand Assembly of Turkey did not consider itself bound by any undertaking except acts which it had ratified.

The Court, which considered the questions put before it at an extraordinary session, expressed the opinion that the decision to be taken by the Council would be binding and must be taken by unanimous vote, not counting the votes of the parties. When this came before the Council at its session of December 1925, the Turkish representative said his Government could not accept this interpretation.

The Court's opinion, however, was adopted by the Council, Turkey voting against, and the Council Committee of three continued its effort at conciliation. This proved without avail and the Council had to take a decision. It met for this purpose on December 16. The Turkish representative did not attend. The decision of the Council, said the Rapporteur, could not be based on a more solid foundation than that provided by the report of the Commission of Enquiry, whose extensive investigations had been conducted with a conscientiousness to which both parties had paid a tribute.

The following was the solution unanimously adopted by the Council : The provisional frontier line fixed at Brussels was made definitive, with the conditions attached; the British Government was invited to submit, within six months, a new treaty with Iraq, and to adopt the other measures proposed with regard to guarantees for the Kurdish population, etc. The Council urged the two parties to reach friendly agreement.

These requirements were subsequently fulfilled the new treaty providing for the mandate remaining in force for twenty-five years unless Iraq became a member of the League before the expiration of that period. In June 1926 Sir Austen Chamberlain announced to the Council that negotiations entered into, on the recommendation of the Council, by the British and Turkish Governments, had been brought to a completely

successful issue. The agreement involved a very small cession of territory which he asked the Council to approve, and the President congratulated the two Governments on having reached agreement. It was a further proof (he said) of the value of the League's intervention in international disputes.

The Greco-Bulgarian Conflict.

The Greco-Bulgarian conflict arose from frontier incidents in October 1925. There were divergencies and contradictions in the telegrams addressed to the League by the respective Governments as to the origin of the affair, but shots were exchanged on the frontier North-East of Salonika between Greek and Bulgarian sentries and this was followed by prolonged firing and movements of troops.

The Bulgarian Government appealed to the League under Articles 10 and 11 of the Covenant. This appeal was received early in the morning of October 23; a few hours later the Secretary-General summoned an extraordinary session of the Council, which took place three days after, October 26, in Paris. In the afternoon of the day upon which Bulgaria's appeal was received, the Acting President of the Council, M. Briand, sent a telegram reminding both Governments of their solemn obligations under the Covenant not to resort to war, and of the grave consequences which the Covenant laid down for breaches thereof. He exhorted the two Governments to give immediate instructions that pending the consideration of the dispute by the Council, no further military movements should be undertaken and that the troops should at once retire behind their respective frontiers.

When the Council met, its first task was to ensure the cessation of hostilities and immediate withdrawal of troops. On the evening of October 26, the Council gave both parties

twenty-four hours within which to inform it that they had issued unconditional orders to their troops to withdraw behind their respective frontiers, and sixty hours within which to inform it that the evacuation had been completed. At the request of the Council the Governments of France, Great Britain, and Italy directed their military attachés at Belgrade to repair immediately to the region where the conflict had broken out, and to report direct to the Council the execution of its decision. On October 28 the Council was informed that the orders had been given and on the 29th that the evacuation had been completed, eight hours within the time limit.

The Council then turned its attention to the establishment of the facts and responsibilities. The Bulgarian Government had proposed to the Greek Government that a mixed commission should be appointed for this purpose. The Greek Government, on the other hand, sent a note to the Bulgarian Government demanding damages, the punishment of the officers responsible and the payment of an indemnity of £ 20,000 to the families of the victims. The Greek Government having instructed its military command to take all measures it considered necessary for the defence of its territory and the security of its troops, Greek detachments had entered Bulgarian territory in the neighbourhood of Petrich to a depth of five miles, and according to telegrams from the Greek Government, Bulgarian detachments had penetrated Greek territory; the Bulgarians, however, asserted that at no time had any Bulgarian troops occupied Greek territory and that instructions had been given to the Bulgarian military command that no resistance should be offered to Greek troops. The Greek argument was that the measures taken were necessary for the defence of its territory and that the Greek advance only took place after the violation of its territory by Bulgarians. Both the Greek and Bulgarian representatives at the Council declared that they would

accept in advance the Council's decision regarding reparations and damages and also invited the Council to make a complete and thorough enquiry into the origin and causes of the incident. For this purpose the Council appointed a commission, under the Presidency of Sir Horace Rumbold, British Ambassador at Madrid, and composed of a French General officer, an Italian general officer, a Dutch civilian and a Swedish civilian both with legal experience. They were asked not only to make a thorough enquiry but also to offer suggestions as to the means by which the recurrence of such events might be avoided.

The Commission, which completed in three weeks a task including investigation on the spot, established the fact that the Greek Government, acting on the basis of false news of a Bulgarian attack with a battalion, had occupied part of Bulgarian territory and had thus acted in violation of the Covenant. While there could be no question of premeditation on either side, the Commission concluded that the request for an indemnity by the Greek Government could not be considered, with the exception of an indemnity for a Greek officer who was killed while advancing under a flag of truce, and that the Greek Government was responsible for the expenses, losses and suffering caused by the invasion of Bulgarian territory by Greek troops. It fixed the amount of damages and reparations at £ 45,000. This took account of the death of the Greek officer.

In its recommendations regarding the steps that should be taken to avoid further incidents of the kind, an interesting feature was the emphasis laid upon measures to enable the League to take rapid action. The report pointed out that the cessation of hostilities took place in exceptionnally favourable circumstances. By one o'clock on the date of the receipt of the Bulgarian Government's request, the Acting President of the Council was able to send an urgent request to both Governments to cease hostilities. On the

scene of the incident a battle was imminent; the Greek Government had ordered its troops to attack Petrich at 8.30 on the morning of the 24th; there were sufficient forces on both sides to make serious consequences probable. The Greeks had about 1,000 men with three batteries; the Bulgarians with about one battalion and twelve guns, occupied a defensive positions and their commander had orders to offer some measures of resistance. The order to suspend offensive operations, despatched from Athens on the arrival of the telegram from the President of the Council, reached the scene of action at 6 o'clock in the morning—exactly two hours and a half before the attack was timed to begin. Speed, therefore was an essential factor, and in order to enable the League to act with the utmost rapidity it was recommended that special facilities for communication and transit be accorded to Governments and the League Secretariat in case of threat of war. Other recommendations included the reorganisation of frontier guards with the assistance of neutral officers, the establishment of a conciliation commission, and measures for the elimination of the two principal sources of political discontent, namely 1) the liquidation of property under the Convention for the exchange of populations, which should proceed more rapidly with the avoidance of vexatious measures; and 2) the settlement of property right difficulties in regard to refugees.

The Council adopted the recommendations of the Commission with certain slight modifications requested by both Bulgaria and Grece and decided that the Greek Government should be asked to pay £ 45,000 as reparation to Bulgaria within two months.

This sum was duly paid, an agreement was reached concerning the selection and conditions of service of two Swedish officers, one placed at the disposal of the Bulgarian Government and the other at the disposal of the Greek Government, and reports were subsequently presented from the two

Governments concerning the liquidation of the refugee questions, which were noted with satisfaction by the Council.

Abyssinia.

The Secretary-General received from the Abyssinian Government a Note dated June 19, 1926, accompanied by copies correspondance exchanged by the British and Italian Governments and by them communicated to the Abyssinian Government. It asked that the documents might be communicated to the Members of the League in order that the question might be considered.

The Abyssinian Note stated that the Government had received identical notes from the British and Italian Governments informing them that they had arrived at an agreement to support each other with a view to obtaining a concession for the British Government to undertake the conservancy of the waters of Lake Tsana, and for the Italian Government to construct a railway through the Abyssinian Empire. The Abyssinian Government could not help thinking that in agreeing to support each other in this matter and in making a joint notification of that agreement, the two Governments were endeavouring to exert pressure in order to induce the Abyssinian Government to comply with their demands prematurely. The Abyssinian Government brought the correspondence to the notice of all the States Members of the League in order that they might decide whether it was compatible with the independence of Abyssinia, inasmuch as it included a stipulation that part of their Empire was to be allotted to the economic influence of a given Power.

This correspondence was communicated to the Members of the League and the British and Italian Governments replied in two separate notes which were also distributed to the Members of the League. The two Governments expressed

their regret that, in spite of the assurances conveyed to the Abyssinian Government by their Ministers in Addis Ababa, the purport of the notes should have been misunderstood and intentions attributed to the British and Italian Governments which they had never entertained.

The British Government's letter declared that there was nothing in the Anglo-Italian Notes to suggest coercion or the exercise of pressure. In their view the agreement was in the interests of all three parties, but of course the Abyssinian Government had a perfect right to judge what was in the interests of Abyssinia. As to the suggestion that they were trying to force the Abyssinian Government to yield to their requests in a hurry, the British Government recalled that negotiations had taken place with the Emperor Menelik twenty-four years ago, that the British Government on several occasions had made specific proposals regarding the waters of Lake Tsana, and they could not fairly be charged with proceeding with undue precipitancy. The Anglo-Italian Notes did not reserve any part of Abyssinia to Italian economic influence. The British Government's recognition, under certain conditions, of an exclusive Italian economic influence in the west of Abyssinia and in the territory to be crossed by the proposed railway, did not affect the rights of third parties or bind the Government of Abyssinia, and it imposed no obligation on anyone except the British Government, who, in return for the Italian undertakings in regard to Lake Tsana, engaged not to compete or support competition with Italian enterprise in the region specified.

The Italian Government expressed its surprise at the Abyssinian Note, as the Italian representative in Addis Ababa had already given definite assurances to the Abyssinian Government after which the Government addressed a letter to the Italian Minister in Addis Ababa thanking the Italian Government for its assurances and stating that Abyssinia had never entertained any doubt as to the friendly

intentions of Italy and her desire to respect the independence of Abyssinia. Neither in the letter nor in the spirit of the British and Italian Notes could anything be found that would justify the apprehension on the part of the Abyssinian Government that the Italian and British Governments intended to exert precipitate and forcible pressure. The Notes were binding solely on the Italian and British Governments and could not detract from the right of the Abyssinian Government to take such decisions as it might think fit, or limit the possible action of third parties.

A Note dated September 4 was subsequently received from the Abyssinian Government giving a resumé of the situation arising from the correspondence, and asking that, as the British and Italian Notes had been registered with the Secretariat of the League under Article 18 of the Covenant, its present letter should be published together with the Notes in question in order that the public might be acquainted with the Abyssinian Government's view and with the reassuring replies which had been made to its protest.

As the Abyssinian Government's letter was a unilateral declaration, the Secretary-General pointed out that it could not be regarded as a treaty or international engagement within the meaning of Article 18 of the Covenant and there was no precedent which justified him in having the letter registered and published in the Treaty Series. A suitable reference, however, would be inserted in the Treaty Series at the end of the text of the Notes exchanged between the British and Italian Governments, and the letter would be published in the Official Journal.

The matter was thus brought to a close without being placed on the agenda of the Council.

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Various other cases of less general interest have from time to time been dealt with. Though some no doubt, were of secondary importance, many had excited public opinion to such a point as to create a state of tension, and by putting an end to most of these controversies the Council made a valuable contribution to peace.

CHAPTER II

THE WORK OF RECONSTRUCTION

Preparations for the International Economic Conference. — Austria. — Hungary. — Greek Refugee Settlement. — Bulgarian Refugee Scheme. — The Estonian Loan — 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 more 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, amongst others, arose later in specific form.

The work carried out since the Brussels Conference has covered a wide range of subjects. Sufficient progress had been made towards the financial stability of the world to enable the 1925 Assembly to declare that the time seemed ripe for the League to make an attempt to deal with the economic problem as a whole in accordance with Article 23 of the Covenant, which stipulates in particular that the Members of the League "will make provision to secure and maintain . . . . . equitable treatment for the commerce of all the Members of the League".

Preparations for the International Economic Conference.

The Council, acting on the recommendation of the Assembly, set up a Preparatory Committee to submit to the Council a report concerning the programme, composition, rules of procedure and date of meeting of an International Economic Conference. The Committee was representative of the economic life of the day and included members with personal experience of business and industrial affairs, qualified representatives of the workers' and consumers' classes, former

ministers and high officials, scientists, and experts who have worked with the League technical organisations or the International Labour Office.

The Committee was asked to consider to what extent present economic difficulties were international and to endeavour to discover points of which practical solutions might be contemplated, together with the appropriate methods of giving effect to those solutions. The Committee held two meetings during 1926, the interval between the two meetings being occupied with the collection of information bearing on industrial production, trade and markets, agriculture, finance, population, labour conditions, etc. The information was collected by the League Secretariat, the International Labour Office, and the International Institute of Agriculture, with the co-operation of various other international organisations. Important industrial organisations of various countries took part in the work and a special report was sent by the International Chamber of Commerce, which had made a comprehensive enquiry into the questions at issue. The work of the second meeting of the Committee was to isolate from this mass of material essential questions upon which the efforts of the Conference should be concentrated.

At this meeting, which took place in November 1926, unanimous agreement was reached on a draft agenda and the Committee recommended May 4, 1927 as the date of the Conference. It suggested that members of the Conference should be appointed by the Governments not as Government representatives but chosen for their personal qualifications. The Council should reserve the right to make a limited number of additional appointments, either directly or through appropriate organisations. The principles followed by the Committee in drawing up the agenda were to allow, on the one hand, of a general discussion of the principal features of the world economic situation, and on the other hand, of

more concentrated discussions on special international questions on which practical results might be hoped for. It is obvious that the problems are vast, complex, and delicate. It is intended that the Conference should take the form of a general consultation in the course of which, as at the Brussels Financial Conference, the various programmes and doctrines may be freely exposed without the liberty of discussion being restricted by any immediate necessity to transform the conclusions into international engagements.

The Council accepted the Committee's suggestions at its December Session.

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 appear-

ances 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-fifteen 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 15, 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 4 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 Government, 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 did not feel sufficiently confident of its continuance to remove the control. The position was rendered more difficult by an economic depression, with unemployment.

The Council thought it wise to appoint two independent experts to make a thorough enquiry into Austria's economic situation, and their report, which has been published, was on the whole optimistic. They concluded that the troubles confronting the economic life of Austria were merely a variant, if in a somewhat intensified form, of those with which all European countries have been faced since the war. The remedies which she most needed were the extension of her markets, the supply of foreign capital, and internally a reduction of cost prices throughout industry.

In March 1926 the Council decided that the control of the Commissioner-General should cease as from July 1, 1926, subject to a supervision by the Financial Committee over the expenditure of the balance of the loan, and to a control over the revenues assigned for the service of the loan by a representative of the trustees. Austria also agreed that during the period of ten years after the date of the definitive termination of control by the Commissioner-General the Council of the League should, by a three-fourths majority vote—Austria abstaining—have the right to re-establish control by a Commissioner-General if the proceeds from the assigned revenues were insufficient to cover the service of the loan or if the equilibrium of the budget were seriously endangered.

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 several years, a budget in equilibrium 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, which involved 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 économically. 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 showed an actual surplus

The following financial year shewed an equally favourable result, with a surplus of approximately 62 millions of gold crowns. Thus two years after the control began—the minimum period contemplated—the reconstruction work had been successfully concluded. The budget had been balanced for a year and a half, only about one-fourth of the reconstruction loan had been used to meet deficits, the balance being available for productive investments. Accordingly the Council decided to terminate the functions of the Comissioner-General as from July 1st 1926, subject to a supervision over the balance of the loan and the control over the assigned revenues by a representative of the Trustees.

In the case of Hungary the right of the Council to re-establish control at any time during the currency of the loan if the equilibrium of the budget was endangered had been included in the original agreement with the Hungarian Government.

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 Scheme.

Another financial operation of a somewhat different kind organised through the good offices of the League was the floating of a foreign loan of ten million pounds sterling for a refugee settlement scheme in Greece. After the Greco-Turkish hostilities in the autumn of 1922, between a million and a million and a half Greek refugees returned to their country, presenting an almost insuperable problem to the Government. It was one of the most tragic migrations in history; the refugees fled in disorder with only such possessions as they could carry and took any route, by land or sea, which they could find. Eighty per cent were destitute women and children. It was a terrible problem for the Government of a State of less than five million inhabitants, but the Government did what it could in the way of temporary lodging and relief. The great philantropic organisations of the world gave valuable assistance. The League sent Dr. Nansen to investigate, and medical experts to advise on measures to deal with typhus and dysentery and to help in the sanitary organisation of refugee camps. But to meet the problem in permanent form was quite beyond the resources of the Greek Government unaided, and it appealed to the League for help on a larger scale.

The League, in collaboration with the Greek Government organised 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 succeeded by Mr. C. P. Howland, another American citizen. Mr. Howland resigned in 1926 and his place was taken by Mr. C. D. Eddy.

The guarantees for the loan were considered and approved by the Financial Committee of the League, a detailed plan was evolved, for the organisation of the scheme of settlement, for the appropriate employment of the loan, and for the assignment of assets devoted to its repayment. The loan was successfully floated towards the end of 1924.

Despite great difficulties much has been successfully accomplished by the Commission. The work has extended over Western Thrace, Epirus, Crete and the islands, as well as old Greece, and, above all over Macedonia, where about 80 per cent of the agricultural refugees are being established. Over 20,000 houses have been completed in the towns and 40,000 in the country, and more than half the 1,400,000 refugees have been assisted to establish themselves. They have become productive and industrious citizens and add greatly to the economic resources of Greece. The production of wheat in Macedonia, for example, was in 1925 70 % greater than in the previous year; carpet makers have established a new and paying industry, The Greek world has been concentrated in the mother country, and the Commission speaks highly of the activity and vitality of the majority of the settlers who faithfully observe their liabilities.

The work is not yet completed and though the remainder of the unexpended portion of the ten million pounds loan will cover requirements for the winter, the Commission estimates that an additional loan of about five million pounds will be required. That is a matter which will be examined when the time is opportune.

The Bulgarian Refugee Loan

The fourth of the reconstruction schemes with which the League has been associated was that for the settlement of Bulgarian refugees, a problem arising from the gradual return

since 1912 of some 220,000 refugees. About 30,000 of these had been settled by the Government or had settled themselves, but a large number, homeless and starving, with whom the Government could not deal, constituted a social and political danger. A scheme was drawn up by the Financial Committee of the League for settling them and obtaining the money required. This sum was estimated at £ 2,250,000 for which a loan is shortly to be issued. Security for the loan is provided for by State revenues which are not permitted to fall below 150 per cent of the annual sum required to meet the service of the loan, precautions have been taken to secure the stability of Bulgarian currency against depreciation, and the control and execution of the scheme is in the hands of M. René Charron, appointed as League Commissioner and responsible to the League Council. An advance of £ 400,000 was made by the Bank of England to the Bank of Bulgaria in order that certain essential work should be done before the winter.

Estonian Loan

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 Estonia, 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 Estonia and reported to the Financial Committee, which in turn drew up a series of recommendations to the Government in the early part of 1925.

In December 1926, the Council approved, on the recommendation of the Financial Committee, the issue by the Estonian Government, under the auspices of the League, of a loan of £1,350,000 for the establishment of the currency on a gold or exchange basis, relieving the Estonian Bank of certain assets unsuitable for a bank of issue, and founding a mortgage insti-

tute. The loan guarantees, such as assigned revenues, trusteeship, etª... follow the precédents of other League reconstruction loans.

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 1925 in collaboration with 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 $1^1/_3$ 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.

The finances of Danzig again formed the subject of enquiry in 1926. The Financial Committee recommended that a detailed scheme securing budget equilibrium should be drawn up at once, the number of officials and their salaries should be reduced, the budget and accounting system simplified. If these requirements are carried out, if satisfactory arrangements regarding Danzig's payments under the Peace Treaty can be made, and if a customs agreement is definitely concluded with Poland, the Committee have recommended that a loan of about 30 million gulden should be floated, to be used primarily for the consolidation of the floating debt, and in part for capital works.

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 enter prises 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, trade, production, 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 Estonia 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.

In order to deal with the resulting problems, the League appointed the advisory and Technical Organisation for 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 one dealing with transport in transit, and the other with transport on international waterways.

By transport in transit is meant transport crossing a state and having its points of departure and arrival outside this State. The International Convention framed at Barcelona on freedom of transit was intended to remove all obstacles and delays in such transit. The Convention stipulates the complete freedom of transit and equality of conditions of transit but reserves the legitimate rights of police action, national security, transport in time of war and whatever reservations may be necessary in order to adapt these principles to the existing legal position and local or regional conditions in the various parts of the world.

The same principles of liberty and equality are applied to all classes of transport including imports, exports and

internal transport as regards inland waterways of international concern. This subject is dealt with in the Barcelona Convention concerning international navigation on inland waterways. By inland waterways of international concern are meant waterways accessible to ordinary commercial navigation and giving access to the sea to more than one state. Such waterways as, for instance, the Rhine and the Danube have long been subject of special or general international agreements. The necessity for international co-operation for the proper utilization of great arteries of traffic of this kind is obvious. The Barcelona Conference dealt with the question from the point of view of the universal application of these principles.

The character of the Barcelona Conventions is not sufficiently revealed by a mere summary of their principles; their novelty can be realised only by considering the elasticity of their procedure : The Conventions, based on the provisions adopted by the Assembly for the settlement of disputes arising out of the transport clauses of the Peace Treaties. all contain an article stipulating first that any dispute concerning their application or interpretation should be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice and, second, that the contracting states before bringing their dispute to the Court should try to reach an amicable settlement by resorting to the good offices of the competent technical body of the League, namely, the Advisory and Technical Committee on Communications and Transit. The great advantage of this procedure is to keep the frequent and often exceedingly delicate issues arising from the application or interpretation of the Barcelona Conventions within the purely technical domain so long as possible. Moreover if all efforts at friendly agreement fail, compulsory recourse in the last instance to the Permanent Court of International Justice makes it certain that a technical dispute, however, important it may be, will not through the absence of a fixed pro-

cedure, degenerate into a dangerous international conflict. The Advisory and Technical Committee on Communications and Transit has on several occasions dealt with disputes of this sort by the procedure of conciliation, notably on the occasion of a disagreement between Germany and the Saar Governing Commission concerning the application of the Berne Convention for railway transport, between the Oder Commission and Poland, and between the European Danube Commission and Roumania.

In addition to these conventions, the Barcelona Conference made recommendations, on the legal status of international ports and on international arrangements covering railway transport. Holding that the time was not ripe for a convention on ports, the Conference drew up for the use of such states as chose to adopt it a model statute for ports based on the principles applied in the conventions on transport and navigable waterways. Various States have already intimated their intention of applying this statute voluntarily to certain of their ports. It may also be of use in the Conclusion of international treaties for establishing the status of ports of which the political or economic position is peculiar. Such, for instance, was the case with the Port of Memel, as established by the Memel Transit Convention, and the other agreements placing that port under Lithuanian sovereignty.

The Advisory Committee subsequently prepared 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 the other matters being considered by the Committee may be mentioned the reform of the calendar, wireless regulations, international motor traffic, passports, the question ot tonnage measurements in inland and maritime navigation, lighting and buoyage of coasts, etc. Important functions were also entrusted to the Committee by the Genoa Conference. In 1923 the Committee carried out a big enquiry into railway transport in Central and East Europe, and in 1925 into the general position regarding inland navigation, particularly on the Rhine and the Danube.

CHAPTER III

THE COURT, INTERNATIONAL LAW AND TREATY PUBLICITY

Character and Composition. — Cases before the Court. — American Conditions of Adherence. — 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 (American, Brazilian, Chinese, Cuban, Danish, Dutch, English, French, Italian, Japanese, Norwegian, Roumanian, Serbian, Spanish and Swiss) 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 decision 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 may 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 a number of States have adopted the "Optional Clause".

Cases before the Court.

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 a brought before the Court differences which arose with the Polish Government over certain German property interests in Polish Upper Silesia. This reference to the Court was 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, Poland's postal rights in Danzig, and the Council's competence regarding the decision to be taken on Mosul.

American Conditions of Adherence.

In January 1926 the United States Senate passed a resolution consenting to the adherence on the part of the Government of the United States to the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court on the condition that the Signatory Powers accepted certain conditions, reservations and understandings contained in the Senate resolution. After the Signatory States and the Secretary-General of the League of Nations had been notified of this fact by the United States Government, the Council of the League decided to propose to the Signatories and the United States that delegations should be sent to a meeting in Geneva on September 1, 1926 for the purpose of discussing these reservations. The Government of the United States was unable to accept this invitation, but the Conference met as arranged and drew up a Final Act expressing its views with regard to each of the American reservations.

All were considered acceptable with the exception of one which required that the Court should not, without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States had or claimed an interest. The Conference drew a distinction between an advisory opinion asked for in the case of a dispute to which the United States was a party and an advisory opinion asked for in the case of a dispute to which the United States was not a party but in which it claimed an interest. With regard to the first class of disputes the Conference considered it was sufficient to draw attention to the jurisprudence of the Court which, on a request addressed to it for an opinion on the Eastern Carelia case, had declared that the Court was not competent to give an opinion; the Court it based this conclusion on the fact that the question submitted formed the subject of a dispute, and that to give a reply would be tantamount to deciding the dispute, and on the further fact that Russia had taken no part in the proceedings and had refused to do so. In the view of the Court, it was not possible in such circumstances to give an opinion upon an existing dispute between a member of the League of Nations and a State which was not a member, without the consent of the latter, having regard to the principle of the independence of States as expressed in Article 17 of the Covenant. With regard to the second class of disputes, the Conference understood that the object of the United States was to assure to itself a position of equality with States represented either on the Council or in the Assembly of the League. This principle the Conference considered should be agreed to, but it observed that the presumption upon which the reservation appeared to rest, namely, that the adoption of a request for an advisory opinion by the Council or the Assembly required a unanimous vote, had not so far been established. In any event, the United States should be guaranteed a position of equality in this respect; that is to say, in any case where a State represented on the Council

or in the Assembly would possess the right of preventing, by opposition in either of these bodies, the adoption of a proposal to request an advisory opinion from the Court, the United States should enjoy an equivalent right. The Conference considered it desirable that the manner in which the consent of the United States would be given should form the object of a supplementary agreement which would ensure that the peaceful settlement of future differences between Members of the League would not be made more difficult.

The Conference decided to recommend to various Governments to adopt the conclusions of the Final Act as the basis of their individual replies to the United States, and asked its President to submit to those Governments a model reply.

International Law.

Another aspect of international law 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 being to recommend to the Council the conclusion of international conventions on subjects where they consider such action practicable and desirable.

Registration and Publication of Treaties.

A further point 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 1,200 have been published in this way in a special Treaty Series. 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. — The Locarno Agreements. — Preparations for Disarmament Conference. — 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 work can only be accomplished after the most careful preparation and in favourable political conditions. This is the opinion held by all the organisations of the League which have been engaged upon it.

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 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 signed and one ratified. 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.

This and other declarations came before the 1925 Assembly at a moment when negotiations were taking place for the conference between Germany and the western Powers which eventually opened at Locarno in the month of October. The Assembly passed a resolution regarding favourably the effort being made by these nations to attain the re-establishment of mutual confidence by conventions and treaties of mutual security in the spirit of the Covenant and in harmony with the Protocol principles of arbitration, security and disarmament. Reserving the question of a new general convention, the Assembly called the attention of its Members to the desirability of concluding conventions for arbitration and the judicial settlement of disputes, and recommended that progress be reported to the following Assembly.

The Locarno Agreements.

The Locarno Agreements were signed on December 1, 1925 and, in the final protocol of the Conference, the representatives of the participating Governments declared their firm conviction that the entry into force of the Treaties and Conventions would hasten effectively the disarmament provided for in Article 8 of the Covenant of the League. They undertook to give their sincere co-operation to the work relating to disarmament already undertaken by the League and to seek its realisation in a general agreement. The 1926 Assembly recorded its conviction that the general ideas embodied in the Locarno Treaties might well be included amongst the fundamental rules which should govern the foreign policy of every civilised nation. It requested the

Council to recommend to Members of the League to put these principles into practice and to offer, if necessary, its good offices for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and, as a result, to facilitate the reduction and limitation of armaments.

Preparation for a Disarmament Conference.

In the interval between the 1925 and 1926 Assemblies the Council, acting on the suggestion of the Assembly(which considered that the League should be ready when the opportune moment arrived) appointed a Preparatory Committee for a Disarmament Conference composed of representatives of States Members of the Council and of several other States Members of the League occupying a special position regarding the disarmament problem. The German, American and Russian Governments were also invited to appoint representatives. Germany (who at that time was not a Member of the League) and America accepted, but Russia declined.

This Preparatory Committee with the appropriate technical bodies attached to it, has been studying in close detail a list of questions bearing on a whole variety of military, naval, aerial and economic aspects, and was still engaged upon this task when the 1926 Assembly met. This Asmsebly considered that as the general political situation had improved, a Disarmament Conference could and should be convened, and recommended that it should take place before the 1927 Assembly "unless material difficulties render this impossible". It recorded its opinion that the reduction and limitation of armaments should correspond to existing conditions in regard to regional and general security, and that there should be no question of finally solving the problem at the first attempt. The Conference would only be the first of a series, and even apart from the importance of the reductions and limitations which it might bring about, it

must in any case have the immense advantage of transforming into an international contract the degrees of armaments of the different States, and of thus putting a stop, for a definite period, to any possibility of unlimited competition in armaments. The work of the Preparatory Commission continues towards this end.

Apart from these considerations of fundamental requirements for the reduction of armaments, the League has devoted close attention to other features of the problem. A draft convention has been drawn up on the supervision of the private manufacture of arms, and if the Disarmament Conference does not take place before the next Assembly, it is proposed to hold a special conference to deal with this particular matter.

A Committee of the Council is considering suggestions put forward by the French, Polish and Finnish Governments. The French Government asked for a study of the means for facilitating and hastening, in times of emergency, a meeting of the Council, the execution of its decisions, and the carrying out of the obligations of the Covenant in the case of war or threat of war. The Polish proposal calls for the consideration of the question of regional assistance in relation to regional disarmament, and the Finnish proposal for an examination of the practical means by which small States in need of special security owing to geographical or other exceptional circumstances, could obtain sufficient guarantee as regards immediate financial assistance to enable them, in the event of their becoming the victims of unprovoked aggression, to purchase material and supplies necessary for a successful defence until general assistance by the League is forthcoming.

Traffic in Arms.

One other important feature of the League's work was the drawing up of a convention on the 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 signa-

tories 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.

Armaments Year Book.

The Disarmament Section publishes yearly two documents : 1) The Armaments Year Book : General and Statistical Information; and 2) Statistical Information on theTrade in Arms, Ammunition and Implements of War.

1) *The Armaments Year Book : General and Statistical Information.* — This publication provides information on the organisation, effectives, material and budgets relating to the military, naval and air establishments of 59 countries,

Members and non-Members of the League of Nations. The data on which the Year Book is based are all collected from published official documents, and follow the lines laid down by the last paragraph of Article 8 of the Covenant, according to which all signatory States undertake :

> "To interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes."

2) *Statistical Information on the Trade in Arms, Ammunition and Implements of War.* — This publication may be considered as completing the previous one. It reviews the data available relating to the international trade in arms, ammunition and war material, and is entirely based on documents published by the respective governments. These data, presented in detail Part III of the Year Book, are summed up in Part I in the form of statistical tables uniform for all countries. Part I provides information as to the importance of the purchases of arms and munitions of each country during the last four of five years, the main sources of purchase, the general character of the arms acquired, etc., and similar information as to exports. Part II constitutes a summary of the other data, after the monetary figures have been transformed into one uniform standard the dollar of the United States. The Year Book does not claim to be an instrument of comparison of the trade in arms of the different countries, such comparison being impossible owing to the diversity of the statistical methods followed by each national Customs Office. The Convention concluded at the International Conference held in Geneva in May 1925 aimed, amongst other objects, at the unification of such methods by means of a standard model for the statistical information to be furnished to the League of Nations on this matter.

CHAPTER V

HEALTH AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS

Health — (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. — Russian Refugees — International Slavery Convention — Relief of Peoples Stricken by Calamities. — Armenian Refugees.

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, 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. Subjects included in other enquiries are : methods of fighting tuberculosis and rabies (hydrophobia), instruction in public health, infantile mortality, school hygiene and physical education, methods of health insurance, etc.

At the request of the Persian Government an enquiry into the health conditions in Persia was undertaken by a medical expert representing the Health Organisation, and this expert's report giving practical suggestions for sanitary

improvement was sent to the Persian Government. 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 estimating 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 various 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. Each year some hundred medical officers go through these interchanges in whichmost of the States of Europe, Africa Canada, the Far East, South America, and the United States

nave participated. 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.

The Health Organisation maintains an Epidemiological Intelligence Service. Current reports of the prevalence of epidemic disease are now received from the health services of nearly all the countries where such information is available in Africa, America, Asia, Australasia and Europe. Weekly or monthly statistics on general and infantile mortality and selected causes of death are received from numerous large cities throughout the world. This information is published in a monthly bulletin entitled "The Epidemiological Report", which also contains a general review of the prevalence at the time of issue of the various epidemic diseases. In 1926 a weekly bulletin known as "The Weekly Record" began to be issued in order to distribute rapidly information (*a*) contained in the weekly telegraphic report from Singapore, giving the number of cases of death from plague, cholera, smallpox and infected rats in the 120 ports (from Alexandria and Cape Town in the West to Honolulu and Papeete in the East) served by the Singapore Epidemiological Intelligence Bureau—a branch office of the central service at Geneva; (*b*) regarding plague, cholera, yellow fever, typhus and smallpox extracted from official returns received at Geneva during the week ending the day before the issue. The statistics are revised at the end of each year by the national health services concerned and published in the form of annual reports which contain a review of the epidemic situation during the year. All this material is constantly quoted in the publications of the national health services and enables those services to trace the movements of epidemic diseases throught the world at any given time, as well as to take the appropriate administrative measures to protect their own territory.

The pooling of health statistics has brought out the need for uniformity in statistical methods. This is being met by the issue of publications on the organisation of the various national health services and particularly of their medico-statistical methods, by promoting "interchanges" and other forms of direct co-operation between health statisticians, and by expert study of certain aspects of mortality statistics with a view to introducing uniform definitions and methods.

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 nearly 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 manufacture 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 President 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 conventual form, was opened for signature. Thirty-three States are now full parties to this Convention, which 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. The views expressed so far have shown divergence of opinion as to the necessity of maintaining the system; further reports are to be asked for and an abstract is to be prepared showing the present position.

The Committee is considering the problem of the expulsion of foreign prostitutes in all its aspects—legal, political humanitarian and social—and the Governments are being asked to furnish information. In this connection it 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.

Another matter which has come before the Committee is the employment of women police in all matters affecting the protection of women and children. Classified information is being collected on this subject also. Other points of study are the relation existing between the use of alcohol and the traffic in women and children, and the execution of the conclusions adopted by the Conference on Obscene Publications.

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.

Protection of Children.

The Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women has been extended to cover the protection of childhood, and it is now known as "The Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People". It is divided into two parts; one part called the Committee on 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.

The Council approved of the Child Welfare programme in June 1925, and the Committee, in collaboration, where necessary, with the Health Organisarion of the League and with the International Labour Organisation, is pursuing a task which includes the study of comparative legislation for the protection of life and health in early infancy, and of laws

regarding the age of consent and the age of marriage and penal law; the preparation of an international convention for the assistance or repatriation of children of foreign nationality abandoned or neglected; child labour; family allowances; the effects of the cinema on the minds and morals of children; mental and physical recreation; neglected and delinquent children; and the evil effects of alcoholism. The American Bureau of Social Hygiene placed the sum of 5,000 dollars at the disposal of the League for its work on the protection of childhood.

Both the Assembly and the Council in 1926 drew the attention of the Committee to the necessity of treating all these subjects from the international point of view, providing, for example, a comparison of methods and experiences of different countries which might be likely to assist the Governments in dealing with the problems.

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. 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 (under the direction of Miss C. E. Mills) and Aleppo (under the direction of Miss Jeppe). These homes serve as clearing houses where the women and children remain while enquiries are being made. Miss Mills' work, as a Commissioner of the League, comes to an end on December 31, 1926, after which she will continue her work in a private capacity. At Aleppo, the women and children are taught useful trades during their period of residence, and village settlements have been established for the boys. Some

hundreds of people have been rescued, and it is calculated that the essential work will be completed during 1927.

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 probable 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.

International Slavery Convention.

Following upon the work of a committee appointed to enquire into slavery and forced labour, a draft Slavery Convention was presented to the 1925 Assembly by the British delegation. During the interval between the 1925 and 1926 Assemblies observations on the draft Convention were presented by various Governments, and the Assembly of 1926 approved the final text of an International Slavery Convention which has been signed by thirty States.

The object of the Convention is to complete and extend the work accomplished by the Brussels Act of 1889-1890

and other international agreements. It provides for a formal undertaking on the part of signatory States to prevent and suppress the slave trade; to endeavour progressively and as soon as possible to bring about the entire suppression of slavery in all its forms; to take measures to prevent forced or compulsory labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery. Disputes arising between signatories as to the interpretation or application of the Convention, if not settled by direct negotiation, are to be referred for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice. An annual report is to be presented to the Assembly to enable the League to continue its endeavours to secure the suppression of slavery and analogous conditions. The Assembly resolution on the subject, while recognising that forced labour for public purposes was sometimes necessary, expressed the opinion that as a general rule it should not be resorted to unless it were impossible to obtain voluntary labour, and that it should receive adequate remuneration.

Relief of Peoples Stricken by Calamities.

The question of an international union for the relief of peoples overtaken by disaster was originally brought before the League in 1922 in the form of a scheme drawn up by Senator Ciraolo, President of the Italian Red Cross. Governments were asked for their views on the plan, and as a consequence of observations received a Committee was set up and in 1925 submitted a draft scheme to the Assembly. The Committee was again convoked to carry out suggestions made by the Assembly and the draft statutes which it finally drew up were sent by the Council to Governments in December 1925 for formal examination. By September 1926 the Council, which had received thirty-one replies, mostly favourable, asked the Committee to consider, and if it thought fit, amend the statutes in the light of these replies.

It further decided in principle to convene a diplomatic conference during 1927 to conclude an agreement for the definite establishment of an International Relief Union. The Committee completed its final draft in November 1926 and this will be sent to the Governments when the invitations for the conference are issued.

The object of the Union, according to the draft statute, is to co-ordinate relief work on a strictly neutral basis; States members of the Union will be called upon to contribute an initial fund amounting to about £25,000, but this will be their sole contribution. This initial fund will be available for immediate use in the event of a calamity, until the amounts provided by public subscription, which will form the normal resources of the Union, become available. A general council upon which all members of the Union (that is, States which adhere to it) are represented will serve as a deliberative and constitutional body, and the agent of the Union will be an executive committee consisting of seven members appointed by the general council with two representatives of the International Red Cross co-opted in an advisory capacity; it will have full powers to act in the name of the Union whose central permanent offices will be provided by the International Red Cross.

Armenian Refugees.

After the retreat of the Greek army from Asia Minor 120,000 Armenian refugees arrived in Greece and the Greek Government asked the League Council to take measures to provide the Armenians with a National Home in the Caucasus. Dr. Nansen was asked to investigate the possibilities in collaboration with the International Labour Office. A competent enquirer was sent to Erivan by a Settlement Commission appointed by the Council and a scheme has been set up for irrigation works in Armenia which, it was

estimated, would permit the settlement of 25,000 refugees. The Council, declared that it would be prepared, if requested to do so by the interested parties, to arrange for the supervision of the expenditure of any funds for the purpose which might be contributed from private sources, either as a loan or as a gift, on the understanding that it accepted no moral or legal responsibility for the securities of the loan. The sum of 15,000 francs was voted by the 1926 Assembly to enable Dr. Nansen to cover the printing and distribution of literature for the purpose of putting proposals before possible contributors in Europe and America. The cost of the scheme is estimated at one and a half million pounds sterling.

CHAPTER VI

OTHER TASKS

Mandates. — Minorities. — Saar. — Danzig. — Intellectual Co-operation. — International Organisations — 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 man-

dates 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. The League's decision on the frontier with Turkey required a new treaty which was subsequently forwarded to the League and approved by the Council (March 1926) extending the mandate to cover a period of twenty-five years unless Irak before that period has elapsed become a Member 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 Go vernment representatives but of ten independent experts, the 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 inhabitants; 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. A special session of the Commission took place in February 1926 to examine the situation in Syria resulting from the rebellion in the Jebel Druse.

The Commission, which was constituted in the beginning of 1921, has held ten sessions, and now meets 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 to reach a settlement on the substance of the two cases. There was also a refe-

rence 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 before the Council concerned 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 1925 was 3,700,000 tons compared with 1,900,000 tons in 1912.

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 in the past 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 composed of eminent people from different countries.

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 were 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 international 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 : thirty-two of these are now in existence. The Committee has kept in close touch with existing organisations. A Bulletin for University Relations is published by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation as part of an effort to effect better contact between the universities, professors and students. 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, particularly international vacation courses of study on contemporary nations, and the teaching of modern languages, literatures and civilisations.

The Committee has drawn up a draft convention on scientific property, aimed at securing for scientists all rights in their discoveries. This draft has been submitted to Governments and to the Economic Committee of the League, and further enquiry is being made on the subject. Other questions, such as the legal position of international associations and the suppression of artistic forgeries, are being considered. A draft of proposed legislation and a proposed international convention have been framed concerning copyright, in both cases based on existing national legislation in this field. The question of so-called *droit de suite* (artists' rights in regard to the increase in the value of their work) has also been taken up, as well as that of the right of artists to maintain their works intact (that is, measures to prevent works of art from being mutilated or changed without the author's consent, or from damage resulting from misunderstanding of the author's intentions).

The Committee has also dealt with the question of the revision of the International Convention of 1886 on the exchange of official or other publications between Governments.

One of the essential problems of intellectual co-operation is the international organisation of scientific information, and in particular of bibliography. The rapid and regular exchange of scientific information, particularly in the form of analytical summaries of review articles, is of considerable interest to scientists, who should be enabled to keep in touch easily with publications and discoveries abroad. This question has been discussed by the Committee in relation to various branches of science, notably physics and allied subjects, economics, Græco-Roman archæology, and the biological sciences. In some of these fields, the work, which includes the consultation of experts and agreements with directors of special scientific publications, is already beginning to give practical results.

The Committee has published a Bibliographical Index which is the first international list of existing periodicals and bibliographical institutes. An arrangement has been made with the International Biographical Institute at Brussels, which collaborates with the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, for the publication, beginning with this year, of a supplement bringing this Index up to date.

The Committee has been active in the field of arts and letters. It has decided to set up an International Museum Office to help in improving the international organisation of information concerning the contents of museums and the development of relations between museums. This branch of work has resulted in a meeting of representatives of the big official chalcographical institutes in order to organise exchanges of engravings and common exhibitions. The organisation of an international congress and exhibition of popular arts has been suggested for the autumn of 1927. As regards music, various international questions are being considered, such as the exchange of concert programmes and the standardisation of pitch. A committee of experts will consider the possibility of organising international co

operation in the field of letters, particularly as regards translations, knowledge of contemporary literature, and the theatre.

An important development was the generous offer of the French Government (accepted by the League) to provide and maintain an international institute for intellectual co-operation in Paris with an annual subsidy of two million French francs. This institute was established in 1925 under the direction of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee acting as the Governing Body, which draws up the budget and fixes its programme. The Governments of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary have granted subsidies, and it is hoped that further grants from Governments will enable the Institute, which has considerably reinforced the committee's means of action, gradually to extend the scope of its activities. An offer similar in nature was received and accepted by the 1924 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.

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.

The 1925 Assembly, on receipt of this information, suggested that the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation

should appoint a sub-committee of experts to consider the best methods of co-ordinating all official and unofficial efforts designed to familiarise young people with the principles and work of the League. This sub-committee was appointed and at its meeting in August 1926 drew up a series of practical proposals covering all grades of education from primary schools to universities. A suggestion was also made regarding text books for teachers and courses of instruction. In order to secure the co-operation of the administrative authorities, professors, teachers, and voluntary associations, the sub-committee recommended that national conferences should be called in each country by the different Governments, in consultation as far as possible, with the National Committee for Intellectual Co-operation. The 1926 Assembly urged the Governments to give the report their sympathetic consideration and to take the measures necessary to give effect to all or any of its recommendations which might be found suitable in their respective countries.

Replies received from the Governments on the subject of education in the schools, indicated a considerable extension of such teaching. The Secretariat, in its investigation into efforts to promote contact, found a widespread interest in this subject on the part of the organisations working towards this end, and 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 Organisations.

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 Organisations containing a list and short description of some 380 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 six languages, (English, French, Italian, Spanish Czech 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 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 also exist in pamphlet form.

An illustrated album has been published by the Information Section. This Section also has a service of films, photographs, and lantern slides, and has just prepared and exhibit of twenty-eight large placards showing, by photographs, charts and essential data, the general organisation and work of the League.

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.

IMPRIMERIE BERGER-LEVRAULT. NANCY-PARIS-STRASBOURG — 1926

LEAGUE

OF

NATIONS PAMPHLETS

(Prepared by the Information Section)

The League of Nations : A Survey (*Revised edition*)		1/-
The League of Nations : Constitution and Organisation (*Revised edition including the Covenant*)	6 d.	15 cents.
The Permanent Court of International Justice (*Revised edition including the Statute of the Court*)	6 d.	15 cents.
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IN PREPARATION.

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The Economic and Financial Organisation.
Communications and Transit.
The Reduction of Armaments.
Minorities.
The Saar Basin and the Free City of Danzig.

PRINTED BY BERGER-LEVRAULT, NANCY-PARIS-STRASBURG — 1928.