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THE

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ITS CONSTITUTION

AND

ORGANISATION



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GENEVA.**

NOTE

This pamphlet is one of a series issued by the Information Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations on various aspects of the League's work. It is intended for general purposes of information and ranks in no sense as an official document.

November 1926.

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THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

ITS CONSTITUTION AND ORGANISATION

INTRODUCTION

The League of Nations is an association of self-governing States organised on permanent lines in an effort to broaden the basis of peace and to lessen the chances of war. Its constitution is contained in the Covenant, which forms Part I of the Treaties of Versailles, Saint-Germain, Neuilly, and Trianon, and it came into force on January 10th, 1920, the date on which the instrument of ratification of the Treaty of Versailles was deposited by the representatives of Germany.

The general principles are simply stated in the Preamble, by which the Members of the League agree to its terms as a means of promoting international co-operation and achieving international peace and security :

By the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war;

By the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations;

By the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments; and

By the maintenance of justice and scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another.

The means of applying these principles are described in the subsequent twenty-six articles, which govern the actual work of the League.

It is essential for a clear understanding of this new organisation to realise that it is an inter-State society explicitly retaining the principle of national sovereignty. It is not a separate organisation existing apart from and above the States of which it is composed. It is international, not super-national. It does not impose settlements; its chief weapons are the publicity of facts and such force of persuasion as is inherent in all work of mediation. It seeks agreement, in which it may or may not be successful, but failure to accept its decisions or recommendations involves no penalty. The League's penalties may be applied only to a breach of faith by resort to war before following lines of procedure designed in the hope of securing settlement without war, or by resort to war against a unanimous decision of the League. The League is, in fact, a body of States working together on a common basis, seeking to promote their common interest in peace and progress, and for this purpose they have voluntarily agreed beforehand to observe certain rules of conduct, and, in the mutual interest, to limit their freedom of action in certain directions.

As the Members of the League are States, the business of the League is conducted by representatives of Governments which are the State executives. There can be no League initiative except on the proposal of one or more Governments, and no League work can be accomplished except through the Governments. The Governments, collectively and individually, are the responsible League authorities. It is their instrument to do what they decide it shall do.

Whatever the League achieves is a result of inter-Governmental agreement.

It has no magic power to dispel rapidly and easily all the necessarily complicated issues of the world. States, on entering the League, do not by this step relinquish their national aims and interests, and these aims and interests may just as easily clash with those of other States when problems are dealt with through the League as when they are dealt with outside it. The League is a method of facilitating settlements, and where it differs from what has hitherto existed is that, by the Covenant, inter-State dealings are organised under a written constitution, with permanent machinery, with settled though not rigid rules of procedure for various eventualities, and with definite obligations. This gives order, regularity and continuity to the study and solution of international problems and makes collaboration easier and more customary. The League system, with its complete set of organs for political, judicial, economic and other questions, and its wide responsibilities, is rooted in the life of the world to-day.

Chapter I. — THE MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE

The States qualified as original Members were the Allied and Associated Powers, signatories to the Treaties of Peace, and invitations to accede (also as original Members) to the Covenant were extended to the thirteen States which remained neutral during the war. Of the signatories of the Versailles Treaty or other treaties including the Covenant, all entitled to original membership, with the exception of the United States of America, Ecuador and the Hedjaz, became Members by the ratification of one or other of these treaties. The thirteen neutral States invited to join all accepted,

and by March 10th, 1920, the membership was forty-two. Since then, fourteen additional States have been admitted including Germany, Austria, and Hungary. The total number of States in the League is now fifty-six¹, though for various reasons the Argentine Republic and one or two Central and South American States have not regularly participated in League work. At the same time, they retain their membership.

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

The League has frequently invited and secured the collaboration of non-Members.

Chapter II. — THE COVENANT CONSIDERED

I. CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION AND WITHDRAWAL.

The consideration of the terms of the Covenant may be taken under one or two broad divisions. First of all, membership is open to any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony, provided it gives effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, accepts such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in

¹ See Annex II.

regard to its armed forces, and secures the consent of two-thirds of the Members : that is to say, there is no restriction concerning the political character of any State, provided it is self-governing. The political tendencies of this or any other international body naturally follow the direction of the prevailing political tendencies of the Members, and as national Governments reflect the political and economic ideas of the majority of electors, so the League will reflect the political and economic ideas of the majority of States.

A State wishing to join lodges an application with the Secretary-General, who automatically places it on the agenda of the next Assembly.

Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention to do so, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under the Covenant have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal. A State may be expelled from the League for breach of the Covenant.

2. THE ORGANS OF THE LEAGUE.

The main constitutional organs of the League are :

The Assembly;

The Council;

The Permanent Secretariat.

It has two essential wings in :

The Permanent Court of International Justice; and

The International Labour Organisation.

The Covenant also implies the establishment of auxiliary bodies for various questions of a more or less technical kind.

The relations between the Assembly and the Council are not explicitly defined, and their competence, with a few

exceptions, is much the same. Each body may deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world. Particular questions or tasks may be referred either to the Council or to the Assembly, and reference may be passed on from one body to the other. The framers of the Covenant left the relations purposely elastic for reasons of convenience, and each body possesses a large degree of independent authority. At the same time, they are not precisely separate or independent bodies, as all the Members of the Council are also Members of the Assembly, and the Secretariat is a further link between the two. The First Assembly, which had some of these points under review, adopted one or two guiding principles. It declared that neither body had jurisdiction to render a decision in a matter which had been expressly committed to the other organ of the League, but either body might discuss and investigate any matters within the general competence of the League. It also decided that each year the Council should present to the Assembly an account of its work.

Unanimity Rule and Exceptions. — Decisions of the Assembly and the Council, except in matters of procedure and in some other specific cases, such as the admission of new Members, must be unanimous. Important facts in this connection are the provision that in cases of dispute the consent of the parties to the dispute is not required for unanimity, and that where reference of a dispute is made to the Assembly a decision requires the consent of the majority only of the Assembly, but including all the Members of the Council. This general regulation concerning unanimity is, of course, the recognition of national sovereignty. The League seeks solution by consent and not by dictation. Sovereign States are not ready to be bound by majority decisions of other States, and successful international action, whether in League meetings or in non-League Conferences, requires general consent. So many conflicting customs and tendencies of

a legitimate kind have to be taken account of that, with or without the unanimity rule, the practical necessity for unanimity would in a general way still exist. Otherwise State action as part of some general international plan could scarcely be secured. It is, in fact, the expression of the necessity for agreement as distinct from the delivery of judgments, but it is modified by two facts : first, in disputes the votes of the contesting parties do not count; second, a resolution carried by majority, and not unanimously, becomes a recommendation upon which any States Members are severally entitled to act. It is, however, a fundamental consideration that, apart from the power of collective persuasion exercised by mediation, publicity and delay, no penal action can be taken, even in the case of unanimity, against States refusing to agree to a decision, unless one or other of them goes to war against the terms of a decision taken unanimously. In matters not arising from disputes, the votes of the interested parties are included and these comprise also the votes of any non-Member of the Council sitting temporarily for the discussion of a particular question in which it is interested, so that the interests of Powers not ordinarily represented on the Council are constitutionally safeguarded. Resort to war in certain circumstances is a penal offence; failure to accept a solution is not.

The Assembly. — The Assembly consists of representatives of all the Members of the League and meets annually in September. It may also meet at such times as the Assembly at a previous meeting, or the Council, by a majority vote, decides. A special session of the Assembly may be summoned at the request of a Member, provided a majority of the Members concur. Each delegation is composed of not more than three members, but commands one vote only. The special functions of the Assembly include the admission of new Members, the periodical election of non-permanent

Members of the Council, the election with the Council of the judges of the Permanent Court, and the control of the budget. It may also, from time to time, advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, or the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world. In practice, the Assembly has become the general directing force of League activities; it reviews the work of the past and indicates the lines of progress in the future. So large a body is not a practical one for ordinary detailed international work or for special emergencies. It is partly for this reason, and partly to give a certain balance of representation in relation to the organised political power of the world, that the Covenant provides for the Council, which does most of the detailed work.

Assembly Procedure. — The sessions of the Assembly are summoned by the President *ad interim* of the Council acting through the Secretary-General, and the summons is addressed to Members not less than four months before the opening of the session, except in special circumstances, where the Council, by a majority, may sanction a shorter period. The agenda of a general session includes a report on the work of the Council since the last session of the Assembly, on the work of the Secretariat, and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the preceding Assembly; all items whose inclusion has been ordered by the Assembly at a previous session; any items proposed by the Council or by a Member of the League; and the budget. There are arrangements for placing additional items on the agenda by the Assembly itself. The delegations may include substitute representatives who may take the place of representatives in case of need, and the same applies to technical advisers at Assembly Committees.

The Assembly opens under the temporary presidency of the acting President of the Council. Its first business is the election of its President and six Vice-Presidents. They,

with the Chairmen of the main Committees of the Assembly, who become *ex-officio* Vice-Presidents of the Assembly, form the General Committee for the conduct of the business of the Assembly. These elections, as far as possible, have regard to the main groupings of international life, so that the various forms of civilisation and the various political interests may have their representation.

The actual work of the session begins with the discussion of the report on the work of the Council and the action taken on the decisions of the preceding Assembly, and after this general debate the Assembly divides its work amongst six general Committees, which in themselves are small Assemblies, as every State has one representative on each of them. These Committees deal with different groups of subjects, as follows :

1. Constitutional and Legal Questions.
2. Work of the Technical Organisations.
3. Disarmament.
4. Budget and Questions of Internal Administration.
5. Social Questions.
6. Political Questions.

The Committees consider all the reports presented to the Assembly by various League bodies and make final recommendations to the Assembly, a general account of the discussions and conclusions being made to the Assembly by a Rapporteur appointed by each Committee. The plenary Assembly affords an opportunity for a final debate on any point still at issue, and it takes the final vote.

The official languages are English and French, and speeches delivered in one are interpreted into the other. Another language may be used, but in this case the speaker is responsible for providing the interpretation into English or French.

The whole of the work of the Assembly, both in the

Committees and in the plenary sessions, is open to the Press and to as many of the general public as can be accommodated. The Assembly may decide that particular meetings shall be private, but this right has never been exercised.

The Council. — The Council which consists today of five permanent members, including Germany, and nine non-permanent members, was originally to consist of five permanent Members, namely the Principal Allied and Associated Powers (British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States of America), and four non-permanent Members elected from time to time by the Assembly. The failure of the United States of America to ratify the Versailles Treaty reduced the number of original permanent Members to four. The Covenant also provides that the number of Council seats, either permanent or non-permanent, may be increased by unanimous decision of the Council with the approval of a majority of the Assembly. The first step in this direction was taken when in 1922 the number of non-permanent Members of the Council was increased from four to six.

The Council took its present form in September, 1926, as the result of the admission of Germany and of the adoption of a scheme of reorganisation governing the method of election, term of office, and conditions of re-eligibility of non-permanent Members. Germany was elected to a permanent seat, and the number of non-permanent Members was increased from six to nine. Under the new scheme 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 the expiration of its term of office, unless the Assembly, on the expiration of a Member's term of office or 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 three 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 term instead of leaving such a declaration, as provided for in the general and normal rules, until after the expiration of the term 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 Committee which drew up the main lines of the re-organisation report which was ultimately adopted considered that the increase of the non-permanent seats on the Council would permit the Assembly to take account in a more comprehensive and equitable measure of the principle of the geographical distribution of seats.

Each Power has one representative on the Council and one vote. Any Member of the League not represented on the Council is invited to sit as a full Member during the consideration of any matters especially affecting its interests. The Council is to meet as occasion may require and at least once a year. In practice, it meets normally four times a year — March, June, September and December —, and it is summoned immediately in cases of emergency. In the latter event, it is the Secretary-General who is charged with the duty of

summoning a meeting forthwith at the request of any Member of the League.

Certain special functions are attributed to the Council, such as the supervision of the mandates system, and the preparation of plans for the limitation of armaments; the Peace Treaties entrusted it with other duties concerning the government of the Saar Territory and of the Free City of Danzig, and minorities. All the work of the Council in these and any other connections is subject to discussion by the Assembly.

Council Procedure. — The Council is convened by the President acting through the Secretary-General and appoints a Rapporteur for each subject on the agenda. The Presidency changes at each session according to alphabetical rotation, the names of the States in French being taken for this purpose. The Council meets either in private or in public according to circumstances, but wherever possible public meetings have been the order of the day. A representative of the Council acts as Rapporteur on each subject; that is to say, he pays particular attention to the subject and is responsible for the reports explaining to the Council the circumstances, suggesting possible means of settlement, and giving public account of decisions reached by the Council. All the minutes of Council proceedings, whether taken in private or in public, are subsequently printed and published.

The Permanent Secretariat. — The Permanent Secretariat, established at the seat of the League at Geneva, comprises a body of experts in various spheres under the direction of Sir Eric Drummond, whose name is included in the Annex to the Covenant as the first Secretary-General. The members of the Secretariat are appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council and at present include representatives of over forty different nationalities. There is a Deputy Secretary-General and there are two

Under Secretaries-General; the rest of the Secretariat is divided into Sections according to subjects, not according to nationality, and each section forms the secretariat of organisations dealing with its particular subject. The principal Sections are under the control of a Director, and there are some others under the control of a *chef de service*. Under these officials are the members of the Secretariat, who are divided into two classes according to seniority and responsibility, and the rest of the Secretariat is composed mainly of the subordinate staff for typing, shorthand, and other cognate duties. The total staff, including all the clerical services, comprises about 500 persons, including the London, Paris, and Rome Offices.

The Secretariat is in the common service of all the Members of the League and undertake, for the purposes of League work, services similar to those undertaken by Civil servants in national administrations, though all comparisons between the organisations of the League and those of national institutions can be made only in rough terms. The principal Sections of the Secretariat are :

- Political;
- Financial and Economic;
- Transit;
- Minorities and Administrative (Saar Territory and Danzig);
- Mandates;
- Disarmament;
- Health;
- Social (Opium and Protection of Children and Young People);
- Intellectual Co-operation and International Bureaux;
- Legal; and
- Information.

There are other services, such as the financial adminis-

tration of the League itself, internal administration, translation and interpretation, précis-writing, publications, registry, library, distribution, central typing and shorthand services, etc.

Each Section is responsible for all the official secretarial work connected with its particular subject and prepares and organises all meetings and conferences held in that connection. The general Secretariat is responsible for the organisation of all Council and Assembly meetings, and its duties involve the preparation and publication of all League documents in the two official languages, and the preparation and issue of all League proceedings and all data and statistics, according to instructions.

The higher officials hold office for seven years; members of both classes are appointed for twenty-one years subject to review of their appointments at the end of each period of seven years; the subordinate staff holds office for twenty-eight years, also subject to review at the end of each seven years. The financial administration is subject to rigid control set up by the Assembly.

The Permanent Court of International Justice. — The Permanent Court of International Justice was provided for by the Covenant but not established by it. Its constitution was the work of the Council and the Assembly, its judges are elected by the Council and the Assembly, and its budget is provided by the Assembly. Roughly, it possesses internationally the same kind of relation to the League as courts of law bear nationally to State legislatures. The Council first of all appointed a committee of eminent jurists to prepare a draft scheme which, after close examination and some modification by the Council and Assembly, was finally adopted as the Court Statute. The judges were elected in September 1921, and the Court began its work in June 1922.

The Court is competent to hear and to determine any

dispute of an international character which the parties concerned submit to it, and it may give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or the Assembly. The Council or the Assembly may also, with the consent of the parties concerned, refer disputes to it for judicial decision.

Questions of fact as well as questions of law may be submitted. The Court is open to all the nations of the world under certain broad conditions. For the reference of a case for judicial decision, the consent of the parties concerned is essential. One State cannot cite another State before the Court except : (1) under treaty terms by which the signatory Powers have agreed to automatic reference of certain kinds of differences to the Court; and (2) under what is known as the optional clause in the Protocol of Signature of the Statute. By this clause, any States which sign it recognise as compulsory, *ipso facto* and without special agreement in relation to any other State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in any legal disputes concerning :

- (1) The interpretation of a treaty;
- (2) Any question of international law;
- (3) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of international obligations;
- (4) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

The treaties and conventions affecting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court extend over a wide field.

The Court is composed of eleven judges and four deputy-judges, elected for nine years. The nominations are made by the national groups of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, or in the case of Members of the League which are not represented in the Court of Arbitration, by similar groups formed for that purpose. The Council and the Assembly

vote separately, and those candidates who secure an absolute majority in both the Council and the Assembly are declared elected. Further elections follow to fill any remaining vacancies on the same conditions, and various provisions are made to avoid a deadlock, including finally the power of the already elected judges to co-opt.

This system overcomes the obstacles which have hitherto prevented the creation of such a permanent international Bench.

The law to be applied by the Court is :

- (1) International Conventions establishing rules expressly recognised by the contesting States;
- (2) International custom as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;
- (3) The general principles of law recognised by civilised States;
- (4) Subject to certain provisions, judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists on international law.

The Court, whose seat is at The Hague, appoints its own Registrar and staff.

The International Labour Organisation. — Although the Members of the League accept by Article 23 of the Covenant an obligation to endeavour to secure and to maintain fair and humane conditions of labour, the Labour Organisation, which comes within the general scheme of the League, is based, not on the Covenant, but on Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, which lays down a series of principles governing labour conditions. The International Labour Organisation, although all the States Members of the League are members of it and although the budget is subject to the control of the League Assembly, is an autonomous organisation with its own Governing Body, its own General Conference, and its

own Secretariat, and its constitution is somewhat different from that of the League, representation being accorded not only to Governments but to representatives of employers and workers' organisations. According to the Constitution of the Organisation, the Governments undertake to place before their Parliaments all conventions passed.

3. PROVISIONS FOR PRESERVATION OF PEACE.

The provisions of the Covenant aimed at the preservation of peace include :

Limitation of armaments, etc.

Guarantees against aggression.

Recognition that any threat to peace is of international concern.

Agreement not to resort to war before settlement has been tried by peaceful procedure.

Methods of securing peaceful settlement.

Penalties for resort to war in specified circumstances, etc.

They may be taken under the following heads :

Limitation of Armaments. — An obligation is imposed upon the Council to formulate plans for the limitation of armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and to submit them to the consideration of the Governments. Once having accepted any such plan, States agree not to exceed them without the concurrence of the Council. There are also obligations to deal with various effects arising from the private manufacture of munitions, trade and traffic in munitions, etc., and members agree to interchange information on the scale of their armaments.

Guarantees against Aggression. — These are contained in Article 10, by which Members undertake to respect and

to preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. It is for the Council to advise how this obligation shall be fulfilled when the occasion arises.

Article 10 must be considered in conjunction with Articles 11 and 19. Article 11 declares war or threat of war to be the concern of the whole League and every Member has the friendly right to call the attention of the League to any circumstance threatening peace or the good understanding of nations. Article 19 provides the Assembly with the possibility of advising the consideration of treaties that have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger peace. Taken together, these three Articles show that Article 10 is not necessarily meant to perpetuate existing territorial conditions for all time, as the Covenant provides means for considering peacefully new conditions as they may arise. There has been considerable discussion at all Assembly meetings about the exact interpretation of Article 10. At the Fourth Assembly, as a result of points raised by Canada, an effort was made to obtain an interpretative resolution which stated :

“It is in conformity with the spirit of Article 10 that, in the event of the Council considering it to be its duty to recommend the application of military measures in consequence of an aggression or danger or threat of aggression, the Council shall be bound to take account, more particularly, of the geographical situation and of the special conditions of each State.

“It is for the constitutional authorities of each Member to decide, in reference to the obligation of observing the independence and the integrity of the territory of Members, in what degree the Member is bound to assure the execution of this obligation by employment of its military forces.

“The recommendation made by the Council shall

be regarded as being of the highest importance, and shall be taken into consideration by all the Members of the League with the desire to execute their engagements in good faith."

One State—Persia—voted against it and thirteen States abstained from voting. Abstentions do not prevent unanimity, but the resolution was not adopted on account of Persia's vote. The President announced, however, that, in accordance with precedent, he would not declare the motion rejected, as it could not be argued that the Assembly in voting as it had done had pronounced in favour of the converse interpretation. It may therefore be assumed that, in any question arising under Article 10, the Council and the Members of the League generally will have in mind the terms of this discussion.

Machinery of Peaceful Settlement. — The Members of the League agree not to go to war before submission of disputes to arbitration, to judicial settlement, or to the mediation of the Council or Assembly. They agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award, decision, or report by the Council. When cases are submitted to arbitration or judicial settlement, the States agree to carry out the awards in full good faith. If any dispute likely to lead to rupture is not submitted to arbitration or judicial settlement, it must be submitted to the Council, whose first duty is to endeavour to effect a settlement. If it fails to do so, it issues a report either unanimously (not counting the votes of the parties), or by majority vote, giving what it considers to be appropriate terms of settlement. If its decision is unanimous, any State going to war in defiance of the decision commits an act of war against all the Members of the League, which undertake in such circumstances to break off relations with the offending State and to subject it to blockade. It is the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several governments concerned what

armed forces shall be contributed for the protection of the Covenant. If the decision is not unanimous, the Members of the League "reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice". War is therefore only contemplated as possible when unanimity is lacking, or, if the matter is referred to the Assembly, when the necessary majority of the States in the Assembly (including all the Members of the Council) is not obtained. There is no definite provision for giving practical effect to a unanimous decision. Penalties apply only to breaches of the Covenant involving resort to war and not to failure to accept decisions. Any State violating the Covenant may be expelled from the League.

The sequence of procedure for disputes is :

- (1) Direct negotiations by ordinary diplomatic channels;
- (2) Arbitration or judicial settlement;
- (3) Reference to the Council or the Assembly.

The Council may on its own account obtain from the Permanent Court of International Justice advisory opinions on legal points, or may, with the consent of the parties, refer the case to the Court for settlement. The Council may also refer a dispute to the Assembly.

Disputes with Non-Members. — In a dispute between a Member and a non-Member, the latter is invited to become a Member for the purposes of the dispute on conditions laid down by the Council. If it refuses, the Council takes such action as seems most effectual. If it refuses and also goes to war against a Member, the League penalties become applicable. When a dispute arising between non-Members is brought before the League, the parties are invited in the same way to accept membership, and if they refuse, the Council does what it thinks best to prevent war.

Domestic Jurisdiction. — The League is excluded from any intervention in a dispute if one of the parties claims, and

the Council decides, that the dispute arises out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party.

Treaties and Understandings. — Other Articles provide for the registration and publication of treaties (which, without such registration and publication, are not binding), and Members engage themselves not to enter into any obligations inconsistent with the terms of the Covenant and to abrogate any such existing obligations. The validity of regional understandings for the maintenance of peace is acknowledged.

With regard to the registration and publication of treaties, a register is kept at the Secretariat in which all treaties so communicated are entered, and they are then printed in a *Treaty Series* in the two official languages as well as in the original languages of the treaties themselves. Over 1,200 treaties have been registered by Members and non-Members of the League.

4. OTHER PEACE FUNCTIONS.

The League supervises, with the assistance of a Permanent Commission, the operation of the new system whereby certain States exercise Mandates on behalf of the League and in its name over former German and Turkish possessions whose peoples are not yet able to govern themselves. These Mandates are exercised as "a sacred trust of civilisation", Annual reports are rendered to the League by the mandatory Powers, the original terms of the Mandates, containing a variety of safeguards, having been first approved by the Council.

The Members of the League undertake to endeavour to secure and to maintain fair and humane conditions of labour, just treatment of native inhabitants in territories under their control, freedom of communications and transit, and

equitable treatment of commerce; to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease; and to entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements in regard to the traffic in women and children, the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs, and the trade in arms and munitions in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest. International bureaux already established by general treaties may, if desired by the parties, be placed under the League, and all such bureaux constituted in the future are to come under the direction of the League.

5. SPECIAL DUTIES UNDER TREATIES.

The Saar Basin. — The Peace Treaty conferred upon the Council of the League various duties. It is the trustee for the Government of the Saar Basin and appoints the Governing Commission which is responsible to the League. A plebiscite is to be taken in 1935 as to the future status of the territory. The members of the Commission, including one citizen of France, one native inhabitant of the Saar, and three members belonging to three countries other than France or Germany, are elected annually by the Council. They present official quarterly reports, which are made public, and occasionally send reports on matters of particular interest. These are considered by the Council, which also deals with matters that may be brought before it by the inhabitants of the territory, by the German Government, by the Commission itself, or by the members of the Council. According to the terms of the Treaty, the Council's decisions on all Saar questions may be taken by a majority vote.

Free City of Danzig. — The Council appoints a High Commissioner of the League of Nations in the Free City of Danzig, which is placed under the protection of the League, with a constitution guaranteed by the League. Any

differences of opinion arising between the Free City and Poland (which has wide treaty rights in connection with Danzig) that cannot be settled with the good offices of the High Commissioner are brought before the Council, with whom the decision rests.

Minorities. — The League also has responsibilities in regard to various treaties concluded after the war for the protection of racial, religious and linguistic minorities. Any violation or danger of violation of the Minorities Treaties may be brought to the attention of the Council of the League by any Member of the Council. Petitions by the minorities themselves may be addressed to the League, and, if so, are forwarded to the interested Government for any comments. The petitions, with the Government's comments, are then sent to the Members of the Council, and the President and the representatives of two Members of the Council form a committee to examine such appeals. If any member of this committee, or any other member of the Council, finds that the matter deserves serious attention, it is then placed on the agenda. Arrangements of a somewhat similar kind are in force with regard to petitions concerning mandated territories.

6. AMENDMENTS TO THE COVENANT.

The Covenant provides for the possibility of amendments. Such amendments, if adopted by the Assembly, come into force when they have been ratified by all the States Members of the Council and by a majority of the States in the Assembly. A number of amendments have been adopted, five of which have received the necessary number of ratifications. These are confined in the main to simplifying the procedure where the Covenant has left conditions to some extent unprovided for, and though several of them are of

considerable importance, they make no really fundamental change.

The amendments ratified concern Articles 4, 6, 12, 13 and 15. The amendment to Article 4 provides that the Assembly shall fix by a two-thirds majority the rules for election of the non-permanent Members of the Council. The amendment to Article 6 provides that the expenses of the League shall be borne by Members in the proportion decided by the Assembly, instead of as provided for in the original text, which declared that they should be borne in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

Roughly speaking, the amendments to Articles 12, 13 and 15 provide for the possibility of referring disputes to arbitration, judicial settlement or enquiry by the Council. According to the original text, Members of the League were under an obligation to refer disputes likely to lead to a rupture either to arbitration or to enquiry by the Council. As a result of the creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice, a third choice of action has now been added within the terms of this obligation by the inclusion of reference to judicial settlement.

Chapter III. — ORGANISATIONS ARISING FROM THE COVENANT

The Covenant left a wide discretion to the Council and the Assembly in constituting the Permanent Court of International Justice and the auxiliary organs foreshadowed in general terms. The establishment of these organisations

has been a considerable creative effort marking an important stage in the evolution of inter-State association. In its operations the League uses all possible representative international agencies and frequently invites the co-operation of representative unofficial agencies. In such circumstances, the final decisions and the final action rest always with the Governments.

The many tasks devolving upon the League necessitated the creation of various auxiliary bodies, which are of two kinds, namely :

Technical organisations, dealing with finance and economics, transit, and health; and

Advisory committees dealing with armaments questions, mandates, Protection and welfare of Children and Young People, opium, and intellectual co-operation.

The technical organisations have been provided with enough independence and flexibility to make them effectively useful, yet they remain under the general control of the Council and the Assembly. They are modelled in principle on the League as a whole; that is to say, they consist of a standing committee, loosely corresponding to the Council, a general conference of Government representatives, corresponding to the Assembly, and a secretariat, which forms a section of the Secretariat-General of the League under the control of the Secretary-General.

Of the three technical organisations, those of Transit and Health are complete, but the Financial and Economic Organisation, which has been associated with some of the most important features of League work, is still somewhat provisional in character.

The advisory committees are composed of members sometimes elected by the Council for their individual competence on any given subject and sometimes by the Govern-

ments officially, as expert bodies to assist the Council and the Assembly in particular directions.

In addition to these two kinds of auxiliary bodies, there has been a great variety of special committees and commissions appointed for particular tasks in which the Council has required assistance. Included within this class are the commissions of enquiry in connection with political disputes, commissions to watch over the execution of frontier decisions, and others of a more or less temporary nature. Two of the most important are the Preparatory Committee for the International Economic Conference and the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, which, because of their immediate interest, are included in the description given in the following pages of the technical and advisory bodies.

THE TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS.

THE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANISATION.

This was set up as a result of the Brussels Financial Conference summoned by the Council in 1920. It is divided into two sections, the Financial Committee and the Economic Committee. Each section operates independently, but they meet together frequently in plenary session in order to consider matters which are of interest to both. The members are not official representatives of their Governments but are chosen by the Council as experts, and include high treasury officials, directors of great private banks, banking associations or banks of issue, heads of departments or directors in ministries of commerce in various States, the president of an important co-operative society, a statistician and so on. They all hold commanding positions in their own countries and are competent to reflect currents

of opinion in qualified circles. All their recommendations or resolutions are sent to the Council, which takes the final decisions.

The duties of this Organisation cover the whole range of financial and economic matters entrusted to the League, and include problems such as the equitable treatment of commerce, financial reconstruction schemes, etc.

The Preparatory Commission of the International Economic Conference, which completed its work this month, was a temporary commission only.

Its task was to prepare for the Economic Conference a programme of carefully defined questions admitting of practical solutions, and to submit to the Council a report on this programme as well as on the composition, rules of procedure, and date of meeting of the Conference.

The secretariat of the Organisation is the Financial and Economic Section of the general Secretariat of the League.

THE TRANSIT ORGANISATION.

The Transit Organisation, which, at the request of the First Assembly, was constituted by the General Conference on Freedom of Communications and Transit convoked by the League at Barcelona in March 1921, comprises :

- (1) An Advisory Committee,
- (2) A General Conference, and
- (3) A Secretariat forming the Transit Section of the General Secretariat of the League.

1. *The Advisory Committee.* — The Advisory Committee consists of one member nominated by each of the Members

of the League permanently represented on the Council and of other members nominated by States Members of the League not so represented on the Council, chosen by the General Conference. This selection has regard, as far as possible, to technical interest and geographical representation. The members of the Committee are not to exceed one-third of the number of Members in the League and they hold office for not less than two years.

Its duties are to consider and to prepare measures to ensure freedom of communications and transit, to assist the League in discharging the functions entrusted to it by the Versailles and other Treaties in the investigation of any disputes, or to endeavour to adjust such disputes by conciliation. Another of its duties, in addition to preparing the work of the General Conference, is to report on the working of general conventions in practice. The Committee is convened by the Chairman, who is elected by the Committee itself.

2. *The General Conference.* — The General Conference consists of representatives of States Members of the League, each State having one representative, accompanied, if necessary, by deputies and experts. Non-Members may be invited by the League to participate, and the Conference itself, by a two-thirds majority, may admit non-Members in an advisory capacity for specific questions. It meets when summoned by the Council, and a two-thirds majority is required for the adoption of proposals on the agenda. These proposals may take the form—subject to Council and Assembly control—of international conventions, recommendations to Governments, or resolutions for submission to the Assembly. The members of the Advisory Committee may attend but may not vote. Limited conferences may be summoned by the Council on the advice of the Advisory Committee for questions of interest only to certain States. The ordinary procedure of the Conference follows much

the same lines as the procedure of the Assembly and any subject may be included on the agenda at the request of a Member.

3. Its secretariat is the Transit Section of the General Secretariat.

THE HEALTH ORGANISATION.

The constitution of the League Health Organisation was drawn up in close co-operation with the Office international d'hygiène publique, a previously existing governmental organisation. The Health Organisation comprises :

- (1) An Advisory Council,
- (2) A Health Committee, and
- (3) A secretariat forming the Health Section of the General Secretariat of the League.

1. *The Advisory Council.* — The Committee of the Office international d'hygiène publique, whose seat is at Paris, and which retains all its powers, acts as the Advisory Council. Its duty is to consider and to discuss any questions which the Health Committee may think fit to submit to it either on its own initiative or at the request of the Council. The Office international, which is a body of Government representatives meeting every six months, is, by its constitution, specially charged with such tasks as framing international health conventions.

2. *The Health Committee.* — The Health Committee, whose seat is at Geneva, is composed of sixteen members, namely, the Chairman of the Advisory Council, nine members chosen by the Advisory Council, and six members appointed by the Council of the League. The Council may, in addition, appoint four extra health assessors, who would be regarded

as active members of the Committee. The appointments extend over a period of three years. The Health Committee acts as the advisory body on health questions to the Council and Assembly of the League; holds itself at the disposal of the Council of the League to consider all questions within its competence; and directs the technical work of the Health Section of the League Secretariat. It may carry out enquiries, appoint special sub-committees and attach to them any qualified persons whose assistance it desires.

The Health Committee presents to the Advisory Council an annual report on the work of the League Health Organisation, which is submitted to the Assembly.

3. *The Secretariat.* — The Health Section of the General Secretariat of the League acts as the secretariat of the Health Organisation.

THE ADVISORY BODIES.

ARMAMENTS.

There are two advisory organs on armaments, namely,

The Permanent Advisory Commission on Military, Naval and Air Questions, and

The Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

There was previously in existence a body known as the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments, appointed in February 1921, and composed of persons of recognised competence in political, economic and military matters. It worked during several years on various aspects of the armaments problem and produced a general scheme which was the preliminary basis of a good deal of the League's discussion on the subject. Its place has now been taken by the

Preparatory Commission, which is organised on a more authoritative scale.

1. The Permanent Advisory Commission, was, under Article 9 of the Covenant, appointed by the Council in May 1920. It gives expert advice to the Council on military affairs which may arise on questions submitted to the League, and advises the Council on the armaments provisions of the Covenant. It is composed of a naval, a military and an air representative of each of the States represented on the Council and appointed by the Governments, but each State has only one vote. Each of the three branches of the Commission forms a Sub-Committee, and the secretariat consists of three technical officers, who act severally as secretaries for the respective Sub-Committees; these officers form part of the Disarmament Section of the General Secretariat, under a *chef de service*, whose Section is also responsible for the secretarial work of the Preparatory Commission.

2. The Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference was set up in its present form by a Council decision of December 1925, its purpose being, as the title indicates, to organise work which is to culminate in a General Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. It consists of representatives of States Members of the new Council, representatives of other countries chosen from amongst those which, by reason of their geographical situation, occupy a special position as regards the problem of disarmament and which are not otherwise represented on the Commission, namely, Bulgaria, Finland, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and representatives of the United States of America (the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was invited but declined the invitation). The retiring Members of the Council, originally members of the Commission, were invited by the Council to continue to serve; Spain and Sweden accepted, and Brazil declined the invitation. Any State not represented on the Commission is entitled to submit

memoranda on matters in which it is specially interested and to be heard in support of these memoranda. The Commission is to decide on the proposals for the Conference to be submitted to the Council and is to assure the control and co-ordination of the work preparatory to the Conference. It is empowered to obtain the co-operation and advice of the competent organisations of the League and this co-operation is effected in two ways :

(1) In the case of any questions relating to the military, naval or air aspect of the question under consideration, with the Permanent Advisory Commission;

(2) In respect of the economic aspect of these questions, with a Joint Commission composed of two members each of the Economic, Financial and Transit Organisations of the League and two members each of the Employers' Group and Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

MANDATES.

The Permanent Mandates Commission is constituted under Article 22 of the Covenant to receive and to examine the annual reports required from the Mandatories, and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of Mandates. It was appointed by the Council in February 1921 and held its first meeting on October of the same year. It consists of nine members, the majority of whom are nationals of non-mandatory Powers. They were appointed individually by the Council and while members of the Commission they may not hold any office which puts them in a position of direct dependence on their Governments. An expert from the International Labour Office attends in an advisory capacity when labour questions are discussed and any other expert assistance may be obtained when necessary. During the consideration of the reports, representatives of

the Powers concerned are invited to offer any supplementary explanations or information which the Commission may desire. The Commission, to which these reports are forwarded, ultimately transmits them to the Council together with its observations and those of the representatives of the Mandatories. Provision is also made for the consideration of petitions.

The Mandates Section of the General Secretariat acts as the secretariat of the Commission.

OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS.

The Opium Advisory Committee was set up in accordance with a resolution of the First Assembly in 1920. It is composed of one Government representative from Bolivia, China, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Siam, Switzerland and the United States of America respectively, as countries chiefly concerned; and three assessors are appointed by the Council, one of these being an American. A special delegation from the United States, headed by Senator Porter, attended the meeting of the Committee preceding the 1923 Assembly, the discussions which took place in the Assembly Committee on the proposals presented to the plenary Assembly and one of the Opium Conferences in 1924. Three months before the beginning of every session of the Assembly, the Committee presents to the Council, for automatic submission to the Assembly, a report on all matters relating to the execution of arrangements in connection with the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs.

The Social Section of the General Secretariat acts as the secretariat of this Committee.

PROTECTION OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE.

What was originally known as the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children was organised as the

result of a recommendation by a General Conference summoned by the League in June 1921, for the purpose of securing a common understanding between various Governments with a view to future united action. The Governments of Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Poland, Roumania, Spain and Uruguay appointed their representatives, and the Council appointed as assessors—with all rights of delegates except the right to vote—representatives of :

(a) The International Bureau for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children;

(b) The Women's International Organisations;

(c) The Federation of National Unions for the Protection of Girls;

(d) The International Catholic Association for the Protection of Girls;

(e) The Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls.

On the invitation of the Council, the Government of the United States of America nominated a representative to sit in an advisory capacity.

In December 1924, this Committee was reorganised in accordance with a resolution of the Fifth Assembly, which had decided to entrust it with the work done by the International Association for the Protection of Children, whose seat was at Brussels. The Committee is now entitled *The Advisory Commission for the Protection of Children and Young People*, and includes the same members as before, with the addition of a representative of the Belgian Government. It is divided into two parts, one dealing with the Prevention of the Traffic in Women and Children and the other with Child Welfare, each Committee having a different group of assessors nominated by important organisations. These groups include the National Conference of Social Work, the Bureau of the Pan-American Union, the Social Service Council of Canada,

the Canadian Council for the Protection of Children and the International Federation of Trade Unions of Amsterdam. The two Committees may meet together in plenary session for the discussion of any question of interest to both.

The Social Section of the General Secretariat acts as the secretariat of this Commission.

INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation arose out of a resolution submitted by the Council and adopted by the Second Assembly in 1921. Its function is to examine international questions relating to intellectual co-operation and to develop intellectual contacts. It was appointed by the Council in May 1922, and includes twelve members of distinction in intellectual life.

It has established a series of national committees as an intermediary between the International Committee and the intellectual centres of various countries.

Through the generosity of the French Government, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was established in Paris in 1924, and this has permitted an extension of the Committee's activities. The Intellectual Co-operation Committee acts as the Governing Body, draws up the budget, and fixes the programme of the Institute. It appoints the Committee of Directors, which consists of five members of different nationalities, including the Chairman of the Governing Body, and it also appoints the director and other officials of the Institute. The work of the Institute is distributed amongst several divisions which correspond to the several spheres of action of the Committee, comprising a University Section, a Section for Bibliography and Scientific Research, a Legal Section, a Section for Artistic Relations, a Section for Literary Relations, a Section for General Business, and an Information Section.

The Secretariat of the International Committee forms part of the General Secretariat of the League.

Chapter IV. — THE LEAGUE IN ACTION

Many of the processes in the Covenant have been in action during these first few years of the League, with the important exception of the application of penalties. Disputes have come to the League by the direct appeal of the parties concerned and by the exercise of the friendly right of third parties to draw the League's attention to circumstances which may disturb international relations. Disputes have been dealt with between Members, and between Members and non-members; pleas of domestic jurisdiction have been referred to the Permanent Court for advice; unanimous decisions have been reached, in most cases resulting in settlement, in one case resulting in failure to secure settlement, but there has been no instance of resort to war in defiance of a League decision. There have been references from the Council to the Assembly, both at the instance of the Council itself and of one or other of the parties to a dispute.

The Court has had a series of requests for advisory opinions, and one or two cases for compulsory jurisdiction arising out of treaty terms. All the technical and advisory bodies have been actively engaged. The League has collaborated in a number of ways, either by making recommendations on its own initiative or by request, with the Supreme Council of the Allies or with the Ambassador's' Conference on frontier and other questions, and with the Reparation Commission in connection with the League's financial reconstruction work. In several instances the League has put its organisations at the disposal of countries (at their request) for advice and assistance in matters of internal reconstruction and administration, though this differs only in degree

from the work done in Austria and Hungary. It has secured the co-operation of the Red Cross Organisations, the Office international d'hygiène publique, the International Chamber of Commerce, the Rockefeller Foundation, and five or six international bodies interested in the question of the protecting of children and young people. It has, in fact, played the part of an authoritative international body focussing all possible international efforts, and has been able to command the disinterested and voluntary services of a great number of specialists and distinguished men in most walks of life for the detailed study of the problems with which it has been called upon to deal before they have become ripe for the ultimate consideration of the Governmental representatives in the Council and the Assembly.

The general characteristics of League procedure are careful preparation, team-work between the various special organs within the League so that each separate aspect of a problem may be studied by the specially competent body, the consultation of all interested parties, and endeavours, especially in political disputes, to secure objective statements of facts and considerations by committees of enquiry composed of disinterested persons so that the Council or Assembly may have satisfactory data for their final decisions. This last point is naturally related to the matter of careful preparation but concerns more specifically problems of a political character. In matters which are not purely political—as, for instance, economic problems, disarmament and transit questions—the League method has been to make what progress it can with what seems ripe for action at a given moment, and to press forward step by step towards the main problem. All the ground is first thoroughly explored and progress attempted where conditions appear favourable. The question of the reduction of armaments has been considered from many angles over a period of several years, and while it has not yet proved possible to adopt a general scheme, progress has been made in the control of the traffic in arms

and in one or two subsidiary directions, and meanwhile, the work on the main problem still goes ahead. The same applies to economic questions : a great many steps have been taken, studies pursued, and improvements effected in connection with wide general problems like the equitable treatment of commerce. An illustration of how things proceed may be taken from the way in which the subject of Double Taxation and Fiscal Evasion has been approached. The Economic Committee appointed a small body of distinguished economists to consider the problem theoretically, and on receipt of its report, a committee of revenue and treasury experts was appointed to consider the practical application of the principles outlined by the economists. This committee has completed one stage and has been made more representative as the matter has become more actual. When these labours are concluded, it will be for the Economic Committee to decide whether the time is opportune to make recommendations to the Council for further action. Work on many other lines has been proceeding and important results have been achieved. The 1925 Assembly considered that the moment had arrived to tackle economic problems on a broad basis and appointed a Preparatory Committee for a General International Economic Conference. This Committee, which comprised authoritative representatives of the interests and points of view concerned, had to arrange for the preparation and collection of such economic information as might assist the work of the Conference and to consider and prepare, for the approval of the Council, the programme, composition, rules of procedure and date of the Conference.

This kind of procedure is representative of what is adopted in other directions of League work, the policy being to forge steadily ahead and to seize every opportunity without attempting to force the pace unduly. Experience has shown this to be the surest way of securing practical progress and of developing effective international co-operation.

Team-work is another notable feature. In the consideration of reconstruction problems the Economic and Financial Committees have played a vital part in providing technical advice to the Council. In the preparatory work for the General Economic Conference, not only the Financial and Economic Committees but also the Transit Committee have been called in and there are many instances in the record of the Leagues work of one League organ giving assistance on matters specially within its competence which have arisen in the course of the work of other League organs. There has been active collaboration on economic and other questions with the International Labour Organisation. There is within the framework of the League organisation itself a wide range of consultation, of which use is almost regularly made, and the standing committees of experts form one of the essentials of the League. They are always at the call of the Council.

An outstanding feature of the procedure in connection with political disputes has been the appointment of independent committees of individuals selected for their particular competence to enquire and present reports to the Council. This method was followed in dealing with the Mosul frontier dispute, the dispute on the sovereignty of the Aaland Islands, and the dispute on the status of the Memel Territory, to mention three of the more important examples. In each case, the commissions of enquiry visited the areas involved, consulted the interested parties, examined the whole situation, and presented detailed reports and suggestions which enabled the Council to reach settlements. In some instances, as at several periods during the Polish-Lithuanian frontier controversy, the frontier differences between the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Albania, and again in connection with the Mosul frontier dispute, the Council has sent commissions to follow on the spot the execution of League decisions. Occasionally, as in the case of the recommendation which the Council was asked to make to the Allied Powers on the partition of Upper

Silesia and also in the case of the Austrian and Hungarian Reconstruction Schemes, the Council has appointed a committee of the Council itself, with the advice, as in the case of Upper Silesia, of technical experts, or, as in the case of the Austrian and Hungarian Reconstruction Schemes and the Greek Refugee Settlement Scheme, with the advice of the Financial Committee of the League.

Apart from the commissions of enquiry already referred to, another practice has been to have resident commissions or representatives of the League to supervise the execution of schemes adopted, as distinct from the execution of settlements of disputes. The League appointed a resident Commissioner-General for the purposes of the Austrian Reconstruction Scheme, a resident Commissioner-General for the Hungarian Reconstruction Scheme, and set up a resident commission to supervise the execution of the Greek Refugee Settlement Scheme.

An important element in much of the political work of the Council has been the reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice for advisory opinions on legal points—a procedure which has facilitated the solution of several difficult questions.

One of the most striking examples of the variety of means employed in efforts to secure agreement took place in connection with the Polish-Lithuanian dispute, but a more precise and more recent illustration may be found in the procedure over Mosul. The Lausanne Conference was unable to reach a settlement on this point and provision was made for direct negotiations, for which a given period was named, with the condition that, if a settlement were not achieved in that time, the matter should be referred to the League. These direct negotiations did not succeed, and the British Government brought the matter before the League. It came before the League, therefore, as a difference between a Member and a non-Member. Turkey was invited

to accept membership of the Council for the purposes of the dispute and agreed to do so. After hearing the parties, the Council decided to appoint a commission of enquiry. Meanwhile it set up a provisional frontier line in order to ensure the maintenance of the *status quo*. It appointed a Council Committee of three members, representing Spain, Sweden and Uruguay, which remained in charge of the question until it was settled, and an investigation was conducted on the spot by the commission of enquiry, consisting of a Swede, a Hungarian and a Belgian. When, after some months' interval, the Commission's report was examined by the Council, reference was made to the Permanent Court of International Justice on points concerning the competence and rôle of the Council which arose in the course of statements by the parties. An Esthonian general was sent to the Mosul district as a representative of the Council to ensure the maintenance of the *status quo* pending the proceedings of the Court. When the Court's advisory opinion was received, it was accepted by the Council, which continued its efforts at conciliation. Ultimately, the Council, in the absence of conditions making it possible to reach a friendly solution, took a decision based on the report of the Commission of Enquiry. Turkey declined to accept the Council's conclusion, but this, by the terms of the Covenant, did not affect the unanimity required, as the votes of the contesting parties are not counted. The Council was able to note with satisfaction at a later session that the two parties had subsequently reached an agreement.

This rough outline of League methods gives an indication of the elasticity of League procedure, and of the development of a technique for handling international affairs which is adaptable and has, in the main, proved successful.

Chapter V. — THE FINANCES OF THE LEAGUE

The League of Nations is maintained financially by the Member States, and the share of expenses is allocated between them on a carefully adjusted basis aimed at distributing the shares in accordance with relative wealth and capacity. The annual budget is under the final control of the Assembly, and all the financial arrangements and estimates are subject to rigid and detailed control at different stages throughout the year.

The total authorised League budgets for the six years 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925 and 1926 give an average of 22,769,977 gold francs a year, equivalent to 4,393,543 American dollars, or about £902,854 sterling at par. If capital expenditure and working capital are excluded, the average authorised budget for current expenses comes to approximately 20,569,849 gold francs, which is slightly less than 3,969,021 American dollars, or £815,616 sterling per annum at par.

This figure covers not only the League of Nations but also the cost of the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labour Organisation. The relative average share of the budget in round figures is :

League of Nations : 2,240,056 American dollars,
or £460,321 sterling at par.

International Labour Organisation : 1,377,169 American dollars, or £283,003 sterling at par.

Permanent Court of International Justice : 351,814 American dollars, or £72,296 sterling at par.

These totals include the whole expenditure involved in meetings of the Council, the annual Assembly, the technical organisations, advisory committees, sub-committees, etc.; the meetings of the Governing Body of the Labour

Organisation and the annual Conference; the cost of the maintenance of the Permanent Court of International Justice, with the salaries of the judges; and the salaries of the secretariats of all three organisations. In this connection, it is worth while noting that, as the two official languages are English and French, all speeches must be interpreted and translated, and all publications must be issued in these two languages; this necessitates a bigger staff and a larger publication expenditure than would be the case if only one official language were necessary.

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The Governments of the League have thus established the League on a wide basis, and have evolved a smooth-running machinery capable of undertaking the tasks for which the Governments may use it. Its membership has gradually risen, its importance has increased, and its work has greatly extended. A comprehension of the extent of its authority and of the way in which it is organised is a necessary preliminary to the study of its achievements, which are described in the other pamphlets of this series.

Annex I.

THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

(With the paragraphs numbered in accordance with the resolution adopted at the Seventh Ordinary Session of the Assembly, on September 16, 1926, and embodying the Amendments to Article 6, in force as from August 13, 1924, to Articles 12, 13, and 15, in force as from September 26, 1924, and to Article 4, in force as from July 29, 1926.)

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES,

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

by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,

by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations,

by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments,

and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another.

Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE I

1. The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a Declaration

deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.

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

3. Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

ARTICLE 2

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

ARTICLE 3

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

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

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

4. At meetings of the Assembly, each Member of the League

shall have one vote and may have not more than three Representatives.

ARTICLE 4

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

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

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

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

^a The Principal Allied and Associated Powers are the following : The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan (see Preamble of the Treaty of Peace with Germany).

^b In virtue of this paragraph of the Covenant, Germany was nominated as a Permanent Member of the Council on September 8th, 1926.

^c The number of Members of the Council selected by the Assembly was increased to six instead of four by virtue of a resolution adopted by the Third Assembly on September 25 th, 1922. By a resolution taken by the Assembly on September 8th, 1926, the number of Members of the Council elected by the Assembly was increased to nine.

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

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

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

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

ARTICLE 5

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

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

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

ARTICLE 6

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

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

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

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

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

ARTICLE 7

1. The Seat of the League is established at Geneva.

2. The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

3. All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

4. Representatives of the Members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

5. The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

ARTICLE 8

1. The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments

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

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

to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

2. The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

3. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

4. After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

5. The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

6. The Members of the League under take 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.

ARTICLE 9

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

ARTICLE 10

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integ-

city and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any aggression, or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE II

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

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

ARTICLE 12*

1. The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration *or judicial*

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

Article 12.

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

settlement or to enquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators *or the judicial decision*, or the report by the Council.

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

ARTICLE 13*

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

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

3. *For the consideration of any such dispute, the court to which the case is referred shall be the Permanent Court of*

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

Article 13.

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

"Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any

International Justice, established in accordance with Article 14, or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

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

ARTICLE 14

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

ARTICLE 15

1. *If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture which is not submitted

international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

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

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

*The Amendment to the first paragraph of this Article came into force on Sep-

to arbitration *or judicial settlement* in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

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

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

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

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

6. If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the Members thereof other than the Representatives of one

tember 26th, 1924, in accordance with Article 26 of the Covenant, and replaces the following text :

Article 15.

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

or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

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

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

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

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

ARTICLE 16

1. Should any Member of the League resort to war, in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall

ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to submit it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

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

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

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

ARTICLE 17

1. In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between

States not Members of the League, the State or States not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied, with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

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

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

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

ARTICLE 18

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

ARTICLE 19

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international

conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE 20

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

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

ARTICLE 21

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

ARTICLE 22

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ARTICLE 23

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

- (a) Will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations;
- (b) Undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;
- (c) Will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;
- (d) Will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the coun-

tries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;

- (e) Will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;
- (f) Will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

ARTICLE 24

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

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

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

ARTICLE 25

The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorised

voluntary national Red Cross organisations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

ARTICLE 26

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

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

Annex to Covenant.

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

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.	HEDJAZ.
BELGIUM.	HONDURAS.
BOLIVIA.	ITALY.
BRAZIL.	JAPAN.
BRITISH EMPIRE.	LIBERIA.
CANADA.	NICARAGUA.
AUSTRALIA.	PANAMA.
SOUTH-AFRICA.	PERU.
NEW ZEALAND.	POLAND.
INDIA.	PORTUGAL.
CHINA.	ROUMANIA.
CUBA.	SERB-CROATE-SLOVENE
ECUADOR.	STATE
FRANCE.	SIAM.
GREECE.	CZECHOSLOVAKIA.
GUATEMALA.	URUGUAY.
HAITI.	

States invited to accede to the Covenant.

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.	PERSIA.
CHILE.	SALVADOR.
COLOMBIA.	SPAIN.
DENMARK.	SWEDEN.
NETHERLANDS.	SWITZERLAND.
NORWAY.	VENEZUELA.
PARAGUAY.	

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

The Hon. Sir James Eric DRUMMOND, K.C.M.G., C.B.

Annex II.

MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE.

31st October 1926

ABYSSINIA.	IRISH FREE STATE.
ALBANIA.	ITALY.
ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.	JAPAN.
AUSTRALIA.	LATVIA.
AUSTRIA.	LIBERIA.
BELGIUM.	LITHUANIA.
BOLIVIA.	LUXEMBURG.
BRAZIL.	NETHERLANDS.
BRITISH EMPIRE.	NEW ZEALAND.
BULGARIA.	NICARAGUA.
CANADA.	NORWAY.
CHILE.	PANAMA.
CHINA.	PARAGUAY.
COLOMBIA.	PERSIA.
COSTA RICA.	PERU.
CUBA.	POLAND.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA.	PORTUGAL.
DENMARK.	ROUMANIA.
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.	SALVADOR.
ESTHONIA.	KINGDOM OF THE SERBS,
FINLAND.	CROATS, AND SLOVENES.
FRANCE.	SIAM.
GERMANY.	SOUTH AFRICA.
GREECE.	SPAIN.
GUATEMALA.	SWEDEN.
HAITI.	SWITZERLAND.
HONDURAS.	URUGUAY.
HUNGARY.	VENEZUELA.
INDIA.	

Annex III.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

Permanent :

BRITISH EMPIRE.
FRANCE.
GERMANY.
ITALY.
JAPAN.

Non-Permanent :

BELGIUM.
CHILE.
CHINA.
COLOMBIA.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA.
NETHERLANDS.
POLAND.
ROUMANIA.
SALVADOR.

BIBLIOTEKA
KATEDRY

PIAWA MIĘDZYNARODOWEGO
PUBLICZNEGO

U. I.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS PAMPHLETS

(Prepared by the Information Section)

The League of Nations : A Survey.		1/-
The League of Nations : Constitution and Organisation (<i>Revised edition</i>).	6 d.	15 cents.
The Health Organisation of the League of Nations (<i>Revised edition</i>).	6 d.	15 cents.
Social and Humanitarian Activities (<i>Revised edition</i>).	6 d.	15 cents.
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