

**WHAT THE
LEAGUE HAS
DONE
1920=1930**

No. 195

SIXPENCE

Sixth Edition

47

CONTENTS

WHAT THE LEAGUE HAS DONE 1920-1930

By MAURICE FANSHAW

with a Chapter on the Work of the I.L.O. by
MISS HINTON SMITH

The Union is often asked for a short, complete summary of what the League has actually done. Even Cabinet Ministers, with access to all the official records, sometimes want a guide to that mountain of papers. Here it is : and the Union is convinced that it will help many speakers who themselves are helping the League of Nations and the cause of peace, and be of practical use to all who are interested in the work of the League.

CONTENTS

I—SECRETARIAT AND SPECIAL ORGANISATIONS

- A. POLITICAL DISPUTES. WARS STOPPED. PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS SECURED
- B. FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. WORK OF BUILDING UP EUROPE AFTER THE WAR
- C. REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS. SECURITY. ARBITRATION
- D. HEALTH AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS. HUMANITARIAN WORK OF THE LEAGUE
- E. MANDATES, MINORITIES, INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION AND OTHER TASKS

II—A PERMANENT WORLD COURT OF JUSTICE

INTERNATIONAL LAW

III—INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION. HOW IT WORKS AND WHAT IT HAS DONE

48

ANNEXES

OTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING LEAGUE AND MEMBER STATES (OF SPECIAL USE TO SPEAKERS)

Preamble and short analysis of Covenant; Membership of League; Co-operation of Non-Members; Some Things the League stands for; the losses in the Great War; the Cost of the League; List of League Committees; the Council; the Assembly; the Secretariat; Judges of the Court; Permanent Mandates Commission; a few Useful Books.

Note.—League Documents relating to I can be examined on application to the Head Office, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, of the League of Nations Union, or lent from its Library, or obtained from Messrs. Williams and Norgate, 38 Great Ormond Street, W.C.1. Documents relating to II can be obtained through the Union; a full list is also published by Messrs. Butterworth and Co., Temple Bar, W.C.2, or Messrs. A. W. Sijthoff's Publishing Co., Leyden. Documents relating to III can be obtained in the same way as those relating to I, above, or through the London Office of the I.L.O., 12 Victoria Street, S.W.1. Anyone wishing to go further into any topic raised in this pamphlet should communicate with Intelligence Section, Head Office of the League of Nations Union, from which detailed information can be obtained.

WHAT THE LEAGUE HAS DONE, 1920-1930

I—SECRETARIAT AND SPECIAL ORGANISATIONS

A. POLITICAL DISPUTES. WARS STOPPED. PEACEFUL SETTLE- MENTS SECURED

During the first eleven years of its existence some thirty disputes have been brought before the League. Of these some were referred to the League by the Peace Treaties, others by the Governments of one of the States Members, others by the Supreme Council or the Conference of Ambassadors. Most were dealt with by the Council, a few by the Permanent Court, to which the parties themselves or the Council referred them; two were brought before the Assembly. These questions differed in importance. Some at one time constituted a definite infraction of peace. Others affected local or national interests of unquestioned importance. All of them, before they were referred to the League had aroused wide, even bitter discussion, and some had caused such strong feeling that serious tension had been created between the countries which was affecting their home and foreign politics. The League was not able to settle all these political questions finally, but it always helped towards their settlement, and to remove other causes of conflict by calming public opinion.

49
(1) AALAND ISLANDS SETTLEMENT. This conflict between Finland's claim to sovereignty and the Swedish character of the islanders came before the League by Article XI of the Covenant. Settlement on basis of reports from two *impartial Commissions* accepted by Finland and Sweden. 1920-21.

(2) POLISH-LITHUANIAN DISPUTE. A territorial boundary quarrel centring round possession of Vilna, which has been occupied by Poland since 1920. The League has prevented the area from becoming a scene of armed conflict. But its efforts to bring the two States together have not been permanently successful, and relations between them have bordered on a 'state of war.' So far the Council's many efforts to effect a settlement by conciliation have failed; political feeling has prevented unanimous effective pressure being brought to bear on the disputants to end the quarrel. 1920-23-30.

(3) UPPER-SILESIA SETTLEMENT, based on data of the Plebiscite required by the Versailles Treaty, and report of *impartial Commission*, which aimed at preserving economic unity over transitional period by detailed economic proposals and guarantees. The case was referred to the League by the Supreme Council, which had failed to reach any solution. 1921.

(4) ALBANIAN-JUGOSLAV OUTBREAK. As a result of unsettled frontier disputes, fighting broke out, Jugoslav troops invading N. Albania. An emergency meeting of the Council and the threat of economic blockade *definitely*

put a stop to what, before 1914, would have been the *beginning of a Balkan War*. The League, further, assisted 'reconstruction' in Albania by means of a Commission of Enquiry, and a Financial Adviser, holding office for one year; by its Health Organisation in checking malaria; and by helping to raise £18,000 for famine relief in N. Albania. 1921-24.

(5) JAWORZINA. Frontier quarrel between Poland and Czecho-Slovakia over Jaworzina referred by Conference of Ambassadors to League Council, which, with help of legal advice of the Permanent Court, offers solution accepted by both Governments concerned. 1923-24.

(6) SETTLEMENT OF MEMEL. Memel, on the W. frontier of Lithuania (and before the War part of East Prussia), was handed over by the Versailles Treaty to the Allied Powers for disposal. After endless discussions, the Conference of Ambassadors referred solution to League Council, which appointed *impartial Committee*, under neutral American chairman, and on its report produced a final Convention, adopted by the Conference of Ambassadors, Allied Governments and the Lithuanian Government. By the Convention, Memel falls under Lithuanian sovereignty, the territory enjoying autonomy within prescribed limits. 1924.

(7) FRANCO-BRITISH DISPUTE OVER NATIONALITY DECREES IN TUNIS AND MOROCCO. British Government referred this to the Council, which asked Permanent Court for an Advisory Opinion on the nature of the dispute. The

50
Court declared that the dispute was not merely matter of domestic jurisdiction; in which French Vice-President himself concurred. The dispute was then settled on this basis by the Foreign Ministers of the two Governments. (See also Section II on the Permanent Court.) 1923.

(8) EASTERN CARELIA. A territorial quarrel between Finland and Soviet Government over terms of Dorpat Treaty was referred by former to League, which consulted the Permanent Court. The Court, however, was unable to advise, as Russia held entirely aloof. Council only able to watch events with a view to future settlement. 1921-22.

(9) THE ITALIAN-GREEK DISPUTE, OCCUPATION OF CORFU. The trouble arose out of murder of Italians engaged on behalf of the Ambassadors' Conference in fixing the frontier line between Greece and Albania. Italy sent an ultimatum and shortly after occupied Corfu. Greece appealed to the League under Articles XII and XV of the Covenant, expressing at the same time readiness to accept arbitration either by the League Council or the Ambassadors Conference. Italy refused the first, but accepted the second. The League Council helped the Ambassadors' Conference, already concerned in the quarrel, to form judgment on the rights of the case. The open discussion of the situation by the Council materially led to the evacuation of Corfu; and the League was able to focus public opinion on the disputants so that the conflict did not drift

into war. Subsequently, a Committee of Jurists did something to settle the competence of the Council in cases such as these, the right of coercive action and responsibility of States for political crimes committed on their territory. August-September, 1923.

(10) THE IRAQ FRONTIER DISPUTE—MOSUL. One of the best examples of League settlement of a dangerous dispute by machinery adapted to suit the various sides of the question. The issue was between Great Britain, responsible for the Government of Iraq, and Turkey (not a member of the League at all) as to the northern frontier of Iraq. The League Council was able to *stop the fighting* (Turkish troops pressing over the frontier); drew a provisional frontier line and stationed a frontier Commissioner, sent an *impartial, non-political Commission of Enquiry*, took legal advice on the legal side of the case from the Permanent Court, and by its conciliatory efforts assisted the two Governments to endorse the League's final solution in a subsequent political treaty. 1924-25.

(11) ROUMANIAN-HUNGARIAN DISPUTE. HUNGARIAN OPTANTS. A dispute over the expropriation by Roumania of immovable property of Hungarian Optants. The League Council, 1923, arranged Conference between disputants enabling ordinary diplomatic methods to be resumed. But in 1925 the quarrel broke out in different form, Roumania protesting against competence of a constituted Arbitral Tribunal for dealing with these kinds of cases, Hungary insisting that the Permanent Court rather

51
than the Council should now handle the case. There was no question of fighting here. But in spite of many sessions' hard work the Council's conciliatory efforts for a long time failed to obtain a settlement or bring effective pressure on the States to take the whole matter to Arbitration. The dispute, however, was at last narrowed down to one of the amount of compensation to be paid to the Optants, and was ultimately solved as part of the general financial settlement brought about by the Hague and Paris negotiations on Reparations in E. Europe. 1923-30.

(12) BÜRGENLAND. The Council settled differences between Austria and Hungary on Bürgenland frontier. 1922.

(13) OTHER FRONTIER DISPUTES. The Council secured settlement of frontier dispute between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia in region of Salgo-Tarjan, but failed in case of similar dispute between Hungary and the Serbo-Croat-Slovene State over Mur territory, 1923.

(14) INCURSIONS OF BULGARIAN BANDS. The Council succeeded in effecting agreement between Bulgaria and neighbouring States as to incursions of irregular armed bands. These frontier excursions are a fertile source of trouble in the Balkans. 1922.

(15) MOSLEMS OF ALBANIAN ORIGIN IN GREECE. Difficulties over situation of Moslems of Albanian origin in Greece referred to Council, 1923; which brought the parties together and persuaded them to make fuller use of Mixed

Commission for the Exchange of Population, 1924-25.

(16) GRAECO-BULGARIAN QUARREL. Friction between Greece and Bulgaria flared up in October, 1925, in a frontier explosion and subsequent fighting. Greece sent an ultimatum to Bulgaria. Troops advanced into each other's territory. Bulgaria appealed to the League by Articles X and XI of the Covenant. League action has been a *model for the settlement of international quarrels*. A Council emergency meeting at once insisted on a truce. Fighting ceased on the eve of the first set battle, and all troops were withdrawn within 60 hours of the Council's wire. An *impartial Commission* was then sent to the spot to examine the facts, and report. Their report, assessing damages done by the Greek Government at £45,000, and suggesting a plan for the appointment of two resident neutral Commissioners by which similar explosions might be avoided, was adopted by Council and both Governments. It is significant that the adoption of this plan did prevent a like frontier dispute a few months later from causing serious trouble. League action here *promptly stopped the beginnings of a Balkan War* and produced as well a constructive plan for future peace. 1925-26.

(17) BOLIVIA-PARAGUAY DISPUTE. As a result of frontier disputes in the Chaco district, fighting broke out between these States. The Council promptly took notice of the situation and reminded both parties of their obligations under the Covenant. M. Briand, the President,

52
consulted the representatives of the United States and the Argentine at Paris, and there was more than a hint given of joint international action if the disputants refused to carry out a truce, and refer their quarrel to peaceable settlement. Full *publicity* was given to the action taken by the League. As a result of all that was done, Bolivia and Paraguay put an end to frontier fighting and agreed to have their dispute settled through the Pan-American Union, at that time in Conference at Washington, while on a legal point reference might be made to the Permanent Court. Here again the League method was followed, of *insisting on a truce, and then having the case taken up by an impartial body*. It was of special interest on this occasion to find the U.S. co-operating with the League in the common task of preserving the peace. There was no talk of the Monroe Doctrine. The League's handling of this case has already led to closer association between S. America and the League and a renewed interest on the part of S. and Central America in the League's work. All these States (except Argentina, Costa Rica and Brazil) sent their representatives to the 10th Assembly, and many States, including the disputants, expressed their gratitude to the League. 1928-29.

B—RECONSTRUCTION. THE WORK OF BUILDING UP EUROPE AFTER THE WAR

(1) BRUSSELS INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL CONFERENCE. A Conference summoned by Council at Brussels, 1920, with thirty-nine

countries, including Germany, represented; laid down the broad financial principles upon which European and other countries have gradually reached stability. The real success which finally attended this programme for stabilising currencies encouraged the League to extend the idea to the Economic field.

(2) FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF AUSTRIA, 1922. *First instance of large-scale reconstruction by international co-operation.* League raised a loan of £27 million sterling. As a result, Austria, though still like other States, faced with a moderate economic depression, is free from financial and economic chaos or imminent danger of starvation and dissolution. Main League Control now removed. To the success of this scheme of good European statesmanship may be traced the confidence of British, American and other financiers which made subsequent loans comparatively easy. And the scheme itself served as a valuable guide for similar League schemes in Hungary and Greece, and for the 'Dawes Committee' in settling German Reparations, and for Poland and Esthonia in putting their finances in order.

(3) FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF HUNGARY, 1923. The League followed up success in Austria by launching loan of £10 million sterling for Hungary, which, as a result, in 1925 had an actual surplus. Main League Control now removed.

(4) THE DAWES PLAN AND THE LEAGUE. Both League plans for reconstruction served as a guide to the 'Dawes Committee' in its scheme

53
for the payment of Reparations by Germany. See *The History of Reparations*, by Carl Bergmann (Ernest Benn Ltd.); Official publications from time to time of the Reparations Commission (H.M. Stationery Office); the 1929 Young Report on Reparations, and Reports on the Hague Conferences of August, 1929, and January, 1930, which aimed at reaching a final settlement of this legacy of the Versailles Treaty.

(5) GREEK REFUGEE SETTLEMENT. The League launched loan of £10 million sterling, 1924, and of £6½ millions (of which half was for refugees, half for stabilising the Greek currency), 1928, by means of which more than a million Greek Refugees have been settled on the land or put in the way of productive employment in various parts of Greece. A unique experiment in handling a *large-scale immigration and unemployment* problem. The work has now been sufficiently advanced for the Greek Government to be able to take over the 'settlement' organisation.

(6) BULGARIAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENT. The League launched a loan of £2¼ million for settlement of Bulgarian Refugees in their own country on the practical lines of the Greek Refugee Scheme, 1926. A second loan of about £5 million was raised in 1928 to help the stabilisation of Bulgarian finances and round off the Refugee settlement. This is a League's method for trying to settle one of those *border problems* which, in the past, have set the Balkans on fire.

(7) LEAGUE'S FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ADVICE REQUESTED BY GOVERNMENTS. As a result of the international reputation acquired by the League's Financial and Economic Committees, Governments have themselves come forward to ask for League advice. Albania, Esthonia, Greece, Bulgaria, Danzig and Portugal have asked for financial advice, Austria for advice on economic questions.

(8) DANZIG MUNICIPALITY LOAN. A small loan of £1 $\frac{1}{3}$ million negotiated by League to assist the Danzig municipality, in 1925; and two loans in 1927, of which one was for productive purposes connected with Danzig harbour. Danzig finance has been re-organised.

(9) CUSTOMS CONFERENCE. The League summoned Conference, Geneva, October, 1923, for removing Customs barriers. A Convention signed by thirty-four States, including U.S.A. and Germany, is already in force. Part of the League policy to bring about greater freedom of international trade.

(10) ARBITRATION IN COMMERCE. The League adopted Convention for general recognition of validity of arbitration clauses in commercial contracts; now in force. It has been followed by a further Convention for the execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards, also in force.

(11) DOUBLE TAXATION AND TAX EVASION. The League has made expert study of Double Taxation and Tax Evasion, in co-operation with ablest business opinion. An international

Convention on this question is expected at an early date.

(12) EXPERT STUDY OF SPECIAL FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS. The League has made continuous study, by means of expert reports, and conferences where there is already sufficient agreement; of financial and economic questions such as equitable treatment of foreign nationals and enterprises (Conference, 1929); unjust discrimination in treatment of goods or ships; dissimilarity in legislation on bills of exchange and promissory notes (Conference, 1930); the purchasing power of gold (interim Report, 1930); the suppression of counterfeiting currency (Conference, 1929); uniformity of methods adopted in various countries in compiling economic statistics (Conference, 1928); economic barometers; exploitation of the riches of the sea; and other questions.

(13) FIRST WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE AND AFTER. The League appointed an expert Committee to settle details for an International Economic Conference, on lines similar to the Brussels Financial Conference of 1920, of which the object was to lay down a body of broad economic doctrines on which a reasonable *international* attempt could be made to *introduce order into the present economic anarchy and confusion*, both in Europe and elsewhere, and to control or divert those economic tendencies and policies and the abuse of economic nationalism which, in the past, have led to war. During 1926 the Committee prepared the

necessary staff work for the Economic Conference which met in May, 1927. A unique body of authoritative opinion on the current economic problems of the hour was published. The Conference issued a unanimous Report on the wisest steps to take to secure economic prosperity, among which the lowering of tariff barriers (particularly those introduced owing to post-war conditions) took a prominent place. Rational methods were recommended for introduction into Industry; Agriculture should be organised so as to take its proper place in international economics. *The essence of the Conference's policy was greater freedom for international trade; it was a policy of 'economic disarmament.'*

The Conference itself was but a first step. Its real success depends on how far the Governments are willing to carry out its recommendations. Continuity and the execution of the programme where and when possible have been secured through the regular Economic Committee and through a new body, the Economic Consultative Committee, a miniature annual Conference. During 1928 and 1929 a large number of States signed a League Convention for the abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions. *This first multi-lateral Treaty on Tariff policy* is now in force between 19 States, including Great Britain, the U.S., France and Germany.

And the League has established in practice the idea of a fixed maximum tariff for certain articles. This has been secured, as regards the

45
export of hides and bones, by a Convention which came into force in October, 1929, as between 17 States. Experts have reported on the international problems of sugar and coal. The International Labour Office convened a preparatory Conference of coal-producing States early in 1930, and a draft Coal Convention based on its work will be considered by the 1931 I.L. Conference.

As a result of resolution of the 10th Assembly (for which the British Delegation were mainly responsible) a Conference met at Geneva, February 17—March 24, 1930, to discuss, among other things, a two years' tariff truce. The real object here was to see if Governments could not change or modify their ideas of commercial policy. *Commercial policy* was for the first time *on the agenda* of a League Conference. A short tariff truce was arranged to come into force from November, 1930, to April, 1931. But more important was the programme for future negotiations which was adopted 'to secure closer co-operation, the improvement of the régime of production and trade, the enlargement of markets between themselves and with overseas markets, so as to consolidate economic peace between the nations.' On this programme the League's Economic Committee is concentrating and is making its contribution to the solution of the Economic difficulties and depression which came to a head in 1930.

The 11th Assembly, September, 1930, devoted much time to the economic situation,

and during the coming year appropriate League organisations will examine questions such as dumping, the most favoured nation clause, unemployment (on which the I.L.O. is also engaged).

The Economic situation as regards Europe has also been approached from another angle—in the proposal for what is sometimes called a *United States of Europe*. As had been pointed out at the Economic Conference, and on many other occasions, Europe was suffering from lack of economic co-operation. The general settlement of some of the chief outstanding disputes left by the war in 1929, and the economic collapse of 1930, gave the idea of bringing about some economic federation of Europe its opportunity and its publicity. The Tenth Assembly asked M. Briand to report on it, and he produced a Memorandum on a European Federal Union in May, 1930. The various Governments sent in their observations, which agreed on the need of closer co-operation, but disagreed over methods. A majority were strong for the whole scheme to be worked out on League principles, and kept under League direction, so as to prevent it being used chiefly to maintain the political *status quo*. The 11th Assembly, September, 1930, appointed a special committee of European Members of the League to examine further details, and the whole question will be fully reviewed by the 12th Assembly.

(14) SPECIAL RESEARCH MONOGRAPHS. League publishes special research monographs

56
other than those on subjects mentioned in (12) and (13) above, on Public Finance, Currency Reform, Foreign Trade Balances, Central Banks of Issue, Economic Statistics, etc., some of which are annuals. A Monthly Bulletin of statistics is also issued showing the 'raw material' position, and general economic conditions, in a great part of the world.

(15) CONFERENCES ON COMMUNICATIONS AND TRAFFIC. League held Conference at Barcelona, 1921, to reorganise Communications and Transit. Two Conventions laid down (1) securing freedom of Transit; (2) on the régime of International Navigable Waterways. Work thus begun developed by second Conference at Geneva, 1923, laying down Conventions on International railroad traffic, equality of shipping in maritime ports, transmission in transit of electric power and development of hydraulic power. *All these Conventions are in force*, though ratification by more States is needed for their full effect to be felt. A further Conference on the Measurement of Vessels Employed in Inland Navigation was held at Paris at the end of 1925, and a Convention was signed by 18 States (see also under 'Passports'). A third General Conference on Communications and Transit took place August, 1927; perfected League methods of coordinating international communications, and recommended travelling facilities for people without nationality and the creation of a central office for information. The brain at the

back of this organising work lies in the League's Advisory Committee for Communications and Transit, the earliest of the 'Technical Organisations' (see (18) below), which serves as a 'research' Department for the improvement of international communications by water, rail and road, and as a Court of Appeal for disputes between States on transport and transit cases. A fourth General Conference is to be held in 1931.

(16) SMALLER TRAFFIC PROBLEMS. By means of machinery described above, the League has experts continually studying smaller though important problems, such as buoyage, the lighting of coasts, reform of the Calendar, and fixed date for Easter, wireless regulations, commercial aerial law, international motor-drivers' licences and rules of the road, etc.

(17) PASSPORTS. Considerable improvements have been effected as regards Passports, and a Conference has been held for their further abolition, May, 1926. A Conference was held in June, 1929, on cards for emigrants in transit; its Convention is now in force.

(18) PERMANENT RESEARCH DEPARTMENT FOR FINANCIAL, ECONOMIC AND TRAFFIC QUESTIONS AT GENEVA. Ever since Brussels Conference, the League has had three permanent expert advisory Committees constantly at work on financial, economic and transport problems that can be settled or are likely to be settled by means of international co-operation. That is to say, at Geneva for a number of years there has been a *Permanent Department for non-national peace*

57
research, on three of the most important problems of the day for international co-operation and co-ordination in constructive effort; an entirely new post-war development.

C. REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS. SECURITY. ARBITRATION

(1) PLANS FOR THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS. Article VIII of the Covenant laid on the League the duty of formulating a scheme for the reduction and limitation of Armaments. The League has concentrated for successive years upon this problem, being in fact the only representative International Body which has ever scientifically and over a continuous period examined the vast question of Disarmament, which is bound up with previous theories and practice of whole civilisations. In this period it has removed many obstacles, and settled the bed-rock principles on which reduction of Armaments can be effected. Although actual reduction has, in most cases, still to be carried out, the steady work of the League has so educated the world that while the difficulties of a solution are more fully realised its possibility is undoubted *if once there is a real will to peace*; and a World Disarmament Conference, the first perhaps of a series, can now be held at an early date.

The League has approached Disarmament from at least four angles, by indirect and direct attack. Each plan owes much to the previous one, and yet has contributed something fresh towards a final solution.

(a) *Treaty of Mutual Guarantee*, 1923; by which all States were to combine in defence of one attacked, so that each might feel secure enough to disarm. The Treaty depended on a State reducing armaments first; it declared that aggressive war was an international crime. It failed to secure the consent of important Powers.

(b) *The Geneva Protocol*, 1924. A more universal plan, adding the principle of Arbitration to those of Security and Disarmament. Failure to accept arbitration was to be regarded as the test of 'aggression.' It was a general Treaty of guarantee and 'all-inclusive' arbitration which outlawed aggressive war, and was conditioned by the success of a Disarmament Conference. It gave precision to League machinery for joint action in case of aggression. The Council could declare a truce and if either party broke this, the Council was to declare a League blockade against it. Though it was never adopted in its original form, its influence, particularly as regards the development of arbitration, has been felt in all subsequent plans for the prevention of war or the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

The Locarno Treaties of 1926, though negotiated outside the League, owed their inspiration and their machinery to the Protocol and the League's Work on

58
Disarmament. They were a local application of the principles of the Protocol, and they definitely introduced in a Treaty form the 'outlawry of war' principle, which was subsequently expanded by the Kellogg Pact. They brought Germany into the League. But the reduction of Armaments was not made a condition.

The Kellogg Pact, August, 1928, which came into force July 24, 1929, and by October, 1930, had been ratified by 61 States (Brazil and Argentina being the only States of note to stand aside) renounced war as an instrument of national policy (Article 1), and laid down that the settlement of disputes should never be sought except by pacific means (Article 2). Though, again, this was negotiated outside the League, its origin, its support by popular opinion, owed much to the League's educative work. Moreover, it can only be fully implemented on its positive side, *i.e.*, as regards Article 2, by the adoption of machinery like that provided by the League to secure that in international disputes a settlement *will* ultimately be reached, and that stagnation or stalemate will be impossible. Full renunciation of war implies full organisation of law. War in the future can *only* break out between these States *if one or more of them has failed to carry out Article 2, i.e.*, failed to adopt pacific means of settlement.

... (c) A more direct attack on Armaments was made by the appointment of the 'Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference' in 1925. This Commission has held a number of sessions to prepare the technical staff work, and the broad lines of a draft Convention for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, which could serve as a programme for the main Disarmament Conference. The work has been mainly that of experts, but representing their Governments, and a measure of agreement for air, land and navy reduction has been reached. It is a foundation on which a greater structure can subsequently be raised. The remaining obstacles in the way of a Conference are really matters of national policy. They are mainly for the Governments to decide themselves. The Naval Conference at London, 1930 (see 2(b) below) removed a number of differences on naval matters between Great Britain, The United States and Japan; but there is still lack of agreement between France and Italy. As to military matters, there still remain the questions of limitation of 'trained reserves,' international control of disarmament and limitation of war material, directly or indirectly through the budget. But there is definite agreement on the fact that the reduction of armaments is a technical possibility.

The 11th Assembly passed a strong

59
resolution, September, 1930, that no effort should be spared to make the session of the Preparatory Commission, summoned for November 3rd, 1930, its final one, after which the League Council could fix the actual date of a World Disarmament Conference—probably the first of a series.

(d) The League's work on the organisation of *Arbitration*. The Covenant itself is the largest Arbitration Treaty on record, and is the key to Post-War Arbitration (see Annex II below). In the last few years more has been done than at any other period to perfect and simplify the machinery for peaceful settlement. The League directly encouraged the development of Conciliation between States, September, 1922; it has published a complete survey of Post-War Arbitration (by 1930 there were over 100 new Arbitration Treaties, and 250 Treaties with Arbitration Clauses, and this total is on the increase); and it has stressed the vital importance of Arbitration in the actual scheme of Disarmament. It produced examples of 'war-proof' Arbitration Treaties such as the Protocol and Locarno. In 1927-29 a Special Arbitration Committee of the League concentrated on providing more effective and simpler machinery to meet the undoubted demand in Europe for methods of peaceful settlement of all kinds of disputes between States. In 1928 it produced a number of

Model Treaties, some of which were bilateral, some 'all-inclusive,' some practically so, and one, known as '*the General Act*,' a general treaty providing for the compulsory settlement of every kind of international dispute. On August 19, 1929, this General Act came into force as a new International Treaty. By October, 1930, it was in force in the case of 9 States, Belgium, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Spain, Luxembourg, France, Sweden and Holland. It provides a way for States to implement the Kellogg Pact, or bring up to date Arbitration Treaties of a non 'all-inclusive' type, and thus to increase that Security which hitherto has appeared to be insufficient to warrant a marked reduction of armaments among States. For '*Optional Clause*,' see Section II on Permanent Court, below.

(e) During 1927-30 the League Council made progress on measures on a draft Convention for *financial help* for weak States if attacked. The object here is to serve as a moral deterrent to any State contemplating illegal recourse to war, and as an insurance against obligations already contained in the Covenant. All signatory States guarantee a strictly limited sum, graded on lines similar to contributions to the League.* At the 11th Assembly, September, 1930, the Convention was signed by 28 States, including Great Britain and France. But

*-See *Geneva* 1930, ch. IV. By H. Wilson Harris.

60
all signatures depend for ratification on a Disarmament Conference coming about first.

The League has also been working out details of *measures* to be taken *in time of emergency*. Some of these, as regards the use of aeroplanes or motors for the saving of time, have been elaborated by the Committee on Communications, and the Committee on Security and Arbitration. They are to be passed to the Governments for their observations.

A wireless station, at Prangins, close to Nyon on lake Geneva, now being constructed, is to be handed over to the League for use in ordinary times, and for complete control, with a Swiss 'Observer' in any international crisis.

For some time a Model Treaty for the Prevention of War (which includes provisions for ensuring the cessation of actual fighting, and retiring within frontiers when a dispute comes before the League) has been under consideration. The question of throwing this open for signature as a General Convention has, however, been postponed to the 12th Assembly. Certain States hesitated to accept the compulsory powers contemplated for the Council should a crisis arise.

(2) PARTICULAR PROBLEMS. Particular sides of the Disarmament problem are also under continuous treatment with view to constructive solutions:—

- (a) A Conference was held, May-June, Geneva, 1925, attended by 44 States, including Germany, U.S.A. and Turkey, resulting in Convention for Control of Traffic in Arms. By October, 1930, it had been ratified by 12 out of 14 States necessary to bring it into force. The U.S., Germany, Italy, Japan have not yet ratified. It was based on a general system of supervision and publicity and included a Protocol forbidding use of chemical or bacteriological methods of war. This latter Protocol is now in force between 27 States, including Great Britain and Dominions.
- (b) Steps have been taken, outside the League, but none the less as part of its work, towards a Disarmament Conference, to extend the principles of the 1922 Washington Conference (which limited the size of battleships and aircraft carriers, and allotted a battleship ratio of 5:5:3:1.67:1.67 to the five chief Naval Powers). In June, 1927, a Naval Conference (the Coolidge Conference) between Great Britain, the U.S. and Japan took place at Geneva, but failed from lack of preparation, and misunderstandings over naval 'parity,' and the size and guns of cruisers. But as a result of better relations brought about between Great Britain and the U.S. at the end of 1929, a Naval Conference of the five Powers—Great Britain, The U.S., Japan, France and Italy, was held

- 61
- in London, January 21 to April 22, 1930. As between the first three, the Naval Treaty which resulted, limited all branches of fighting-ships, and put an end to any competitive race. A compromise was reached between the U.S. claim for large, heavy-armed cruisers, and the British claim for a larger total of cruisers, owing to the need of light cruisers to patrol trade routes. Italy and France, however, could not reach agreement, and negotiations have been going on between them since. But the naval issue has been considerably cleared up for the League's Preparatory Commission.
- (c) The Question of private manufacture of arms, raised in Article VIII of the Covenant, has been continuously examined by Committees of Enquiry appointed by the Council. There have been differences of opinion between producing and non-producing States. Private manufacture will form part of programme for the General Conference on Limitation of Arms.
- (d) Six editions of an Armaments Year Book have been published by the Disarmament and Economic sections of the Secretariat, collecting the completest available statistics for most countries in the world. Sources are carefully documented, and information includes military, naval, air, personnel, material, and

budgetary statistics, and also those of production of industries capable of being used for war. Recent editions include diagrams of naval armaments, a list of the States who practise conscription, or the militia, or the voluntary system, and the text of such Treaties which have actually brought about some disarmament.

(3) DISARMAMENT COMMITTEES. In general, there are two large Committees examining the problem, the Permanent Advisory Committee (technical experts attached to the Governments who give advice whenever the League requires it) and the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. Co-operating with these are special sections of the Secretariat continually at work on the question of Disarmament, from every point of view, closely in touch with expert opinion of every kind, in order that step by step the approaches to the vast question of Disarmament may be mastered.

D. HEALTH AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS. HUMANITARIAN WORK OF THE LEAGUE

(1) INTERNATIONAL HEALTH. The League Health Organisation has prevented the spread of epidemics from E. Europe. The Warsaw Conference, May, 1922, attended by twenty-eight States, including Soviet Russia, the Ukraine, and Turkey, laid down principles of international health control. Investigations of Cancer mortality, the causes of Infant Mortality,

62
Malaria, Tuberculosis, Sleeping Sickness, Rabies, and enquiries into sanitary conditions and diseases generally, have been undertaken, e.g., in Russia, Albania, Mediterranean areas, India, the Far East, South America, and elsewhere. A report has been issued on the Welfare of the Blind.

Interchange of Public Health Officials is carried out on a regular system, which has resulted in the creation of an international *esprit de corps* in matters of Health. A highly efficient epidemiological intelligence system is maintained by wireless and telegram from Geneva and its Eastern bureau at Singapore, now in telegraphic contact with 140 ports and 35 Health Administrations; latest news of notifiable diseases at once broadcasted, and fully published later in monthly bulletins. League advice on Health questions and organisation of sanitary services, port health and maritime quarantine, is in request by Governments—e.g., Albania, Greece, Persia, China, Bolivia. Connection between Health Services and Health Insurance is being studied with the I.L.O.

Laboratory investigation conducted simultaneously on common plan by leading institutes over the world has definitely established standards for the therapeutic sera most in use, and for a considerable number of drugs which can only be tested by biological methods. This means that a discovery in a single laboratory can, without delay, be given a universal application.

Through its work for the Health of the World the League has reached countries which have otherwise shown little direct interest in its activities. Co-operation in matters of Health is one of the strongest links between the West and the East. The fact that in connection with the League's Health work the whole world has recognised its international obligations points to an ever-increasing future of usefulness.

(2) TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND DANGEROUS DRUGS. A special permanent Committee advises the League in its aim of reducing and confining the drug traffic to medicinal and scientific requirements. It has made a census of the world's drug needs for these two purposes. Two plenipotentiary Conferences were held at end of 1924 and beginning of 1925, on gradual suppression of opium smoking in the Far East, and on the larger question of production, manufacture and control of narcotic drugs. A Convention resulting from the former aims at suppressing consumption of prepared opium within fifteen years from the date when the League Commission decides that the poppy-growing countries have sufficiently controlled the export of raw opium to make experiments in reform in the consuming countries feasible. A Commission of three visited the Near East to examine opium smoking on the spot, in 1929, and will report on conditions. A larger Convention, resulting from the latter, provides for more effective restriction of production and manufacture of drugs, and closer control and

63

supervision of international trade by means of export and import certificates, and the creation of a permanent Central Board at Geneva which has the right to call attention to illicit traffic in any country. *Both Conventions are now in force, and the Central Board has begun its work.* Before the close of 1930 there is to be a preliminary meeting of States who manufacture drugs, and in May, 1931, a Conference of manufacturing and non-manufacturing States. A Convention on manufacture should do much to prevent the needs of science and medicine being exceeded to the extent now current. For a surplus of drugs on the market invariably means more smuggling. With this Convention the League will possess more complete machinery for coping with the drug trade.

As a result of the League's influence, India is cutting down export of opium, and before long will only export what is needed for medicine. A League mission to Persia induced the Government to take steps for large reduction of poppy growing at early date.

The League's Opium Committee keeps the subject of the Drug Traffic continually before the various Governments and aims at keeping them up to the scratch in the matter of ratifying Conventions as soon as possible and carrying them out afterwards, in order that League control may become properly effective. It can be said that the whole world has been aroused by the League to the menace of the drug traffic. *But success depends much on*

Government ratification and administrative measures.

(3) **TRAFFIC IN WOMEN.** The League held a Conference at Geneva, 1921, attended by thirty-four States. The resulting Convention strengthens the old 1910 Convention. It creates a special Advisory Committee to watch this subject, with co-operation of voluntary International organisations. The Committee receives annual reports from Governments; studies questions such as use of women police, emigration, conditions of theatrical contracts abroad, licensed houses in relation to the traffic. A Committee of Experts has issued fullest Report in existence on the extent of the traffic and the effectiveness of measures used to stop it. This Report definitely established the connection between the licensed-house system and the traffic, and had a wide effect upon Public Opinion. As a result, Government legislation has already been carried out by certain States. A further investigation in the Near, Middle and Far East has been decided on.

(4) **THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN.** A Branch of the Advisory Committee mentioned above (3) deals specially with Child Welfare. It is known as the 'Advisory Committee for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young Persons.' It has adopted the Declaration of Geneva regarding the rights of children, and has laid out a wide plan of campaign on which work has already been started and reports made; questions dealt with include child labour,

64
family allowances, the effects of the cinematograph on the minds and morals of children, mental and physical recreation, neglected and delinquent children, blind children, evil effects of alcoholism, the education of children in principles of international co-operation, assistance for foreign minors (a Draft Convention is ready), and juvenile courts.

(5) **PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE NEAR EAST.** The League appointed a special Commission, April, 1921, which, acting with impartiality between races and creeds, helped to restore numbers of deported women and children in the Near East to their own people. League of Nations Houses of Refuge were set up in Constantinople and Aleppo as clearing houses for women and children while enquiries were made. At Aleppo all were taught useful trades during residence. Main part of work, as far as League was concerned, was finished during 1927. Experiments in Armenian colonies in Syria were successfully begun, and have been extended with the help of the French authorities for the benefit of large numbers of Armenian Refugees.

(6) **OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS.** The League held a Conference at Geneva, 1923, attended by thirty-five States, which drew up a Convention to expose the traffic at all vulnerable points. The Convention is now in force.

(7) **REPATRIATION OF WAR PRISONERS.** The League appointed Dr. Nansen to co-ordinate efforts to restore masses of war-prisoners to their home. By July, 1922, over 427,000 had

been repatriated at a cost of less than £1 per head.

(8) RUSSIAN AND ARMENIAN REFUGEES. The Council (as in 7) appointed Dr. Nansen as League Commissioner for Refugees to co-ordinate the relief work for them, repatriate them where possible and get the refugee problem on a constructive footing. A Conference of Government representatives summoned at Geneva, 1921, laid down outlines of plan. Dr. Nansen took a Census of Refugees, appointed League agencies in Central and E. Europe, and instituted a system of identity certificates to enable refugees desiring work to be moved where there was work to be done. Progress was made in educating and finding work for refugees.

At one time 25,000 Russians at Constantinople were threatened with starvation. Dr. Nansen sent a cargo of flour; the French Government further helped these refugees; the American Red Cross gave 25,000 dollars to help evacuate them, on condition that the League raised £30,000. Great Britain gave £10,000; others made up to £17,000 and Americans contributed the rest. A League Committee helped refugees to be evacuated abroad, notably to America.

By 1924 the problem had become chiefly one of employment, on which Dr. Nansen, with the help of the I.L.O., concentrated. The possibility of sending refugees to S. America has been canvassed; and a number of families have been given colonising facilities

65
by Bolivian Government. A plan for settling some thousands of Armenian refugees near Erivan, in Russian Armenia, was approved by League experts. The money needed for starting this scheme, some £150,000, was raised mainly from private sources, but the 10th Assembly abandoned the plan as not being practical politics.

The 9th Assembly appointed a special Advisory Committee (backed by the Governments interested) to help liquidate the whole Refugee problem. Complete liquidation, the 10th Assembly decided, owing to the difficulty of repatriation, or the acceptance by refugees of the nationality of the country where they are for the time residing, might take about ten years. The cost was roughly estimated at some £500,000, towards which the Refugees Commissariat has a revolving fund of some £300,000, from private and Government sources. In 1930, Dr. Nansen died. The connection with I.L.O. closed, and the 11th Assembly decided to set up a Refugee 'Nansen' Office at Geneva, to handle the humanitarian side of the problem, while legal questions will be dealt with by the Secretariat.

(9) GREEK REFUGEE SETTLEMENT. The League has set an interesting example of an experiment in settling, on a large scale, *refugee emigration and unemployed problems by means of international co-operation*. The defeat of Greek armies in Asia Minor in 1922 flooded Greece with tens of thousands of refugees—without money or food or lodging. At the instigation of

League, Great Britain at once gave £19,000 and other nations followed suit. The League Health Organisation prevented epidemics from decimating refugee camps. To solve the problem in a permanent way the League set an example by creating nurseries and model farms and by building productive and self-supporting settlement villages in Thrace. Then, on larger scale, a Refugee Settlement Commission was appointed to arrange, with co-operation of Greek Government and League's Financial Committee, negotiations for loan of £10 millions sterling, and then carry the details of a scheme of settlement into practice. As a result, on land transferred to Commission by Greek Government, more than a million Greek Refugees have been given housing and put in the way of productive occupations in agriculture and industry in Macedonia and other parts of Greece. This is the largest example of scientific handling of a migration and unemployment problem. To finish off the Refugee Scheme and stabilise the Greek currency, a further international loan of some £6½ millions was arranged January, 1928. The whole settlement plan has now been placed on a satisfactory working basis, so that its future organisation has been taken over by the Greek Government itself.

(10) BULGARIAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENT. Another step has been taken towards peace in the Balkans by the negotiation of loan of £2,225,000 under League auspices for settlement of Bulgarian Refugees on lines of the

66
Greek Refugee scheme. In 1928 a somewhat larger loan was launched to assist Bulgaria's financial stability and round off the work for settling the Refugees.

(11) SLAVERY. In 1924 the Assembly appointed a special Committee to secure more efficient suppression of Slavery in various forms. The Committee reported fully to 6th Assembly, which passed a new Slavery Convention in advance of all previous Anti-Slavery Agreements, dealing for the first time with questions such as forced labour, pledging of human service for debt, domestic slavery, etc. During 1926 Governments examined Convention and sent their comments. As a result, a final Slavery Convention was adopted by 7th Assembly, September, 1926. By October, 1930, it had been signed by some 47 States, of whom 33 had ratified it. It may be noted that Abyssinia, China and France, have not ratified their signatures; Japan, Mexico and Soviet Russia stand aside altogether. The question of Forced Labour is being examined by the I.L.O., and a Report has been issued (see chapter on I.L.O. below). During 1929-30 the Secretariat made an unsatisfactory attempt to examine the results of the Convention, and a Committee of 3 made an enquiry into slavery in Liberia. At the 11th Assembly, 1930, the British Government proposed to set up effective machinery—whether a Permanent Slavery Commission, or a body of experts independent of Government control—for finding out the facts about the working of the Convention. But, owing to the

opposition of the French, Belgian, Italian, Portuguese, Abyssinian and Liberian delegations—notably over the question of forced labour—no agreement was reached. For the time being, effective suppression of slavery seems to be held up in certain countries.

(12) RELIEF OF PEOPLE STRICKEN BY CALAMITIES. Assembly appointed a Committee to examine the practical side of this proposal, of which Senator Ciraolo was author, in co-operation with International Red Cross Organisations. An International Conference for formation of International Relief Union was held July, 1927. Sufficient States have not ratified the Convention for it to come into force.

(13) ALCOHOLISM. In the sphere of Mandates, the League has already handled this subject. The 9th Assembly, 1928, decided to make a wider examination of the effects of alcoholism. This is being done by the Health Organisation, while the Economic Committee is examining the question of alcohol smuggling.

E. MANDATES, MINORITIES, INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION AND OTHER TASKS

(1) THE MANDATE SYSTEM. The League puts into practice the so-called 'Mandate System' by which certain undeveloped peoples are regarded as 'a sacred trust of civilisation.' It supervises the administration of these areas, through a Mandates Commission (an Advisory Body of Experts, twelve in number, including a German member, a woman, and a representa-

67
tive of the I.L.O.) and through the Council, and keeps watch by means of Annual Reports on the well-being and development of natives (on lines similar to those in the best-administered British Crown Colonies). The Mandate system is a gradual training of native races by means of administrative advice and assistance until they can stand alone. The character of the Mandate differs according to the development of the people, the geographical position and other circumstances; the Mandates are divided into three classes, 'A,' 'B' and 'C.' Broadly speaking, administration must be in the interests of the indigenous population, with particular obligations to prohibit the Slave trade and abuses in the traffic in liquor and arms. Moreover, the Mandatory Government is pledged not to train natives for military purposes other than police-work and the needs of internal defence.

The Mandates Commission has held seventeen Sessions, which are attended by representatives of the Mandatory Powers. Its public criticism in two cases of war, the Bondelzwarts Rebellion in S.W. Africa and the Druse Revolt in Syria, and as regards the Palestine riots of 1929, produced definite changes in policy. (For list of Members of Mandates Commission, see Annex 12 below).

(2) PROTECTION OF MINORITIES. As a result of the Peace Conference, nine States are bound by 'Minority Treaties' for the protection of life, religion, language, education of minorities. Five other countries have also declared to the

League Council that they recognise these fundamental rights of minorities, which are matters of international concern. This involves some 25,000,000 of peoples.

Violations of Minority Treaties may be brought before the Council's notice. This is regularly done by means of a petition from the Minority, which is then examined according to an agreed procedure. Cases that the Council has taken up include the right of the Polish Government to expel certain Polish citizens of German race from their farms in W. Poland, the obligations of Poland in regard to the nationality of German residents in Poland, the legal question of expulsion of certain Greeks from Constantinople. In these cases, as a result of the Council's action, an agreement was reached between the Governments concerned. The Council has also dealt with minority rights in Lithuania, a petition from Hungarian farmers regarding operation of Roumanian agrarian reform law, the question of the *numerus clausus* in Hungary, minority schools in Polish Upper Silesia. But the Minority Treaties have not yet functioned satisfactorily. In 1929 a special Committee of three examined the procedure for petitions, and the Council at Madrid adopted a Report providing for more publicity. The question of setting up some expert impartial Committee, on the lines of the Permanent Mandates Commission, to hold a kind of watching brief for a reasonable observance of the Minority Treaties, was discussed at the 9th Assembly, 1928, and will be raised

68
again. The 11th Assembly set a new precedent by holding a full discussion on its 6th Committee of the whole Minority problem, but decided to give another year's trial to the Madrid proposals.

(3) THE SAAR VALLEY. The League is responsible, by terms of the Versailles Treaty, for administration of the Saar by a Governing Commission until 1935. In 1930 the Governing Commission consisted of Sir Ernest Wilton (Chairman) (British), Dr. Ehrnrooth (Finnish), M. Kossmann (Saar), M. Morize (French), and M. Vezensky (Czechoslovak). It has to look after the welfare of Saar inhabitants, and at same time see that the French are allowed full possession of the Saar mines as compensation for destruction of coal mines in France. At one time it was thought that the Saar was governed over-much in the French interest. This has been remedied. The Administrative success of the League is admitted. But the situation inevitably raises political difficulties, some of which were complicated by a miners' strike in 1923. The Government of the Saar by an international Commission has an interest as a post-war political experiment for handling a most difficult situation. But in 1935, there is no doubt that the Saar will become German again. Germany has the right, if not the obligation, to buy back the mines (originally handed to the French in compensation for wilful damage to French mines at the close of the war). In view of the agreement reached as regards the occupation

of the Rhineland at The Hague Conference, August, 1929, it was hoped that the future of the Saar would be settled earlier. But the negotiations between the French and German Governments had reached no result by October, 1930.

(4) DANZIG FREE CITY—Another 'compromise' of the Versailles Treaty and another experiment in international administration. The League has to preside over self-governed Free City, where Germans are the vast majority, but Poland possesses, in addition to the right to conduct Danzig's foreign policy, many economic rights to ensure her free access to the sea, and thus give her a chance of proper development. The League has a resident High Commissioner, at present Count Manfredi Gravina (Italian), to serve as court of first instance in disputes between Poland and Danzig, with right of appeal to the Council. In this way a large number of outstanding questions between two Parties have been settled. The League has also assisted Danzig Municipality by negotiating a loan, and by reorganising the Free City's finances.

(5) INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION—THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF KNOWLEDGE. The League Council appointed an International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (I.C.I.C.) in 1922 to simplify, strengthen and enlarge international intellectual relations. The work of the I.C.I.C. has grown steadily and is *creating the framework for an Intellectual League of Nations*. It is work of liaison and co-ordination. Success depends much on close contact

67
with *National Committees*, which exist in 38 States.

The I.C.I.C. work has included enquiries into conditions of intellectual life in various countries hard hit by the war; help for such by gifts and loans of books and scientific instruments; promotion of the formation of national committees in a number of countries for intellectual co-operation and maintenance of close touch with them; foundation of International University Information Office at Geneva to increase contact between Universities, professors, undergraduates, and publication of quarterly Bulletin. It has produced a Draft Convention for Protection of Intellectual Property, now under consideration by the various Governments, and for revision of the International Convention of 1886 for exchange of official publications between Governments. It has progressed in organising scientific documentation, particularly bibliography, and published an Index Bibliographicus, and collections of Photographic Reproduction of Works of Art. Other matters of interest which the I.C.I.C. has had under consideration include the *instruction of youth in the ideals of the League and the meaning of international co-operation* (see *Educational Survey and Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations*, published by Secretariat), improvement of travelling facilities for students and youth organisations in order to promote international contact, convening a Congress of Popular Art, creation of an International Museums Office,

and a Union of Libraries, a scheme for the exchange of professors and students, international regulation of archæological research, and measures for the removal of Chauvinism out of elementary school books, and the development and improvement of the cinematograph (see 'Educational Survey,' Vol. I, for 'children and war films').

During 1930, the I.C.I.C. was re-organised under a small Executive Committee, meeting four times a year, with the aim of defining the programme of work more clearly, and improving its quality and securing closer relations with all the National Committees.

As a result of an offer from the French Government, coupled with an annual grant of 2,100,000 francs (and smaller subsidies from 18 other States, including Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Italy and Switzerland), to the 5th Assembly, an *International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation*, to which more than twenty Governments have already accredited delegates, has been founded at Paris. It has acted as the executive organ of the I.C.I.C. Its present headquarters are in a wing of the Palais Royal.

(6) EDUCATIONAL CINEMATOGRAPHIC INSTITUTE. The 8th Assembly accepted an offer by the Italian Government to provide funds for creation of an Educational Cinematographic Institute in Rome, with the object of co-ordinating and stimulating the work done throughout the world in this connection. The Institute, with a statute of its own, was opened

70
in November, 1928, in the Villa Torlonia. The Governing Body has held three sessions.

(7) INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS. Article XXIV of the Covenant permits such Associations to place themselves under the League's direction if it is desired. Already the International Relief Bureau, the International Hydrographic Bureau at Paris, the Central International Office for the control of the Liquor Traffic in Africa, at Brussels, the International Committee for Air Navigation, the International Association for the Promotion of Child Welfare, have been granted affiliation. The League Secretariat issues a Handbook of International Associations (over 360) with a short description of their Work and a quarterly Bulletin of Information furnished by the organisations themselves.

(8) CO-OPERATION OF THE PRESS. A Conference was held at Geneva, August, 1927, to regulate and improve facilities for Press co-operation. Further measures have also been adopted.

(9) LEAGUE'S PUBLICATIONS. *The Official Journal, the Treaty Series, Monthly Summaries, Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, International Statistical Year Book, Armaments Year Book, International Health Year Book, Quarterly Bulletin of Information on work of International Bureaux, Monthly Epidemiological Reports, Bi-Monthly Bulletin of International University Information Office.*

Numerous other publications, including Annual Reports of Council to Assembly (an

Annex to this Report gives full list of the ratifications of League Conventions); records of League Conferences and Committees; expert reports on special subjects, financial, economic, medical; regular reports of Austrian and Hungarian Commissioners-General, of Greek and Bulgarian Refugee Settlement Committees; memoranda on currency, public finance, military budgets, and a wide variety of economic subjects; Saar and Danzig Reports; and a number of brochures on intellectual conditions in various countries; Supplements to Monthly Summary, February, 1926, and January, 1927, 'Books on the League of Nations received in the Library of the Secretariat,' Books on the Work of the League of Nations catalogued in the Library of the Secretariat, 1928. Two recent publications of interest are 'Aims and Organisation of the League' and the 'Educational Survey.'

II—A PERMANENT WORLD COURT OF JUSTICE

INTERNATIONAL LAW

(1) In accordance with Article XIV of the Covenant, the League has set up the *first World Court of Justice* at The Hague. This Permanent Court, which met first in February, 1922, has been composed of fifteen judges (including four deputy-judges) of the highest international repute, drawn from fifteen States, and chosen simultaneously by the Council and Assembly. The term of office has been for nine years. Judges may be re-elected. On June 15,

71
the Court holds an annual session, and for special cases there have been a number of extraordinary sessions. By October, 1930, the Court had handed down sixteen Judgments and eighteen Advisory opinions, and a smaller number of Orders, which constitute a valuable new body of International case law.

The 10th Assembly, September, 1929, adopted a Protocol for the Revision of the Court's Statute, based on the experience of the past few years. The revised statute—the work of a special Committee of 13, which included the American jurist, Mr. Elihu Root, who had also had a share in the original statute—provided for a number of changes, such as the election of 15 judges, and the abolition of deputy-judges; permanent session of the Court except for usual legal holidays; better arrangements for salaries, pensions, etc., and a rule that no judge should exercise any political or administrative function, or engage in any other professional occupation. By September, 1930, this Protocol had been ratified by 33 States, and many others had stated that they did not object to the coming into force of the amendments. But, at the 11th Assembly, a proposal that the new statute should come into force then and there was negatived by Cuba. The Protocol, therefore, still awaits further ratifications before it can take its place as an international agreement. The 11th Assembly, however, by a resolution of its own, provided for in the old Court Statute, went on to elect, simultaneously with the Council, fifteen judges

and four deputy-judges, for a new period of nine years. For the time being, the onus of settling how the Court will work in the immediate future is left to the judges and deputy-judges themselves. (For full list of members of the Court, see Annex II below).

In 1926 the United States made a move to join the Court, which has a membership of 52 States, but the attempt failed from disagreement over 'Advisory Opinions.' In 1929 the special League Committee, which was engaged in revising the Statute of the Court, was also given the task of producing a formula by which a second proposal for membership by the United States, under President Hoover, might meet with general acceptance. A draft Protocol for the accession of the U.S. was prepared; was adopted by the 10th Assembly. By October, 1930, it had been ratified by 29 States. Twenty-four of the signatory States, including the U.S., had still to ratify. The matter is likely to come up before the American Senate at the close of 1930. It is, therefore, possible that before long the United States will become a member of the World Court, a matter of special importance in view of the Kellogg Pact's non-provision of machinery for peaceful settlement.

Nothing is more remarkable than the growth of the Court's *compulsory jurisdiction* in the last two or three years. In more than 300 International Treaties, Conventions, Agreements, etc., special cases, or whole classes of cases, have automatically to be referred to the Court. There is a definite movement on the Continent

72
towards 'All-in' Treaties, of which there have been over 40 since the War, and which, in most cases, refer legal disputes to the Court. By the so-called '*Optional Clause*,' attached to the Protocol of signature, it is possible for States to bind themselves to send all legal disputes to the Court. By October, 1930, some 47 States had signed the clause, and 34 were bound by it. There were 15 new signatories at the 10th Assembly, September, 1929, which is known as the '*Optional Clause*' Assembly. Italy, Poland and Japan are the chief League States not yet bound by the clause.

A.—*Judgments.*

No. 1. The s.s. 'Wimbledon' case, August 17, 1923. This was a dispute between the Allied Powers and Germany over the use of the Kiel Canal in time of war; and the first contested case to come before the Court. Germany paid damages.

No. 2, 5 and 10. The Mavrommatis Palestine Concessions. On three occasions, August, 1924; March, 1925; and October, 1927, this case came before the Court. It was a dispute between the British Government and the Greek Government, acting for M. Mavrommatis, over certain transport and power concessions in Palestine. The Court's judgments were a notable contribution to international law on mandated territories.

Nos. 3 and 4. Treaty of Neuilly. Article 179. Annex, par. 4. September, 1924. A boundary dispute between

Greece and Bulgaria. An interpretation of the Court's judgment was given in March, 1925.

No. 6, 7, 8, 11 and 13. German Interests in Polish Upper Silesia, and the Chorzow Factory Case. An extremely complicated dispute between Germany and Poland involving the expropriation of certain German agricultural and industrial properties in Upper Silesia after the War. The case appeared before the Court five times, and judgments were given, mainly in favour of the German claims, in August, 1925; May, 1926; July, 1927; December, 1927; and September, 1928. As a result an amicable agreement has been reached between the two Governments.

No. 9. The s.s. 'Lotus' case, between France and Turkey. Of great international interest, as it involved the question of the exercise by national courts of criminal jurisdiction over foreigners. Judgment was given by the Court, September, 1927, by the casting vote of the President, in favour of the Turkish claim that their courts could try foreigners involved in a collision between a Turkish and foreign vessel, resulting in the death of citizens of Turkey.

No. 12. Rights of Minorities in Upper Silesia (Minority Schools), April, 1928. A dispute between Germany and Poland over the rights of Minorities in connection with public schools in Polish Upper Silesia.

73
No. 13. A case concerning payment of certain Serbian loans issued in France before the War, the point at issue being whether French bondholders had the right to obtain payment in gold currency, or only in French paper currency. The Court upheld the view that the gold franc was taken as the standard of value, and repayment must be made on the basis of the pre-war rate of 25 francs to the £1. July, 1929.

No. 14. A similar case concerning certain Brazilian Federal loans issued in France in 1909, 1910 and 1911. The Court's judgment was on the same lines as case No. 13. July, 1929.

No. 15. A dispute between France and Switzerland over the Free Zones of Upper Savoy and the district of Gex. The Court decided in favour of the Swiss view, that the Versailles Treaty did not suppress these zones, but left it to the two countries to arrange a new régime. A satisfactory arrangement will now be reached by negotiation. August, 1929.

No. 16. The territorial limits of the International Oder Commission. This dispute referred to the Court by the members of the Commission, including Great Britain, Germany, France, and Poland, turned on the question whether the Commission's powers extended over the navigable part of the Oder, within Polish territory. The Court decided that the

internationalisation of the Oder laid down by the Versailles Treaty did not stop short at the Polish frontier. Another decision in favour of freer international trade, September, 1929.

B.—Advisory Opinions.

No. 1. Nomination of Delegates to the International Labour Conference. July, 1922.

No. 2. Agricultural Labour and the International Labour Organisation. August, 1922.

No. 3. Agricultural Production and the International Labour Organisation. August, 1922. All these three cases were concerned with the I.L.O., and the judgments throw light on the meaning of the Labour Part of the Versailles Treaty, making it easier for States to co-operate for the adoption of uniform labour legislation. The British Government took part in all three cases.

No. 4. 'The nature of dispute about Nationality Decrees in Tunis and Morocco (French zone).' February, 1923. A quarrel between France and Great Britain, as to whether these decrees, which involved liability for service in the French army, applied to certain British subjects. The French Government claimed that it was a sovereign right of a State to legislate on nationality, and that this applied to Protectorates; the case, there-

74
fore, it declared, could not be tried by the Court. But the Court's judgment, in which the French Vice-President himself concurred, was that the case was not by international law a matter of domestic jurisdiction. After the judgment the matter was amicably arranged by the two Governments. The British nationals were allowed to decline French nationality, on condition that this right did not pass on to the next generation.

No. 5. Dispute between Russia and Finland over autonomy of Eastern Carelia. July, 1923. The Court decided to give no opinion, as Russia refused to have anything to do with the Court's jurisdiction. It is held that the Court's refusal is a guarantee that advisory opinions will be exercised in a thoroughly judicious way.

No. 6. Protection of German Settlers in Poland. September, 1923. Opinion given in favour of Germany. Of special interest as a 'Minorities' case.

No. 7. Acquisition of Polish Nationality by German settlers. September, 1923. Another 'Minorities' case. Opinion given in favour of German claim. Case contains valuable definitions of Minorities Treaties and the rights they are held to give to Minorities.

No. 8. Jaworzina Boundary. December, 1923. A frontier dispute between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

No. 9. St. Naoum Monastery (Albanian

frontier). September, 1924. A boundary dispute between Albania and Jugoslavia. Opinion given in favour of Albania.

No. 10. Exchange of Greek and Turkish populations. February, 1925.

No. 11. Polish postal boxes in Danzig. May, 1925. A conflict between the precise rights of the Polish Government and the Danzig Free City Government. Opinion mainly in favour of Polish contention.

No. 12. Treaty of Lausanne, Article 3, par. 2 (Mosul). November, 1925. The case arose from a boundary dispute between Great Britain, responsible for the Government of Iraq, and Turkey, over the northern frontier of Iraq. The case was to settle what kind of action the Council could take in the dispute—could it arbitrate, or only recommend, or mediate? In the Court's opinion the Council could make a decision in this case, and the votes of the parties to the dispute were not essential to the unanimity required on the Council.

No. 13. Competence of the International Labour Organisation to regulate, incidentally, the work of the employer. July, 1926. Another case throwing interpretative light on the meaning of the Labour Part of the Versailles Treaty.

No. 14. Jurisdiction of the European Commission of the Danube. December, 1927. Great Britain was one of the parties to this case dealing with the competence of

75
this Danube Commission, which affects the commercial interests of many European countries. The decision affirmed the powers of the Commission from Galatz to Braila (the area in dispute), with the obligation to ensure freedom of navigation and equal treatment of all flags. The decision thus makes for freer international trade.

No. 15. Jurisdiction of the Courts of Danzig. March, 1928. A dispute between the Polish and the Danzig Free City Governments in a matter of railway administration. The Court's opinion, in which the Polish 'national' judge himself concurred, was in favour of the claim of the Free City.

No. 16. Interpretation of the Græco-Turkish Agreement of December 1, 1926. Opinion given, August, 1928. Of interest as showing the difficulties attending arbitration in matters of international control over emigration.

No. 17. The Greco-Bulgarian Communities. On July 31, 1930, the Court gave an Advisory Opinion on a number of questions drawn up by the Greco-Bulgarian Mixed Commission on behalf of the Bulgarian and Greek Governments, regarding the interpretation of the Greco-Bulgarian Convention of November, 1919, concerning communities. The opinion clarifies the property rights of communities when emigrating.

No. 18. Free City of Danzig and International Labour Organisation. The question was whether the legal status of the Free City of Danzig was such as to enable it to become a Member of the I.L.O. On August 26, 1930, the Court gave an Advisory Opinion in the negative.

(2) INTERNATIONAL LAW. The International Conventions which the League is systematically and continually drawing up to unify law and practice in the fields of Economics, Finance, Communications and Transit (which have been mentioned on previous pages) in themselves form an important new body of International Conventional Law. Only a permanent, expert organisation such as the League possesses could hope within so short a time to introduce the beginnings of order into international co-operation and general relations.

(3) CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. The League Council appointed a Special Committee, December, 1924, on progressive codification of International Law, which was divided into sub-committees on eleven special subjects and has already held a number of sessions, in co-operation with the Institute of International Law, the American Institute of International Law, the International Law Association and other bodies. The Committee's task has been to recommend to the Council the conclusion of international Conventions on subjects when such action is deemed practicable and desirable. It has aimed not merely at registering existing rules, but adapting them,

76
if possible, to modern international life. The first part of its work is done, and a first Conference on the codification of International Law met at Geneva from March 13 to April 12, 1930. Three subjects were on its agenda—'Nationality,' 'Territorial Waters,' and 'Responsibility of States for damage done in their territories to the person or property of foreigners.' It was, however, only found possible to draw up a Convention on the first.

In 1929, a Special Committee of three drew up a systematic survey of subjects of International Law with a view to eventual codification and suggested a form in which a Code of Conventions open to States in general could usefully be published.

(4) ALL TREATIES REGISTERED AND PUBLISHED. Members of the League (Treaties are now also registered by non-members such as the United States and Mexico), in accordance with the Covenant, register for publication with the Secretariat all treaties and conventions. Without registration and publication no new treaty between Members has validity. Over 2,400 such treaties have been registered, and the texts of over 2,200 published.

(5) INSTITUTE FOR THE UNIFICATION OF PRIVATE LAW. This Institute, at Rome, has been placed under League control, and given a yearly grant of 1,000,000 lire from the Italian Government (1924). It has adopted a statute and has been opened as a centre for international co-ordination on this important subject.

III.—THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION. HOW IT WORKS AND WHAT IT HAS DONE

Part XIII of the Peace Treaty set up the industrial side of the League. Primarily the International Labour Organisation was given the task of protecting the workers from sufferings which are the result of fierce international competition; ultimately it aims at equalising labour conditions throughout the world. The method is to bring about the universal adoption of a minimum standard as a first step, and then to endeavour gradually to raise conditions to the level already attained by the leading industrial States. It is understood that these will maintain their lead only in so far as they constantly seek to improve their own labour conditions and point the way to countries having less industrial experience.

THE ORGANISATION IN ACTION

The supreme authority of the International Labour Organisation is its Conference which, under the Treaty, must be held 'at least once a year.' This answers to the League Assembly, but there are certain differences in representation and procedure:—

- (a) Each State Member of the Organisation provides four delegates—two representing the Government, one the Employers' and one the Workers' Organisations. The votes of all four delegates have

77
equal value, but if for any given country one of these industrial Organisations is not represented the other cannot vote.

- (b) The Conference adopts draft international legislation, either by means of Conventions which become operative in the various countries only when ratified by their national Governments, or Recommendations providing principles to which effect may be given on national law.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

This is described in the Peace Treaty as 'part of the organisation of the League.' It is under the control of its own Governing Body and has its own Director. Entry to the Civil Service forming the Staff is by examination; 34 nationalities are represented. Expenditure is provided for by a vote of the Assembly. The proportion allocated each year to the International Labour Office Budget is, roughly speaking, one-third of the total sum voted; this covers Conference expenses also.

CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The legislative side of the work of the Organisation is carried out in the annual Conference, where Draft Conventions and Recommendations are discussed, normally for two successive years before being presented for adoption. For the final vote a two-thirds majority of the Conference is required.

Before a Draft Convention or Recommenda-

tion is applied nationally it must be ratified in the one case or accepted in the other by the competent authority of the country concerned. The exact provisions of a Convention must be enforced in the law of the land of the country which has ratified; a Recommendation proposes guiding principles in more or less detail, and the country accepting the Recommendation retains freedom to apply some or all of them in the manner it may consider best suited to its particular needs.

RATIFICATIONS

Twenty-nine Draft Conventions have been adopted at the thirteen Conferences from 1919 to 1929 inclusive. Two more were adopted in June, 1930, but will not be due for ratification for another year, and can therefore be left out of account in computing results. The total of ratifications in October, 1930, stood at 408, of which 9 are conditional. A statement showing the number of ratifications registered for each Convention is given below:—

First Conference (Washington), 1919.—Hours of Work, 14*; Prevention of Unemployment, 24; Maternity Convention, 11; Prohibition of Night Work (Women), 19; Minimum Age (Employment in Industry), 18; Prohibition of Night Work (Young Persons), 21.

Second Conference (Genoa), 1920.—Minimum Age (Employment at Sea), 22; Unemployment Indemnity for Seamen (Shipwreck), 16†; Seamen's Employment Facilities, 17.

* Five conditional (Austria, France, Italy, Latvia, Spain).

† One conditional (Latvia).

75
Third Conference (this and all succeeding Conferences at Geneva), 1921.—Minimum Age (Employment in Agriculture), 12; Rights of Association (Agricultural Workers), 21; Workmen's Compensation (Extension to Agriculture), 14. White Lead, 19*; Weekly Rest (Industry), 18; Minimum Age (Trimmers and Stokers), 23; Compulsory Medical Examination (Young Persons Employed at Sea), 23.

NOTE.—At fourth, fifth and sixth Conferences only Recommendations were adopted.

Seventh Conference, 1925.—Workmen's Compensation (Accidents), 11; Workmen's Compensation (Occupational Diseases), 19; Equality of Treatment in Accident Compensation (Home and Foreign Workers), 27; Prohibition of Night Work in Bakeries, 5.

Eighth Conference, 1926.—Inspection of Emigrants on Board Ship, 12†

Ninth Conference, 1926.—Seamen's Articles of Agreement, 11; Repatriation of Seamen, 10.

Tenth Conference, 1927.—Sickness Insurance (Industry and Commerce), 8; Sickness Insurance (Agriculture), 4.

Eleventh Conference, 1928.—Minimum Wage (Machinery for Fixing), 7.

Twelfth Conference, 1929.—Weight of Packages transported by vessels, 1; Prevention of accidents (dockers), 1.

* One conditional (Hungary).

† Two conditional (Great Britain, Sweden).

The Thirteenth Conference, 1930, adopted Draft Conventions on the Hours of Work of Salaried Employees, and on Forced or Compulsory Labour.

EXAMPLE OF PROGRESSIVE WORK OF CONFERENCE

At the Twelfth Conference, held in June, 1929, two Draft Conventions were adopted. One is a short Convention dealing with a single point—the marking of weight on heavy packages or objects transported by ships. This is closely related to the three Draft Recommendations adopted at the same Conference which are meant (a) to cover the field of accident prevention in industry; (b) fix the responsibility for the protection of power-driven machinery; and (c) secure uniformity in industrial accident statistics.

The Second Convention was allied to general accident prevention; framed to secure, for workers loading and unloading ships, protection against accident. A Recommendation for States Members to secure reciprocity by means of agreements is linked up with it.

All these measures for Accident Prevention have a common origin. They are the outcome of the 1923 Recommendation concerned with the general principles for the Organisation of Factory Inspection in all countries (to secure enforcement of protective laws and regulations). This 1923 Recommendation was of capital importance and has already laid the foundation of Accident Prevention Laws in countries where these have not been developed.

TWO WAYS OF APPROACH

79

Conventions and Recommendations are frequently complementary, as in the instance given above. Recommendations are also adopted in cases where the time does not seem ripe to carry a measure with detailed provisions which must be incorporated into law. Their guiding principles nevertheless largely influence legislation and prepare the way for further advance. In all, 38 Recommendations were adopted at the fourteen Conferences, 1919–1930, inclusive. Governments signify their acceptance of Recommendations as and when they amend legislation or frame administrative orders to put the principles recommended into practice.

INDUSTRIAL DISEASE

The Berne Convention, prohibiting the use of the poisonous white phosphorus in matches, signed by diplomatic representatives in 1906 (fourteen years before there was a League), has had its ratifications more than doubled since the Washington Conference of 1919 urged all States Members to ratify in a Recommendation then adopted. Thirteen ratifications in 1919—twenty-nine in 1930, and more in view. This Convention has stamped out one of the worst industrial diseases in every country which has ratified it. The White Lead Convention deals with another terrible evil.

The International Labour Office is fighting occupational diseases in another way. It has collected an advisory committee of the leading medical authorities on industrial health, and,

under its guidance, is issuing encyclopædic information designed to cover the whole field. Each member of this committee deals with the disease of which he has made special study, both as to prevention and cure.

INVESTIGATIONS

Under the Treaty, the Office has to collect and distribute 'information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of life and labour.' This research work forms a large part of the offices' activities. Results are published in the monthly *Industrial and Labour Review*; the weekly *Industrial and Labour Information*, etc. Before a Draft Convention is sketched out, Governments are asked for information on their law and practise in the matter in question, and the answers embodied in a preliminary report. A series of *Studies and Reports*, by special experts, is issued from time to time. This includes studies on various aspects of unemployment. A more general study of the whole problem of unemployment is now in progress.

ANNEXES

I.—THE PREAMBLE TO THE COVENANT

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.

2.—A SHORT ANALYSIS OF THE COVENANT

ARTICLE I

Contains conditions for admission to the League and withdrawal from it. To obtain admission a Member must be fully self-governing and give effective guarantees of an intention to observe its international obligations.

ARTICLES II-VII

Describe the constitutional organs of the League—the Assembly, Council, Secretariat at Geneva, expenditure and so forth.

ARTICLES VIII-XVII

Contain the central portion of the Covenant, designed to secure international confidence and avoidance of War. The following provisions are included: limitation of Armaments (VIII), a mutual guarantee of territory and independence (X), an admission that any circumstance which threatens international peace is an international interest (XI), agreement not to go to War till a peaceful settlement of a dispute has been tried first (XII), machinery for securing a peaceful settle-

ment, with provisions for publicity (XIII-XV), sanctions to be employed to punish a breach of the above agreement not to go to War (XVI), similar provisions for settling disputes where States are not members of the League (XVII).

[Taken as a whole these Articles constitute a system of mediation, arbitration and legal settlement so extensive as to come very near excluding the possibility of War between Members of the League altogether. The 'gap in the Covenant,' in Article XV and Article XII, par. 1, through which, theoretically, a legal war might have come about, has been closed by the Kellogg Pact of 1928. The 10th Assembly, September, 1929, appointed a Committee of 11 to decide if Articles XII, XIII and XV required amendment in view of the Pact. This Committee's proposed amendments were laid before the 11th Assembly, September, 1930, whose First Committee drew up an alternative text. Both sets of Amendments will be considered by the Governments, and laid before the 12th Assembly in 1931. The difficulty in obtaining agreement here is the belief held by some States that the amendments increase the 'sanctions' obligations already contained in the Covenant.]

ARTICLES XVIII-XXI

Deal with Treaties and understandings. No Treaty in future is binding unless registered with the League and published by it; and all Treaties must be consonant with the general principles of the League or must be abrogated. Arbitration Treaties or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine are left unaffected. As to the revision of Treaties the Assembly may advise their reconsideration if they have become inapplicable or an actual danger to peace (XIX).

[This last Article is most important; it provides a means by which international law can be made to correspond to international justice. For a legal settlement of disputes is necessarily on the basis of

87
existing legal rights, which may be very far from just. The 10th Assembly, September, 1929, passed a resolution on the application of this Article. It definitely declares that *any* State can raise the question of a particular treaty, and, however the matter is raised, it will be treated under ordinary League procedure, *i.e.*, sent to the Sixth or First Commission for study and report.]

ARTICLES XXII-XXV

Provide for much of the League's executive activities. Article XXII defines the Mandate System by which the League assumes responsibility for the good administration of certain ex-German and Turkish colonies, on the principle that the well-being and development of their peoples is 'a sacred trust of civilisation.' Article XXIII is the League's charter of work in the matter of labour conditions in the world, treatment of natives, the traffic in drugs, women and children and arms, public health, communications and transit.

ARTICLE XXVI

Lays down the method of amending the Covenant. Amendment is regarded as a serious step, requiring something not far short of unanimity.

3.—MEMBERSHIP OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (54 STATES)

Original Members ¹	Date at which Membership began ²
Argentina Republic ³	July 18, 1919
Belgium	January 10, 1920
Bolivia	January 10, 1920
Brazil	January 10, 1920
British Empire	January 10, 1920
Australia	January 10, 1920
Canada	January 10, 1920
India	January 10, 1920
New Zealand	January 10, 1920
South Africa	January 10, 1920
Chile	November 4, 1919
China ⁴	July 16, 1920
Colombia	February 16, 1920
Cuba	March 8, 1920
Czechoslovakia	January 10, 1920
Denmark	March 8, 1920
France	January 10, 1920

¹ *i.e.*—States signatories of the Versailles Treaty (except Germany) and other States named in the Annex to the Covenant as invited to accede to the League of Nations. The United States of America, Ecuador, and the Hijaz, though signatories of the Versailles Treaty, did not ratify it and therefore did not become members of the League of Nations.

² The membership of States signatories of the Versailles Treaty began from the date of exchange or deposit of ratification of the Treaty; that of States invited to accede from the date of notification of accession.

³ The Argentine Republic withdrew from the First Assembly in 1920, on the refusal of the Assembly to consider certain proposals of the Argentine Delegation. She remained a member of the League, but did not send delegations to subsequent Assemblies, though her representatives attended various League Conferences. In September, 1926, the Argentinian Commission for Foreign Affairs decided that the Republic should again participate in the work of the League.

⁴ China refused to sign the Versailles Treaty but became a member on ratification of the Treaty of Saint Germain.

Original Members	Date at which Membership began
Greece	March 30, 1920
Guatemala	January 10, 1920
Haiti	June 30, 1920
Honduras	November 3, 1920
Italy	January 10, 1920
Japan	January 10, 1920
Jugoslavia	February 10, 1920
Liberia	June 30, 1920
Netherlands	March 9, 1920
Nicaragua	November 3, 1920
Norway	March 5, 1920
Panama	November 25, 1920
Paraguay	October 29, 1919
Persia	November 21, 1919
Peru	January 10, 1920
Poland	January 10, 1920
Portugal	April 8, 1920
Rumania	September 14, 1920
Salvador	March 10, 1920
Siam	January 10, 1920
Spain	January 10, 1920
Sweden	March 9, 1920
Switzerland	March 8, 1920
Uruguay	January 10, 1920
Venezuela	March 3, 1920
Admitted Members	Date of Admission
Albania	December 17, 1920
Austria	December 15, 1920
Bulgaria	December 16, 1920
Costa Rica	December 16, 1920
Finland	December 16, 1920
Luxemburg	December 16, 1920
Estonia	September 22, 1921
Latvia	September 22, 1921
Lithuania	September 22, 1921
Hungary	September 16, 1922
Abyssinia	September 28, 1923
Irish Free State	September 10, 1923
Dominican Republic	September 29, 1924
Germany	September 8, 1926

<i>Secessions</i>	<i>Date of Preliminary Notice of Withdrawal after two Years</i>
Brazil	June 14, 1926 (took effect June 12, 1928)
Costa Rica ¹	January 1, 1926 (took effect January 1, 1927)
Spain	September 11, 1926— but notice withdrawn in 1928, Spain now being full member again
NON-MEMBERS (11 STATES)	
Afghanistan	Najd and Hijaz ²
Brazil	Turkey
Costa Rica	United States of America
Ecuador	
Egypt	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Mexico	
	Yaman

4.—CO-OPERATION OF NON-MEMBERS

In technical matters of Finance, Economics and Communications, and on broad social questions handled by the League, the practical membership of the League is larger than the actual. The same is true also of intricate general problems such as the Reduction of Armaments. Here the United States, Soviet Russia, Turkey and others have co-operated with the League, with beneficial results. The tendency towards the natural co-operation of the whole civilised world in these matters affecting international relations is notably on the increase. In fact, when it is a matter of taking part in important technical Conferences or Commissions the League has already 'indirect' universality.

¹ Costa Rica informed the 9th Assembly, September, 1928, that steps were being taken for her return to the League. But she was not represented at the 10th or 11th Assembly, September, 1929 and 1930.

² Since January 11, 1926, the Kingdom of the Hijaz has been linked up with the Sultanate of the Najd and its dependencies by a personal union under the sovereignty of the King-Sultan 'Abdu'l'Aziz b. Sa'ud.

8

The most active, regular assistance has come from the United States who, though averse to joining the League at present, carry out what Mr. Kellogg describes as a 'policy of friendly and helpful co-operation with the League of Nations on subjects of international concern.' Among these subjects are Disarmament, Health, the Drug Traffic, the Traffic in Women, abolition of Slavery, registration of Treaties, Economic Questions, Codification of International Law, Financial Questions such as Double Taxation, and so on. And there is every hope that the United States will within a short time be a member of the Permanent Court.

Soviet Russia has co-operated with the League over matters of Health and Economics, and recently on the broad question of Disarmament.

5.—SOME THINGS THAT THE LEAGUE STANDS FOR

(1) Broadly speaking, it can be said that the League stands for putting an end to methods of force and insisting upon the peaceable settlement of disputes. It is an *appeal to reason*.

(2) More, it can be said that it stands for *greater justice* in international relations. Article XIX, for example, gives States the chance of adapting existing rights to justice. And League methods aim at lifting problems right out of the political atmosphere into one of expert enquiry. This points the way to the establishment of justice on which, in the long run, the maintenance of peace depends.

(3) It has set up the *first International Civil Service in history*, the first large-scale, Official International Body definitely devoted to the Organisation of Peace, the first large-scale *Institution for International Co-operation*. Peace must be organised before it can expect to make headway against, or take the place of, the machinery for

War, one of the most highly-organised things in the World.

(4) It has set up the first *World Court of Law* which, year by year, increases its prestige and the area of its compulsory jurisdiction. It has thus created a habit and technique of international legislation.

(5) It has accepted, in principle, *corporate responsibility* for preserving international peace.

(6) It has accepted, in principle, the duty of *reducing Armaments by international agreement*.

Among other, but important, principles, the League stands for the following:—

(a) Continuity and permanency. The Secretariat, or International Civil Service, carries on continuous 'research' work, and acts as a clearing-house for knowledge on international affairs.

(b) The 'Conference' habit. This habit, with its increase of 'personal contact,' is of special value in handling technical questions. There is now no week in Geneva when matters of international interest are not being handled by experts, by important and responsible statesmen who thus get to know one another, and are better able to avoid misunderstandings, or retire from an untenable position without loss of dignity.

(c) Publicity. This is a keynote of League activities. The use of publicity and the force of public opinion have been found to be a real safeguard against national or international abuse of power.

(d) The 'Geneva atmosphere,' an intangible thing, but standing for a will to reach agreement, and a kind of *esprit de corps* in handling international affairs.

In these ways the League provides opportunities for world peace and progress, which simply did not exist before the War, and which it is now difficult for nations to do without.

6.—THE COST OF IT ALL

(a) In the Great War over 10,000,000 men were killed, over 20,000,000 wounded (6,000,000 of these seriously), over 5,000,000 men were taken prisoners, or were missing. The direct money cost of the War to the belligerents is estimated at some £40,000,000,000 (some £20,000,000,000 to the four chief Allies).

(b) Eleven years after the Great War the world still pays out some £890,000,000 a year on 'defence.'

(c) On the other hand, the League of Nations, a World Movement to prevent War and Organise Peace, costs annually about £1,000,000. This sum, of which the details are scrutinised and checked more rigidly than any national budget, is divided up among 54 States, in an agreed proportion according to their population and capacity to pay. This proportion is calculated in 'units.' A unit works out at roughly £1,000. Out of a total of 986 'units' Great Britain contributes 105.

(d) The following have been the League annual budgets from the beginning, in round figures:—

			£
1920	..	..	850,000
1921	..	..	834,000
1922	..	..	1,026,000
1923	..	..	933,000
1924	..	..	906,000
1925	..	..	917,000
1926	..	..	980,000
1927	..	..	978,000
1928	..	..	1,013,000
1929	..	..	1,080,000
1930	..	..	1,128,000
1931	..	..	1,265,000*

* The increase here is due to the cost of the new wireless station, and the reorganisation of the Permanent Court and the Secretariat, with proper pensions and salaries.

The Contribution of each State for 1929 worked out as follows:—

(Total: \$5,214,811—£1,071,621 7s. divided into 986 units. Each unit equals \$5,289—£1,086 17s.).

State	Unit	\$	£	
Albania	}	1	5,289	1,086 17s.
Dominican Republic				
Guatemala				
Haiti				
Honduras				
Liberia				
Luxemburg				
Nicaragua				
Panama				
Paraguay				
Salvador				
Abyssinia	}	2	10,578	2,173 14s.
Estonia				
Latvia	}	3	15,866	3,260 11s.
Bolivia				
Lithuania	}	4	21,155	4,347 8s.
Bulgaria				
Persia	}	5	26,444	5,434 5s.
Venezuela				
Colombia	}	6	31,733	6,521 2s.
Portugal				
Greece	}	7	37,022	7,607 19s.
Uruguay				
Austria	}	8	42,311	8,694 16s.
Hungary				
Cuba	}	9	47,600	9,781 13s.
Norway				
Peru	}	10	52,888	10,868 10s.
Siam				
Finland	}	12	63,466	13,042 4s.
Irish Free State				
New Zealand	}	14	74,044	15,215 18s.
Denmark				
Chile	}	15	79,333	16,302 15s.
South Africa				
Switzerland	}	17	89,910	18,476 9s.
Belgium				
Sweden	}	18	95,199	19,563 6s.
Kingdom of the Serbs,				
Croats and Slovenes	}	20	105,777	21,737 14s.

83

State	Unit	\$	£	
Roumania	22	116,355	23,910 14s.	
Netherlands	23	121,644	24,997 11s.	
Australia	27	142,799	29,344 19s.	
Argentina	}	29	153,377	31,518 13s.
Czechoslovakia				
Poland	32	169,243	34,779 4s.	
Canada	35	185,110	38,039 15s.	
Spain	40	211,554	43,474	
China	46	243,287	49,995 2s.	
India	56	296,176	60,863 12s.	
Italy	}	60	317,331	65,211
Japan				
France	}	79	417,819	85,861 3s.
Germany				
Great Britain	105	555,330	114,119 5s.	

NOTE.—These figures are given by the League Secretariat.

(e) Great Britain's annual contribution works out at a little less than one-ninth of the total, and that of the Empire as a whole at over one-fifth of the total. For the five years, 1925–30, Great Britain has paid in round figures £84,500, £101,800, £95,800, £98,500, £107,000 and £114,000. Her contribution for 1931 will work out at about £135,000.

(f) This annual contribution to the League's work for peace and co-operation can be compared with the annual £200,000 for the British Navy's Stationery and Printing Bill, and £137,000 for Chemical Warfare Research, or with the £52 millions spent on preliminary British bombardment at 3 battles only on the Western Front!

(g) The whole of this cost of the League to Great Britain comes to less than the interest on the £2,225,000 which Great Britain lent to bankrupt Austria in 1922, and which the League's help transformed from a bad debt into a first-class security. Indeed, League loans have been good investments. In addition to receiving a liberal return on their money, investors have enjoyed an appreciation of 12.3%. The League does not only take, it gives.

7.—LIST OF LEAGUE COMMITTEES

The following is a list of the League's Expert Committees:—

Permanent Armaments Committee and Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference; Permanent Mandates Commission; Financial Committee; Economic Committee and the Economic Consultative Committee (a small annual conference); Communications and Transit Committee; Health Organisation; Committee on Intellectual Co-operation; Committee on Opium and other Dangerous Drugs; Child Welfare Committee; Greek Refugees Settlement Committee; Committee for Codification of International Law.

8.—THE COUNCIL

As a rule, except in a crisis the Council has met four times a year, on the Monday preceding December 10, March 10, June 10, while the fourth session commenced about the third day before the annual meeting of the Assembly. The 10th Assembly, September, 1929, cut the number down to three; on the third Monday in January, the second Monday in May and a few days before the Assembly. Between January, 1920, and October, 1930, the Council held 61 Sessions. With the exception of 10 Sessions at Paris, 4 at London, 2 at Rome, 2 at Brussels, 1 at San Sebastian, Lugano and Madrid, the Council has met at Geneva. In 1926 the composition of the Council was altered, the non-permanent Members being increased from 6 to 9. In September, 1930, the Council states were as follows:—

Great Britain	} Permanent Members
France	
Italy	
Japan	
Germany	

Spain*	} period of office expires	} Non-Permanent Members, of which there are annually elected by the Assembly for three years	
Venezuela			Sept., 1931
Persia	} period of office expires		
Poland*			Sept., 1932
Jugoslavia	} period of office expires		
Peru			Sept., 1933
Norway	} period of office expires		
Guatemala			Sept., 1933
Irish Free State			

* Poland and Spain were voted the right to stand for a further period of office, after their three years elapse. In September, 1929, the 10th Assembly re-elected Poland for a second period of three years.

9.—THE ASSEMBLY

The Assembly has met on the following occasions:

1. Nov. 15–Dec. 15, 1920. President, M. Hymans of Belgium. Representatives of 41 Member states present.
 2. Sept. 5–Oct. 5, 1921. President, Jonkheer van Karnebeek of The Netherlands. Representatives of 45 Member states present.
 3. Sept. 4–30, 1922. President, Agustin Edwards of Chile. Representatives of 46 Member states present.
 4. Sept. 3–29, 1923. President, Cosme de la Torriente y Peraza of Cuba. Representatives of 49 Member states present.
 5. Sept. 1–Oct. 3, 1924. President, Giuseppe Motta of Switzerland. Representatives of 51 Member states present.
 6. Sept. 7–26, 1925. President, Raoul Dandurand of Canada. Representatives of 49 Member states present.
- Special Session. Mar. 8–17, 1926. President, Affonso Augusto da Costa of Portugal. Representatives of 48 Member states present.

7. Sept. 6-25, 1926. President, Momchilo Ninchich of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. Representatives of 49 states present.
8. Sept. 5-27, 1927. President, Alberto Guani of Uruguay. Representatives of 49 states present.
9. Sept. 3-26, 1928. President, Herluf Zahle of Denmark. Representatives of 50 states present.
10. Sept. 2-25, 1929. President, J. G. Guerrero, of Salvador. Representatives of 53 states present.
11. Sept. 10-Oct. 4, 1930. President, M. Nicolas Titulesco of Roumania. Representatives of 52 states present.

It has been decided that future Assemblies shall open as near as possible to September 10.

10.—THE SECRETARIAT

The Secretariat consists of a permanent body of experts on international subjects, with a staff of 670 members of 51 nationalities, under the direction of the Hon. Sir James Eric Drummond, whose name is included in the Annex to the Covenant as the first Secretary-General. Members are in no sense responsible to national Governments, but are at Geneva all the year round in the common service of the States Members of the League and the World at large. The Secretariat, with the staff of the International Labour Office, represents a post-war innovation—the *first permanent International Civil Service in history*.

In 1930, the Secretariat was reorganised on a basis of better conditions of service, scale of salaries, pensions, etc. Article I of the staff resolutions institutes an oath of loyalty to the international principle which everyone has to take.

11.—JUDGES OF THE PERMANENT COURT

<i>Judge</i>	<i>National of</i>
M. Mineitciro ADATCHI - -	Japan
R. Altamira y CREVEA - -	Spain
Commendatore D. ANZILOTTI -	Italy
A. Sanchez de BUSTAMANTE -	Cuba
Jonkheer W. J. M. van EYSINGA -	Netherlands
Henri FROMAGEOT - - -	France
Gustavo GUERRERO - - -	Salvador
Sir Cecil J. Barrington HURST -	Great Britain
The Hon. Frank B. KELLOGG -	United States
Demitrie NEGULESCO - - -	Roumania
Baron Rolin JAEQUEMYS - - -	Belgium
Count M. ROSTWOROWSKI - - -	Poland
Walther SCHÜCKING - - -	Germany
F. José URRUTIA - - -	Colombia
Wang CHUNG-HUI - - -	China

<i>Deputy Judge</i>	<i>National of</i>
R. Waldemar ERICH - - -	Finland
Miléta NOVAKOVITCH - - -	Yugoslavia
Josef REDLICH - - -	Austria
J. Caeiro da MATTA - - -	Portugal

Registrar—M. Ake Hammarskjöld* (Sweden)

* M. Hammarskjöld was re-elected for the period 1930-36.

12.—THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION

(Constituted in accordance with paragraph 9 of Article XXII of the Covenant, to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatory Powers and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the Mandates. Appointed as experts and not as Government representatives.)

Members :

- Mlle. V. DANNEVIG, Principal of the Vestheim High School, Oslo (Norwegian).
Count PENHA-GARCIA, former Minister of Finance, Vice-President of the International Colonial Institute at Brussels (Portuguese).
Dr. RUPPEL, ex-Official in the Cameroons (German).
Lord LUGARD, former Governor of Nigeria (British).
M. M. MERLIN, Honorary Governor-General of Colonies (French).
M. Pierre ORTS, Member of the International Colonial Institute at Brussels (Belgian).
M. L. PALACIOS, Professor at Madrid University (Spanish).
M. William RAPPARD, Rector of Geneva University (Swiss).
M. D. VAN REES (*Vice-Chairman*), former Vice-Chairman of the Council of the Dutch East Indies (Dutch).
M. N. SAKENOBE, former Minister Plenipotentiary (Japanese).
Marquis A. THEODOLI (*Chairman*), former Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Ministry (Italian).

Representative of the International Labour Organisation :

Mr. WEAVER.

13.—A FEW USEFUL BOOKS

The following are recommended for further study of the League and its work:—

1. ORGANISING PEACE. By Maxwell Garnett.
2. THE COVENANT EXPLAINED. By Frederick Whelen.
3. HUMAN WELFARE AND THE LEAGUE.
4. TEACHERS AND WORLD PEACE. A Handbook for Teachers.

- 88
5. MINORITIES. By C. A. Macartney, with a Preface by the Rt. Hon. Sir Willoughby Dickson, K.C.B.
 6. RECONSTRUCTION. The first five years of the Work of the League. By M. Fanshawe.
 7. WHAT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IS. By H. W. Harris.
 8. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT WORK. By P. J. Baker.
 9. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FROM IDEALS TO REALITY. By Jones & Sherman.
 10. MANDATES. By Freda White.
 11. PROBLEMS OF PEACE. Lectures annually given at the Geneva Institute of International Affairs.
 12. A LITTLE BOOK ON THE I.L.O. By Miss Bradfield.
 13. HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE. By G. N. Barnes.
 14. PEACE THROUGH INDUSTRY. By Oliver Bell.
 15. WORLD LABOUR PROBLEMS IN 1930.
 16. THE ORIGIN, STRUCTURE AND WORKING OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By C. Howard Ellis.
 17. ANNUAIRE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS. Par G. Ottlik. (A complete handbook on the League.)
 18. DISARMAMENT. By Salvador de Madariaga.
 19. INFORMATION ON THE WORLD COURT, 1918-29. By M. Fanshawe and J. Wheeler-Bennett, with a Preface by Sir Cecil Hurst, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Judge of the Permanent Court.
 20. TEN YEARS LIFE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Edited by J. Eppstein.

21. TEN YEARS OF WORLD CO-OPERATION. By the League Secretariat, with foreword by Sir Eric Drummond.
22. WORLD PEACE AND AMERICAN POLICY. By Alec Wilson.
23. GENEVA, 1930. An account of the Eleventh Assembly. By H. Wilson Harris.

All these pamphlets or books can be obtained through the Head Office of the League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1

84
NOTES



LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
15 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1